An Occasional Paper

That's All a Mule Can Do: The Ethics of Balancing Work at Home and on the Job

My title, "That'sW Do: .5 0 of1 Tf [(M6 1 Tf [ ) 25 (Job)]TJ ET BT 10.5 59.99

work habits on the job, at home, and in our communities. If we want to remind each other of the seemingly excessive expectations of our heritage, we have only to wag our finger and say, “Never let it rest.”

My grandfather also worked hard but held a different view of work and success. He had a sixth-grade education and was a clerk and handyman in a small town shoe store for many years. Six evenings a

and ethical reflections on work and vocation can illuminate these changes. I see myself building on several conversations including the following:

First, I am working from family studies by mainline Protestants and Catholics that aim to help people think more creatively about family changes in U.S. society and to bring theological resources to

A Composite Picture of U.S. Working Families

Many studies confirm that American patterns of work have changed dramatically over the last 30-50 years and have created ripple effects in families, churches, and other community organizations.[9] You may have read about some of these studies and seen the changes in your own life or in the lives of people you know. In the first half of the 20th century, the average hours worked each week declined, and many predicted a continued decline in work hours and a resulting rise in leisure hours. Some experts worried what Americans would do with an abundance of free time. It turns out that those worries were unnecessary.

According to several studies, American workers steadily increased their hours of paid labor since the 1940s, and more dramatically since the 1970s, so that average workers put in more hours than workers in any other industrialized economies (and some say agricultural ones, too). When you add up the extra hours put in each year, several studies report that average employees work a month longer a year than employees did 25-30 years ago. Juliet Schor estimates an increase of 164 hours from the early 1970s to the early 1990s.[10] Some recent studies report an increase of approximately 175 hours from the 1977 to 1997.[11] More conservative studies of work hours see smaller increases overall but significant increases for full time professionals, managers, and some blue collar employees. Although researchers disagree about the exact numbers, many studies have shown a significant rise in work hours over the last 30 years.[12]

Clergy are among the hardest working. Seventy percent of clergy

those of industrial nations, even agricultural ones. Leisure and vacation days are not the only thing lost as we work more. Two-thirds of Americans are sleeping an hour or more less than they should each night.[17] This trend is worsening. Forty-three percent of Americans reported sleeping less in 2001 than they did five years before. You may have seen recent reports on sleep deprivation as a major cause of accidents. Those working longer hours get less sleep, on average. Employed mothers of young children are the most sleep-deprived. (This is no surprise to me as the mother of two young daughters.)

From these studies, we also know what people are not doing with the hours saved by not sleeping. They are not having more sex. Frequency of sex is down, especially among people working long hours. (This statistic alone might be sufficient motivation in some quarters of the population to decrease work hours!)[18] The hours given to personal time or free time for employed parents also has decreased by more than 40 percent from 1977 to 1997.[19]

the percentage of parents belonging to the Parent Teacher Association, for example, was cut more than in half.[24] Church attendance and

Another piece of good news is that fathers' time with children, though still considerably shorter than mothers', is way up—thirty minutes per workday and over an hour per non-workday since the late 70s.[37] This is an important trend, because children with highly involved fathers generally have higher self-esteem and score higher on various scales: intellectual, social, and emotional.[38] Because of this sharp rise in the hours that fathers spend with children, the average child today has more time with parents each week than the average child of the early 80s.[39] It is interesting to note that higher-earning fathers generally spend less time with kids. "Every $10,000 increase in his earnings is linked with a five-minute decrease in average weekday involvement with his children." Parents with higher salaries not only spend less time with children, including less time helping children with their homework, but they also tend to have their children in day care for longer hours.[40]

Given the increase in work hours, it is not surprising to hear that day care hours are up overall, not simply among those making the most money. The good news is that kids in day care do pretty well, as long as it is good quality day care and the hours are not excessive. Many families with two employed parents do very well. In fact, in some studies, dual-income families report higher levels of satisfaction than more traditional families.[41]

The bad news is that, according to some studies from the 1990s, 12-21 percent of day care is so bad that it is estimated to be dangerous to "safety and development."

Another factor in the balance of work in and outside the home is the tremendous gender gap in housework and care for children.[44] Many studies have shown a large difference between male and female work hours in the home, even when employment hours are the same. When both are working full time, some studies (especially earlier ones) report that women tend to put in 15-17 hours more per week in combined hours in and outside the home. Some of these studies indicate that husbands whose wives are employed full time spend only slightly more time doing housework than their colleagues whose wives are homemakers—about three to five hours a week. Even many of the more optimistic studies have shown women doing almost 70 percent of the housework. Surprisingly, blue-collar men, who are more likely to say they should not be doing more traditionally female tasks, tend to share more equitably than professional men, who think they should be sharing.[45] And in one small study, feminist dads were found to spend only 6 percent more time on housework than non-feminist dads.[46] (Not surprisingly, gay and lesbian couples tend to be the most consistently egalitarian in the sharing of household chores.)

This gender gap creates additional tensions in the household and marriage. Some studies suggest that wives and husbands tend to be more satisfied if husbands do a somewhat more equitable share of the work—a share that the wife thinks is fair. In my favorite study, women were 3 percent less likely to think about divorce for every five chores their husbands did regularly around the house.[47] Gentlemen, get out those vacuum cleaners. Here's another odd factoid. Men in second marriages tend to do more housework than those in their first. Maybe they are trying harder the second time around. There is one exception. Men who committed adultery in their first marriage and

The most recent studies on this topic suggest not only that women are doing less housework but also that men are doing somewhat more. According to one study, in 1997 men spent an hour more and women 36 minutes less per day on housework than they had in 1977.[50] And note that, even though employed fathers do not spend as much time as employed mothers with children or doing housework, they are still, on average, spending much more time in these activities than a generation ago.[51] When you add this increase in work hours at home to the overall rise in employment hours for average workers, you see that fathers' total work hours, like mothers', are up significantly.

