ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	WE HAVE A PARTNER HIRE SITUATION: THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIVES OF DUAL-CAREER ACADEMIC COUPLES
	Dawn Culpepper, Doctor of Philosophy, 2021
Dissertation Directed by:	KerryAnn O'Meara, Professor Department of Counseling, Special Education, and Higher Education

Institutions have a well-established set of strategies from which they can draw to support the recruitment of dual-career academic couples, or faculty who are married/partnered to other faculty members. Thus, some might expect that the "two-body problem" is solved, or at the very least, improving. However, there is mixed evidence when it comes to evaluating whether dual-career support policies have in fact eased the challenges dual-career academic couples face during the recruitment process. Many dual-career academic couples do not use the formal policies available or do not find them to be helpful, which suggests that, even with dual-career support programs in place, the challenges facing dual-career academic couples remain similar to those observed 20 years ago. As such, dual-career academic couples not only continue to live apart or make career trade-offs to live together but are at risk for opting out of academia altogether, thereby contributing to the lack of women faculty members in American higher education institutions. Evaluations of the efficacy of dual-career support programs likewise show

mixed evidence in whether universities that implemented policies have actually moved the needle on the number of women in faculty roles. Some institutions have experienced success in recruiting dual-career academic couples and thus increased the number of women faculty in certain fields. Yet, men faculty in different gender relationships are more likely to negotiate for dual-career accommodations compared to women faculty and more likely to be the "initial hire," or more likely to be the partner who is recruited by the institution. In other words, although dual-career support programs were intended to facilitate the recruitment of women faculty as the "initial hire," there is some evidence that men in different gender dual-career academic couples may be the partners who benefit from such policies.

This study examines how dual-career academic couples who work at the same institution navigate their personal and professional lives. Drawing from 53 interviews with individual faculty members and academic leaders, I use a multiple, embedded case study of couples (*N*=16) at three research universities to examine the challenges dual-career academic couples encounter and the strategies they use to navigate these challenges. I consider how aspects of identity and status (i.e., gender, race, rank/employment type, and partner hire status), organizations, and field and society shape their experiences. Using the guiding theories of agency and intersectionality, I explored the challenges they encountered and the strategies that they used to adapt to those challenges. I also described the ways that work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture influenced couples' personal and professional lives, as well as aspects of identity and status.

The challenges and strategies couples encountered were nested within the context of interactive individual/shared, organizational, and field and societal influences. The key challenges couples experienced were finding two, professional satisfying jobs at the same institution or in the same locale; negotiating whose career was considered the "lead," navigating

the dual-career hiring process and the consequences of being the second hire; working together (as collaborators and/or department colleagues); and managing work-life demands, particularly in the context of the pandemic. Couples acted with agency and used agentic perspectives to navigate these challenges, including prioritizing staying together; internally adjusting and recalibrating career and personal priorities; aligning their expectations about what constitutes "work-life integration"; exchanging capital; and having empathy and understanding for one another. Couples engaged in small and large acts of agentic resistance, for example, resisting traditional gender norms or expectations related to being a "good academic." On the other hand, aspects of organizational policies and culture, and field and societal norms and expectations also constrained the actions and perspectives available to couples.

WE HAVE A PARTNER HIRE SITUATION: THE PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL LIVES OF DUAL-CAREER ACADEMIC COUPLES

by

Dawn Kiyoe Culpepper

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2021

Advisory Committee:

Professor KerryAnn O'Meara, Chair
Professor Kimberly Griffin
Professor Linda Steiner
Professor Bridget Turner Kelly
Professor Lisa Wolf-Wendel

© Copyright by
Dawn Kiyoe Culpepper
2021

Dedication

For Henry, my sunshine, my everything. And for Michael, who gave me everything.

Acknowledgements

Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara, my chair, has been a mentor, collaborator, constructive critic, colleague, and friend throughout this process. It is impossible to explain in words all the things I have learned from her and the personal, professional, and academic support she has given me over the years. Thank you for pushing me, believing in me, and trusting me to work with you.

I am deeply appreciative of all the members of my committee, women who have shaped my scholarly thinking in so many ways. Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly has been a mentor and supporter in my dissertation and personal and professional life. Dr. Kimberly Griffin has been a trusted advisor, role model, and supporter. I am deeply appreciative of Dr. Lisa Wolf-Wendel, whose expertise on the topic of dual-career couples was pivotal. Finally, I thank Dr. Linda Steiner, who has been a professional mentor to me for many years, for stepping in as a committee member.

I am additionally thankful for the many opportunities that mentors and colleagues Dr. Audrey Jaeger, Dr. Andrew Lounder, Dr. Damani White-Lewis, Dr. Sharon Fries-Britt, and Dr. Joya Misra have provided over the years.

I am grateful to all of my cohort mates, classmates, and the Thursday morning writing group. I am particularly thankful for friends Dr. Lindsey Templeton, Future Dr. Lauren Norris, Dr. Michael Goodman, and Dr. Courtney Lennartz for always being in my corner.

There is a critical group of women who have supported me at the lowest lows and highest highs of this process and many others. Carla Mike (and Andrew), Rachel Centariczki, Megan Claar, Kristen Thornhill, and Laura Jones-Morrison are wonder women, and being in their presence has made me a better scholar, friend, teacher, and mother in so many ways.

My parents, Iris and Cully Culpepper should receive honorary doctoral degrees for the infinite support they have provided, including, but certainly not limited to, becoming major caregivers for an energetic and opinionated one-year old during a pandemic. Anything I have accomplished is a testament to their love, true partnership, and modeling of commitment to family and careers. I'm also very fortunate to have the support of the Yamamoto family, Lori, Craig, and Flora (aka the grapes), and the Petersen family.

My partner and husband Michael started this doctoral journey with me many years ago. During this time, we moved in together, got engaged and then married, moved twice, got a dog and then had a baby, and weathered a global pandemic. Michael's unwavering love and confidence in me and our family is my bedrock, in every way I could think to name.

Table of Contents

Dedication ii
Acknowledgements iii
Table of Contents v
List of Tables viii
List of Figures ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1
  Problem Statement 13
  Purpose 14
  Significance 15
  Definitions 18
  Overview of Dissertation 19
CHAPTER 2: GUIDING CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE 21
  Intersectionality 21
  Faculty Agency 28
  Agency with an Intersectional Lens 35
Literature Review 38
  Prevalence of Dual-Career Academic Couples 39
  Individual Influences 43
  Shared Influences 46
  Organizational Influences 57
  Field and Society Influences 75
  Outcomes 78
CHAPTER 3: METHODS 89
  Purpose and Research Questions 89
  Guiding Research Perspectives 90
  Positionality 91
  Research Design 94
  Data Sources 105
  The Impact of COVID-19 110
  Participants 111
  Data Analysis 112
  Rigor and Trustworthiness 114
  Limitations 116
CHAPTER 4: WITHIN CASE FINDINGS 122
Case 1: Dunder Mifflin University 123
  Robert and Roy 125
  Erin and Andy 132
  Charles and Val 140
  Oscar and Holly 147
Case 2: Vance University 154

Jim and Pam ... 156
Dwight and Angela ... 162
Kevin and Stacy ... 169
Ryan and Kelly ... 177
Stanley and Madge ... 184
Michael and Jan ... 190
Case 3: Sabre University ... 195
Toby and Teri ... 198
Hank and Katy ... 209
Meredith and Phillip ... 217
Hunter and Helene ... 225
Clark and Phyllis ... 232
Creed and Jo ... 239
CHAPTER 5: CROSS-CASE FINDINGS ... 250
Individual and Shared Influences ... 251
Career Primacy ... 252
Beliefs and Attitudes ... 256
Formal and Informal Collaborations ... 262
Capital ... 265
Organizational Influences ... 267
Policies and Resources ... 267
Leadership ... 286
Climate ... 290
Norms and Expectations ... 301
Field and Society ... 313
Norms in Parenting and Caregiving ... 314
Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations ... 318
The Role of Family in Priorities and Ambitions ... 320
Family Considerations in Mobility ... 322
Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity ... 325
The Academic Labor Market ... 327
Summary ... 328
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION ... 332
Discussion of Key Findings ... 333
Implications ... 345
Implications for Theory ... 345
Implications for Policy and Practice ... 351
Implications for Future Research ... 354
Conclusion ... 356
APPENDIX A: PROTOCOLS ... 358
APPENDIX B: MEMO OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS ... 367
APPENDIX C: CODEBOOK ... 372

References 378

List of Tables

Table 1 99
Table 2 104
Table 3 105
Table 4 119
Table 5 120
Table 6 121
Table 7 329

List of Figures

Figure 1 28
Figure 2 37
Figure 3 107
Figure 4. .... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Dual-career academic couples, or couples where both partners are or seek to be faculty members, have been a presence on campuses since the beginning of the modern-day university. There are famous examples, like Marie and Pierre Curie and Margaret Mead and Gregory Batesman, couples who contributed to the development of what we now know about fields like chemistry, anthropology, and sociology (Rosser, 2004a; Stephan & Kassis, 1997; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000, 2003). Other couples, perhaps less notable in the popular imagination, have also made an indelible mark on their own campuses, disciplines and fields, and society. For example, Bonita and Preston Valien, both sociologists, studied educational desegregation efforts in the southern United States as faculty members at Fisk University in the 1950s and 1960s (Perkins, 1997; Valien, 1954, 1956). Michelle Gibson and Deborah Meem, professors of English and Women's Studies at the University of Cincinnati, have greatly contributed to research on queer identity theory (e.g., Gibson et al., 2013; Gibson & Meem, 2011). In the field of higher education, Helen and Alexander Astin worked at the University of California Los Angeles for over 40 years. Together, they were the forerunners in examining the role of spirituality in college student lives (Astin et al., 2010) and led UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute, creating national student and faculty surveys still used by hundreds of campuses. Likewise, at Miami University, Marcia Baxter Magolda pioneered research on student self-authorship (Baxter Magolda & King, 2012) while partner Peter Magolda explored topics such as campus rituals (Magolda, 2000) and ethnographic research in student affairs research (Magolda, 1999).

In other words, dual-career academic couples are nothing new. For decades, these couples have contributed to the creation of knowledge as both individual faculty members and sometimes also as collaborative teams (Astin & Milem, 1997; Creamer, 2001; Gibson & Meem,

2011; Perkins, 1997; Stephan & Kassis, 1997). Recently, however, understanding the experiences of dual-career academic couples has become an important topic for research and practice because of their link to faculty recruitment and retention. In the 1990s and early 2000s, researchers found dual-career academic couples represented a growing percentage of the professoriate, with 35% to 40% of faculty members indicating their partner was also an academic (Astin & Milem, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008). The rise in the number of dual-career academic couples is primarily due to the growing number of women attaining PhDs and transitioning into faculty roles. Women faculty members, particularly in sciences, are more likely to be a member of a dual-career academic couple than men (Astin & Milem, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Sonnert & Holton, 1995). Thus, the issue of dual-career academic couples is intrinsically tied to the larger concern over gender equity in academia and STEM fields in particular.

Academic couples are often highly productive and collaborative (Creamer, 2001) but frequently face unique challenges in navigating career success, particularly with regards to finding jobs in the same location (Creamer, 2001; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). That is, with the rise of dual-career academic couples, it is no longer the case that faculty members have “trailing spouses” who can easily pick up and move when the next academic position became available (Shoben, 1997). Because of these challenges, dual-career academic couples frequently live in different cities or commute long distances to maintain their professional careers (Baker, 2004; Lindemann, 2017; Magnuson & Norem, 1999; Sallee, 2019, Sallee & Lewis, 2020; Yakaboski, 2016), often placing strain on their personal relationships.

The cumulative effect of these forces led researchers to summarize the issues faced by dual-career academic couples as the “two-body problem.” This metaphor, borrowed from physics, a field where dual-career academic couples are historically prominent (McNeil & Sher,

1999), highlights the challenges associated with navigating life when both partners are members of the professoriate. Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003) quoted NASA astronomer Margaret Thaller, who described the phenomenon in 2002:

> As when body orbits the other, it tugs gravitationally on its partner, altering the original orbit. Then the second body does the same. In the end, there's this give-and-take of a dance, as each body influences the other, constantly changing its path. The bigger, more massive body moves the least…the smaller body has to careen all over the place, trying to find the right place to fit into the co-orbit. (p. 1)

In light of these findings, many institutions have created dual-career support programs and policies as a mechanism not only to increase institutional competitiveness for top faculty (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000, 2003), but also as a means to increase their ability to recruit the top *women* faculty. With funding from the National Science Foundation's ADVANCE program (McMahon et al., 2018), many research institutions have adopted these formal and informal policies through the 2000s and into today (Kmec et al., 2015; Laursen & Austin, 2020; McCluskey et al., n.d.; McMahon et al., 2018). For example, institutions like the University of Wisconsin Madison[1], the University of Michigan[2], and Virginia Tech University[3] have created dual-career assistance programs specifically designed to help faculty with academic partners locate positions. Likewise, several higher education and disciplinary associations now offer guidance on best practices for departments and institutions considering dual-career academic supports (AAUP, 2010; American Philosophical Association, 2010; Fisher, 2015; Putnam et al., 2017).

However, there is mixed evidence when it comes to evaluating whether dual-career support policies have in fact eased the challenges dual-career academic couples face during the

---

[1] https://facstaff.provost.wisc.edu/dual-career-couple-assistance-program/
[2] https://www.provost.umich.edu/programs/dual_career/
[3] https://www.hr.vt.edu/jobs/dual-career.html

recruitment process. Only two-thirds of institutions have a publicly advertised dual-career support program and even fewer institutions have established formal programming (Kmec et al., 2015; McCluskey et al., 2015). Many dual-career academic couples do not use the formal policies available or do not find them to be helpful (Kmec et al., 2015; Schulz et al., 1997). Recent opinion pieces, blog posts, and advice columns published in outlets like *Inside Higher Ed* and the *Chronicle of Education* (e.g., Bessette, 2012; Cano, 2019; Harter, 2011; Holmes, 2012; Jaschik, 2010, 2012; Kim, 2017, 2018; Ouellette, 2007; Rosser, 2012) suggest that, even with dual-career support programs in place, the challenges facing dual-career academic couples remain similar to those observed 20 years ago (see Baker, 2004 and Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003 for a similar list of popular press articles from the late 1990s and early 2000s). As such, dual-career academic couples not only continue to live apart or make career trade-offs to live together but are at risk for opting out of academia altogether, thereby contributing to the lack of faculty diversity in American higher education institutions (McMahon et al., 2018; Schiebinger et al., 2008).

Evaluations of the efficacy of dual-career support programs likewise show mixed evidence in whether universities that implemented policies have actually moved the needle on the number of women in faculty roles. Some institutions have experienced success in recruiting dual-career academic couples and thus increased the number of women faculty in certain fields (McMahon et al., 2018). Yet, other surveys show men faculty in different gender relationships are: (a) more likely to negotiate for dual-career accommodations compared to women faculty (Morton, 2018) and (b) more likely to be the "initial hire," or more likely to be the partner who is recruited by the institution (Loeb, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008). In other words, although dual-career support programs were intended to facilitate the recruitment of women faculty as the

"initial hire," there is some evidence that men in different gender dual-career academic couples may be the partners who benefit from such policies.

My work with faculty search committees over the last several years at a large, public research institution has made the two-body problem more apparent. As the coordinator for an inclusive hiring pilot program in the University of Maryland's ADVANCE Program, I worked with over 80 search committees in 40 disciplines. Consistent with recent studies surveying the landscape of dual-career hiring programs (Kmec et al., 2015; McCluskey et al., 2015; McMahon et al., 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), UMD's approach to dual-career hiring seemed to squarely fall into the "informal" category, with few if any formalized and/or central resources for faculty members with academic partners. Thus, as found in past research (e.g., Rivera, 2017; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), departments and their hiring committees appeared to have much power in determining if and how faculty with academic partners are recruited to the institution.

Within departments, I saw firsthand the ways in which bias and misperceptions about dual-hiring policies and academic couples influenced which candidates search committees viewed as competitive for faculty roles. Reflecting findings from research (e.g., Rivera, 2017), search committees often made the assumption that women faculty were more likely to consider their partner's career when making career choices. Like prior studies, committees were often reticent to pursue candidates, and especially women candidates, who they perceived to be less "moveable" (Rivera, 2017). Committees sometimes expressed concern about the quality of partner hires their departments made in the past, which is also consistent with the literature (Hornig, 1997; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). At the administrative level, hiring officials frequently argued the lack of institutional funds for dual-hires made recruiting women candidates impossible. Notably, administrators typically framed the lack of institutional funds for partner

hires as an issue unique to the recruitment of women faculty members, rather than interpreting the scenario as one that influences the recruitment of all faculty members. Much like some recent pieces in *Inside Higher Ed* or the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Bell, 2010; Elboute & Kimmelman, 2014; Jaschik, 2010, 2012; Kibel, 2013), administrators and/or senior faculty members sometimes cited concerns about equity and fairness. For example, the perceptions that partners were less meritorious or that a unit would not want to dedicate its already meager resources to a "partner hire" abounded.

On the other hand, as I met with faculty through ADVANCE peer networks and other programs, it became clear that many departments had been able to secure positions for partner hires – it was not impossible. Like previous studies (e.g., Blake, 2020; Kmec et al., 2015; McMahon et al., 2018; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), many department chairs found ways to re-allocate funds to help support the creation of a faculty position for a partner hire, either into the department of the initial hire or within another unit on campus and often either into a tenure-track or a non-tenure track position.

There are several plausible and potentially interrelated explanations for the discrepancy between the perception that dual-career hiring is impossible and the reality that institutions often facilitate hiring arrangements for academic couples. First, academic couples may vary in the degree to which they have agency in accessing dual-career accommodations. Studies show that faculty members in academic couples tend to heavily consider the employment options of their partner when they consider a new job opportunity (e.g., Blake, 2020; COACHE, 2018; Gardner, 2013a, 2013b; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Zhang & Kmec, 2018; Zhang et al., 2019). Yet, within the couple, each partner may have differing levels of agency which may shape the extent to which each partner is successful in advancing their career. For example, in a recent blog post,

Kim (2018) wrote about his spouse, a faculty member who had recently become "an academic rock star." The author noted that his wife's career success had afforded her access to multiple advancement opportunities, including promotions, leadership roles, and growth in her professional reputation. Thus, the author's partner accrued the requisite social capital needed to be agentic in advancing her career. Although this example shows a faculty couple wherein the woman's career had become "ascendant" (Kim, 2018), research shows that aspects of faculty member's social identities and status, including gender, race, rank/employment, and indeed partner hire status itself, play a role in agency (Baez, 2000; COACHE, 2018; Culpepper et al., 2020b; Gonzales et al., 2013; Kelly & McCann, 2019; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Sallee, 2011; Sulé, 2011). Partners from groups historically marginalized in academe, including women, faculty of color, LGBT faculty, international faculty, and non-tenure track faculty may therefore face more significant obstacles in accessing dual-career support resources that would facilitate recruitment.

Second, it is possible that search committees and administrators, particularly at institutions where dual-hire policies are not formalized, truly lack the knowledge and/or resources needed to facilitate partner hires. In small institutions or in small departments, administrators may not have the ability to create new positions (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000, 2003). Similar to studies regarding the implementation of parental leave policies (e.g., Campbell & O'Meara, 2014; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012), even the most well-intentioned department chairs may lack the agency or capital at the institutional level to negotiate for the funds necessary to secure a partner position. Research shows that ambiguous conditions such as these can foster inequity (Beddoes & Pawley, 2014; Beddoes et al., 2014; Ridgeway & Correll, 2004), wherein some dual-career academic couples will advocate more, and be more

successful, while other academic couples may lack the opportunities to do so. Aspects of social identities may shape the context within which faculty are able to advocate in ambiguous conditions (Babcock et al., 2003; Dovidio, 2001; Heilman, 2001). For instance, women faculty may be less inclined to negotiate (Babcock & Laschever, 2009; Morton, 2018), while LGBT faculty may be less likely to disclose their partner status during hiring (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009).

Lastly, departments and administrators – regardless of the partner hire's merit, quality, or potential contributions – may be resistant to hiring academic partners. Despite the many known and proven strategies institutions can use to recruit faculty members from historically marginalized groups (e.g., women or faculty or color), institutions often rationalize and attribute their lack of faculty diversity to external (e.g., pipeline, location) rather than internal forces (Blake, 2020; Gasman, 2016; Gibbs et al., 2016; Griffin, 2020; O'Meara et al., 2014). Several studies show that faculty in academic couples are often equally, if not more, productive in terms of scholarly output compared to faculty members without academic partners (Bellas, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Woolstenhulme et al., 2014), Likewise, research (e.g., McHahon et al., 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003) and my own experience shows that departments are often able to facilitate hiring for academic partners. Thus, the two-body problem is not one without solutions. However, departments may view partner hires as undermining their autonomy in hiring decisions (Hornig, 1997; Mora et al., 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003) or view the decision to hire a partner as taking away from the ability to hire a more qualified faculty member in the future (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Decentralized university structures can also serve to dilute the effectiveness of well-intentioned central policies and practices (Griffin & Muñiz, 2011; Kezar, 2001; Thomas, 2018; Tierney & Sallee, 2008). In other words, the two-body problem is

one that could be at least partially explained by the fact that the departments do not want partner hires.

These explanations have two critical implications for understanding the experiences of dual-career academic couples in higher education institutions. First, the hiring path for dual-career academic couples is one that is complicated not only because both partners need jobs. Rather, the departmental and institutional context for dual-career hiring is critical for understanding if and how institutions recruit faculty couples. Second, and importantly for this study, these explanations suggest that both members of a dual-career academic couple who come to institutions as part of a partner hire situation may experience a negative, or at least awkward, departmental environment. If it is the case that administrators and department faculty members are resistant to hiring partners, we can imagine that the climate for those who are hired is not a positive one.