As parents try to fulfill responsibilities at home and at work, they often feel guilty. Not surprisingly, dad's guilt is up and mom's guilt has plateaued at high levels.[52] Seventy percent of employed parents feel that they spend too little time with their kids.[53] Arlie Hochschild refers to parents' employed work as the first shift, their work at home as the second shift, and their worry and guilt about shifts one and two as the third shift.[54]

How Do People Compensate?

Given the pressure on time at the home, how do people compensate? One way many parents seem to compensate with their

This downshifting trend is not surprising when you consider the reported levels of stress in U.S. working families. In one study, 90 percent of workers said that they experienced these time conflicts. Only 9 percent felt that they balanced responsibilities at work and home well.[64] In another study, almost two-thirds of workers reported that they would like to work fewer hours. This is up 17 percent from 1992-97.[65] A 2001 study indicates that the pressures are increasing. In 2001, 58 percent of workers felt that it was harder to "juggle work and family demands" than it had been only four years before.[66] Given these statistics, what surprising is that 20 percent have downsized and that many workers do not use the opportunities that are provided to cut back, to take leave, or to take fewer hours.[67] Why are more people not cutting back?

Why Are More Workers Not Cutting Back?

First, some suggest that many working family members do not cut back their hours because the U.S. does not have the policies and a family-friendly culture in place to support these decisions. We need, then, better social policies, government and private policies, along with a culture and workplace that values family. There are many new studies looking at the effect of family-friendly policies on the bottom line. These studies ask what policies help employees and their families the most and what policies increase productivity and profits. Several studies indicate that no policy, or a policy that is not family-friendly, is bad, not only for employees but also for the bottom line, because it increases absenteeism and worker dissatisfaction while lowering retention rates. Allowing employees flexibility to change their hours to meet the needs of family members increases productivity and profits. Allowing employees to spend some of their work hours at home also increases productivity and employee satisfaction with the job. At the same time, however, it increases the employee's sense that work and home are imbalanced. Numerous studies have demonstrated that many family-friendly policies are also work and profit-friendly policies.[68]

Second, some suggest that people do not cut back at work because they actually like working. There are different ways of looking at this love of work, as a positive or a negative development. On the nega-

tive side, the job, according to Arlie Hochschild, has become a refuge for many harried parents who are stressed at home. We have witnessed profound changes in the pace and nature of work at home and in the labor force. With increased time pressures, time at home is

to be a form of personal emotional compensation for working so hard. It becomes a therapy of the material for stressed, harried American workers.

This spend and work cycle becomes especially hard to exit when

$100,000 a year.[78] When asked in the late 1990s what constitutes the good life, Americans included more consumer goods on their lists

tic," and 71 percent felt that "society would be better off if less emphasis were placed on money and that 'being greedy is a sin against God.'" But in the very same study, 84 percent said that they wanted more money, and 78 percent said that "having a beautiful home, a new car and other nice things" was "very" or "fairly important." Wuthnow notes, "What religious faith does more clearly than anything else is to add a dollop of piety to the materialistic amalgam in which most of us live."[86]

Let me highlight key images from this composite picture I have drawn. We have looked at patterns of overwork, at the resulting time-crunch with its effect on children, families, and broader communities; at the decline of leisure, sleep, and community service; and at the rise of emotional asceticism—minimizing the needs of self and family members and regimenting the time available at home and for oneself. This harried life, especially for the middle class, seems to be driven in part by overconsumption and increased desires that are never sated. Indeed, dissatisfaction continues to grow, along with consumption. Looking at these problems in U.S. families, you have to wonder, "What is going on here, theologically and morally?"

What Happened? Self-Orientation and The Therapeutic Mentality

There was a sign posted in the university gym where I used to exercise. The sign read: "There are Three Kinds of People in the World—Those Who Make Things Happen, Those Who Watch Things Happen, and Those Who Wonder, 'What Happened?'"

The sign was designed, of course, to inspire student athletes to go out and "make things happen" on the field and in the world. But I always thought to myself, "It is probably just as well to have a few people around whose job it is to wonder what happened, to wonder how we got to where we are today." That is a part of my job and the job of others working in educ 0 ee 1 Tf [(2n) (wofy(The)(2n f [itarep [g) -158fe4

building on the work of Phillip Rieff, Christopher Lasch, Robert Bellah, and others, goes like this. (This is my composite summary of a widespread, popular argument and not specifically of Lasch, Bellah and Rieff themselves.)

Earlier traditions in our culture emphasized the fulfillment of obligations or responsibilities to family and larger community, often at the cost of one's own immediate happiness or fulfillment. In contrast, with the emergence of a therapeutic mentality in the 1960s and its growing pervasiveness in later decades, Americans experienced a shift in their model of the moral self that created, not so much a ripple effect, as a tidal-wave effect, especially in families and in public life. The self and its feelings became the primary reference point. Many Americans, this argument goes, came to focus not on obligation to others but fulfillment of self, not on delayed gratification but immediate gratification, not on sacrificial love but on self-love, not on community service but self-service, not on the fulfillment of duty but on the pursuit of pleasure. As Philip Rieff puts it, "Religious Man was born to be saved. Psychological Man is born to be pleased."[87]

There are hundreds of examples of this widespread argument, but I will highlight only two.[88] In Barbara Dafoe Whitehead's book, , she describes the transition "from an ethic of obligation to others and toward an obligation to self," including the "moral obligation to look after oneself," and outlines the "profound impact" this transition has had on U.S. ideas about family. The family is no longer centered on "voluntary commitment, duty, and self-sacrifice." Instead, people have come to judge "family bonds according to their capacity to promote individual fulfillment and personal growth." The family becomes "yet another domain for the expression of the unfettered self."[89]

Likewise, Sylvia Hewlett, in , derides the "search for self-fulfillment" that began with a shift to the therapeutic mentality and outlines the devastating impact of this shift on children. She writes, "Not so very long ago love meant submission to a higher loyalty. . . . This kind of love was intermingled with selflessness, even self-sacrifice. But these old-fashioned notions strike the therapeutic sensibility as oppressive nonsense, guaranteed to get in the way of personal goals and private pleasures."[90]

So, when diagnosing the systemic sickness of our culture, particularly of our families, many point a suspicious finger at the therapeutic culture. While these assessments are partially accurate, I wonder if they get at the heart of the problems facing many U.S. families. Think again about the dual-income families described above and the ones you know in your extended families, religious communities, and workplaces. Do they fit this pattern?

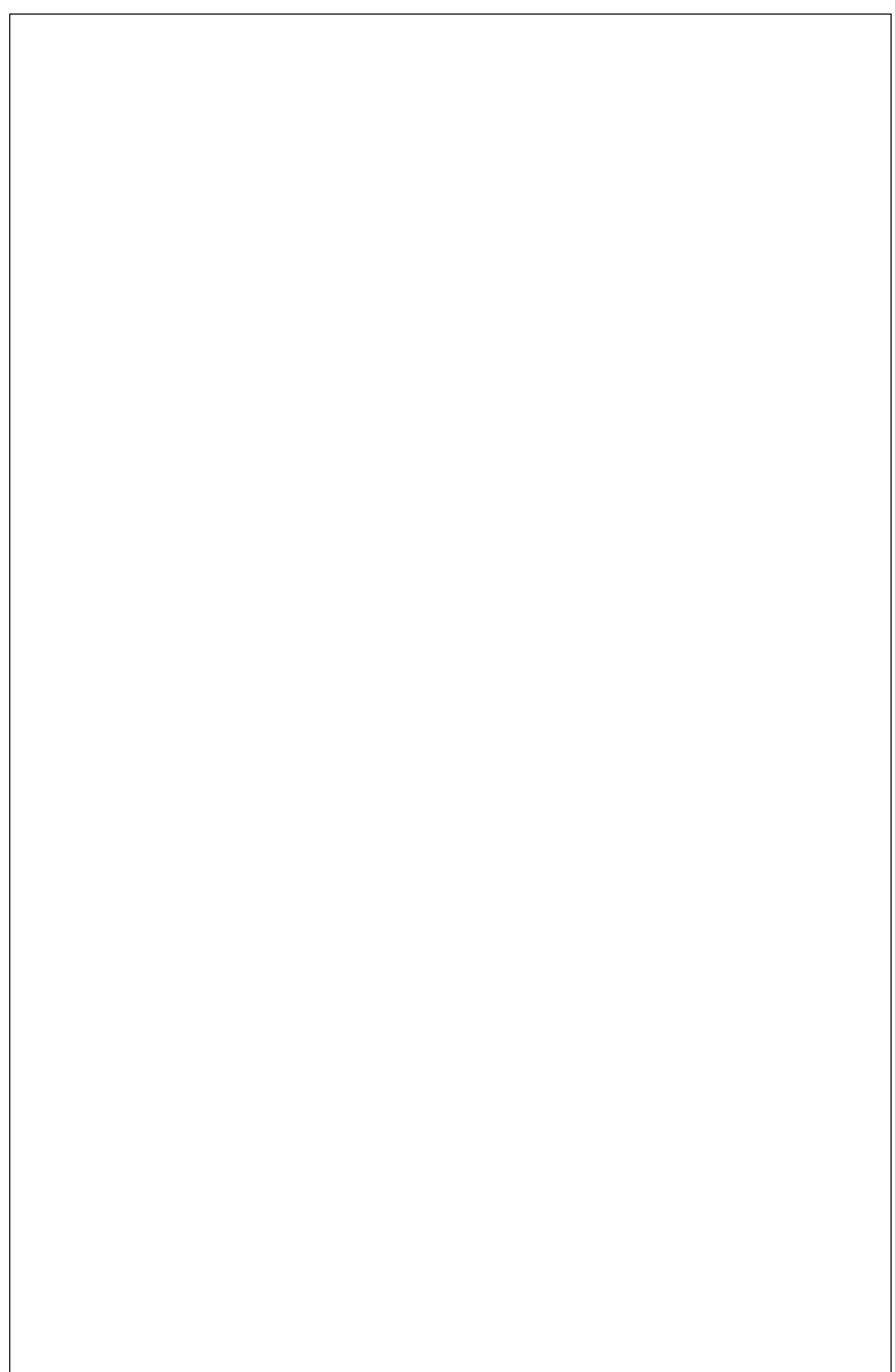
Have they, under the sway of the therapeutic culture, allowed the value of self-fulfillment and the pursuit of personal pleasure to trump the fulfillment of obligations and responsibilities to others? The parents I have described are working hard in the labor force, often

takes. We find wide-ranging discussions of the proper place of sacrificial love, mutual love (or love as equal regard), and self-love in human relationships, especially in the family.[93] These discussions of

sleep—much less for seeking after wild, gluttonous pleasures—I

responsibility for one's self. Judith Plaskow refers to "the failure to take responsibility for self-actualization," and Susan Dunfee to the "sin of hiding."[97]

What does this discussion have to do with the hectic lives of our typical working parents? Feminist theologians, Niebuhr, and others remind us to see not just the sin of the self-centered, prideful person, but also the sin of the de-centered person. Perhaps, when we look at our culture, these definitions of sin might be relevant not only, as some feminists emphasize, to the powerless, but also to the powerful. Perhaps they are as fitting for the overprivileged as for the underprivileged, as suitable for the prosperous as for the poor.[98] If my



obligations and multiple avenues for fulfillment, but with little time to reflect on the various options and responsibilities?