Unfortunately, we know relatively little about what happens to dual-career academic couples after the institution hires them. Past research gives some clues about the barriers and facilitators of professional and personal success for dual-career academic couples after the hire. Many dual-career academic couples experience both tangible and intangible benefits from being partnered with another faculty member. Dual-career academic couples often collaborate on research projects, give each other feedback, and serve as intellectual as well as romantic partners (Austin, 2001; Creamer, 2001; Gibson & Meem, 2011; Yakaboski, 2016). Faculty members who are married (regardless of their partner's profession) are more productive than faculty who are not (Fox, 2005; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004). Much like the studies that show women faculty with children find their families to be "buoys" in times of career stress (e.g., Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2018), there is some evidence that having a partner who

understands the academic lifestyle can be critical source of support for academic couples (Blaser, 2008; Yakaboski, 2016). However, relatively few studies, and almost no recent ones, attempt to understand the personal and professional strategies dual-career academic couples use as they simultaneously advance their careers and outside of work lives.

In contrast, there is significant evidence that dual-career academic couples in the current faculty labor market can face numerous barriers that can disrupt them from leading productive and satisfactory professional and personal lives. Whereas most early studies of dual-career academic couples (e.g., Ferber & Loeb, 1997; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003) predicted a shortage of PhDs to fill tenure-track positions, today's academic job market has fewer tenure and tenure-track jobs and more contingent roles (Finkelstein et al., 2016; Hurlburt & McGarrah, 2016a, 2016b). Faculty in contingent roles experience low job stability, high workloads, and fewer resources compared to faculty in tenure and tenure-track roles (Bland et al., 2006; Kezar, 2012; Kezar & Sam, 2013; Kezar et al., 2019). The pandemic has further constrained the academic job market, with hiring freezes and lay-offs increasing the precarity and stability of faculty members regardless of position type (Anderson et al., 2020; Gould, 2020; Woolston, 2020).

This context has the potential for a direct impact on the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples. Many institutions provide dual-career accommodations by creating non-tenured or part-time faculty roles for the partner hire (Kmec et al., 2015; McCluskey et al., n.d., Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). This arrangement places academic partners into two different professional tracks with differing levels of resources and professional development and opportunities for advancement (Raabe, 1997; O'Meara et al., 2018; Waltman et al., 2012). Few studies and no recent ones examine how differences in rank and appointment status influence the experiences of dual-career academic couples.

Many studies show that faculty members encounter challenges in managing their professional lives with their personal ones (Culpepper et al., 2020b; Denson et al., 2018; Fox et al., 2011; Gibbs et al., 2016; Kachchaf et al., 2015; Kelly & Winkle-Wagner, 2017; Kelly et al., 2018; Kelly & McCann, 2014; Lester & Sallee, 2017; Mason et al., 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Reddick et al., 2012; Sallee, 2012; Sallee & Hart, 2015; Winslow, 2004) and these issues have intensified during the pandemic (Cardel et al., 2020; Clark et al., 2020; Cui et al., 2020; Deryugina et al., 2021; Gonzales & Griffin, 2020; Malisch et al., 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering & Medicine, 2021). Faculty members have experienced a general increase in workload related to the shift to virtual instruction and new demands of the "pandemic university" (e.g., putting in place safety regulations, increased advising) (Rogers, 2020; Wachorn & Heckendorf, 2020). Regardless of a pandemic, researchers show that increasing demands on faculty time creates work-life conflict (Fox et al., 2011; Misra et al., 2012), which can push faculty members away from academic careers in favor of those which facilitate greater personal and professional integration (Gibbs et al., 2016).

Further, in the wake of pandemic-related school and daycare closures, faculty members with children have experienced strain and stress as they try to be full-time caregivers and full-time faculty (Crook, 2020; Gewin, 2020; Fulweiler et al., 2020; Woitowich et al., 2020). Studies show that couples who encounter external stressors, such as a global pandemic, experience lower relationship quality and increased life-to-work conflict (Musick et al., 2016; Montaudon-Tomas et al., 2020; Pietromanco & Overall, 2020; Schmid et al, 2020). These issues may be more problematic for dual-career academic couples in that both members of the couple face increasing workloads while still attempting to achieve their personal goals (Sallee, 2019; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019; Yakaboski, 2016). However, work-life stress may unevenly shape the lives and careers of

partners within dual-career academic couples. For instance, a 2014 article in *Inside Higher Ed* by an anonymous social scientist in a dual-career academic couple summarized this tension. She wrote:

> For a long time after getting hired, I did the bulk of the household labor. I stayed home when the kid was sick, was on homework duty, planted and weeded the flower beds, shopped, planned meals, and cooked. It didn't matter that I had the exact same job title as my partner or that our tenure expectations were the same. I convinced myself that he needed the time to work and that my work was less important. Being a spousal hire became a self-fulfilling prophecy. In many ways I had a more balanced life than my partner did, but I was making tenure a more elusive goal.

The pandemic has served to increase gender gaps in caregiving and domestic responsibilities like the ones described in this quote (Barroso, 2021; Calarco et al., 2020; Carlson et al., 2020; Crook, 2020; Craig & Churchill, 2020; Gewin, 2020; Krukowski et al., 2020; Myers et al., 2020; Woitowich et al., 2020). For instance, a recent study of 20,000 academics showed that all faculty members with children lost research time due to increases in caregiving, but the effect was doubled for women and particularly extreme for women with children under the age of 7 (Deryugina et al., 2021). To underscore, even without a pandemic, uneven distribution of domestic and caregiving can undermine professional outcomes such as productivity and advancement (Mason et al., 2013; Misra et al, 2012) and personal outcomes like relationship satisfaction (Ciciolla & Luthar, 2019; Frisco & Williams, 2003; Pietromanco & Overall, 2020; Pinho & Araújo, 2012; Offer, 2014; Schmid et al., 2020) and mental health (Harryson et al., 2012; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2020; Pinho et al., 2012). Given the emerging evidence of the uneven impact of the pandemic on women's productivity (Cui et al., 2020; Dolan & Lawless, 2020; King & Frederickson, 2020; Krukowski et al., 2020; Myers et al., 2020; Squazzoni et al., 2020; Viglione, 2020; Vincent-Lamarre et al., 2020; Wehner et al., 2020), we would expect these trends to be also true for dual-career academic couples.

Finally, we know that the identities and status of faculty members intersect to shape their professional and personal lives. Although some studies of dual-career academic couples consider the role of gender dynamics among different gender dual-career academics in the areas of negotiation (e.g., Morton, 2018; Morton & Kmec, 2017) or career advancement (e.g., Baker, 2004; Creamer, 2001), almost none empirically examine how dual-career academic couples' professional and personal lives operate at the intersection of aspects of their identity and status (see Blake, 2020 for a recent exception). This omission is important because researchers show that bias and discrimination related to race continues to impact the experiences of faculty of color in hiring (Beattie et al., 2013; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017), in career advancement and professional satisfaction (Kelly & McCann, 2013; Kelly & Winkle-Wagner, 2017; Lawrence et al., 2014; Turner et al., 2008, 2011), and in work-life integration (Denson et al., 2017). Researchers also show that women and faculty of color tend to be concentrated in contingent faculty roles that are less stable (particularly in the context of the pandemic), less prestigious, and less resourced (Anderson et al., 2020; Finkelstein et al., 2016; Kezar et al., 2019). Yet, few have attempted to understand the dynamic ways that identity and status may interact to shape the experience of dual-career academic couples. This omission limits our understanding of the ways in which institutions can support recruitment and retention of a diverse professoriate.

Problem Statement

Institutions have a well-established set of strategies from which they can draw to support the recruitment of dual-career academic couples. Thus, some might expect that the "two-body problem" is solved, or at the very least, improving. Unfortunately, evidence from recent research (Blake, 2020; Kmec et al., 2015; Morton, 2018; Rivera, 2017; Sallee, 2019; Sallee & Lewis, 2020; Sotirin & Goltz, 2018; Yakaboski, 2016), the popular press (Bell, 2010; Elboute &

Kimmelman, 2014; Jaschik, 2010, 2012; Kibel, 2013), and practice suggest that being in a dual-career academic couple remains challenging. The COVID-19 pandemic has moreover exacerbated work-life challenges for faculty members, and particularly for women who have taken on extra caregiving duties at the cost of their scholarly productivity. In addition, the emphasis in practice and in the research on hiring alone obscures the personal and professional experiences of dual-career academic couples once hired, especially at the intersection of gender, race, rank/employment type, and partner hire status. Despite the numerous obstacles faculty members in these types of relationships likely face, we know little about the strategies they use to make their personal and professional lives work in practice.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to understand how dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives. Dual-career academic couples are defined as couples wherein both partners are faculty members and within the context of this study, I specifically examine dual-career academic couples who were full-time faculty members at the same institution. Personal lives were defined as aspects of life such as relationships with partners, family formation, and household decision-making. Professional lives were defined as career and work choices, decisions, and opportunities. With this purpose in mind, the research questions that guided this study were:

1. How do academic couples who work at the same institution navigate their personal and professional lives?
    a. What challenges do academic couples encounter as they simultaneously advance their professional careers and personal goals?
    b. What strategies do academic couples use to adapt to those challenges?
    c. How, if at all, do work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?

d. How, if at all, do aspects of identity and status (i.e., gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status) influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?

Multiple theories guided this study and revealed how aspects of individual identity, relationship dynamics, organizational policies/practices, and field and society differentially influence the actions and perspectives dual-career academic couples use to move towards their personal and professional goals. In particular, I drew upon theories of intersectionality and agency to give greater understanding for: (a) the challenges that influence dual-career academic couples' personal and professional choices, opportunities, advancement and (b) the strategies dual-career academic couples use to navigate their personal and professional lives.

Given the emphasis on organizational context and focus on academic couples who share an institution, I used a multiple, embedded qualitative case study to interrogate my research questions (Yin, 2014). Multiple, embedded case study is a research design wherein the unit of analysis (in this study, 16 dual-career academic couples) is embedded within multiple cases (in this study, three research universities) (Yin, 2014). The cases are three research institutions, Dunder Mifflin University, Sabre University, and Vance University (all institutions assigned pseudonyms), with different policy approaches to the "dual-career problem."

Significance

Understanding the ways in which dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives will contribute to research, policy, and practice in several ways.
First, this study will contribute to a growing body of research that shows that institutions must understand the intersection of work and life in order to enhance productivity, satisfaction (personal and professional), and retention (Callister, 2006; Feeney et al., 2014; Johnsrud & Rosser, 2002; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019). Studies on faculty work-lives frequently focus on one

aspect of social identity, such as gender (Fox et al., 2011; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Sallee et al., 2016; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Though a few studies examine these issues for dual-career academic couples (e.g., Sotirin & Goltz, 2019; Yakaboski, 2016), this study puts academic couples at the center of analysis by examining the ways their dual-career academic partnership influences their personal and professional lives, and in turn, how their personal and professional lives shape their partnership. Dual-career academic couples are an especially unique population by which to understand the interplay of identities, status, and work-life since couples share a broad professional field (and sometimes share institutions and even departments), yet typically have different social identities (e.g., gender, rank/employment type). Such insights are critical for institutions seeking to better understand how to make faculty careers more attractive and equitable, particularly for groups that may be more concerned with or constrained by the intersection of their work and lives. This framing also fills a gap in literature on the dual-career academic couples by going "beyond the hire." That is, I focus on the hiring process, but also on how being partnered to another academic shapes personal and professional choices related to work-life integration and career advancement that may influence retention, productivity, and satisfaction.

An unplanned contribution of this study is that it captures the extent to which the COVID-19 pandemic has influenced work-life for dual-career academic couples. Work-life issues have come to the fore in the wake of the pandemic (Cardel et al., 2020; Clark et al., 2020; Cui et al., 2020; Deryugina et al., 2021; Gonzales & Griffin, 2020; Malisch et al., 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering & Medicine, 2021) and I primarily collected data for this study over the course of summer and fall 2020. Participants in this study were actively re-strategizing new ways of dealing with work-life issues in the wake of school closings, virtual

learning (for their children and for themselves as instructors), uncertainty related to institutional re-opening, increased workloads, and, of course, concerns about physical and mental health. Such contexts likely added to the work-life challenges of dual-career academic couples, particularly those who work at the same institution, in that both members are both highly reliant upon a single institution's stability for their family's economic viability. On the other hand, dual-career academic couples may experience relative advantages compared to other kinds of faculty members, because both partners share a relatively flexible career. Furthermore, the three institutions in this study implemented several different strategies to help faculty members cope with pandemic-related impacts (e.g., COVID-19 tenure delay, emergency childcare assistance). Thus, this study will help illuminate the impact of COVID-19 on work-life for faculty generally and on academic couples in particular. It will also give insight into aspects of organizational policy and practice that facilitated dual-career academic couples' ability to manage work-life during the pandemic.

Much of the narrative around the two-body problem makes it seem as though the challenges are inevitable, and solutions are unworkable. This study will also make a unique contribution to the literature by capturing the strategies dual-career academic couples use to successfully navigate the academic terrain. As shown by the examples in the introduction and by previous studies, many dual-career academic couples find ways to successfully navigate their personal and professional lives (Sallee, 2019; Sallee & Lewis, 2020). Moreover, academic couples are often intellectual collaborators who share knowledge, exchange feedback, and push each other to excel in their careers (Austin, 2001; Blaser, 2008; Creamer, 2001; Yakaboski, 2016). That is, dual-career academic couples may experience personal and professional advantages by virtue of having partners who know and understand academic life. By focusing on

both the personal and professional elements of faculty lives, I hope to capture the full range of experiences that dual-career academic couples have and provide a roadmap for how future partnered academics can negotiate not only personal and professional success, but also satisfaction in these two areas.

Finally, this study will help colleges and universities better understand how resources can be allocated in ways that facilitate career success for dual-career academic couples. Although many researchers of dual-career academic couples focus on the development of institutional policies to support recruitment (Blake, 2020; Kmec et al., 2015; McCluskey et al., n.d.; McMahon et al., 2018; Rusconi, 2002; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), few have subsequently examined whether institutions that put in place dual-support programs increased the number of dual-career academic couples. The handful of studies that have examined the impact of dual-hire programs suggest that hiring policies alone do not improve the experiences of dual-career academic couples (e.g., Blake, 2020; Kmec et al., 2015; Loeb, 1997; Yakaboski, 2016). Moreover, better understanding the professional and personal experiences of dual-career academic couples once they are hired will also help institutions create strategies for increasing faculty retention. The results will, therefore, help institutions better diagnose how to improve working conditions for dual-career academic couples both inside and outside of the recruitment context.

Definitions

Dual-career couple: couple where both partners are in professional careers. Professional career is defined as positions that require some degree of specialization, usually indicated by an advanced degree (e.g., PhD, JD, MD).

Dual-career academic couple or academic couple: Couple where both partners have trained to be faculty members at higher education institutions. In this study, I focus specifically on a subset of dual-career academic couples who work at the same institution.

Initial Hire: In academic hiring, one member of a dual-career academic couple will often receive an employment offer as a result of going through a traditional hiring process or through a targeted recruitment process. The partner who is being recruited first is the initial hire. The initial hire is often the one who must negotiate for a position for their partner.

Partner Hire: The partner hire is the spouse or partner of the initial hire. The partner hire will often receive an employment offer after their partner negotiates with the institution to secure a partner position.

Dual-career support program: Many higher education institutions now offer policies or programs intended to facilitate hiring and transition for dual-career academic couples. Accommodations can include, but are not limited to: funds to support the creation of academic positions for the partner, job placement services, spilt or joint appointments, etc.

Overview of Dissertation

The format of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, I discuss the literature on dual-career couples both inside and outside of academia. I consider how the strengths and limitations of prior work on dual-career academic couples as well as literature on the role of identities and status in faculty careers. I also discuss the concepts guiding this study, intersectionality and agency. In Chapter 3, I provide an overview of the methods I use in this study, namely, an multiple, embedded qualitative case study of dual-career academic couples at three institutions. In Chapter 4, I discuss the within case findings, providing a detailed description of each institution (*N*=3) and each couple (*N*=16). I identify the main challenges each couple

encountered and the strategies they used to navigate said challenges. I describe the role of work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture and aspects of identity and status (i.e., gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status) that influence couples personal and professional lives. In Chapter 5, I describe the cross-case findings. I consider the experiences of the couples through the lens of agency and intersectionality. I examine the facilitators and constraints on couples' agency, the actions and perspectives they use to navigate the factors, and the outcomes they experience. I weave throughout how participants enact agency, or experience enactments of agency (actions and perspectives) differently based upon their intersectional identities. In Chapter 6, I discuss the key findings from the study and consider the implications for theory, policy/practice, and future study.

CHAPTER 2: GUIDING CONCEPTS AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The concepts of intersectionality and faculty agency guided this study. In this section, I briefly lay out these conceptual terms. Then, throughout the literature review on dual-career academic couples, I weave intersectionality and agency into the narrative to understand how these concepts are relevant to the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples. This literature review is divided into five sections. First, I discuss the prevalence of dual-career academic couples. Then, I discuss the individual, shared, organizational, and field and society influences that have been shown to shape the experiences of dual-career academic couples. Last, I discuss studies that consider the outcomes of dual-career academic couples. Throughout the review, I consider how these elements may shape the agency of dual-career academic couples, and I weave in studies that use intersectional perspectives on faculty careers and work-lives to highlight the gaps in the literature on dual-career academic couples.

Intersectionality

In this study, I examined the personal and professional lives of academic couples to understand how aspects of their identities and status shaped their experience. An intersectional approach allowed me to attend to the interlocking influences of structures (gender, race, rank/employment type, and partner hire status) that a gender approach alone would fail to capture. Intersectionality sheds light on the ways in which the experiences of individuals from subordinate social groups must be understood at the axis, or "intersection," of multiple, interlocking systems of oppression on the basis of their co-existing identities. Subordinate groups in this case refers to those identity or status groups that have been historically excluded or marginalized (Crenshaw, 1991) such as race, gender, and rank/employment type. Although there

is significant variation in how the term is defined, Collins and Bilge (2016) suggested the following definition:

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analyzing complexity in the world, in people and in human experience…When it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as an analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the work and of themselves. (p. 2)

Said another way, intersectional perspectives problematize the tendency to view individual social identities "as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 139), by emphasizing how traditional, single-axis approaches to social identity tend to obscure the multidimensional experiences of individuals at the intersections of their identities (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Crenshaw, 1989, 1991).

I used one of the most notable conceptions of intersectionality to highlight what this perspective brings into focus. Black feminist and legal scholar Crenshaw (1989, 1991) coined the term "intersectionality" as she examined the limitations of feminist and critical race analysis in labor laws and sexual violence protections. Crenshaw (1989) argued that employment regulations typically focused on protecting either "women" or "African Americans" from discrimination. However, focusing on gender or race alone distorted the experiences of African American women, who encounter distinct forms of discrimination at the intersection of their race and gender, thereby leaving individuals in this social group "doubly disadvantaged" in seeking legal protections (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). In other words, single-axis approaches to identity fail to capture the heterogeneity of experiences that occur within systems of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989). This erasure is problematic, in that theories intended to promote resistance, like feminism and critical race, could instead "function as sites that produced and legitimized marginalization" (Carbado et al., 2013, p. 2).

There are six core ideas or concepts that intersectionality can bring to the fore (Collins & Bilge, 2016). First is the notion of social inequality, wherein intersectionality recognizes that inequality is a complex societal problem that is “rarely caused by a single factor” (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 26). Second, intersectional perspectives bring into focus the role of power, where race, gender, class, and other group affiliations constitute intersecting systems of power across multiple domains, including structures, cultures, disciplinary logics, and interpersonal relations (Bilge, 2010; Collins & Bilge, 2015). Third, intersectionality emphasizes relationality and interconnectedness, or the ways in which power is enacted between entities (Collins & Bilge, 2015). Fourth, intersectionality is best used for examining phenomena in context, that is, with an acknowledgment of the social, historical, political, and intellectual location of both the study and the researcher (Collins & Bilge, 2015). Fifth, Collins and Bilge (2016) argued that intersectionality is innately complex, in that it reveals how power, relationality, context, and inequality are interwoven and difficult to parse. Last, intersectionality can be social justice-oriented (Collins & Bilge, 2016), in that the theory can reveal inequities and directions for social activism.

Intersectionality has made an indelible mark on how researchers study inequity and oppression in society and how practitioners enact equity-based reforms. The theory has been applied across multiple contexts, including law, politics, education, healthcare, economics, and to groups representing multiple kinds of identity, including gender, race, sexual orientation, class, and citizenship (Carbado et al., 2013; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Gaston Gayles & Smith, 2018; Museus & Griffin, 2011). Specific to faculty members’ personal and professional lives, multiple studies have used intersectionality as a guiding frame for understanding how multiple marginalization shapes the pathway to the professoriate in graduate school (Anaya, 2011;

Ramirez, 2013), to illustrate the "double binds" experienced by women faculty color (Armstrong & Jovanovic, 2015; Charleston et al., 2014; Gonzales et al., 2013; Griffin et al., 2011; Kelly & Winkle-Wagner, 2017; Settles et al., 2017; Turner, 2002), or as a lens for understanding how social identities shape faculty social networks (Pifer, 2011; Pinheiro & Melkers, 2011). Institutions also use intersectionality as a grounding concept for some faculty development programs and retention programs (e.g., Carter-Sowell et al., 2019; Shaw et al., 2019). For instance, one institution implemented a faculty mentoring program built on intersectionality that specifically targeted women faculty of color in STEM disciplines (Carter-Sowell et al., 2019). Within the program, each participant was assigned a senior faculty mentor internal to their university and an external mentor who worked at another institution. The program built community and increased professional visibility and productivity for participants while simultaneously improving the mentoring and advocacy skills of the senior faculty who participated. Initial results showed that the program increased participant retention (Carter-Sowell et al., 2019), thereby highlighting one way an intersectional approach to faculty development can positively improve the academic work environment for Women of Color.