To Till The Ground and To Keep It: Rethinking Human Vocation

One fitting response, especially for those of us in educational and religious settings, is to think more carefully and creatively about work and vocation using the resources of our religious and moral traditions. I focus here on a few areas of work and vocation where church-related universities and other religious institutions could help to rethink and shape our ways of working and our ideas about work.

First, church-related universities and other religious institutions could help their members (especially their younger members) and their larger communities to rethink employed work as vocation, as a way that humans participate in God's work in the world. Mission and service are not just the voluntary, extra things we do, but they can encompass our everyday jobs. I have been delighted to learn of the many new programs for students on work as vocation in colleges and universities across the country.

There are important religious resources for this reflection on work. We read in the creation story in the first chapters of Genesis that God works to create and maintain the world, and that God creates humans for work, "to till the ground and keep it." (Genesis 2:15) The ancient Christian Symeon the New Theologian, commenting on this passage, writes that humans were created "with a nature inclined to work . . . a natural bent for work."[99] Protestants and Catholics alike now see ordinary work, not just religious work in the church, as vocation or calling. Young people today will give a huge portion of their lives to their employment. It is crucial that church-related universities and communities of faith offer them resources for understanding their work on the job as vocation and for thinking carefully about the kind of work they will choose.[100]

Even the work of students and scholars can be holy work. Simone Weil writes of the way that ordinary study—conjugating verbs and working out mathematical problems—is a practice in spiritual attentiveness. She writes, "every school exercise . . . is like a

sacrament. . . . Paradoxical as it seems, a Latin prose or a geometry problem, even though they are done wrong . . . can one day make us better able to give someone in affliction exactly the help required to save him, at the supreme moment of his need." Philip Zaleski and Paul Kaufman reflect on Weil's claim. "As Weil sees it, schoolwork constitutes an exercise in attention. The memorization of grammar charts, the unraveling of geometry problems, the deciphering of an obscure Latin ode: each of these mundane assignments demands attention. . . . Attention is the essence of love, for it allows us to see our neighbor with empathy. Attention is the essence of prayer, for to pray is to attend with all our being to God. Weil's observations on schoolwork can easily be extended to any work carried out with loving attention, for all such work enlarges heart and soul; thus the famous Benedictine monastic saying, ('to work is to pray')."[101] In the end, that very attentiveness, whether learned by conjugating verbs, cooking dinner, or reading a manuscript, is the heart of faithful, loving presence.

Of course, as we uplift ordinary work as service and vocation, we can easily go too far. Our culture has an exalted view of employed work. It is the center of life in capitalist culture (and communist, too, for that matter) and is often the defining piece of who we are. If, as I am arguing, an underlying problem of our culture is that people tend to lose themselves and any vision of a larger center of value by overfocusing on finite activities, like work, then raising the value of work can never be the ultimate solution.

So, not only do we draw on scriptural, theological, and moral themes that exalt work as participation in God's work in the world, we

Some ancient Christians claimed these punishments from God on Adam and Eve were a way of keeping humans in check, a "curb" to prevent their "further running riot," and a constant reminder of their disobedience.[103] The punishment of pain in human work, according to Chrysostom, provides "continual guidance in keeping to limits and recognizing your own makeup."[104]

This ancient ambivalence about work is not foreign to many of us today who sometimes recognize this "curse" of work. In a recent essay on the oddities of modern work life and the joy of the Sabbath, Martha Mendelsohn writes, "In this long post-Eden stretch, the punishment has become the prize. Lack of a work ethic is not the problem: the temptation is to spend all our time working. Stalked by technology, snared by our own creations, we have become our own worst taskmasters. We work late and work out weekends, honing our bodies, dulling our souls. Overtime is the norm. 'I am still at the office!' boasts a friend one Friday night at 10, in the tone she might have used in the past to announce she was in Paris or Hawaii. We worship a new idol: the God of Work. Should we relive the Exodus each Passover only to re-enslave ourselves the rest of the year?"[105]

Many scriptural references are not so much negative as simply pragmatic or realistic. By working, we are able to feed our families and ourselves and to care for the poor. Here, work is not exalted as the center of life, but as a prudential means to provide the necessities for one's household and for those in need. In the larger vision of Scripture it is not work but faithfulness or devotion to God that is the proper center of one's life. So, while rethinking work as vocation or as human calling to participate in God's work in the world, one also can affirm a more realistic view of work so that one not only thinks big about work as vocation, but also thinks little about work as one small but necessary part of life—a life whose ultimate end is found in God.

One religious resource for rethinking work in this smaller way is the book of Ecclesiastes. The writer of Ecclesiastes notes repeatedly that work, along with other human pursuits, is fleeting. He asks, "What do people gain from all the toil at which they toil under the sun?" (Ecclesiastes 1:3) The answer is, "not much." Work is vanity. This Hebrew word, , often translated as vanity, absurdity, or meaninglessness, means "vapor." The Anchor Bible reads, "Vapor of vapors. All is vapor." Poof! Human work is fleeting.

Ecclesiastes writes again and again about the fleeting nature of human work but also insists again and again, nine times, that work is a good gift from God that brings pleasure. He writes, “I know that there is nothing better for them than to be happy and enjoy themselves as long as they live; moreover, it is God’s gift that all should eat and drink and take pleasure in all their toil.” (Ecclesiastes 3:12-13) Human work is not ultimate. It is always fleeting—a vapor. And yet, for Ecclesiastes, our work is not bad. On the contrary, work is a gift from God, and it, along with eating and drinking, is pleasure.

We see both in Scripture and in our culture, then, a tension. On the one hand, work is a part of our nature and our connection with God and God’s purpose for us. And yet, the stories of the fall remind us that our work is toil and pain, and this toil reminds of our separation from God and the loss of what was intended for us. Ecclesiastes, for

parents would make more money.[107] Children's concern for money and material goods and their keen ability to read status from consumer goods have not emerged by accident. Not only have they learned by example, watching the larger culture around them, but they, along with the rest of us, are also now targets of specific marketing designed to increase their desire for consumer goods.

One of the ironies of the recent flaps over violence and sex on television is that so little is said about another danger—the intentional cultivation of desire—what many of 44 (o) 25 (nou0 44 (call) -44 (w

How do we help parents, or the people among us who may someday be parents, rethink their notions of the roles and responsibilities of parents in providing not only for the material needs of their children but also for their spiritual and moral training? By reminding people that parenting is vocation or religious calling, we can help them to remember the centrality of spiritual and moral formation in parenting. So, we need, in part, a higher sense of the work of parenting as vocation or calling with spiritual and moral ends.

But that is not the whole story. We also need a lower, more realistic view of parenting.

Yes, it is important for parents to focus on their children, but they can also overdo it or do it in the wrong ways. If an underlying tendency in our culture is to lose ourselves in finite activities and things outside of ourselves, then perhaps we face the danger of over-focusing on our children.[109] I hear anecdotal reports from teachers that many parents are now inappropriately invested in their children, intervening about their children's grades and assignments in ways that were less common even a few years ago. Many professors have told me stories of parents calling up to complain about the grade their 19 or 20-year-old son or daughter made on an exam.

Some have suggested that this overinvestment comes from our loss of community and meaning beyond the child. If the traditional saying goes "It takes a village to raise a child," the contemporary reality may often be that, in the absence of a village, the child becomes our village—our source of community and of meaning, and the focus of our attention and our aspirations.[110]

Perhaps this line of thinking helps explain the phenomenon of parental violence and other misbehavior at children's sporting events. Some parents may be overly invested in their children and in their children's success precisely because they have lost touch with the ordinary social communities that not only would have provided support for the families and children, but would also have provided a larger frame of reference—and especially with religious communities that would have provided a much larger frame of reference and center of value.

The irony, then, is that, at some point, parent's overinvestment in or overidentification with their children is bad for the children. It is

good for children to see that they are not the center of the world and

ing public, community goods and toward valuing private, personal goods.[112]

Robert Putnam asks similar questions when he looks at changes in civic and social involvement in the last half of the 20th century.[113] The generations born earlier in the century had high levels of civic engagement, much higher levels than the generations of Boomers and Xers that come after them, and

Counselor and self-help author Michelle Weiner-Davis objected to

it becomes very difficult to imagine how we might reorient our lives, or reshape desire, or understand our other work in the light of our ultimate vocation. To reflect on the chaos of our overwork, the frantic pace of our time, and the strange disorder of our lives in any thoughtful and transformative way takes time. And that is precisely what we do not have.

To rethink work and vocation and to reorient our lives, we must renew the Sabbath. Our captivity to work will only be broken in moments of rest in the presence of God, who not only frees us from captivity to distorted desire and to addiction but also puts in human hearts a desire for a life of freedom in God. We renew the Sabbath as a participation in the cycle of rest initiated by God in creation and given to humans as divine command and gift.

Abraham Heschel, in his book , criticizes Philo, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher of the first century, for his understanding of the Sabbath. Philo, responding to Roman charges that the Jewish practice of the Sabbath was a sign of sloth, argues, to the contrary, that the Sabbath refreshes the worker for more work. Heschel counters that Philo's claim about the Sabbath is not the point of the Sabbath at all. Heschel writes, "To the biblical mind . . . labor is the means toward an end, and the Sabbath as a day of rest, as a day of abstaining from toil, is not for the purpose of recovering one's lost strength and becoming fit for the forthcoming labor. The Sabbath is a day for the sake of life. Man is not a beast of burden, and the Sabbath is not for the purpose of enhancing the efficiency of his work. . . . The Sabbath is not for the sake of the weekdays; the weekdays are for the sake of the Sabbath. It is not an interlude, but the climax of living."[116]

Perhaps we are not beasts of burden. Like my grandfather, we may reach a point, at the end of our work, when we shake our heads and say, "That's all a human can do"—or even better, "That is what a human is to do." The Sabbath rest is what we were made for. "It is a day for the sake of life. . . . It is not an interlude, but the climax of living."

The Sabbath is not to be observed for some pragmatic, instrumental purpose or simply for personal pleasure. It is not a short burst of leisure—a weekend for Miller time—or a break to leave us refreshed for more work. And yet, by honoring the Sabbath for itself,

for the sake of life, we might just stand a chance of remembering who we are and returning to work not simply refreshed for the grind, but with a renewed sense of a higher calling and higher allegiance that reorients all work and all of life. Perhaps, then, we will know how to work and live not like mules or horses, but like humans.

A Personal Postscript

As you have probably gathered, this subject is not just a matter of scholarly interest for me. My husband and I, the parents of two preschool daughters, are familiar with many of the same problems that bedevil other working families. We were not always so typical.