Yet, there is much debate about intersectionality's method, application, and strategies. For instance, there is some debate about the impact of holding multiple marginalized identities. Some argue that disadvantage accrues, wherein an individual faces cumulative discrimination with each marginalized identity she holds (Almquist, 1975; Epstein, 1973). Others argue that discrimination at the intersection of multiple marginalized identities is an interactive process (Carbado et al., 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990), wherein individuals experience discrimination at the intersection of their identities in "synergistic way" (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 378).

A more recent distinction suggests that individuals who hold multiple marginalized identities experience both benefits and drawbacks (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). That is, individuals who do not easily fit into our prototypical views of men and women or White or Black encounter can encounter binds and freedoms (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013) as a result of their multiple subordinate identities, especially within contexts in wherein multiple aspects of their identity are salient. Binds occur when individuals are constrained by the interlocking aspects of their identities (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). For instance, when Black women experience the bind of intersectional invisibility, they are less likely to be seen or recognized for their contributions because they did not meet the prototype of either woman or Black (Collins, 1999; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013; Settles et al., 2017). Likewise, men from racial groups who do not meet the prototypes of masculinity may be less likely to be advanced to leadership roles (Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013), another example of a bind.

On the other hand, non-prototypical groups (e.g., Black women, Asian American men, White lesbian women) can sometimes experience advantages as a result of their intersectional identities (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Ridgeway & Kricheli-Katz, 2013). Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) argued that "the social invisibility of people with intersectional disadvantaged identities may allow them to more easily escape some of the actively discriminatory practice that target their groups compared to individuals who more closely fit the prototypes of this group (p. 382). For instance, "ethnic minority women and white lesbian women, by virtue of their non-protoypicality, may escape some of the more active forms discrimination that ethnic minority men and gay men face" (Purdie-Vaughs & Eibach, 2008, p. 382).

A second debate within intersectionality centers on the interaction between oppression and privilege and the fluid ways in which intersectionality shapes the experiences of individuals who hold multiple marginalized identities within different contexts. That is, although some theorists view intersectionality as a frame that illuminates oppression alone, others argue that it can be used to understand the interaction of both privilege and oppression (Garry, 2012). For this reason, Garry (2012) argued that intersectionality must be understood as a "messy" metaphor, wherein the intersectional experiences of individuals at the axes of the gender, race, sexual orientation, and other identities must be recognized as fluid and mutually-shaped. For instance, while a highly educated, white lesbian couple may experience disadvantage at the intersection of their gender and sexual orientation, they may also be shielded from discrimination on the basis of race and class. This privilege may mitigate the discrimination the couple experiences in some contexts while still being highly relevant in others (Garry, 2012).

A third critique of intersectionality argues that the theory has been used primarily as a conceptual or analytical framework, rather than framework for political or organizational change in practice (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Verloo, 2006). There are several reasons why this is the case, particularly within organizational contexts such as higher education. First, embedding an intersectional perspective in organizational reform complicates social group categorization that typically guides governmental data collection and institutional diversity efforts (Armstrong & Jovanovic, 2015). That is, institutions are required to track and count the numbers of faculty, students, and staff by discrete categories such as gender and race but often fail to combine such categories and, for confidentiality reasons, frequently do not collect data on aspects of identity such as sexual orientation.

Second, institutional reforms typically address one aspect of identity (e.g., increasing the number of women in faculty roles or increasing the number of faculty of color) and assume that these "separate institutional initiatives" will meet the needs of faculty from all marginalized groups (Armstrong & Jovanovic, 2015, p. 145). Combined, many institutional reforms, even those which are well-intended, run the risk of contributing to greater intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008) for individuals with multiple marginalization. For example, many National Science Foundation ADVANCE programs have sponsored dual-career support programs as a way to increase the number of women in STEM in fields (Laursen et al., 2015; McHahon et al., 2018; Mitchneck, 2018). Because many STEM fields lack racial/ethnic diversity, White women may have been the primary beneficiaries of well-intended dual-career support policies. Intersectionality therefore sensitizes us to the potential limitations of dual-career support programs, while also allowing for greater complexity in understanding the experience of dual-career academic couples.

A final and related limitation of intersectionality is that the perspective gives little insight into how individuals who exist at the axes of multiple identities enact agency within their specific contexts (Garry, 2012; Nash, 2008). That is, intersectionality does not provide an explanation for how individuals who hold multiple subordinate identities mobilize in certain circumstances, and how their experience at the intersection of their identity shapes what they mobilize towards (Nash, 2008). Given that one of the goals of this study was to understand the strategies dual-career academic couples use to navigate their personal and professional lives, theories of agency were useful for highlighting the actions and perspectives that guided these strategies. By agency, I refer broadly to the notion that individuals have the capacity and ability to take action and develop perspectives that allow them to do so (Archer, 2000; Marshall, 2005;

Neumann et al., 2006; O'Meara et al., 2011), recognizing that structural and power dynamics that surround individuals may limit the choices available to them.

Faculty Agency

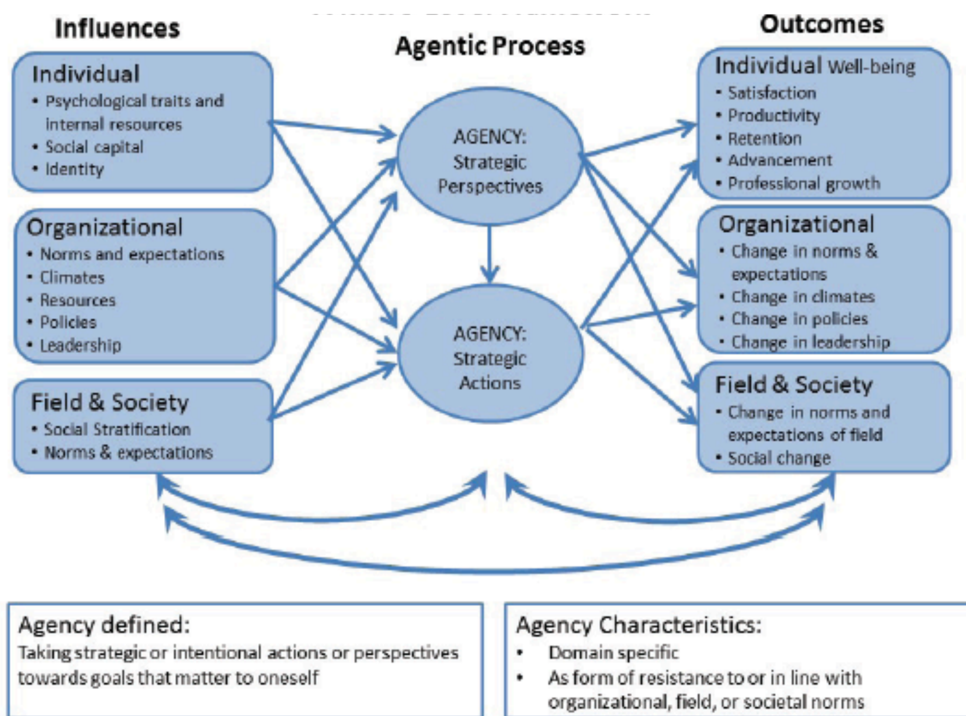
I draw specifically from O'Meara, et al.'s (2011) model of faculty agency (Figure 1). The researchers developed this model based on a review of the literature on agency that spans disciplines such as sociology, human development, and critical realism. In this model, agency is defined as process "the strategic and intentional actions faculty take and the strategic views or perspectives they use to make meaning out of their experiences" (O'Meara et al., 2011, p. 7). Agency is goal-specific, in that it is enacted towards a particular end, such as professional or personal success. Agency is frequently used to describe actions and perspectives faculty use when resisting dominant systems and structures. However, agency can also exist in situations where there is "congruence between one's goals and those of their environment" (O'Meara et al., 2011, p. 11). Said another way, agency is a theory that can be useful in understanding how faculty members make sense of their prospective choices and actions in a variety of contexts, including those in which they are going with, and against, the grain.

Figure 1

Faculty Agency in Professional Lives: A Micro Level Framework (O'Meara et al., 2011)

As seen in Figure 1, O'Meara et al. (2011) organized their living agency framework into three categories: Influences, Agentic Process, and Outcomes. Having already defined the agentic process, I briefly describe the factors that influence agency and the outcomes of being agentic, and specifically focus on the ways in which an intersectional perspective on these influencing areas will be useful.

On the left side of the figure, O'Meara et al. (2011) identified the individual, organizational, and field and society influences that shape the context in which agency can be enacted.



Individual Influences

Individual influences address aspects of a faculty member's unique attributes and qualities that shape their agentic process. These factors include psychological traits and internal

resources, social capital, and identity. Psychological traits and internal resources include predispositions and learned behaviors (e.g., self-efficacy, emotional intelligence) that facilitate or constrain agency. Social capital refers to the accumulation of resources through social relationships (Bourdieu, 2011; Coleman, 1988). Identity refers to aspects of social group categorization, such as gender, race, or sexual orientation, and points to the ways in which an individual's social identities influence their agency within specific environments. Thus, intersectionality is highly relevant at the individual level, as an intersectional analysis of each of these three categories reveals how interlocking identities influence not only the agency of faculty members, but also shapes the accumulation of social capital and the development and enactment of psychological traits and resources. For example, an intersectional analysis of the social capital may reveal that Women of Color have less access to important networks within their field, which in turn shapes their ability to accumulate social capital (Kachchaf et al., 2015; Pifer, 2011). A lack of access to social capital in this case may constrain agency.

Shared Influences

Rather than understanding dual-career academic couples only as individuals with separate agency, we additionally need to understand the influences on the collective or shared agency of academic couples. By shared agency, I refer to "people's shared beliefs in their collective power to produce desired results" (Bandura, 2000, p. 75). That is, within the context of dual-career academic couples, rather than understanding agency as being influenced by aspects of each individual partner's predispositions, competencies, past accomplishments, and networks, we must also understand how the interaction of each partner's individual agency influences their *shared agency* as a dual-career couple navigating towards personal and professional success as a unit.

Collective agency, what I refer to as shared agency in this study, has been studied primarily within the context of groups of people acting with a common goal. For example, studies examine the agency of groups, including faculty, advocating for social reform or organizational change (e.g., Kiyama et al., 2012; Rhoades, 2017; Ross & Gray, 2006). Agency is not the accumulation of group members' individual agency, but rather the result of an "interactive, coordinative, and synergistic" series of transactions between group members (Bandura, 2000, p. 75). Looser collectives, that is, groups with less coherence in terms of shared goals and actions, will have less shared agency (Bandura, 2000). A group's sense of their agency is influenced by each member's individual agency as well as their perceptions of the group's ability to act within specific contexts (Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2002). Said another way, agency among couples is likely influenced by individual and shared influences.

Shared agency can therefore be viewed as process which is situationally bound and simultaneously fostered or constrained by the interactions and negotiations between group members. Thus, intersectionality becomes a useful tool by which to understand the shared agency of dual-career academic couples, as couple's will be influenced by each partner's individual agency, their shared, inter-partner dynamics, as well as their perception of collective agency within the context of their personal and professional goals. Guided by this literature, I propose that, to understand dual-career academic couples, we must also examine the shared, inter-partner dynamics that shape their collective agency. I thus added a "shared" influence on the left side of the model, which includes beliefs and attitudes, career primacy and the division of domestic labor, the role of children and family, and co-location and relocation (Figure 2). Based on the literature, individual and shared influences on agency will interact with one another, as indicated by the arrow linking the individual and shared boxes on the left side of Figure 2. In

addition, I amended the agentic process in the middle of Figure 2 to acknowledge that dual-career academic couples will have both individual and shared agency as they advance towards their personal and professional goals.

Organizational Influences

Organizational influences focus on the role of a faculty member's specific college, university, or department, and how contextual factors related to the institutional setting influence agency. O'Meara et al. (2011) identified five organizational influences: 1) norms and expectations (e.g., daily practices, assumptions, scripts, policies and programs; 2) climates (e.g., the sense of the institution or department); 3) resources (e.g., financial, social); 4) policies (e.g., paid parental leave); and 5) leadership (e.g., provosts, department chairs, and deans). Each of these factors can of course be analyzed using an intersectional lens. For instance, organizational norms and expectations around who is expected to say "yes" to faculty service requests may disadvantage women faculty of color when going up for tenure (Griffin et al., 2013). Likewise, resources may be geared towards facilitating career agency for full-time tenure and tenure-track faculty while ignoring the professional development needs of part-time or non-tenure track faculty members (Kezar, 2012, Kezar & Sam, 2010, 2013; Kezar et al., 2019; Waltman et al., 2012), who are more likely to be women (Hart, 2011).

Field and Society Influences

Field and society influences focus on the macro, structural influences of agency, including social stratification and norms and expectations. It is at this point in the model where the linkage between intersectionality and agency is the most prominent. Using intersectional and other critical theories, O'Meara et al. (2011) argued that faculty agency is influenced by the relative position of faculty members within existing power structures and hierarchies. Structural

power relationships manifest “via language, ritual, policy, and practice” (O’Meara et al., 2011, p. 19). Such factors serve to legitimize faculty members from dominant groups while delegitimizing faculty members who hold marginalized identities in both the academy and in society at large.

Such influences could include societal beliefs and stereotypes about individuals from certain social groups (Ridgeway, 2011). Sexism and heterosexism may intersect to make parental leave less accessible to gay men faculty (Huffman et al., 2014; Sallee, 2012). Field and societal influences could also manifest via differential access to power and decision-making on the basis of social group category (O’Meara et al., 2011). For example, men faculty members on the tenure-track may have greater access to leadership positions within important university decision-making bodies (Morrison, 2008; Twale & Shannon, 1996), showing the intersection of rank and gender bias. Finally, O’Meara et al. (2011) argued that disciplinary norms and expectations are particularly salient to understanding who can enact agency within higher education contexts. For example, sexism and heterosexism may a play a role in shaping expectations that partner hires, especially the partners of “star” men faculty, are typically women (Loeb, 1997). Within couples, one partner’s research may be viewed as more legitimate if it is more at the “center” of their field (Allen & Kitch, 1998), while the other partner is viewed as less legitimate for researching topics at the margins. Subsequently, partners within the couple could experience differential access to resources (e.g., grants, awards), which in turn shapes career agency.

Outcomes

On the right side of Figure 1, O’Meara et al. (2011) identified the potential outcomes that emerge when individuals act with agency towards their goals. Specifically, the researchers

identify individual, organizational, and field and society outcomes. Individual outcomes refer to aspects of faculty careers and work-lives such as productivity, satisfaction, advancement, and professional growth. O'Meara et al. (2011) observed that individual outcomes are likely to increase as agency increases. Organizational outcomes refer to changes in university norms and expectations, climates, policies, and leadership as a result of an individual (or group of individuals) agency. Field and society outcomes refer to changes in norms and expectations within a certain field or social change more broadly.

In this study, I specifically focused on the outcomes that dual-career academic couples experience at the individual and shared level. Past researchers suggested that individual and shared outcomes cannot be understood as mutually exclusive – they are shared (Bandura, 2000; Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 2002). That is, within units such as a couple, an individual's agency will be influenced by the couple's collective agency, and vice versa. I therefore group together individual and shared outcomes, including professional satisfaction, productivity, retention, advancement/professional growth, and relationship satisfaction. In so doing, I acknowledge that each partner may differentially experience each outcome (e.g., may have differing levels of productivity), but also recognize that there is likely to be an interaction between individual and shared outcomes. For instance, understanding each partner's individual professional satisfaction will be enhanced by understanding their shared satisfaction, and vice versa.

Again, intersectionality proves useful at each of these outcome levels. At an individual level, intersectionality complicates the narrative surrounding outcomes like productivity or satisfaction by sensitizing us to the ways in which multiple marginalization influences who has agency in advancing towards those outcomes. Intersectionality therefore provides greater insight into why some faculty members achieve these outcomes, while other faculty members do not. At

both the organizational and field and society levels, intersectionality provides a discourse to better understand the areas in which institutional and social change is needed. For example, in an earlier section, I discussed a faculty mentoring program designed for women faculty of color (Carter-Sowell et al., 2019), that specifically focused on women in tenure and tenure-track roles in STEM fields. An intersectional analysis might look at the ways in which women faculty of color experience different outcomes on the basis of their sexual orientation (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009) or consider how faculty development programs that target tenure and tenure-track faculty women obscure the needs of women faculty who are not on the tenure-track (Hart, 2011). As Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach (2008) noted, the purpose of intersectionality is not to point out which groups face the most substantial barriers at each intersection, but rather identify the distinct advantages and disadvantages that individuals may encounter at those intersections within their specific contexts.

Agency with an Intersectional Lens

There are a few critiques of agency theory which an intersectional analysis allows me to address. The first critique comes from structural functionalist theorists (e.g., Durkheim), who argued that the notion of individual agency underestimates the role of structure in shaping action (Pope, 1975). Structure refers to institutions, norms, and values that largely shape human action, wherein individuals have relatively little power in moving towards their own goals. Bilge (2010) argued that intersectionality offers an explanatory lens for understanding how agency can form "within a nexus of social relations and structures (of race, class, gender) that work together to (re)produce power and privilege" (p. 23). In other words, because intersectionality emphasizes the interlocking role of structures that shape agency, an intersectional take on living agency in faculty careers therefore embeds notions of structure and habitus into the analysis.

A second critique of agency comes from poststructuralist theorists. Many poststructuralists (e.g., Butler, 1990; Foucault, 1980; Hekman, 1995) argued that we cannot understand individual subjects as agents merely moving through or against the "constituted environment" (Butler, 1990, p. 195). Rather, the constituted environment shapes individual agents, while individual agents simultaneously reconstitute the environment (Hekman, 1995). For instance, the agency of an Asian woman in a contingent faculty role is not only influenced by the intersection of her race and gender (a deterministic view), but in being agentic, she also shapes and reshapes what it means to be an Asian woman in a contingent role (a constituted view). Intersectional perspectives attend to the role of power and domination and the ways in which these concepts are reproduced within contexts (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Thus, an intersectional view of agency takes on the post-structuralist critique of deterministic agency by shedding light on the "specific contexts and articulated social formations from which different forms of agency and subject positions arise" (Bilge, 2010, p. 23). Put another way, because intersectionality captures the ways in which power is organized across domains (structure, hegemony, disciplinary, and interpersonal) (Colins & Bilge, 2016), this analytic tool sheds light on agency as both deterministic and constituted (Bilge, 2010).

Thus, I propose intersectional aspects of agency can be revealed across elements of the faculty agency model and thus position intersectionality as the overall lens by which to view the model (bottom of Figure 2). This perspective attended to the ways in which the interlocking structures of identity shape the experiences of dual-career academic couples. It also allowed me to identify the actions and perspectives the couples take to navigate structures.

Figure 2

Individual and Shared Agency for Dual-career Academic Couples Advancing Personal and Professional Goals Using Intersectional Perspectives

Influences

Individual
- Psychological Traits and Internal Resources
- Social Capital
- Identity

Shared (Between partners)
- Beliefs and attitudes
- Career primacy and division of labor
- Children and family
- Co-location and relocation

Organizational
- Policies and Resources
- Norms and Expectations
- Climate
- Leadership

Field and Society
- Social Stratification
- Norms and Expectations

Agentic Process (Individual & Collective)

AGENCY: Strategic Perspectives

AGENCY: Strategic Actions

Outcomes

Individual and Shared (Between partners)
- Professional Satisfaction
- Productivity
- Retention
- Advancement/professional growth
- Relationship Satisfaction

INTERSECTIONALITY: Lives and organization of power shaped by multiple, interactive axes of social division (Collins & Bilge, 2016)

(Adapted from O'Meara et al.'s (2011) faculty agency in professional lives)

Literature Review

With the concepts of intersectionality and agency in mind, I now turn to my review of the literature on dual-career academic couples. I use O'Meara et al.'s (2011) model of faculty agency to organize the review. Specifically, I examine the individual, shared, organizational, and field and society influences that potentially shape the agency of dual-career academic couples as they move towards their personal and professional goals. Within the individual, shared, and outcomes sections, I integrate relevant research on dual-career couples from fields such as sociology, psychology, family studies, and women studies with the higher education literature on faculty careers. I do so because these non-higher education studies provide greater insight into how couples make decisions about career and life and how couples' inter-partner dynamics influence these processes. Throughout the literature review, I weave in areas in which intersectional perspectives may be useful as well as the emerging evidence on the way the pandemic has influenced faculty work-life.

I found that the vast majority of studies on dual-career academics focus on the organizational influences that shape the experiences of dual-career academic couples. In particular, researchers have examined the resources and policies that institutions put in place to support the recruitment of dual-career academic couples. I also find that although numerous studies attempt to understand how gender influences the experience of dual-career academic couples, far fewer studies reveal how other aspects of identity and status shape the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples using an intersectional lens. Likewise, I find that most researchers of dual-career academic couples conceived of the outcomes that these couples experience in narrow terms, focusing on how institutions recruit dual-career academic

couples, rather than understanding how couples' experiences influence their personal and professional satisfaction and retention.

Prevalence of Dual-Career Academic Couples

Several historical studies show academic couples worked on college campuses throughout the early and mid-20th century. (Perkins, 1997; Rosser, 2004a; Stephan & Kassis, 1997), though many women faculty members who opted to get married were forced out of the professoriate (Rosser, 2004a; Stephan & Kassis, 1997). As women entered doctoral programs and increasingly made the transition into faculty roles through the 1970s and 1980s, the number of dual-career academic couples rose (Ferber & Loeb, 1997; Rosser, 2004; Stephan & Kassis, 1997). Quantitative studies from national faculty surveys suggest that dual-career academic couples represent a critical mass of faculty on many American college campuses. Data from the 1989 HERI faculty survey, which included 91,000 faculty and college administrators at 432 American institutions, showed that of faculty members who reported being married, 35% of men and 40% of women had an academic partner (Astin & Milem, 1997). The authors indicated there were differences in the prevalence of academic partnership by race/ethnicity, with American Indian women and African American men most likely to have an academic partner compared to other racial/ethnic groups. Astin and Milem found men faculty members in English, education, and the fine arts were more likely to have an academic partner, whereas women faculty members with academic partners were more highly concentrated in agriculture, mathematics, and history/political science. Women faculty with academic partners were more likely to be employed in four-year institutions, whereas men faculty with academic partners were less likely to be employed in university settings (Astin & Milem, 1997).

Although highly cited, this study has some limitations. It drew from data that is now nearly 30 years old, during which time faculty demographics have changed (Finkelstein et al., 2016) and the academic labor market has shrunk (Hurlburt & McGarrah, 2016a, 2016b). Unfortunately, it appears that the HERI Survey no longer asks participants to indicate whether their partner is a faculty member (Eagan et al., 2014), as is the case with other national faculty surveys of faculty like the Harvard COACHE (2008) study. Likewise, although useful descriptively, the study offers few theoretical or empirical insights on why these patterns among dual-career academic couples emerged.

Data collected approximately 15 years ago suggests that the number of dual-career academic couples remains stable. A national study of 9,000 faculty in 13 research institutions found 36% of American faculty members were a part of an academic couple (Schiebinger et al., 2008), which was similar to Astin & Milem's (1997) findings from the 1980s. Likewise, Schiebinger and colleagues noted women faculty members were more likely to be a part of an academic couple than men (women at 40% and men at 34%). The study also found about 30% of underrepresented minority faculty had academic partners and 43% of gay and lesbian faculty members were members of an academic couple, thus signaling that understanding the experiences of dual-career couples is not merely a gender issue, but also one that affects faculty members of color and LGBT faculty.

The Schiebinger et al. (2008) study represents the most recent analysis of the prevalence of dual-career academic couples and is almost universally cited in studies of dual-career academic couples subsequently published. Yet, this study has some limitations. The focus on faculty at research institutions may overstate the prevalence of dual-career academic couples by not including faculty members working at other institutional types. Likewise, although the study

includes some vignettes from dual-career academic couples, the results give little insight into why these patterns emerge and the experiences of dual-career academic couples within their institutional contexts.

In addition to examining the prevalence of academic couples, researchers revealed the strong presence of disciplinary endogamy, wherein partners work in the same field of inquiry. Over 60% of academic couples work in the same broad discipline as their partners (Schiebinger et al., 2008), including in STEM fields, law, humanities, and medicine. For example, disciplinary endogamy is prevalent in the sciences among women faculty members, with one study finding that 83% of women scientists indicating they were a part of an academic couple, compared to 54% of men (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Another study showed nearly 60% of academic women scientists had a partner who was also a scientist (Sonnert & Holton, 1995). In some STEM fields, like physics, studies show that upwards of 70% of women faculty members are married to another physicist, compared to 17% of men faculty members (Rosser, 2004a). Another study found women in academic medical centers were more likely than men to have a partner who was also a faculty member in an academic medical center (Girod et al., 2011). In other words, though dual-career academic couples may be more prominent in STEM fields, they are not concentrated in STEM alone.

In contrast, other researchers showed that disciplinary endogamy is not that common in certain science fields (Blaser, 2008; Shauman & Xie, 2003). For instance, one researcher used U.S. Census data to examine partnership trends of women academics in science and engineering (Blaser, 2008). The author found substantially lower rates of academic partnerships for women faculty members in science fields than prior studies, with 13% indicating their partner was an academic scientist and 40% indicating their partner was a scientist more generally. Blaser

attributed the variation in this sample to the way the Census frames the question for partner occupation and argued that the percentage of women scientists with academic partners was likely much higher than 13%. Census data, while widely available, may be an unreliable barometer by which to examine the prevalence of dual-career academic couples generally, but also within specific fields or disciplines.

A few researchers suggested that dual-career academic couples may also be prevalent among international faculty in STEM fields. By international faculty, I refer to faculty members who are born outside of the United States but who currently work at an American university. Although the use of Census data is limited, Blaser (2008) found that 25% of women scientists working in academia with partners were international faculty. Given the large number of international graduate students and the growing number of international faculty (Kim et al., 2012), it is perhaps unsurprising that there are many international dual-career academic couples, although international dual-career couples are not well-represented in the literature.

In sum, there is a great deal of evidence that suggests dual-career academic couples are and will continue to be a strong presence at American colleges and universities. Moreover, there is some evidence that dual-career academic couples represent diversity in terms of race, sexual orientation, and citizenship status. These aspects of identity are not well-captured in the literature. I now turn to discussing the extant literature on dual-career academic couples, using O'Meara et al.'s (2011) living agency in the academy model to organize the remainder of this literature review.

Individual Influences

Individual influences refer to the unique traits or aspects of identity that faculty members possess that can impact their agency in achieving their goals (O'Meara et al., 2011). Such influences include psychological traits and internal resources, social capital, and identity.

Psychological Traits and Internal Resources

O'Meara et al. (2011) suggested that agency can be influenced by both innate and learned traits and internal resources, such as self-efficacy, leadership skills, and emotional intelligence. Research shows traits and resources such as self-efficacy (Brett & Yogev, 1988; Crouter et al., 2008), generosity (Dew & Bradford Wilcox, 2013; Wilcox & Dew, 2016), perspective-taking (Bakker et al., 2011), empathy (Bakker & Demerouti, 2009; Cramer & Jowett, 2010), and engagement (Bakker et al., 2011) influence the ways in which partners in dual-career couples interact with one another and shape their personal and professional lives. For example, Bakker et al. (2011) studied patterns of perspective-taking, or the tendency for a person to adopt the psychological perspective of others, among dual-career couples. The researchers found that when both members of a couple demonstrated high proficiency with perspective-taking in understanding work concerns, both partners were more engaged in their work. In other words, each partner's individual psychological traits, in this case perspective-taking, influenced the couple's perspectives and actions within the professional realm.

I found no studies that explicitly addressed the psychology traits and internal resources that dual-career academic couples use as they navigate their personal and professional lives. However, a handful of studies hinted at some of the psychological traits and internal resources that academic couples may use. Sotirin and Goltz (2019)'s recent phenomenological study of 14 dual-career academic couples in STEM fields showed that partners demonstrated high levels of

self-advocacy and problem-solving as they attempted to advance towards their personal and professional goals. Another qualitative dissertation study examined six faculty couples over six years and found that partners often engaged in proactive planning to ensure that they could be present in both their personal and professional lives, demonstrating a sort of self-efficacy in advancing their goals (Baker, 2004). In the same study, some partners made adjustments to their career expectations and goals (e.g., changing disciplinary training to increase the odds of finding a job at the same institution as their partner), indicating a sort of realistic self-appraisal about the academic job market and job prospects (Baker, 2004). However, more research is needed to identify the specific kinds of psychological traits and internal resources that might be useful to dual-career academic couples, and particularly dual-career academic couples who encounter barriers to their goals on the basis of their intersectional identities.

Social Capital

Social capital refers to acquired social resources that faculty can use to help make decisions (O'Meara et al., 2011). Many researchers in fields such as sociology and family studies have shown that one of the primary ways in which social capital is transmitted is through the family (Furstenberg, 2005), with the most focus on how capital is transmitted from parents to children (e.g., Coleman, 1988; Dika & Singh, 2002). Yet, capital is also transmitted between partners in a relationship (Bernasco et al., 1998; Brynin & Schupp, 2000; Matzek et al., 2010). There is evidence that within couples, individuals who achieve occupational success often have partners who have likewise attained social capital (Bernasco et al., 1998). Partners exchange capital in the form of access to social networks, the transmission of advice or information, or by a general sense of career ambition with the couple (Brynin & Schupp, 2000; Cornwell, 2012). Yet, the exchange of capital between partners may be asymmetrical (Bernasco et al., 1998). That

is, couples may not "share" capital as a unit, but rather one partner may benefit in more substantial ways from the transmission. For example, studies show that among different gender couples, men with highly-educated women partners experience higher salaries, but with the same couple, women partners do not experience similar increases in pay as a result of their own education (Brynin & Schupp, 2000).

Dual-career academic couples can likewise experience boosts in social capital as a result of being in a relationship with another faculty member. Academic couples sometimes collaborate on research and writing projects in ways that are beneficial for each partner's careers as well as their romantic partnerships (Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008; Creamer, 1999). For instance, Creamer's (2001) qualitative studies of academic couples ($N = 21$) who collaborated with one another showed that couples often participated in both long-term and short-term intellectual partnerships that enhanced their productivity. Moreover, partners in academic couples are often able to grow their individual professional networks by getting access to their partner's networks, which therefore increases professional opportunities (Astin & Milem, 1997; Creamer, 2001). Couples may exchange feedback and information or may expand the disciplinary tools one partner uses in her research projects (Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008; Creamer, 1999). In other words, there are tangible ways in which being in a dual-career academic couple can enhance social capital.
On the other hand, there is much literature that highlights the ways in which aspects of identity (i.e., gender and race) and status (i.e., rank/employment type) may shape the accumulation of social resources (Kezar, 2012; Niehaus & O'Meara, 2015a; Trice, 2004; Williams & Williams, 2006; Zambrana et al., 2015). As such, intersectional identities are highly salient for understanding how dual-career academic couples access and use social capital in moving towards their personal and professional goals.

Identity

Identity refers to the ways in which aspects of a faculty member's social group affiliations and status within an organization (gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status) may influence their agency (O'Meara et al., 2011). Because I use intersectionality as a lens for framing and critiquing the extant dual-career academic couple literature throughout this review, I do not discuss the research in this area in much depth here. That being said, gender appears to be the aspect of identity that researchers have focused on when it comes to understanding the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples. For example, gender dynamics shape the likelihood that women in dual-career academic couples will negotiate for partner resources (Morton, 2018; Morton & Kmec, 2017), and gender differences often emerge between partners in different gender academic couples when it comes to aspects of work-life integration (Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008). Other than gender, I found only a few studies that examined how the intersection of identities (e.g., Blake, 2020; Yakaboski, 2016) influence the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples. I weave in these studies and consider these gaps throughout this chapter rather than discussing in this section alone.

Shared Influences

I found no studies that specifically examined the collective agency of dual-career academic couples. However, there is much research examining how dual-career couples generally and academic couples specifically share lives and are influenced by each other, in ways that could potentially shape their collective agency.

Beliefs and attitudes

Beliefs and attitudes about marriage and partnership shape the perspectives and actions couples use in their personal and professional lives. Several studies examine the role of

egalitarian values, or the belief that each partner should contribute equally in domains such as household duties and economic provision (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015; Vespa, 2009; Wilkie et al., 1998). Often, egalitarianism is linked to partner's beliefs and attitudes towards gender roles. That is, with different gender couples, couples with more traditional gender beliefs (i.e., women concentrated into domestic and family roles and men into economic ones) will exhibit less egalitarian views, whereas partners with less traditional views will exhibit a greater tendency towards egalitarian beliefs and actions (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015; Vespa, 2009; Wilkie et al., 1998). Researchers have found mixed results on this topic. Some studies suggest that egalitarianism is growing among dual-career couples (Gerson, 2010; Pedulla & Thébaud, 2015), while other studies suggest that marriage is associated with less egalitarian views (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995), or that marriage has little impact on egalitarian beliefs and attitudes (Cunningham, 2005). Couples' beliefs and attitudes can further vary as a function of identities such as race (Blee & Tickamyer, 1995; Burgess, 1994; Dugger, 1988), parental status (Katz-Wise et al., 2010; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997), and sexual orientation (Gorman-Murray, 2006; Kurdek, 1993, 2004, 2007; Shechory & Ziv, 2007). For instance, Vespa (2009) found that Black, different-gender couples expressed more egalitarian views compared to White, different- gender couples, but also found that parenthood mediated egalitarianism regardless of race. Another study examined the household division of labor for gay (men) and lesbian (women) couples and found that lesbian partners exhibited more egalitarian behavior compared to gay couples (Kurdek, 2007).

A couple's attitudes towards individualism may also shape their shared experiences. Historically, marriage/partnership was viewed as an institution primarily intended to serve the economic function of integrating resources among familial units (Coontz, 2005). Today, partners

enter relationships for intimacy, companionship, and emotional support rather than for economic stability alone (Giddens, 1992; Lauer & Yodanis, 2011). For couples wherein each partner has the ability be financially independent, marriage/partnership has become more individualized (Amato, 2007; Cherlin, 2009; Lauer & Yodanis, 2011; Yodanis & Lauer, 2014). In individualized marriages, partners pursue their own interests and "are less likely to sacrifice their own individuality for socially defined roles" such as "wife" or "father" (Lauer & Yodanis, 2011, p. 671). Thus, individualism has the potential to undermine a couple's sense of shared agency among dual-career couples.

A few researchers focused on the beliefs and values of dual-career academic couples. Dual-career academic couples often express egalitarian views towards marriage and partnership (Creamer, 2001; Jorgenson, 2016; Sweet & Moen, 2004; Vohlídalová, 2017; Zhang & Kmec, 2018). For instance, Sweet and Moen (2004) surveyed 276 couples and found that academic couples who worked at the same university were more likely to express egalitarian views towards careers compared to couples who did not both work in academia and at the same institution. Likewise, another researcher team in a more recent national study quantitatively examined the gender beliefs among four groups of men and women in different gender, dual-career couples (Zhang & Kmec, 2018). The researchers grouped faculty into three different categories: gender deviants (women faculty said that their career was primary to their men partner's, and men who said that their career was secondary to their woman partner's); gender conformists (women who said that their career was secondary, and men who said that their career was primary); and gender egalitarian (faculty who said that their careers were of equal importance), and found that most faculty were in the gender egalitarian group. Dual-career academics couples often attributed their personal and professional success to egalitarian

relationship norms that disrupted the kinds of "hierarchical and sex-based division of labor" that typically characterize both higher education institutions and marital relations (Creamer, 2001, p. 11; Vohlídalová, 2017; Zhang & Kmec, 2018). Thus, we might expect that dual-career academic couples have more egalitarian views of both career and partnership, which may contribute to greater agency in advancing towards personal and professional goals.

Career primacy and work-life integration

Couples' beliefs and values on topics such as individualism and egalitarianism play a substantial role in how couples subsequently take action within their personal and professional lives. Within professional decision making, couples often engage in complex negotiation process that occurs between partners when considering which partner has career primacy, or the "lead" career (Livingston, 2014). Often, the partner who does not have the prime career will sacrifice their professional goals (and the economic gains associated with it) to facilitate the relationship (Curhan et al., 2008; Dispenza, 2015; O'Connor & Arnold, 2011). Within different-gender couples, these choices are often gendered, in that women partners are more likely to make career sacrifices to maintain their relationships (Gelfand et al., 2006; Stone & Hernandez, 2013). If women partners do maintain the prime career, they can often experience penalties such as backlash and marriage instability for doing so (Byrne & Barling, 2017; Chesley, 2016; Livingston, 2014).

The negotiation for career primacy influences and is influenced by how a couple divides domestic labor and caregiving responsibilities. There is a significant body of literature that examines how dual-career couples navigate family demands while also having careers, or what is more broadly referred to as work-life or work-family integration. Often, studies of work-family integration for dual-career couples examine the ways in which having children can shape

partners' experiences and actions within their personal and professional lives (Gilbert, 1985; Goldberg et al., 2012; Hertz, 1986; Higgins et al., 1992; Higgins & Duxbury, 1992; Holahan & Gilbert, 1979; Matias et al., 2017; Lindemann, 2017; Miano et al., 2015; Silberstein, 2014; Sullivan, 1996). These researchers showed that dual-career couples with children face substantial challenges in managing the demands of work and family. However, children are not the only family obligations that influence dual-career couples. Often, dual-career couples may encounter family-related obligations related to caring for elder parents or extended family (Cullen et al., 2009; Kim et al., 2013). Intersectional analysis of work-life integration (Bradley et al., 2005; Dale, 2005; Özbilgin et al., 2011) suggests that women from minority groups and women who are living outside of their country of origin are more likely to care for extended family.

Many studies show gender plays a significant role in the distribution of domestic responsibilities and caregiving roles. Women take on the majority of household domestic labor as part of the "second shift" (Bartley et al., 2008; Becker & Moen, 1999; Bergen et al., 2007; Bianchi et al., 2000; Bittman et al., 2003; Bowles & McGinn, 2008; Brines, 1994) though there are differences in women's domestic labor at the intersection of race (Bergen, 1991; Cohen, 1998; Dow, 2016; Gupta, 2007; Omori & Smith, 2009; Orbuch & Eyster, 1997; Shelton & John, 1993) and sexual orientation (Oerton, 1998). Studies suggest that within couples wherein the woman partner contributes over 50% of the household income, the gendered divisions of domestic labor is more entrenched (Bertrand et al., 2015; Bittman et al., 2003). That is, women who make more money than their men partners do relatively more household labor. Furthermore, even as expectations around parenting change and fathers are expected to take a more active role (Ishizuka, 2019), women tend to do the majority of caregiving (Sayer et al., 2004; Shafer et al., 2020). Other research points to gendered divisions of labor related to "invisible" types of

domestic tasks, or the "third shift." For instance, women are more likely than men to engage in cognitive labor, or the mental work associated with managing a household (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Bass, 2015; Daminger, 2019; Hochschild, 1989; Wong, 2017), as well as emotional labor, or the affective work related to supporting others (Ciciolla & Luthar, 2019; Erickson, 2005; Hochschild, 1989; Minnotte et al., 2010). In all, women report greater levels of work-family conflict related to caregiving and different kinds of domestic labor (Allen & Finkelstein, 2014; Grzywacz et al., 2005; Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Kinnunen et al., 2006; McElwain et al., 2005; Mennino et al., 2005; Roehling et al., 2005), and emerging evidence shows the pandemic is likely widening these gaps (Barroso, 2021; Calarco et al., 2020; Carlson et al., 2020; Craig & Churchill, 2020; Crook, 2020).

Being a faculty member likewise influences and is influenced by family factors. First, being in academia influences faculty members' decisions around family formation. Studies show that women faculty members decide not to have children at higher rates compared to women professionals in other fields (e.g., doctors, lawyers) in order to maintain and advance their careers (Mason et al., 2013). When faculty members do have children, they often do so around the academic calendar or after they receive tenure (Armenti, 2004; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Mason et al., 2013; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Yet, regardless of the timing of children, women with children are less likely to be in tenure and tenure-track roles, whereas men faculty typically experience career boosts as a result of having children (Mason et al., 2013; Perna, 2001, 2005). Second, family factors influence how faculty members spend their time. Misra et al. (2012) found that although faculty members spend roughly the same amount of time on work each week regardless of gender, women faculty with young children spent more time on childcare and other domestic labor and less time on research compared to men faculty with

children. This finding is consistent with other studies examining the allocation of faculty time (Colbeck, 2006; Misra et al., 2012; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Winslow, 2010). The pandemic has amplified these gender gaps, with preliminary evidence showing that women faculty are taking on more caregiving at the cost of scholarly productivity (Crook, 2020; Deruyugina et al., 2020; Gewin, 2020; Krukoski et al., 2020; Malisch et al., 2020; Myers et al., 2020). The gendered division of domestic labor and caregiving are therefore important factors in understanding why gender gaps in faculty roles persist.

Dual-career academic partners likewise negotiate for career primacy and are influenced by the division of domestic labor. Schiebinger et al. (2008) found that men faculty members were less likely to report than their partner's career was of equal importance to their own compared to women faculty. Another researcher found that men in different gender academic couples were more likely to hold the "primary" career (Baker, 2004). Women's careers often slowed or stagnated as a result of her partner status, whereas men's careers advanced without disruption (Baker, 2004). Often, stagnation emanated from the fact that the men's partner was further along in his career and thus his career took precedence (Baker, 2004; Yakaboski, 2016). In all, research in this area suggests that even though academic couples may espouse egalitarian norms within their partnership, divisions often emerge in how partners spend their time, which may subsequently shape personal and professional outcomes.

As faculty members, dual-career academic couples face many of the same challenges in integrating work and family. One study found that having children often became the point at which differences emerged in the careers of different gender dual-career academic couples, wherein the woman partner either made changes to her career in order to facilitate having children or left academe altogether (Baker, 2004). Another study found that women partners

typically reduced their professional activities after having children, even if they had experienced greater career success than their men partners prior to having children (Vohlídalová, 2017). These results suggest that among different gender dual-career academic couples, gender differences often emerge as partners navigate family planning and parenting. However, these studies offer little insight into how couples negotiate these decisions.

On the other hand, there is evidence that being a dual-career academic couple can help faculty to navigate barriers to work-family integration. Women faculty (regardless of their partner's occupation) often perceive having children as a sort of foundational source of stability and security who contribute to their overall satisfaction despite professional obstacles they encounter (O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Specific to dual-career academic couples, Blaser's (2008) dissertation focused on the lifestyles of women scientists and engineers in dual-career academic couples. Leveraging quantitative data from the U.S. Census and 15 in-depth interviews with women in academic science and engineering partnered to other academics, Blaser observed that because women in the study were partnered with someone who knew and understood the academic world, they often found it easier to integrate or balance the demands of having children with work.