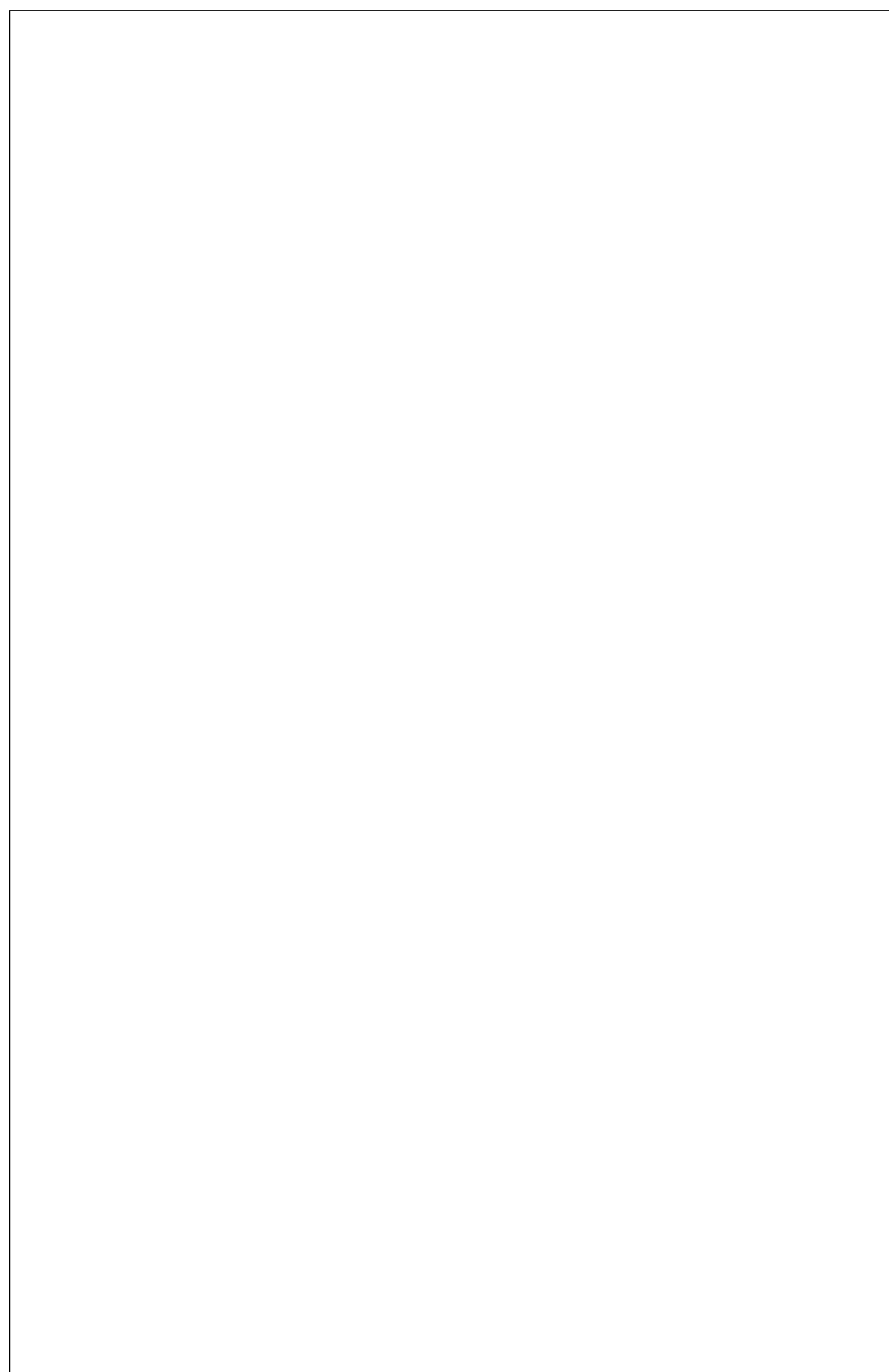
After marrying 21 years ago, we spent the 1980s out of sync with the trends of our culture. In the first half of the decade of greed, we

Anna's baptism, as at the baptism of Katherine and hosts of other little Methodist babies, we joined the congregation, saying, "We will so order our lives after the example of Christ that this child, surrounded by steadfast love, shall be established in the faith and confirmed and strengthened in the way that leads to life eternal." Standing there at the altar holding our daughter and surrounded by family, friends, and our church family, we began to think seriously about what it would mean to "order our lives" so that our child, now our children, would be "established in the faith." My husband, Len, left his job as a hospital chaplain to become a full-time dad and is now also in a part-time training program in spiritual formation and direction. I made a commitment to reduce my hours and slow my writing timetable. (My book on work and family would have been finished long ago if I had no family—except, of course, that I never would have started the thing or had much interest in these issues if I had no family!)

With Katherine's birth, chaos was added to chaos and joy to joy. I hate to admit that, given the chaos of our lives and the tastes buds of our girls, we have reverted back to a diet of macaroni and cheese. All these years of married life spanned by love, faithfulness, tender memories, and the same old bad food. (And, come to think of it, with all the dishes we have broken lately, frisbees are looking better and better!)

We changed our patterns of work, but I have found it difficult to carry the changes through. The work ethic of my grandmother took a little too well. Most days I "never let it rest." I wake up early and work hard, but it is never enough. I am always behind on my job. And my children miss me when I am not home and miss my full presence when I am home but preoccupied with thoughts of work. At the end of the day, I often shake my head and echo the words and weariness of my grandfather, "That's all a mule can do." And I wonder "What am I to do?" "How should a human work?"

Every time we baptize a little baby at our church and every time I think about our girls' baptisms, I wonder: How can we "order our lives" so that my children and all children—including the grown ones like us—are "surrounded by steadfast love?" Work is an ongoing struggle in my life. For me it is not just a mathematical problem about



Endnotes

1 For the use of balancing language, see, for example, Daphne Spain and Suzanne Bianchi, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996); Melissa Milke and Pia Peltola, “Playing all the Roles: Gender and the Work-Family Balancing Act,” 61 (May 1999): 476-490; and Douglas Hall and J. Richter, “Balancing Work and Home Life: What Can Organizations Do to Help?” 11 (1988): 213-23.