As in my study, Blaser (2008) sought to understand the aspects of dual-career academic partnerships that influenced faculty personal and professional lives. However, there are some limitations to this work. First, Blaser focused specifically on the women partners in dual-career academic couples, that is, why and how women scientists in particular pursue relationships with other scientists. Although this emphasis served to elevate the voices of women faculty members, it is less helpful for understanding the experiences of dual-career academic couples as the unit of analysis. Second, Blaser focused on understanding individual relationships between women

faculty members and their partners, rather than putting these relationships within the context of greater social, cultural, and academic structures. In other words, while Blaser's work uncovered how dual-career lifestyles influenced individual faculty members experiences, it did not tackle the ways in which these kinds of relationships interact with the greater institutional structures that shape faculty agency. To sum, studies on work-life, and more specifically work-family integration, reveal that family considerations play a significant role – potentially positive, but also potentially negative –in understanding the shared agency of couples in both their personal and professional lives.

Co-location and relocation

One of the final factors that influences the shared experiences of dual-career couples occurs in scenarios wherein one partner is presented with a new job opportunity that would force the couple to either relocate or live separately. Many studies examine the relocation decision, wherein the couple "follows" the one partner's career, forcing the other partner to become a "trailing spouse" who must subsequently find new employment (Amcoff & Niedomysl, 2015; Bayes, 1989; Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Cooke, 2007; Harvey, 1995, 1997; Harvey et al., 1999; Shahnasarian, 1991; Van Bochove & Engbersen, 2015; Wong, 2017). Among different gender couples, the decision to relocate is often gendered, in that couples are more likely to relocate to facilitate men's career advancement, putting women into the trailing spouse role. In contrast, women are less likely to force a relocation for their own professional advancement (Bielby & Bielby, 1992).

Other dual-career couples decide to live separately, maintaining two residences in separate locations and then commuting to be together. Commuting comes with both benefits and drawbacks. Commuter couples may experience benefits – mostly professional in nature - from

living apart, including the opportunity to dedicate more time to work during the week, greater opportunities for professional advancement, and increased economic benefits (Bearce, 2013; Bunker et al., 1992; Green et al., 1999). On the other hand, partners in commuter marriages may experience greater marital dissatisfaction, stress, and loneliness (Anderson & Spruill, 1993; Bunker et al., 1992; Govaerts & Dixon, 1998; Jackson et al., 2000). Likewise, the division of domestic labor and childcare remains a pressing issue for commuter couples (Bergen et al., 2007; Lyssens-Danneboom & Mortelmans, 2014; Van der Klis & Mulder, 2008). Studies suggest for different gender couples with children, children are more likely to live with women partners, essentially giving women greater domestic responsibilities to handle by themselves (Anderson & Spruill, 1993; Bergen et al., 2007; Lindemann, 2017), which may therefore contribute to greater work-life conflict for women partners in these types of arrangements.

Frequently, academic couples likewise face the decision to either relocate or live separately. When academic couples decide to relocate, studies suggest partners face challenges in determining who will be the trailing spouse (Careless & Mizzi, 2015; Miller-Loessi & Henderson, 1997; Schaer et al., 2017; Yakaboski, 2016). One study examined the experiences of 21 Asian women faculty in different gender couples working at two U.S. research institutions in STEM fields (Yakaboski, 2016). For most of the participants in the study, one partner, typically the woman, became the "trailing spouse" at some point in the relationship. The woman partner often occupied the trailing spouse role because either her partner had a more advanced career or the timing of pregnancy influenced her degree completion. These findings suggest that women can face career obstacles related to being in an academic couple. However, women faculty members can also face personal barriers when they become the "leading spouse." For example, Kelly and McCann (2019) found that women faculty members whose careers forced relocation

often experienced financial stress and pressure as a result of their “breadwinner” status, regardless of whether their partner was an academic or occupied another professional role.

Dual-career academic couples increasingly also live separately and commute in order to facilitate their careers. Research suggests up to 13% of faculty live separately from their partners (Curtis et al., 2009). Being in a commuter academic couple shapes the personal and professional lives of both partners (Deutsch & Yao, 2014; Sallee, 2019; Sallee & Lewis, 2020). For instance, in one qualitative study, Sallee (2019) examined the experiences of 36 men and women faculty in commuter marriages. The researcher found that although participants viewed commuting as a strategy for ensuring both partners could pursue their careers, women faculty experienced greater challenges with the arrangement due to their identities as wives and mothers. Although Sallee’s research is similar to this study in that it focuses on dual-career couples and the strategies used to accommodate both careers, my inquiry differed in that I focused on couples at the same institution. Likewise, Sallee examined the role of identities (e.g., mother, wife) in shaping views of commuting; my study brought critical perspectives to better understand how these kinds of identities are shaped at the intersection of gender, race, and sexual orientation, and embedded these identities within specific institutional contexts.

Altogether, researchers have revealed an array of dynamic, interrelated factors that shape academic couples’ collective agency. Thus, as Sotirin and Goltz (2019) argued, the paths of academic couples cannot be understood as “individual and autonomous” but as “coordinated trajectories” (p. 1227), wherein partners “negotiate for themselves, advocate for each other, and struggle *alone together* to manage their responsibilities, assert their value, and claim opportunities and respect” (p. 1226). Furthermore, researchers also suggest that social identities, such as gender, race, and sexual orientation, may influence the agency of partners as both

individuals and as a collective unit. Yet, these experiences often occur within important organizational and field and societal contexts, which are discussed in the following sections.

Organizational Influences

Organizational influences focus on the aspects of the faculty member's college or university (O'Meara et al., 2011) that may shape the individual and collective agency of dual-career academic couples in advancing their personal and professional goals. Such influences impact either agentic actions or perspectives (O'Meara et al., 2011).

Policies and Resources

Policies and resources can shape faculty agency by either facilitating their ability to move towards their goals or constraining the types of actions faculty take and the perspectives faculty assume (O'Meara et al., 2011). The vast majority of researchers examining dual-career academic couples focus on the institutional policies and resources institutions use to accommodate and support them.

Family-Friendly Policies. Over the last 20 years, there has been a strong push to make faculty careers more compatible with having families. Many institutions have pursued reforms, such as paid parental leave (Miller & Hollenshead, 2005; Raabe, 1997) and tenure delay (Antecol et al., 2018) in order to facilitate the personal and professional success and agency of faculty who want to have families (Feeney et al., 2014; Lester & Sallee, 2009, 2017; Mason et al., 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Villablanca et al., 2013; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2018). In addition, some researchers have shown that the flexible and autonomous nature of faculty work can facilitate faculty's ability to juggle work and family demands (Sallee & Lester, 2017; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012).

Despite these reforms, studies show that faculty members who have children, of all genders, face significant barriers in accessing such policies and benefits (Drago et al., 2001; Feeney et al., 2014; Lundquist et al., 2012; Sallee et al., 2016). For example, O'Meara and Campbell (2011) found that the presence of paid parental leave increased faculty agency related to work-life balance. Yet, many faculty members still felt as though their agency was constrained because of the lack of departmental support and role models who could help them better manage the demands of work and life. Furthermore, although faculty fathers encounter obstacles (Lundquist et al., 2012; Sallee, 2012), these barriers are frequently more pronounced for women (Mason et al., 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012) and may account for the persistent gender inequities observed among faculty at four-year institutions and among academic leaders.

Although there are an abundance of studies on how dual-career academic couples use policies related to hiring and recruitment (next section), few studies consider whether and how academic couples access family-friendly policies like paid parental leave or tenure delay, and how these policies shape the individual and collective agency of academic couples. For instance, some researchers (e.g., Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008; Yakaboski, 2016) considered the ways in which becoming parents shaped the individual personal and professional lives of faculty couples. Still, such research gives little insight into the extent to which the institutional policies either facilitated or constrained the options partners had as they navigated having children. This omission is significant because there is much research that shows faculty agency is enhanced when institutions put in place policies to support faculty success (Baez, 2000; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Terosky et al., 2014; Sallee, 2012).

Intersectionality brings into focus some additional limitations of the research on family-friendly policies. The vast majority of studies on faculty work-life policies focus on gender differences among tenure and tenure-track faculty (Feeney et al., 2014; Lester & Sallee, 2009, 2017; Mason et al., 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Yet, a handful of studies suggest that faculty experience challenges in using such policies at the intersection of other aspects of their identity. Women faculty of color face greater work-life conflict than faculty from other gender and racial backgrounds (Denson et al., 2017), often experiencing a "cumulative disadvantage" when trying to navigate family formulation and their careers as a result of their multiple marginalized identities (Castañeda et al., 2015; Ong et al., 2011; Kachchaf et al., 2015). Similarly, many of the work-life interventions meant to facilitate "family-friendliness" (e.g., tenure-delay) apply to only a small subset of faculty members – those on the tenure-track, those with children, and in particular, those with small children (Culpepper et al., 2020b; Sallee, 2013; Sawyer et al., 2017). For instance, given the evidence that many women wait until after achieving tenure to have children (Armenti, 2004) and the disproportionate number of women in contingent faculty roles (Hart, 2011; Finkelstein et al., 2016), a tenure-delay may not address work-life challenges for many. Likewise, many faculty members may have personal obligations (e.g., sickness in extended family) that are less visible and thus not well-addressed by formal policy (Culpepper et al., 2020b; Sawyer et al., 2017) Said another way, though family-friendly policies may facilitate work-life for some faculty members, many faculty members' work-life agency will not be influenced by such policies.

Equity concerns in the wake of the pandemic have spurred the implementation of additional, COVID-19 related work-life policies and practices. That is, the pandemic has disproportionately impacted communities of color (Clark et al., 2020; Gonzales & Griffin, 2020)

and amplified women's caregiving roles in ways that influenced their productivity (Cui et al., 2020; Dolan & Lawless, 2020; King & Frederickson, 2020; Krukowski et al., 2020; Myers et al., 2020; Viglione, 2020; Wehner et al., 2020). Many advocates have called for the creation of COVID-19 tenure delays as well as increased subsidies for childcare, workload modifications, and course releases for those with caregiving demands (Clark et al., 2020; Gonzales & Griffin, 2020; Malisch et al., 2020; Oleschuk, 2020; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2021). Such policies have been unevenly implemented across institutions and the impact of said interventions is yet to be determined, but given the evidence that policies like parental leave and tenure delay have had somewhat limited impact (Antecol et al., 2018; Lundquist et al., 2012), similar tepid results may be anticipated in the pandemic (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2021; Weissman, 2020).

Dual-Career Support Programs. The vast majority of studies on dual-career academic couples focus on one subset of family-friendly policies, dual-career support programs. Early studies of institutional policies for dual-career couples focused on anti-nepotism practices (Barbee & Cunningham, 1990; Dagg, 1993; Ezrati, 1983; Pingree et al., 1978; Shoben, 1997) and mandatory leave practices (Ezrati, 1983), which often undermined the career success of faculty couples by pushing women out of faculty roles. Although many research institutions formally rescinded anti-nepotism policies in the early 1970s, many administrators continued them in practice (Pingree et al., 1978). In contrast, Perkins (1997) found that many historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) actively recruited African American academic couples to their campuses and that anti-nepotism policies were not as prevalent in these institutions. In fact, in interviews with former HCBU faculty, some participants recalled that dual-career academic couples composed upwards of half of the faculty at their institution (Perkins, 1997).

As anti-nepotism policies faded in the 1980s and 1990s, some institutions began creating more supportive policies for dual-career couples (Layne et al., 2005; Loeb, 1997; Raabe, 1997; Shoben, 1997; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000, 2003). Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003) in their seminal work, *The Two-Body Problem: Dual-Career-Couple Hiring Practices in Higher Education*, examined these trends. Drawing from a national survey of academic officers, case studies of five universities of different size and institutional type, and the existing literature, they identified five types of policies institutions typically used to support dual-career academic couples. First were relocation services, aimed at helping partners (faculty and non-faculty alike) to find off-campus employment. Second, many institutions created temporary, non-tenure track faculty positions for the partner. Third, some institutions implemented job-sharing policies, wherein faculty split or shared a single tenure line. Fourth, institutions joined higher education recruiting consortiums (HERCs), to jointly advertise faculty roles with institutions in the same geographic area. Finally, least common, institutions sometimes facilitated the creation of a new, tenure-track positions for the partner of the initial hire. These findings are widely consistent with other studies conducted in the same period (de Wet & de Wet, 1997; Didion, 1996; Goldberg & Sakai, 1993; Fleig-Palmer et al., 2003; Layne et al., 2005; McNeil & Sher, 1999; Mikitka, 1984; Mikitka & Koblinsky, 1985; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Raabe, 1997; Rusconi, 2002; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000).

In addition to identifying policies, Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003) identified a few other trends. In the survey component of their study, the authors asked chief academic officers at institutions in the Association of American Colleges of Universities (*N* = 360) about their college's approach to dual-career academic couples. Although most academic officers agreed that partner accommodations were important, less than a quarter of institutions had formal or

informal accommodations in place. Research institutions, and particularly those in geographically remote areas, were the most likely to have dual-career supports. Respondents also indicated that their institutions would be most likely to provide partner accommodations for (in order of likelihood) faculty of color, full professors, and women professors. In addition, Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003) found that academic officers viewed providing dual-career supports as critical for being competitive in recruiting women faculty, faculty of color, and "star" faculty.

In the last 10 years, dual-career academic support policies have become increasingly visible and prominent. The American Association of University Professors (2010) and multiple other disciplinary associations (American Philosophical Association, 2010; Fisher, 2015; Putnam et al., 2017) recommend both departments and institutions consider creating policies and practices to facilitate hiring for dual-career academic couples. The National Science Foundation's ADVANCE Program, focused on increasing the number of women faculty in STEM, has likewise paid particular attention to dual-career academic couples. Recent ADVANCE grants have provided funding for institutions to put in place dual-career supports (Laursen & Austin, 2020; Mitchneck, 2018) and supported studies examining the prevalence of dual-career partner accommodation policies and practices in U.S. higher education institutions (McHahon et al., 2018).

Recently, researchers in this area have revealed some interesting trends about the prevalence of dual-career support policies and the kinds of institutions that adopt them. McCluskey et al. (n.d.) collected data on formal and informal dual-career support programs at 259 large, four-year, residential institutions. Drawing from data collected from each institution's website and publicly available policy documents, the researchers found approximately two-thirds of institutions had no formal dual-career support program advertised. Around 22% of institutions

had a formal policy, while the remaining institutions either had program information available but no formal resources or had a policy in progress. Consistent with other studies (e.g., Isaac, 2018; Promin, 2011; Raabe 1997; Tzanakou, 2017; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), they found public institutions, and in particular land grant institutions, were more likely to have formal dual-career support policies compared to private institutions. Moreover, institutions in the Great Plains had the highest percentage of formal dual-career support policies. This finding suggests that institutions in geographically remote areas face the greatest challenges in recruiting dual-career couples, but also that these institutions have therefore put in place greater resources for academic couples.

Some ADVANCE programs have recently begun to incorporate intersectional perspectives into their dual-career support initiatives. That is, institutions have intentionally designed dual-career support programs to increase the recruitment not only of women, but also specifically Women of Color (Bartolomei-Suarez & Guillemard-Gregory, 2018; McDonald et al., 2018; Mora et al., 2018). For instance, the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley (UTRGV) implemented a dual-career hiring program to increase the recruitment and retention of Latina women in STEM fields (Mora et al., 2018). ADVANCE leaders at UTRGV revised the faculty hiring policy and created a search waiver policy to facilitate dual-career academic couple hiring. Since the changes were made, UTRGV has hired 10-12 academic couples per year, though it was unclear in the study if the program has contributed to the specific recruitment of Latina women, as intended.

Institutional supports for academic couples appear to be more popular than ever. However, there is uneven evidence on whether these policies increase the hiring of dual-career couples. Some research shows policies may be flawed or underutilized. In one study, researchers

found that only 10% of faculty participated in an institutional partner hire program (Schiebinger et al., 2008), which is concerning given that over a third of faculty are part of an academic couple (Astin & Milem, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008). One reason that few faculty members utilize these policies is that they have low levels of knowledge about their existence. For instance, in both surveys and interviews, many faculty members indicate that they either did not know if their institution had a dual-career support policy or they had not used the policy if it was in place (Blake, 2020; Kmec et al., 2015; Schiebinger et al., 2008). Moreover, couples were more likely to report using an informal policy accommodation at the department level compared to formal policies at the institutional level (Kmec et al., 2015). In all, such studies suggest that formal institutional policies may have limited impact on academic couples.

Another potential issue with dual-career support programs is that there is some evidence that men are more likely to access dual-career accommodations compared to women. Several studies show that men are more likely to be the initial hire, or the partner who is first recruited to the institution (Kaunas et al., 2018; Loeb, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008), whereas women compose a greater percentage of partner, or second, hires (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Likewise, Morton (2018) surveyed faculty at seven research institutions and found that among those faculty in different-gender academic couples, women were less likely to initiate a negotiation. However, the effect was mitigated if the woman believed her career to be the primary one, that is, more important that her men partner's career. Other researchers suggest that women faculty in untenured positions and those in "lower-status" disciplines (e.g., professional fields) encounter greater obstacles in negotiating for partner hires (Kelly & McCann, 2019). Said another way, dual-career support policies may have limited impacts on increasing the number of women in faculty roles, despite their intention to do so.

Other studies suggest more promising results. Based on one national survey, institutions appear to recruit more faculty through partner hires now compared to rates in the 1980s or 1990s, even though the percentage of dual-career academic couples is the same (Schiebinger et al., 2008). One study found that over 50% of dual-career academic couples used a partner accommodation when they were hired to their institution (Zhang & Kmec, 2018). Another quantitative study of academic couples at seven institutions showed that women and men in dual-career academic couples who revealed their need for a partner accommodation early in the hiring process experienced more positive career outcomes (e.g., promotion, salary) compared to couples who did not (Morton & Kmec, 2017). The study also found women and men were equally as likely to reveal their academic couple status in the hiring process (Morton & Kmec, 2017).

Other researchers have attempted to understand the efficacy of dual-career support programs through the lens of the administrators and academic leaders who run them (e.g., Brust et al., 2018; Gardner & McNerney, 2018). For example, Brust et al. (2018) provided a history and overview of the University of Chicago's Faculty Relocation / Dual Career Services Office through the practitioner vantage of program administrators. They described the services offered, staffing structure, and challenges and success of their office, concluding that the office had facilitated partner hire success by building community and helping faculty partners succeed personally and professionally.

Yet, studies showing positive results have limitations. Studies that focus on the quantitative rates of partner accommodation usage (e.g., Morton & Kmec, 2017; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Zhang & Kmec, 2018), give little insight into the institutional conditions under which dual-career negotiations are successful or the factors academic couples considered when

negotiating with the institution. Few studies from the academic leader perspective share empirical evidence that the institutional rate of hiring couples increased from pre- to post-policy implementation. Overall, these studies, while useful for institutions seeking to identify potential strategies for facilitating recruitment, do little to elevate the voices of dual-career couples navigating these new institutional programs.

Intersectionality illuminates a gap in the literature on dual-career academic couples by revealing how little we know about who accesses such policies. Very few studies have examined whether and how same gender couples utilize dual-career support policies, how experiences vary by race, and the kinds of positions (e.g., contingent versus tenured/tenure-track) into which dual-career academic couples are hired. For instance, Blake (2020) provided significant insight into the racialized experiences of dual-career academic couples in his study of 11 couples working at top-ranked institutions across the United States. In this study, at least one partner identified as Black, Latinx, or Indigenous, racial groups historically underrepresented in higher education. Blake reported that relatively few couples noted receiving information about dual-career policies at the time of initial hire, and moreover found that second hires were often negotiated as part of a retention package. Even so, most of the faculty in this study were tenure or tenure-track and their institutional affiliations varied.

Aspects of identity also shape faculty members' job search process and institutional preferences. Faculty of color (Ng & Burke, 2005; Tuitt et al., 2007) and LGBT faculty (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009) may be more likely to seek institutions that have greater faculty and student diversity and/or are located in more progressive geographic locations with greater diversity. These institutions are often located in urban or suburban locations, which may therefore limit the range of institutions faculty of color and same gender couples consider when

they are on the academic job market generally (Kulis et al., 2000). Since many institutions with dual-career support programs are located in geographically remote areas (Kmec et al., 2015; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), an intersectional analysis of dual-career support programs may reveal that these types of policies are not as beneficial to faculty of color and same gender faculty.

Studies on the policies and practices institutions use to support dual-career academic couples therefore provide mixed evidence on their efficacy and their potential influence on agency for dual-career academic couples. On the positive side, we know that institutional policies and practices can facilitate faculty agency by giving access to resources and opening up possibilities for faculty where before, opportunities may have been few. For instance, the provision of paid parental leave can enhance faculty agency in work-life balance (Lundquist et al., 2012; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). However, studies of faculty agency suggest that the organizational climate and culture around the policy also shape agency (Baez, 2000; Campbell & O'Meara, 2014; Gonzales, 2015; Lundquist et al., 2012; Terosky et al., 2014; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). That is, policy alone is not enough to remove the organizational barriers that may constrain faculty members' ability to advance their careers in meaningful ways. There is a strong need for future research to examine if dual-career support policies are indeed successful in increasing the recruitment and retention of faculty, particularly from groups historically underrepresented in higher education.

Norms and Expectations

Organizational norms and expectations can shape faculty agency at both the departmental and institutional level. O'Meara et al. (2011) characterized norms and expectations as the implicit and explicit "ways of being." Institutional controls, such as scripts, patterns, or practices, signal such norms and expectation to faculty members. Although there are numerous norms that

may influence dual-career academic couples within the context of their specific institution, I identify three that emerged as particularly salient from the literature: meritocracy, autonomy, and ideal worker norms.

Merit and Quality. Norms of merit are pervasive within colleges and universities, especially within academic processes such as admissions, hiring, tenure, and promotion. By merit, I refer to the idea that individuals possess certain qualities, characteristics, or achievements that afford them access to certain earned opportunities, such as being hired into a prestigious department or admitted into a high-ranking graduate program (Guinier, 2015; Posselt, 2014, 2016; Posselt et al., 2020). Meritocracy and quality can also be intertwined with notions of legitimacy. Legitimacy, or the perception that one aligns with relevant field or departmental rules or laws (Scott, 1995), can influence career advancement (Gonzales, 2013; Gonzales & Terosky, 2016; O'Meara et al., 2018; Posselt et al., 2020). Legitimacy often intersects with a faculty member's social identities and rank/employment status within an institution (Gonzales & Rincones, 2012; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; O'Meara et al., 2018, 2020). Although many faculty evaluation processes conceive of merit or legitimacy in an absolute sense (Posselt, 2016), there is significant evidence that individuals construct their notions of who is meritorious or qualified based on the relative qualifications of others (Stevens, 2008) and social biases (O'Meara et al., 2020; Rudman & Glick, 2001; Sheltzer & Smith, 2014; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2005). In other words, implicit meanings and understandings often saturate notions of who is considered to be a legitimate faculty who is meritorious of the rank or position.

Studies show the concepts of merit and quality are particularly salient to the experience of dual-career academic couples. Although the terms "trailing wife" and "trailing spouse" have mostly fallen out of the vernacular in favor of the more inclusive "partner hire," there is some

evidence that departments often perceive the partner hire to be of lesser quality or merit (Hornig, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). These expectations about quality may intersect with deeply held gender norms that, within different-gender couples, the man's career will be the primary one (Kelly & McCann, 2019), and thus the woman is "free-riding" off her partner's career (Creamer, 2001). Expectations about the lesser quality of the partner hire may increase if the couple collaborates, as evaluators frequently view women's contributions to collaborative projects as less important (Creamer, 2001; Sarsons, 2017). These expectations prevail despite the evidence that partner hires – both men and women – are equally as productive in terms of scholarly output as faculty who are not partner hires (Bellas, 1997; Woolstenhulme et al., 2014). Overall, research hints that deeply embedded notions of meritocracy and legitimacy may undermine many well-intended dual-career support programs.

Intersectional analyses of the concepts of merit and quality show that beliefs about gender, race, and sexual orientation often play a role in how faculty, departments, and institutions perceive and evaluate other faculty members. For instance, studies show that gender and race play a role as faculty evaluate the strength and rigor of research (Knobloch-Westerwick et al., 2013) and the brilliance or genius of faculty (Leslie et al., 2015; Storage et al., 2016). Furthermore, faculty who research marginalized populations (Antonio, 2002; Bilimoria & Stewart, 1009; LaSala et al., 2008, Turner et al., 2008) or who do community-engaged scholarship (Saltmarsh et al., 2009) and interdisciplinary work (Gonzales & Rincones, 2012; Rhoten & Pfirman, 2007) face greater scrutiny during evaluation processes than those who do more "traditional" types of research. Often, faculty from marginalized groups lead research in these areas, representing another way in which bias undermines the ideal of meritocracy. Cumulatively, there is a significant body of literature that reveals how definitions of merit are

intertwined with identities such as gender and race. These norms may influence academic couples as they negotiate for partner hires, but also as couples experience their academic work environment and are evaluated throughout their careers.

Autonomy. Another norm that dual-career academic couples may encounter is faculty resistance to practices (like dual-career support programs) that they perceive to be threats to departmental autonomy. Department members may view administrators who attempt to facilitate partner hires as interfering with departmental decision-making and threatening the department's future hiring prospects (Hornig, 1997; Mora et al., 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). For instance, Schiebinger et al. (2008) found that around 40% of faculty believe that partner hiring can jeopardize their department's ability to recruit top candidates through open, competitive searches. However, the same study also found that most faculty do not view partner hires as a disruption to the "intellectual direction" of the department (Schiebinger et al., 2008). These perceptions may be more prevalent in departments that have limited funds or capacity to hire new faculty in general. Furthermore, when academic couples work in the same department, department faculty may believe that they will vote together on critical departmental issues and thus have an unfair advantage (Hornig, 1997; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019). Together, this research suggests that dual-career academic couples, and especially the partner hires, may experience a negative departmental climate, which may undermine their career success and retention.

Ideal Worker. Ideal worker norms, which normalize on-demand, workaholic cultures, inhibit faculty members' ability to advocate for work-life integration while also doing what it takes to succeed professionally (Acker, 1990, 2006; Drago & Williams, 2000; Fox et al., 2011; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Kelly & McCann, 2019; Lester & Sallee, 2017; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Sallee, 2012. 2013; Williams, 2001). Ideal workers have no outside-of-work obligations,

can work long hours, and have “unbroken” career trajectories (Acker, 1990; Kachchaf et al., 2015, p. 176; Sallee, 2012; Williams, 2001). Often, such norms are based in the assumption that professionals have partners at home who can manage domestic and household tasks, while the working partner dedicates most of their time to professional endeavors (Williams, 2001). In other words, ideal workers are White, middle-class men with women partners who stay at home (Acker, 1990; Sallee, 2012; Williams 2001).

Ideal worker norms can manifest differently for faculty based on their identity. For instance, women, who are expected to take on greater domestic and childrearing responsibilities, are less likely to “fit” with ideal worker norms and may face greater penalties when they fail to do so (Kelly & McCann, 2019; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012). Men faculty who want to contribute to childcare responsibilities can also be constrained by ideal worker norms, in that their desire to be active parents may be viewed as inappropriate (Sallee, 2012, 2014). Women of Color, due their hypervisibility within the work environment, may face greater penalties for taking advantage of flexible work policies or for accessing parental leave, as it may be more noticeable if Women of Color are not present at departmental meetings or events (Kachchaf et al., 2015). In all, ideal worker norms undermine institutional policies and practices meant to facilitate faculty work-life and work-family integration (Cech & Blair-Loy, 2014; Kachchaf et al., 2015; Kelly & McCann, 2019; O’Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ong et al., 2011; Sallee, 2012, 2014).

With these findings in mind, ideal worker norms may influence the agency of dual-career academic couples in multiple ways. First, as a couple wherein both partners work, academic couples do not meet the ideal worker norm because there is no partner dedicating 100% of their time to managing household. Several researchers described how faculty workload demands

(Sortirin & Goltz, 2019; Yakaboski, 2016) constrained the ability of academic couples to navigate their work and lives, particularly if the couple had children. Ideal worker norms may make men partners feel as though they cannot use work-life policies such as parental leave (Sallee, 2012, 2014), whereas women partners are expected to, thereby reinforcing traditional gender roles within different gender academic couple. In all, ideal worker norms may constrain the agency of dual-career academic couples in ways that have not yet been explicitly explored in the literature.

Climate

Climate reflects faculty member's broad sense of their department or institution (O'Meara et al., 2011). Climate varies substantially from institution to institution and can differentially shape the experiences of faculty based on the intersection of their gender, race, and rank/employment type, among other factors (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Castañeda et al., 2015; Fries-Britt et al., 2011; Horton, 2000; Kim et al., 2011; Turner et al., 2008). Relatively few studies have examined the climate for dual-career academic couples, though there are some inferences that can be made from the extant research. Many of the norms and expectations discussed in the previous section may suggest that the climate for dual-career academic couples may be a negative one, particularly if a faculty member comes to the institution through a partner hire program. For instance, the climate for the partner may be a negative one if department faculty perceive their new colleague to be unqualified or undeserving of their new appointment.

There are a few studies on dual-career academic couples that suggest that the role of bias may negatively impact climate for dual-career academic couples. A recent study showed women faculty members who had partners (regardless of their status as an academic) experienced significant bias in the hiring process on the basis of their partner status (Rivera, 2017). The

researcher observed three faculty search committees in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences (fields which range in terms of gender diversity) at one research intensive university. Through these observations, Rivera found that search committee members attempted to discern a woman job candidate's relationship status using social media and their professional networks. Women candidates who had partners were less likely to advance into the final candidate pool, whereas relationship status had no bearing on the evaluation of men candidates. This finding suggests not only that there is a bias against women in dual-career partnerships, but also faculty who make clear their need for partner accommodations may face penalties for doing so. This finding was mirrored in a survey of engineering faculty in dual-career academic couples that showed that many universities stopped trying to hire the initial partner if it became clear in the hiring process that a partner hire was not possible (Schulz et al., 1997). These studies suggest that the climate for hiring dual-career academic couples may hinder academic couples' entry into departments.

Bias might also emerge to influence the experiences and agency of dual-career academic couples as a result of the kind of academic position in which each partner is employed. One of the more popular ways in which institutions support dual-career academic couples is by creating short-term, non-tenure track positions for the partner hire (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). Although this strategy may work as a temporary bandage to the issue of recruitment, there is literature that shows that bias related to faculty rank is pervasive at many institutions. For example, Young et al. (2015) found that many non-tenure track faculty experience daily microaggressions, including the devaluing of contributions and verbal mistreatments, as a result of their untenured status. Moreover, many studies show that non-tenure track faculty have less access to resources to facilitate their career success (Jaeger & Eagan, 2011; Kezar, 2012, 2013; Kezar & Sam, 2013),

are less likely to be involved in campus governance and decision making (Morrison, 2008), and have fewer opportunities for professional advancement (Waltman et al., 2012).

Thus, understanding how and if institutions track partner hires into vulnerable, non-tenure track roles and how those roles shape partner agency is an important gap in the literature for two major reasons. First, if institutions hire partners into different kinds of faculty roles, each partner's opportunities to enact agency will be different. Tenured or tenure-track partners may receive more resources that foster their career success, while the untenured partner receives comparatively fewer resources. This has potential ramifications for the collective agency of dual-career academic couples as well, as their inter-relational dynamics may be influenced as a result of having differential faculty roles. Second, there is some evidence that women are more likely to be in the role of "partner hire," (Loeb, 1997) thus potentially more likely to be recruited into a non-tenure track role. Thus, an intersectional perspective will allow us to understand how their experience is influenced by the interaction of rank and gender, as well other important aspects of social identity.

Leadership

Leadership can shape the agency of faculty because department chairs, provosts, presidents, and deans set the tone about what is valued and legitimated within specific institutional contexts (O'Meara et al., 2011). Multiple studies show that departmental leaders can play a significant role in influencing the climate for women and faculty of color (Campbell & O'Meara, 2014; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006; Patridge et al., 2014; Sax et al., 2017). Within the context of dual-career hiring, leaders can play a key role in determining whether or not partners are hired and what their experience is like after the initial recruitment process. Department chairs often have a great deal of power and discretion in facilitating partner hires (Wolf-Wendel et al.,

2000, 2003; Yakaboski, 2016), but sometimes fail to act (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000), or worse, purposely obstruct partner hires. For instance, Sotirin and Goltz (2019) found that during the recruitment process, departmental administrators often hinted or left open the possibility that a partner hire would be available sometime in the future as the department recruited the initial hire. The initial hire would then accept the position and the couple would relocate, only to learn after moving that a partner hire was not possible. In the same study, some couples reported that when they went to leaders to negotiate for partner accommodations, they were told outright to look elsewhere for faculty positions. In other words, there is some evidence that leadership can undermine the agency of dual-career academic couples as they advance towards their personal and professional goals, though more research is needed to better understand the relationship between leadership and academic couples' agency.

Field and Society Influences

Field and society influences refer to the structure, norms, and expectations in greater society that influence our actions (O'Meara et al., 2011), and include both social stratification and social norms and expectations.

Social Stratification

One of the ways stratification might influence dual-career academic couples is through the segregation of faculty into different disciplines by race and gender, or disciplinary stratification. Many STEM fields lack racial and gender diversity (National Science Foundation, 2019). Because most dual-career hiring programs have been deployed as a way to increase the number of women in STEM (McMahon et al., 2018), dual-career academic couples who are not in STEM fields may have less access to partner hire resources (Kelly & McCann, 2019), or may work in departments that are less accustomed to facilitating partner hires. However, because

almost no studies of dual-career academic couples have specifically focused on the intersection of identities, we have relatively little insight into how social stratification might influence partners' experiences.

Norms and Expectations. One of the major norms of the academic profession that influences the lives of dual-career academic couples is academic mobility. Academic mobility refers to the norm wherein faculty members must move across state and national borders to attain faculty jobs, receive promotions, and get pay raises (Leeman, 2010; Rhoades et al., 2008; van Anders, 2004). Researchers suggest mobility for faculty in general can be understood through the lens of gender and race. For instance, women faculty members, and especially those with children, are less mobile than men faculty members and also more likely to be concentrated in urban areas, ostensibly where their partners can find quality jobs (Kulis & Sicotte, 2002; Rosenfeld & Jones, 1987; Shauman & Xie, 1996). Likewise, some researchers suggest that faculty of color are more likely to seek positions located in areas with greater racial/ethnic diversity (Ng & Burke, 2005; Tuitt et al., 2007). These considerations therefore shape the mobility and job prospects of faculty, wherein straight, White, and men faculty may have greater mobility and thus an advantage when it comes to career choice.

With the rise of dual-career academic couples, both of whom need to find academic work, the norm of mobility presents a significant challenge. Dual-career support policies mostly target hiring (e.g., Kmec et al., 2015; Wolf-Wendel et al, 2003) and thus are intended to facilitate mobility. Yet, there is evidence that academic mobility continues to present distinctive challenges for academic couples. A few studies of dual-career academics in the United States explore the problems associated with academic mobility with the larger context of hiring or career development (e.g., Creamer, 2001; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003).

Academic couples frequently cite concerns about geographic mobility in the context of decision-making about professional opportunities (COACHE, 2018; Creamer, 2001; Zhang et al., 2019). Other studies indicate academic couples frequently live in different cities or commute long distances to maintain their professional careers (Baker, 2004; Magnuson & Norem, 1999; Sallee, 2019). On the other hand, studies using data from the Survey of Doctoral Recipients suggest scientists married to other scientists in different gender couples were more mobile than scientists married to non-scientists (Kulis & Sicotte, 2002). However, they found that men partner's career opportunities were more likely to drive mobility decisions. Despite these findings, relatively few studies of American faculty specifically examine the mobility of dual-career academic couples, and none that I found consider mobility through an intersectional lens.

Several European researchers have examined the ways in which mobility and in particular, transnational mobility, presents problems for dual-career academic couples. For instance, Ackers (2004) used the concept of tied-migration to understand different-gender dual-career academic couples in the European Union. The researcher drew from qualitative and quantitative data on the experiences of 150 men and women research scientists who participated in a European Union (EU)-sponsored fellowship program. The program was intended to facilitate the mobility of academic researchers within the EU. Ackers found that expectations about academic mobility generated tension within the relationships of dual-career academics. Often, these tensions led the woman partner to exit her scientific career and/or take lower prestige, short-term work such that the couple could "follow" the career of the man. These findings were consistent with other studies done in the European context (Ackers, 2004, 2005; Jöns, 2011; Leemann, 2010; Moguérou, 2004; Schaer et al., 2017; Toader & Dahinden, 2018; Vohlídalová, 2014), which overall concluded that academic mobility norms are linked to gender

inequalities in the academy. Given the differences between European and American faculty roles and employment more generally (e.g., different hiring norms, levels of support for paid leave), these studies may have limited applicability to dual-career academic couples in the United States. However, the research nonetheless suggests that mobility is an important norm that influences the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples.

Outcomes

Outcomes refer to what occurs when faculty enact agency, or when they are unable to so (O'Meara et al., 2011). According to O'Meara et al. (2011), few studies examine the outcomes faculty experience when their agency is constrained or fostered. I too found that few studies have considered the outcomes for dual-career academic couples. In particular, I found that most research on dual-career academic couples focuses on outcomes such as productivity, with a significant gap in the literature on outcomes like personal and professional satisfaction and advancement.

Productivity

There is significant evidence from both the general dual-career couples literature (Konrad & Mengal, 2000; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999) and faculty literature (Perna, 2005; Rosser, 2004b) that individuals who face challenges in integrating their personal and professional lives are less productive compared to individuals who are better able to integrate these two domains. For instance, multiple studies show that married/partnered faculty in general are more productive than single faculty (Aiston & Jung, 2015; Astin & Davis, 1985; Creamer, 1998; Fox, 2005; Hunter & Leahey, 2010; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mayer & Rathman, 2018; Perna, 2001, 2005; Toutkoushian & Bellas, 1999; Schiebinger et al., 2008), which suggests that partnership may bring positive benefits to both members of couples.

Building on this past work, multiple researchers examined the productivity of academic couples specifically and rendered mixed results. Some found that within couples, men in different-gender relationships were more productive than their (women) partners (Bryson et al., 1976). Others showed men with academic partners published more than men without academic partners, while women with academic partners published at the same rate as women with non-academic partners (Bellas, 1997). In contrast, one researcher team found that men with academic partners published less than men with non-faculty partners, while women with academic partners published more those with non-academic partners (Astin & Milem, 1997). Others compared the productivity of faculty with an academic partner to academics without one and found relatively few differences in productivity, controlling for gender and rank (Bellas, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008). However, others also suggested that faculty members who are a part of dual-career academic couples were more productive compared to those hired individually (Giros et al., 2011; Woolstenhulme et al., 2014). No studies to my knowledge used an intersectional perspective on productivity (e.g., looking at the intersection of race, gender, and partner status). Overall, such research paints a mixed picture about whether being in an academic couple boosts or undermines scholarly productivity.

Quantitative studies of dual-career academic couples' productivity are to be expected given the numerically measurable aspects of productivity. However, such studies offer little insight into the process by which partners in academic couples become more or less productive, and the experience of faculty partners who have differing levels of productivity. For instance, consider a scenario wherein Partner A, a man, is less productive than Partner B, a woman (Astin & Milem, 1997). These different levels of productivity may create the conditions wherein Partner B's career begins to surge, while Partner A's career begins to take a backseat. This in

turn could shape the ways in which the partners distribute domestic labor and child-rearing and influence the ways in which partners interact with each other. Few studies have sought to understand how conditions such as productivity may influence both the personal and professional lives of faculty members.

Professional Satisfaction and Advancement

As with productivity, there is mixed evidence when it comes to understanding the relationship between being in a dual-career academic couple and attaining professional satisfaction and advancement. Multiple studies on dual-career couples in general examine the ways in which being in a partnership can constrain career advancement outcomes over the course of each partner's career. There is significant evidence that one partner (typically the woman in different-gender couples) will scale back their career (Bass, 2015; Blair-Loy, 2003; Gianino, 2008; Goldberg & Sayer, 2006; Holahan & Gilbert, 1979; Panozzo, 2015; Percheski, 2008; Stertz et al., 2017) or depart the workforce altogether (Greenhaus et al., 1997; Greenhaus et al., 2001) to better facilitate the couple's personal demands, particularly if the couple has family caregiving obligations.

Turning to faculty specifically, professional satisfaction among academics is tied to many of the organizational factors described in the previous sections, including climate (August & Waltman, 2004; Callister, 2006) and leadership (Alonderiene & Majauskaite, 2016; Bilimoria et al., 2006). There is evidence that faculty from marginalized groups often experience less professional satisfaction (Bozeman & Gaughan, 2011; Hagedorn & Sax, 2003; Olsen et al., 1995; Sabharwal & Corley, 2009; Seifert & Umbach, 2008) and have fewer opportunities for professional advancement (Bain & Cummings, 2000; Griffin et al., 2013; Valian 1999), which

contributes to the lack of diversity within the professoriate, particularly within higher faculty ranks.

There is less research on the experiences of faculty member who are professionally satisfied. Often, researchers examine which faculty groups are more likely to achieve professional satisfaction and generally show that white men faculty in tenured roles (Bozeman & Gaughan, 2011; Hagedorn & Sax, 2003; Olsen et al., 1995; Sabharwal & Corley, 2009; Seifert & Umbach, 2008) and faculty who are married/partnered (Cetin, 2006; Hagedorn, 2000; Leung et al., 2000) achieve greater levels of professional satisfaction. A few qualitative studies reveal what this professional satisfaction may look like. For instance, Neumann (2006) argued that the nature of faculty work allows individuals to pursue work that they love and about which they are passionate. When scholars are able pursue their intellectual interests and are in a work environment that engenders a culture of faculty growth (O'Meara et al., 2008), they can reach levels of professional fulfillment and gratification that is often overlooked when researchers attempt to capture professional satisfaction (Neumann, 2006). Other researchers suggest that faculty derive great amounts of professional satisfaction from their roles as teachers, advisors and mentors (Kelly & Fetridge, 2012) and from the autonomous nature of faculty work (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004).

Even fewer researchers have focused on the professional satisfaction of dual-career academic couples. There is some reason to believe that academic couples may experience reduced professional satisfaction and opportunities for career advancement. Each partner's professional trajectory is significantly impacted by being in a dual-career academic partnership (Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008; Jorgensen, 2016; Jurlaquova et al., 2015; Nelson & Crooks, 1994; Schulz et al., 1997; Vohlídalová, 2017; Yakaboski, 2014; Zhang & Kmec, 2018). For instance,

although relatively few members of an academic couple reported that they had taken a less desirable job on account of their partner's employment opportunities, about half of dual-career academic faculty disagreed that their upward mobility had been enhanced as a result of their partner status (Kmec et al., 2015). Studies show that one partner frequently needed to opt out of their academic career to a position that was flexible or less demanding (Baker, 2004; Vohlídalová, 2017; Yakaboski, 2016), while other researchers have found that one partner often took a position with less pay or less prestige to prioritize their relationship (Baker, 2004; Blaser, 2008; Jorgensen, 2016; Vohlídalová, 2017; Yakaboski, 2016). To sum, partners in academic couples often made professional sacrifices to keep their relationships intact, which may decrease professional satisfaction.