2 For a discussion of common metaphors used to describe this “balance,” see Ellen Galinsky, “Navigating: A New Concept,” (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1999), 223-25.

3 See, for example, Faye Crosby,

more significant factor. Juliet Schor, (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

7 See for example, Hannah Arendt, (Chicago: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958); Jacques Ellul, “Work and Calling,” in , ed. J. Holloway and W. Campbell (New York: Paulist Press, 1974), 18-44; Abraham Heschel, (HarperCollins Canada Ltd., 1951); Leland Ryken, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House Company, 1995); Miroslav Volf, (New York: Oxford

tion on work, service workers in our contemporary economy are compared to empty handed hunters who must feign exhaustion to prove their effort because they do not produce an obvious product that proves their hard work. Haight, "Padded Prowess."

13 F. Minirth et al, (Chicago: Moody Press, 1986), 83.

14 David Briggs, "Clergy are Workaholics," at www.webedelic.com/church/clergyworkf.htm. This study was also reported in .

15 The Families and Work Institute, "Feeling Overworked: When Work Becomes too Much, Executive Summary."

16 Schor, , 22, and Ryken, , 41.

17 For more on changing sleep patterns, including the affect of overwork on sleep, see Schor, , 11 or 22; Catherine Golub, "Sleep-Starved Americans: How To Keep Your Body Clock On Schedule," 23 (October 2000): 1.

18 Terence Kealey, "Slaves to the Status," 163 (July 10, 1999): 53.

19 The National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 6. See

statistics on the percentage of fathers employed.)

33 The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 2.

34 Ibid., 8.

35 Hochschild, , 6.

36 Barnett and Rivers, , 105.

37 The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 6 and Galinsky, , 61.

38 Hochschild, , 236, and Galinsky, .

39 The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 2 and 5-6.

40 Galinsky, , 141, 143, and Hochschild, , 199.

41 A brief summary of the effects of day care and maternal employment on young children can be found in Galinsky, , 51-57. Also, it is interesting to note that 55% of children in dual-wage households are cared for not by child care workers but by family members. The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 6. See also Melanie Brown-Lyons, Anne Robertson, and Jean Layzer, (New York: National Center for Children in Poverty, 2001, found at http://cpmcnet.columbia.edu:80/dept/nccp/kithkin.html, April 2002).

42 Galinsky, , 16.

43 Hochschild, , 224, 10; Sylvia Hewlett, (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 84.

44 For a more complete examination of the gender gap in housework see Francine Deutsch, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Arlie Hochschild, (New York: Viking, 1989); The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary; Barnett and Rivers, , 175-88; Suzanne Bianci, Melissa Milkie, Liana Sayer, and John Robinson, “Is Anyone Doing the Housework? Trends in the Gender Division of Household Labor,” 79 (September 2000): 191.

45 Deutsch, , 252.

46 Paul Bauman, “You atTT6 (34) -867(Ibidain1.) (ChanginDeutscChangin 653 (gap)k?97 50

53 The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 6.

54 Hochschild, , 83.

55 From $6.7 billion in 1980 to $17.5 billion in 1995. Hochschild, , 217.

56 Ryken, , 67.

57 Hochschild, , 221-29.

58 Ibid., 229. Looking at the statistics on how working parents are spending their time, I am more skeptical that parents are practicing emotional asceticism with their children. They seem to be spending much of their available non-working hours with their children at a cost to time as individuals and couples. Emotional ascetisism in relation to self and spouse does not seem to fit the statistics.

59 Galinsky, , 88. Note that this is a small percentage of children—14%—who think the time with dads is "very rushed." Another 23% felt that the time with dad was "somewhat rushed."

60 Ibid., 88-89 and 173-77. Galinsky found kids who felt that their time with their fathers was rushed rated their fathers lower on "appreciating me for who I am" and "being someone I can go to when I am upset."

61 Schor claims that the decline in civic engagement is linked with rising work hours. Putnam sees increased work hours as one small part of the problem.

62 Juliet Schor, (New York: HarperCollins, 1998), 113.

63 Ibid.

64 Hochschild, , 199-200.

65 The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce, Executive Summary, 8, and Alan L. Saltzstein, Yuan Ting, Grace Hall Saltzstein, "Work-Family Balance and Job Satisfaction: The Impact of Family-Friendly Policies on Attitudes of Federal Government Employees," 61 (July 2001): 453.

66 American Association of University Women, "Survey finds work and family demands increasing," 16 (August 27, 2001): 7B.

67 Several authors have noted the failure of many working parents to use these policies. See, for example, Saltzstein, Ting, Hall Saltzstein, "Work-Family Balance and Job Satisfaction;" Hochschild, , 26ff; Ann Vincola, "Cultural Change is the Work-Life Solution," , October 1998, 70-73.

69 Hochschild, , 40-41. See also, Galinsky, , 170-71, and Barnett and Rivers, . Putnam claims that workers' sense of satisfaction on the job declined in the late 1990s, and that they were happier off the job than on the job. Putnam, , 91.

70 Hochschild, , 44. See also Hochschild, , 35-52. Hochschild's claim has been widely criticized. Galinsky, for example, insists, contra Hochschild, that in her studies workers experience greater stress at work than at home. Parents report feeling "very stressed" by work 4 times as often as they do feeling very stressed by care for their children. Galinsky, , 158.