On the other hand, academic couples may also experience high levels of professional satisfaction and success. There is some evidence that faculty in dual-career academic couples are equally as likely to be hired, achieve the rank of full professor, and be compensated when compared to faculty members without academic partners (Ferber & Hoffman, 1997; Morton & Kmec, 2017). One national survey of faculty showed that women in dual-career academic partnerships received more job offers than men in dual-career academic couples (Astin & Milem, 1997), suggesting that women in dual-career academic couples may experience career advantages as a result of their partner status. Likewise, studies of academic couples suggest faculty in these types of relationships garner strong professional satisfaction out of having an academic partner who shares knowledge of academic life and who can serve as intellectual "sounding-boards," even if partners are not in the same field of study (Blaser, 2008; Creamer, 2001; Yakaboski, 2016). Said another way, despite the professional barriers that can undermine the satisfaction and advancement opportunities for academic couples, there is some evidence that

dual-career academic couples can advance towards their professional goals and achieve professional satisfaction.

Personal and Partner Satisfaction

There is substantial literature that examines the predictors of personal and relationship (commonly referred to as marital) satisfaction for couples in general and dual-career couples more specifically. Bradbury et al.'s (2000) review on the determinants of relationship satisfaction suggested that, much like agency, there are a wide range of interrelated and dynamic forces that can influence personal and relationship satisfaction. These forces include individual predispositions, identity factors, child/family obligations, and career and economic concerns (Bradbury et al., 2000). Unsurprisingly, when couples experience greater success in managing their work and lives, they experience an increase in marital/partner satisfaction (Matias et al., 2017; Minnotte et al., 2010, 2015, 2016; Yucel, 2017), relationship quality (Paulin et al., 2017; Fellows et al. 2016) and overall personal happiness (Matthews et al., 2014; Minnotte et al., 2015; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2020; Pinho et al., 2012). When members of dual-career couples are dissatisfied or stressed with their work (Mauno & Kinnunen, 1999; Minnotte et al., 2015), face financial strain due to professional uncertainty (Conger et al., 1990; Gudmunson et al., 2007; Vinokur et al., 1996), or experience the distribution of housework and caregiving as unfair (Frisco & Williams, 2003; Harryson et al., 2012; Musick et al., 2016; Offer, 2014), personal satisfaction and relationship satisfaction decreases, and guilt, anxiety, and depression can increase (Korabik, 2015; Nomaguchi & Milkie, 2020; Pietromonaco & Overall, 2020). Drawing insights from such work, Pietromonaco and Overall (2020) argued that the pandemic has heightened the potential for such "negative crossover" (Bakker et al., 2008, 2009) between the personal and professional realms. The researchers reviewed the literature from relationship and

family studies and concluded that the pandemic would not only disrupt normal family strategies for dealing with work-life challenges but also inflame preexisting relationship vulnerabilities (Pietromonaco & Overall, 2020). Put another way, it is almost impossible to understand professional and personal satisfaction as distinctive, unrelated domains, particularly when pre-existing work-life strategies are disrupted during a pandemic.

Although many studies examine the influence of partnership and family on faculty job satisfaction, relatively few studies attempt to understand the impact of faculty life on personal or marital satisfaction. One study focused on academic couples ($N = 46$) at two universities in upstate New York, where both partners worked at the same institution ("coworking couples") (Sweet & Moen, 2004). The researchers found that coworking women in academic couples reported higher family and marital satisfaction compared to women where their partner did not work at the same institution. The authors moreover found that men in coworking couples had higher work commitment, experienced greater family success, and reported less family-to-work spillover. Other researchers studying faculty (though not explicitly focused on dual-career academic couples) suggested similar cross-over effects between job satisfaction and personal satisfaction (McCoy et al., 2013; Near & Sorcinelli, 1986). Altogether, such findings suggest that institutions should have a vested interest in promoting faculty personal satisfaction and happiness in order to promote better work outcomes (Sallee & Lester, 2017). Despite the relationship between personal and professional satisfaction, there is a significant gap in the literature when it comes to understanding how being a faculty member in general, and in a dual-career academic couple in particular, influences aspects of non-career related outcomes.

Retention

Ultimately, higher education institutions have an interest in understanding how all faculty (including dual-career academic couples) can attain positive outcomes such as productivity and satisfaction because faculty who achieve greater success in these domains are more likely to be retained (Daly & Dee, 2006; Gardner, 2012, 2013a; O'Meara et al, 2016; Rosser, 2004a; Xu, 2008). Promoting faculty retention is important because faculty searches and faculty start-up costs are expensive (millions of dollars, especially in STEM fields) and "it can take up to ten years for a new faculty member…to develop enough of a positive revenue stream from grants to recoup start-up costs" (Callister, 2006, p. 367; Gahn & Carlson, 2008; O'Meara et al., 2014; Williams, 2014). As Williams (2014) argued in a training for department chairs about the retention of women faculty, "it is cheaper to keep her."

Few studies have focused specifically on retention for academic couples. However, given the high levels of work-life conflict academic couples may face, they may be particularly vulnerable to departure. Furthermore, there is significant evidence that women (Lowenstein et al., 2007; O'Meara et al., 2014, 2016; Rosser, 2004b; Xu, 2008), non-tenure track faculty (Zhou & Volkwein, 2004), faculty of color (Griffin et al., 2011; O'Meara et al., 2014, 2016; Siegel et al., 2015), and LGBT faculty (Vaccaro, 2012) may be at increased risk for departure, suggesting that an intersectional analysis of the push and pull factors that can foster or hinder retention is needed to understand the experiences of dual-career academic couples. Given the research on the productivity of academic couples (Bellas, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008; Woolstenhulme et al., 2014) and resources devoted to partner hiring programs, institutions should be particularly interested in retaining this group.

Unfortunately, given the tightening of the academic labor market, academic couples may feel as though they need to "tough it out" when both partners are able to find positions at the same institution or in the same geographic area. For example, Sotirin and Goltz (2019) found that, even after one partner was denied tenure, couples often stayed because they feared both partners would be unable to find new professional roles in proximity to one another. These findings are likewise problematic because, as the previous literature demonstrated, faculty who are less satisfied and who experience greater work-life conflict may be less productive (Perna, 2005; Rosser, 2004b). Thus, academic couples who are retained but who experience low satisfaction with their institution may become less and less productive over time. Furthermore, studies on the crossover effects of work and life among couples (Bakker et al., 2008; Bakker et al., 2009) suggest that if Partner A is not experiencing professional satisfaction, their stress will likely influence Partner B, even if Partner B is relatively satisfied with their own work environment. These crossover effects may be even more prominent for couples who work at the same institution or in the same department.

Overall, studies of outcomes for dual-career academic couples paint a somewhat mixed picture of how being in dual-career academic partnership influences the agency couples have as they advance towards their personal and professional goals. There is a strong narrative of constraint in the literature, wherein academic couples may be forced to be into positions wherein they experience less positive personal and professional outcomes as a result of their relationship status. Yet, there is some evidence that many academic couples may have the opportunities to achieve greater levels of personal and professional success.

Summary of the Literature

Overall, there is a moderate body of research on the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples. These studies focus on few key topics. Overwhelmingly, researchers have studied the institutional policies higher education institutions have used to address the needs of dual-career academic couples. Such studies provide robust evidence of the ways in which institutions can potentially facilitate dual-career recruitment. Researchers have generally framed dual-career academic couples as a gender equity problem. That is, because women faculty members are more likely to be in an academic couple, institutions often put dual-hire support policies in place to increase women's recruitment and retention. Research in this area shows institutional supports for academic couples are more common now than ever and provide some limited evidence that policies can be useful for enhancing the hiring and career development of academic couples.

Yet, studies of institutional policies typically did not include evaluations of the extent to which policies were utilized by dual-career academic couples or provide evidence policies had increased the recruitment of women faculty as they were intended. This omission is a significant one because the provision of policies is a necessary, but not always sufficient step, in shifting institutional cultures and practices such that they are inclusive of and responsive to faculty from marginalized groups (e.g., Lundquist et al., 2012; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; O'Meara et al., 2020; Sallee, 2012). Moreover, because most institutional policies focus on recruitment of academic couples specifically, the literature conceives of the outcomes for academic couples mostly in terms of hiring success. This emphasis limits our understanding of the experiences of couples after they are hired to the institution as related to productivity, professional satisfaction and advancement, personal satisfaction, and retention.

An intersectional analysis of the existing research on academic couples reveals a second gap in the literature: The vast majority of studies in this area – either by design or by omission – focus on white, American, different-gender academic couples in tenure or tenure-track roles. Given the ample evidence of the role that gender, race, and rank/employment type in faculty experience, there is a need for research that includes academic couples from different identity groups and who occupy different kinds of faculty roles.

Last, with a few more recent exceptions (e.g., Sallee, 2019; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019; Yakaboski, 2016) most studies of dual-career academic couples focus more attention on the challenges associated with the two-body problem rather than the agentic strategies dual-career academic couples use to advance towards their personal and professional goals. A focus on the challenges is natural given the many barriers to agency that exist for academic couples in general, and in particular for academic couples from marginalized groups. Yet, there is reason to believe academic couples take strategic perspectives and actions to ensure that both partners can advance to their personal and professional goals. Furthermore, the literature on dual-career couples and faculty careers strongly suggests that perspectives and actions couples will use will vary substantially on the basis of their intersectional identities as well as the organizational contexts in which couples attempt to integrate their personal and professional lives. It is within these strengths and limitations that I positioned my study on the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples at three institutions.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

In this section, I discuss the methods used in this study. Specifically, I grounded my study in social constructivist and critical perspectives and accordingly used qualitative case study methods to conduct a multiple, embedded case study of dual-career academic couples at three research institutions.

Purpose and Research Questions

Based on the literature, I identified three major gaps in what we know about dual-career academic couples. First, the majority of research on dual-career academic couples points to the many challenges associated with the two-body problem, rather than revealing the strategic actions and perspectives dual-career academic couples take when advancing towards their personal and professional goals. Second, much of research focuses on institutional policies and practices universities use to recruit dual-career academic couples without much attention to the extent to which such interventions help dual-career academic couples navigate work-life once they arrive at the institution. Third, much of the research on dual-career academic couples is based on the experience of white, different-gender faculty members in tenured or tenure-track roles, therefore obscuring the experiences of academic couples at the intersection of identity (e.g., gender, race) and status (rank/employment type and partner status). With these gaps in mind, the purpose of this study was to understand how dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives and the factors that influence their choices and decision-making in these two realms. The research questions guiding this study were:

1. How do academic couples who work at the same institution navigate their personal and professional lives?
    a. What challenges do academic couples encounter as they simultaneously advance their professional careers and personal goals?
    b. What strategies do academic couples use to adapt to those challenges?

c. How, if at all, do work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?
d. How, if at all, do aspects of identity and status (i.e., gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status) influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?

Guiding Research Perspectives

Social constructivism and critical interpretative frameworks guide this study. Social constructivism is a worldview wherein "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work," where there are multiple, constructed and re-constructed realities (Creswell, 2013, p. 24; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 2000). In other words, what we view as "objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective" (Schwandt, 1994, p. 236). Social constructivism therefore focuses on participants' lived experiences and examines the complexity of their experience rather than isolating a single reality (Creswell, 2013). This perspective moreover highlights the nature of context and time in how participants understand and experience phenomena, as well as the interactive elements of history, language, and action that influence how individuals make meaning of their experiences (Schwandt, 1994).

There are several methodological and procedural implications of the social constructivist perspective for this study. Within the social constructivist frame, the role of the researcher is as an interpreter whose investigation is aimed at understanding the phenomenon while also attending to the ways in which her own experience shapes the investigation (Creswell, 2013). Because social constructivism rests upon the assumption that there are multiple and sometimes conflicting ways of viewing reality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Schwandt, 1994), researchers use qualitative methods of inquiry including interviews, observations, and document analysis (Creswell, 2013). Within the context of this study, the social constructivist perspective guided the nature of my inquiry by calling attention to the lived experiences of dual-career academic

couples. My design therefore recognized that dual-career academic couples, as a couple and as individuals, have different perspectives and make different meaning of their personal and professional lives and the factors that shape their personal and professional lives. Qualitative methods were therefore useful for capturing the multiple truths of dual-career academic couples within the context of their relationship, institution, and identity and status factors.

Although social constructivism perspectives inform much of my epistemological views, this study's focus on the role of identity, structure, and systematic inequality also lends itself to assuming a critical philosophical stance. Abes (2012) argued that although social constructivism is useful for revealing how individuals make sense of structure and inequality, that reliance on constructivism alone often fails to challenge the very nature of those structures and systems of inequality. Critical perspectives therefore provide a framework by which I explored and critiqued social structures and institutions while simultaneously promoting social change and "the envisioning of new possibilities" (Abes, 2012; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Creswell, 2013, p. 30). Critical perspectives can focus on "power structures that individuals often internalize or are socialized not to see" (Abes, 2012, p. 189), thereby allowing my analysis to reveal the aspects of the academic environment that implicitly shape the agency of participants in the study.

Positionality

Social constructivist and critical approaches encourage researchers to be "aware of their role in the (co)-construction of knowledge" and make explicit the ways in which their own identities and experiences may influence data collection and analysis (Finlay, 2002, p. 211). This practice of self-awareness, or reflexivity, can strengthen qualitative inquiry by acknowledging the presence of the researcher, promoting richer insight through the researcher's experience, and attuning the researcher to potential biases in their approach (England, 1994; Finlay, 2002;

Milner, 2007). Thus, to promote reflexive practice, I discuss elements of my own positionality that shaped my research design, approach, and analysis.

As discussed in prior sections, I came to this topic primarily through my work with the University of Maryland's ADVANCE Program and, in particular, through two years of work with faculty search committees during an inclusive hiring pilot program. Experience as a practitioner informs this study in several ways. First, my work with ADVANCE's faculty hiring and faculty development programs has revealed the importance of considering faculty diversity not only through the lens of recruitment but also retention. That is, many programs, including the hiring pilot on which I worked, focus on diversifying the professoriate through intentional recruitment programs. Yet, my work with faculty peer networks and other leadership programs also revealed the aspects of the academic work environment (e.g., climate, leadership, resources) that may also shape faculty's experience once they arrive at the institution. This experience informs my desire to conduct research within the context of institutions, with the goal of better understanding the institutional conditions – and potential institutional responses – that shape the agency of dual-career academic couples in advancing towards their personal and professional goals.

Second, my work with ADVANCE has sensitized me to the limitations of single-axis faculty identity development programs and the potential of intersectionality and agency as interpretive frameworks for organizational change. Although many of ADVANCE's programs are arranged around a single-axis group identity (e.g., programs for women assistant professors, faculty of color, or non-tenure track faculty members), many of the faculty participants in our peer networks share how their intersectional identities shape their experiences at the University of Maryland. On the other hand, most institutions have yet to develop a viable alternative to

single-axis programs. For instance, a program for non-tenure track faculty members may not be able to attend to the specific ways in which a participant who is a woman in a clinical role experiences disadvantage at the margins of her gender and employment type. Yet such a program may still be useful in advancing the participant's agency towards her career goals. As Armstrong and Jovanovic (2015) argued, intersectionality offers a framework by which organizational change agents can attend to differences in context while also taking into account the "differences among differences" that exist among faculty from marginalized groups. Thus, the desire to be more creative in our thinking about inclusivity (Armstrong & Jovanovic, 2015) informed my interest in centering intersectionality to improve institutional approaches to the two-body problem.

Because my study also addresses elements of identity as well as partner status, I also discuss these aspects of my own identity that inform my perspective and approach to the research. I am not a member of a dual-career academic couple. However, as a graduate student and higher education professional with a partner who also works full-time, I acknowledge that much of the literature on navigating the work-life challenges during a pandemic of dual-career partnership resonated deeply with my experiences. For example, as someone who became a mother shortly prior to the pandemic, I have firsthand knowledge of the work-life challenges that have emerged related to caregiving and trying to maintain a semblance of productivity while my partner also tried to advance his career. In other words, much like the academic couples on which this study focuses, we attempted to integrate our personal and professional goals, and aspects of the academic work environment shaped the actions we took and perspectives we used. Thus, I recognize that my own experience as a doctoral student and working professional with a partner shaped my interactions with participants as well as my analysis of data.

My identity as a cisgender, heterosexual woman makes me sensitive to the ways in which traditional cultural beliefs about gender manifest in daily interactions with my partner, family, and colleagues in higher education settings. On the other hand, I acknowledge the limitations of this identity in understanding and interpreting the experiences of the same gender couples I include in this study, and the privilege that comes with identifying as heterosexual, cisgender woman. Likewise, my identity as a multi-racial, white, and Asian woman guided my desire to incorporate intersectional perspectives into this research. That is, my Japanese-American heritage informed my perspective that gender and race intersect the ways in which we interact with others and interact with institutional structures and system. That being said, I recognized the ways in which my privilege as someone who "presents" as white (to many) informs my access to opportunities in both my personal and professional life. In all, privilege influences my vantage point as a researcher and I acknowledge this as a potential limitation within this work.

Research Design

In this study, I used a multiple, embedded qualitative case study of dual-career academic couples at three institutions. I drew primarily from Yin's (2014) definition of case study and approach. Yin (2014) argued case study is a formal method of social science research appropriate for research that examines how and why questions. Furthermore, case study is appropriate for "examining contemporary events," when the "the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated" or controlled by the researcher (Yin, 2014, p. 12). Based on this understanding, Yin (2014) defined case study as a mode of "empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (p. 16). This study's research questions and purpose were consistent with these definitions. Unlike prior studies of dual-career academic

couples which attempt to understand their prevalence (e.g., Austin & Milem, 1997; Schiebinger et al., 2008) or their utilization of institutional policies as related to hiring (e.g., Kmec & Morton, 2017; Morton, 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), I sought to explain how they navigate a complex work environment, both together and as individuals. Likewise, I sought to isolate and explore the factors that influence dual-career academic couples' personal and professional lives. These factors are outside of my control as a researcher and varied significantly given each dual-career academic couple's own background and experience. The conditions and nature of my research question and research settings were therefore consistent with Yin's recommendation for when case study is appropriate.

One of the primary reasons I drew from Yin's (2014) definition of case study is the explicit focus on the relationship between context and phenomenon. In this study, I sought to understand the phenomenon of how dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives. In doing so, I recognized there are multiple contexts, such as their intrapersonal relationship dynamics, their individual departmental and institutional ecosystems, and the overall academic environment, that shape their experiences in dynamic, interrelated ways. In other words, the boundaries between being in a dual-career academic couple and the multiple contexts in which they exist are not easily parsed, thus making case study an appropriate method for this exploration. Furthermore, an emphasis on context is well-suited to my theoretical frameworks of intersectionality and agency, which emphasize the role of situationally activated context (Collins & Bilge, 2016) in understanding social behavior within work and home environments.

Multiple, embedded case studies are ones where there are multiple cases exposed to or experiencing the same phenomenon (Yin, 2014). Within each case, there are nested, or

embedded, units of analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2014). In this study, the phenomenon was the personal and professional lives of dual-career academic couples within their specific institutional context. Each institution represents a case. The embedded units of analysis are the individual couples within each institution. See Figure 3 for a representation of the multiple embedded case design, which is adapted from Yin's (2014) overview of the different types of case designs.

Some further definitions are warranted to further bound, or fence in, the case (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). In this study, dual-career academic couples were defined as those where both partners are faculty members at the same institution. I use this criterion because most dual-career support policies are intended to facilitate the hiring of partners within the same institution and because partners employed at the same institution will share some of the same environmental contexts. I did not focus on couples in certain types of academic roles (e.g., only tenure or tenure-track), certain disciplines (e.g., only STEM fields), or couples who work in the same department. That is, couples were in similar or dissimilar kinds of academic roles or in the same or different disciplines and/or departments. This decision was informed by my understanding of gaps in the prior research, which have mostly focused on tenure and tenure-track faculty in STEM fields, and practical, in that I hoped to recruit participants who represented a variety of academic roles with different kinds of affiliations within their institution.

Multiple case designs offer analytic and theoretical advantages. Multiple case studies are often considered to be more robust (Gerring, 2004; Yin, 2014), in that they offer researchers the opportunity to build evidence both within and across cases. A multiple case study approach was also appropriate given the existing literature on faculty careers and dual-career academic couples. First, there is ample evidence that the institutional climate and context for faculty work

(Lee, 2004; Lester, 2015; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006) varies significantly by institution. These contexts may play a role in how dual-career academic couples make decisions about their personal and professional lives. Likewise, as discussed in the literature review, dual-career support policies and practice vary substantially from institution to institution (Kmec et al., 2015; McCluskey et al., n.d.; Promin, 2011; Tzanakou, 2017; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). Thus, a comparison of dual-career couples across institutions provided some insight into the extent to which policies at different types or implementation strategies shape the experiences of dual-career academic couples. A multiple case study approach therefore addressed one of the gaps in literature by allowing me to examine the impact of dual-career academic support policies. Case study also allowed me to explore the role of institutional context in shaping faculty member's personal and professional lives.

Case Selection

The selection of institutions (the cases) for this study is important for understanding the context in which dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives. To select cases for this study, I used a theoretical replication strategy (Yin, 2014) of maximum variation (Patton, 1990), wherein I selected institutions that appeared to take different approaches to addressing the needs of dual-career academic couples. Based on the literature on dual-career support policies (e.g., McCluskey et al., n.d.; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), I organized the different institutional approaches to dual-career academic couples into three intensity categories (See Table 1). I developed these intensity categories based on my reading of the literature on: (a) the kinds of dual-career support policies institutions typically use, drawing primarily from Wolf-Wendel et al.'s (2003) five institutional approaches to dual-career academic couple hiring, and McCluskey et al.'s (2015) assessment of the types and prevalence of dual-career support

programs across the country; and (b) the kinds of policies and practices that would seem to foster the greatest agency for academic couples who use them (e.g., policies that would provide the greatest resources for professional or personal satisfaction and advancement to both partners).