71 Galinsky, , 168-97. See also Barnett and Rivers, .

72 See Barbara Ehrenreich, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001). For more on this topic, see Christine Hinze's unpublished work on family and the living wage and many Web sites on current initiatives to enact a living wage. This paper focuses more heavily on middle-class families. The issues themselves, however, are highly relevant for poorer families. This subject will be addressed more fully in other parts of the project.

73 Schor, , 72.

74 Ibid., 20.

75 Ibid.

76 "What Women Want," , October 1, 2001, 48.

77 Schor, , 14.

78 Ibid., 6-7.

79 Ibid., 15-17.

80 Ibid., 18.

81 Ibid., 74-83.

82 Ibid., 80.

83 Ibid., 48-54.

84 Ibid., 51.

85 Ibid., 83.

86 Robert Wuthnow, "Pious Materialism: How Americans View Faith and Money," , March 3, 1993, 239-42.

87 Quoted by William Kilpatrick in "Faith & Therapy," no. 90 (February 1999): 21. Note that there are differences in Rieff, Lasch, Bellah. This composite argument that I describe above is quite common in academic and popular discussions.

88 In word searches on Infotrac in the spring of 2001, I found 144 articles that addressed "therapeutic culture," along with many others on therapeutic society, therapeutic ethos, and therapeutic mentality. These references are quite common, especially in the last five years. While this criticism of the therapeutic mentality has been associated with neoconservatives, it is in wider use now.

89 Barbara Dafoe Whitehead,

90 Sylvia Hewlett, (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 105-06.

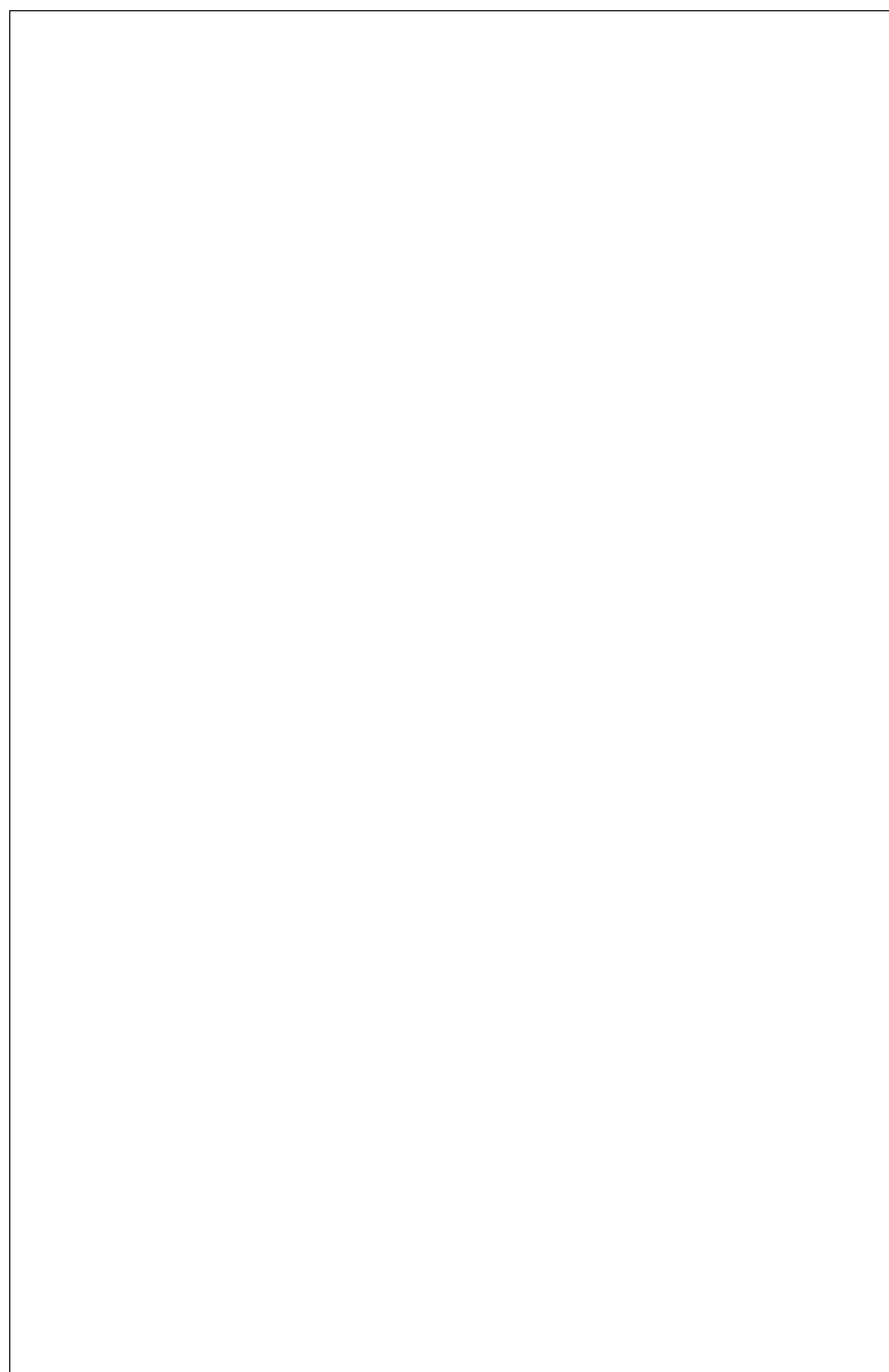
91 Miles, , 36.

92 H.L. Mencken, "The Divine Afflatus," (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1920), 158.

93 See, for example, Browning and his co-authors with their focus on mutual love and equal regard within the family. Browning, .

94 See, for example, Reinhold Niebuhr, Vol. 1, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), 185ff.

95 See, for example, Daphne Hampson, "Reinhold Niebuhr on Sin: A Critique,"



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