The first intensity category is low or no support, the approach taken by most institutions (McCluskey et al., n.d.). Low/no support institutions offered no formal dual-career academic couple policies or supports based on public information. These institutions had a general website for dual-career academic couples with links to job search pages or an institutional job search engine, but no public formal policy or practice in place to support dual-career academic couples. Institutions with medium support for dual-career academic couples offered one or more of the following public resources for dual-career academic couples: (a) membership in a higher education recruitment consortium (HERC); (b) a designated administrator (e.g., director of faculty affairs), who academic couples can contact for partner hiring resources and/or placement; or (c) centralized human resource services (e.g., job referral, resume review) with dedicated staff for partner hires. Last is institutions with high support, wherein institutions appeared to put in place the robust, formal policies/practices for supporting dual-career academic couples, including one or more of the following public features: (a) search waivers for partner hires, wherein a department can hire a partner into a faculty role without going through the formal hiring process; (b) centralized university policy or funds to subsidize the creation of new faculty roles for partner hires. These practices may be deployed in addition to policies/practices in the medium support category.

Table 1

Institutional Levels of Support for Dual-Career Academic Couples

Level of Support for Dual-Career Academic Couples	**Dual-Career Support Policies or Practices**
Low/No Support	No formal dual-career policy publicly advertised; May have a website with general resources (e.g., links to job posting websites) or membership in a higher education recruitment consortium (HERC) but no additional partner-specific resources/investment appears to have been made by the institution.
Medium Support	One or more of the following publicly advertised: (a) membership in a higher education recruitment consortium (HERC); (b) a designated administrator (e.g., director of faculty affairs), who academic couples can contact for partner hiring resources, but whose primary role is not related to dual-career issues; or (c) centralized human resource services (e.g., job referral, resume review) with dedicated staff for dual-career couples.
High Support	One or more of the following publicly advertised*: (a) Search waivers for partner hires, wherein a department can hire a partner into a faculty role without going through the formal hiring process; (b) Centralized university policy or funds to subsidize the creation of new faculty roles for partner hires

*High support institutions may also have put in place one or more of the strategies listed in the low/no or medium support category.
(McCluskey et al., n.d., Wolf-Wendel et al., 2000; 2003).

To achieve variation in the case sample, I looked for one institution that fit the criteria of each level of support, for a total of three institutions. I chose three institutions for both theoretical and practical reasons. From a practical standpoint, three institutions seemed realistic given the timeline in which I collected data (Fall 2019 – Fall 2020). Theoretically, three cases allowed me to compare across the three levels of support I identified in Table 1, comparing across cases and exploring rival explanations while also maintaining my ability to explore each case in-depth (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2014).

Although the institutions differed in their approach to dual-career couples, I looked for institutions with similar missions and sizes, specifically focusing on large, research-intensive institutions. I did so for several reasons. First, research suggests these institutions will have the greater numbers of faculty members and thus the largest likelihood of employing dual-career academic couples (Isaac, 2018; Raabe, 1997; Promin, 2011; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). Second, although large, research institutions may vary on their geographic location (e.g., rural, suburban, urban) there is research that suggests that institutional type is largely predictive of culture and climate as well as policies and practices for tenure and advancement (Austin, 1990, 1994; Bray, 2008; Kezar & Eckel, 2002; O'Meara, 2015a, 2015b). Thus, recruiting institutions with similar missions and sizes allowed me to look for institutions that have similar aspects in terms of the academic environment, though differed in terms of their publicly advertised approach to dual-career academic couples.

Case Recruitment

To recruit institutions, I focused on institutions that received NSF-funded ADVANCE Institutional Transformation (IT) grants since the program began in 2001 ($N = 70$). The National Science Foundation's ADVANCE IT grant program was founded to increase the recruitment and

retention of women in STEM faculty careers (Bilimoria & Liang, 2012; Laursen & Austin, 2020). Because research shows women in STEM fields are more likely to be in a dual-career academic partnership than men, many ADVANCE institutions worked to put in place some type of dual-career support structures (Laursen & Austin, 2020; Laursen et al., 2014). Thus, there is reason to believe that institutions with an ADVANCE program may have made some headway in addressing the challenges dual-career academic couples face. Institutions with an ADVANCE program may provide some evidence about the relative efficacy of these practices in assisting dual-career academic couples. Similarly, as a Faculty Specialist with the ADVANCE Program at the University of Maryland, I see firsthand the ways in which an ADVANCE programs act as a kind of broker for issues, such as dual-career hiring and work-life balance, pertaining to the experiences of women faculty. Based on this experience, institutions with ADVANCE programs were more likely to have key institutional informants to connect me with dual-career academic couples.

To identify potential cases, I created a database of institutions that received ADVANCE-IT grants since the NSF program began, using the NSF awards database located online. I did a content analysis of each institution's grant program goals and institutional website (e.g., ADVANCE website, faculty handbook, and faculty affairs websites). I noted, when relevant, if the ADVANCE grant was designed to facilitate dual-career academic couple recruitment and the kinds of policies, if any, that the institution had put in place to do so. I also noted any relevant work-life policies or practices relevant to policy (e.g., parental leave, tenure delay, COVID-related work-life supports). I saved and downloaded web pages and policy documents and added them to the case study database. Based on the information collected, I then coded all institutions into one of the three categories in Table 1.

There were a few limitations to this strategy. The first relates to the focus on publicly advertised policies and practices. That is, dual-career support programs and policies are not always publicly available (Kmec et al., 2015), and in fact, this was the case at two of the institutions I selected. However, given the importance of signaling and awareness that surrounds policy (Gardner & Ward, 2018; Su & Bozeman, 2016; Tuitt et al., 2007), this initial categorization was useful for considering why institutions may make policies more or less visible and the extent to which couples considered the availability of public policies as they searched for faculty jobs. A second limitation relates to the focus on ADVANCE institutions. Many institutions that have not received ADVANCE grants may have dual-career support programs and were not represented in this database. Likewise, institutions that have received ADVANCE grants may have put in place dual-career support programs unrelated to their ADVANCE efforts. Despite these limitations, a focus on ADVANCE institutions was warranted given the infrastructure ADVANCE programs lay for accessing dual-career academic couples and the study focus on institutional contexts and its relationship with couples' experiences

Ultimately, I selected three institutions to serve as cases: Dunder Mifflin University (High Support), Vance University (Medium Support), and Sabre University (Low/No Support) (Figure 4). I described each case briefly in Chapter 3 and in Table 2, with a more in-depth description of each institution in Chapter 4. I assigned all participants and institutions pseudonyms to protect confidentiality.

Dunder Mifflin University. Dunder Mifflin University is a large public doctoral university with very high research activity. Based on public documents, Dunder Mifflin has a formalized, central dual-career policy funded by academic affairs. Using this program, departments can apply for search waivers for partner hires and academic affairs will fund up to

50% base salary of a lecturer for up to three years. Dunder Mifflin is also a part of a consortia with other colleges/universities in the area.

Vance University. Vance University is a large public doctoral university with very high research activity. Based on public documents, Vance University has no formal policy or funding mechanism advertised. There is a dedicated staff person located in the human resources division who can assist dual-career couples but these services are not specifically geared towards faculty members.

Sabre University. Sabre University is a large public doctoral university with very high research activity. Based on public documents, Sabre University has no formal policy or funding mechanism for dual-career hiring advertised. There is a website on their faculty affairs page with links to generic job search sites (e.g., Indeed.com).

Table 2

Description of Institutions (Cases)

	Dunder Mifflin University	**Vance University**	**Sabre University**
Control*	Public	Public	Public
Carnegie Classification*	Doctoral University: Very High Research Activity	Doctoral University: Very High Research Activity	Doctoral University: Very High Research Activity
Selectivity (Percent UG Admitted)*	60	80	50
Total FT Instructional Faculty*	1,400	1,370	1,850
Percent FT TTK	77	80	75
Percent of FT NTTK	23	20	25
Total Students*	31,000	27,000	41,000
Percent Undergraduate	77	79	75
Percent Graduate	23	21	25
Publicly Advertised Dual-Career Policy	High: Formalized, central dual-career program with funding for partner hire positions from academic affairs	Medium: No formal policy or funding advertised; Centralized human resource services with dedicated staff for dual-career couples.	Low: No formal policy or funding advertised; Generic website with job search information.
Actual Dual-Career Policy	High: Central funding for partner hires from academic affairs.	High: Central funding for partner hires from academic affairs.	High: Central funding for partner hires from academic affairs.
Parental Leave	Yes	Modification of Duties	Yes
Tenure Delay	Yes	Yes	Yes
Others	Childcare subsidies; Tuition remission; Union	Childcare subsidies; Tuition remission	Tuition remission
COVID-Related Policies	COVID Tenure Delay; Childcare Assistance	COVID Tenure Delay; Emergency Childcare and Tutoring; Workload Modifications	COVID Tenure Delay

*IPEDS, 2018

Data Sources

The use of multiple data sources is a key feature of qualitative case studies (Baxter & Jack, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990; Yin, 2014). Multiple sources of data strengthen rigor and trustworthiness by allowing researchers to triangulate across sources (Yin, 2014). Specifically, I collected data for this study using individual interviews with key institutional informants, joint and individual interviews with dual-career academic couples, and document analysis. All participants completed a consent form prior to being interviewed.

First, I conducted online interviews with key institutional informants (*N*=5) at each institution (Table 3). Using a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix A), I obtained information about the the work environment and climate for dual-career academic couples. These interviews focused on understanding the overall context for dual-career academic couples at each institution. I used purposeful, snowball sampling (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 1998) to identify relevant informants at each institution. As in prior studies (e.g., Hornig, 1997; Raabe, 1997; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003), institutional informants included key administrators involved with dual-career academic couple hiring such as administrators in formal dual-career support offices, provosts and vice provosts for faculty affairs, equity administrators, and/or ADVANCE directors.

Table 3

Institutional Informants

Institution	N and Title
Dunder Mifflin University	2; Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs; Faculty Development Officer
Vance University	2; Faculty Development Officer; ADVANCE Director
Sabre University	1; Vice Provost for Faculty Affairs

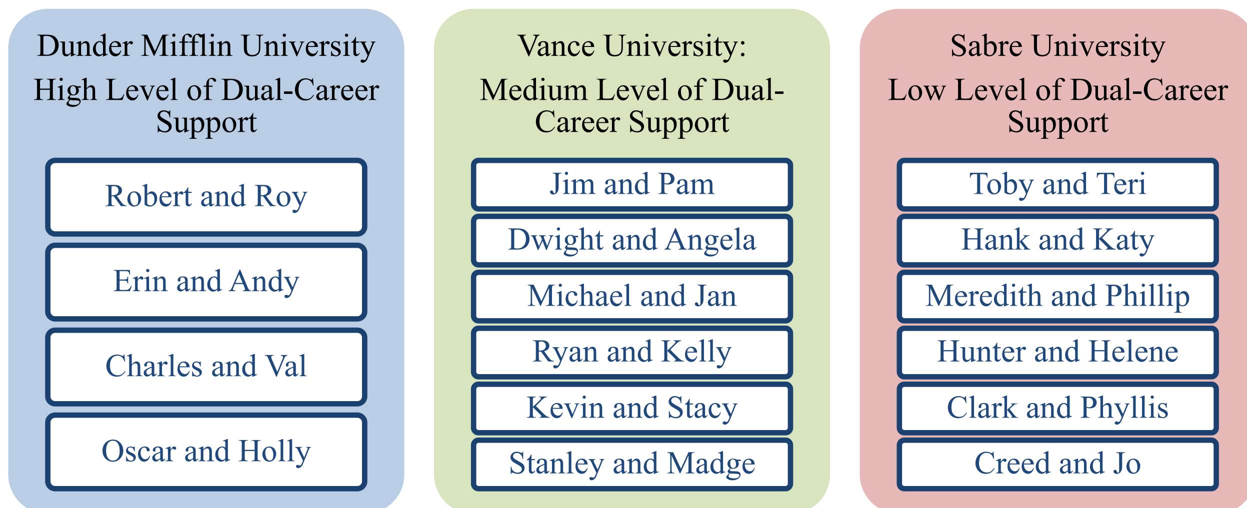
I also used purposeful, snowball sampling (Merriam, 1998) to identify dual-career academic couples at each institution. That is, after completing institutional informant interviews, I asked key academic administrators to forward my study announcement (Appendix A) to potential couples at their institution. At the end of each interview with couples, I also asked them to refer me to others who might be interested in participating in the study. My goal was to recruit participants on an ongoing basis until I reached data saturation (Creswell, 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 2017; Morse, 1994; Saunders et al., 2018). Grady (1998) defined saturation as the point at which:

> New data tend to be redundant of data already collected. In interviews, when the researcher begins to hear the same comments again and again, data saturation is being reached… It is then time to stop collecting information and to start analysing what has been collected. (p. 26)

Furthermore, Stake (2006) suggested that the rigor of multiple case studies is strengthened when there are at least four units within a case. Thus, my goal was to identify at least four dual-career academic couples at each institution, assuming that would be a point at which saturation and rigor could be achieved. In the end, this study was comprised of 16 couples or 32 participants (Figure 3). Once identified, participants completed a brief demographic survey that included questions about their hiring experience, gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

Figure 3

Institutions (Cases) and Couples (Unit of Analysis) in the Study



I interviewed all participants using a two-step process (joint interview followed by two individual interview) and semi-structured interview protocols (Creswell, 2013) (Appendix A). The protocols explored how participants' personal and professional lives are influenced by being in a dual-career couple and the factors that influence their personal and professional lives.

Based on prior studies (Blake, 2020; Culpepper et al., 2020a), I determined that the joint interview should be followed by the individual interview. Although several studies of dual-career couples and some studies of dual-career academic couples (e.g., Creamer, 2001; Jorgensen, 2016; Magnuson, 1999; Sallee, 2019; Vohlídalova, 2014, 2017) used joint interviews as a data source, the vast majority of qualitative studies on faculty careers relied upon individual interviews. Joint interviews offered several advantages for "exploring the complexities and contradictions of the contested realities of shared lives" (Valentine & Valentine, 1999, p. 73). Joint interviews strengthened rigor, in that one partner helped enhance the other's memory such that the data collected is more accurate (Allan, 1980; Polak & Green, 2016; Valentine & Valentine, 1999). Joint interviews, like focus groups, also helped participants create and present

new ideas that partners develop together (Allan, 1980; Polak & Green, 2016; Valentine & Valentine, 1999). Furthermore, joint interviews, like all qualitative interviews (Merriam, 1998), served as a way to observe human behavior and identify things that are unsaid or unapparent to participants (Allan, 1980; Polak & Green, 2016; Valentine & Valentine, 1999). Research about marriage and partnership is difficult to conduct because the dynamics between partners often takes place behind closed doors and thus are not open to observation (Matthews, 2005). Joint interviews therefore offered one way to gather observational data that would otherwise not be available. Although researchers identify some limitations to joint interviews (e.g., hesitancy to express views contrary to their partner) (Beitin, 2008; Valentine & Valentine, 1999; Zipp & Toth, 2002), I did not observe these pitfalls to be present in my interviews.

After the joint interview, I conducted a subsequent, semi-structured one-on-one interview with each participant. Individual interviews were a practical decision in that I hoped to capture each participant's individual personal and professional life, such as what motivated each participant to pursue a faculty career and their experience at the institution. Individual interviews also opened space for participants to discuss aspects of their personal and professional lives they did not want to disclose in front of their partner (Valentine & Valentine, 1999) and allowed me to see the experiences of the couple using more than one vantage point (Reczek, 2014). For instance, individual interviews revealed that partners had different stresses and took different perspectives when making personal and professional decisions, which then shaped the outcomes each partner experienced.

Though I had initially planned to interview participants both in-person and online, the COVID-19 pandemic forced me to complete all the interviews online. There were several benefits to this strategy. Doing interviews online enhanced safety, facilitated my ability to recruit

participants who live/work at institutions that were not close me, and also allowed for flexibility in scheduling interviews at times and on dates that were convenient for participants (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; Lo Iacono et al., 2016; Nehls et al., 2015). This latter benefit was important for facilitating recruitment, as participants had busy schedules. On the other hand, video interviews came with some challenges. Technical challenges related to poor internet connection and subsequent bad audio (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014; Seitz, 2016) were somewhat common though not disruptive. Although some research indicates that video interviews can inhibit the researcher's ability to read body language and decipher non-verbal cues (Chen & Hinton, 1999; Seitz, 2016) and develop rapport and connection with participants (Seitz, 2016), I did not observe this to be the case in this study. That is, my experience with online interviews was largely consistent with findings that different interview techniques did not "affect the quality of the conversations" (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, p. 610). Overall, I found online interviews to be a viable and promising strategy (Lo Iacono et al., 2016) that greatly facilitated my research.

To mitigate some of the challenges of online interviews, I took the following precautions. For all interviews, I shared a summary of the study purpose and some example questions with participants prior to the interview. This disclosure helped participants prepare for the interview and to establish rapport (Seitz, 2016). Second, all online participants used video conferencing (as opposed to merely audio conferencing) to enhance my ability to establish rapport and observe non-verbal cues (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). During all interviews, I noted places wherein I felt as though participants were holding back or felt uncomfortable answering questions. I included this analysis in my findings when relevant.

Finally, I reviewed documentary evidence pertaining to dual-career academic couples and other faculty work policies at each institution. Documentary evidence can take on a variety of

forms including but not limited to administrative documents, program evaluations, and newspaper articles (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). In this study, documents included institutional websites related to faculty policies, including dual-career support policies and faculty work-life resources such as paid leave, as well as documents related to faculty promotion and advancement. I also collected each participant's curriculum vitae, as a way to verify career timelines and understand their patterns of collaboration. Documents offer researchers a mechanism by which to "corroborate and augment evidence from other sources" (Yin, 2014, p. 107). Given that my study emphasized the experiences of dual-career academic couples within their specific institutional contexts, documents were a critical part of the data collection process. In particular, documents served to highlight the gaps between what participants perceived about their institution's climate for dual-career academic couples and what policies and practices were formally available to them.

The Impact of COVID-19

Before describing participants, I want to briefly discuss the impact of COVID-19 on my methodological approach. I commenced data collection prior to the pandemic and interviewed three couples before March 2020 (when the pandemic began). Given the impact of the pandemic on much of faculty life and higher education broadly, I altered my interview protocols (Appendix A[4]) to better account for the impact of the pandemic on work-life issues. Thus, in my findings, I note the impact of COVID-19 on participant's work-life as relevant. Likewise, given the pandemic, I revisited each institutions' faculty affairs website and collected additional information on any COVID-related policies or practices each institution put in place in 2020 (e.g., COVID tenure delay, emergency childcare). I discussed the extent to which these policies

---

[4] Questions that were added to the protocol are in bold font.

and practices, as well as other aspects of each institution's response to the pandemic, were relevant to participants throughout the findings. Additionally, the pandemic somewhat constrained my ability to recruit participants. Though I had a fairly robust potential participant list pre-pandemic, the challenges of work-life were apparent in my outreach. Several would be participants indicated their initial interest but ultimately dropped out, often citing work-life concerns and general stress related to the pandemic and the rapid change in institutional operating procedures in Fall 2020. This was particularly true of potential participants with young children. As discussed, I recruited participants until I reached saturation of themes; that being said, I did not meet my initial goals of 8-10 couples per institution.

Participants

I describe the study participants in-depth in Tables 4-6. Ultimately, I recruited 16 couples (32 participants): four couples from Dunder Mifflin University and six couples each from Sabre University and Vance University. In total, I conducted over 48 hours of interviews with 32 participants (16 couples) between Fall 2019 and Fall 2020.

In terms of identity, a quarter (*n*=8) of participants identified as faculty members of color. Although this was not as diverse a sample as I had hoped to achieve, this percentage is roughly consistent with the number of faculty of color employed at U.S. higher education institutions (National Science Foundation, 2019). This relative lack of racial diversity is in part due to one institution's (Vance University) geographic location in conservative state. Indeed, all couples from Vance identified as white, whereas couples at Sabre and Dunder Mifflin had greater racial diversity. Furthermore, most participants (*n*=30) identified as straight/heterosexual and were in different gender relationships, though I made multiple attempts at recruiting same gender couples.

There was more diversity in terms of rank, employment type, and family composition. Although many of the participants were tenured or tenure-track faculty members at the time of their interview, 25% (*n*=8) were in contingent roles and/or had been initially hired to their institution as temporary faculty. Of these eight, five had subsequently transitioned to tenured or tenure-track roles. Thirteen participants were full professors; twelve were associate professors; and four were assistant professors. Furthermore, seven participants were currently in academic leadership roles (e.g., chair or other administrator). Almost all couples had children: 11 couples had at least one child until 18 living at home, while two couples had at least one adult child living at home due to the pandemic. Finally, participants indicated a variety of ways they were hired to their institution. Of all the couples, 10 indicated that they had used some kind of dual-career accommodation. Of these couples, 9 were different gender, and in all of these cases, the man was considered to be the initial hire.

Data Analysis

All interviews were transcribed using a third-party vendor and I verified the contents of each transcript for accuracy. I input all data into a NVivo database. I analyzed data on an iterative basis, informed by Yin's (2014) multiple case study procedure and aspects of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1998). That is, as I collected data, I coded transcripts on an ongoing basis: revising, re-organizing, and reviewing my coding structure, reviewing all participant transcripts multiple times with new or revised codes in mind.

My data analysis was concept and theory-driven (Saldaña, 2016; Yin, 2014) and data-driven (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Saldaña, 2016). Specifically, I used theories of intersectionality and agency to inform my initial read through of the transcripts. For instance, based on agency, I identified portions of the data that pointed to aspects of the work environment

that facilitated agency for one partner while constraining agency for the other, which therefore impacted the couple's collective agency. Alternatively, intersectional perspectives revealed the ways in which a woman faculty member of color encountered greater obstacles in advancing towards their professional goals compared to her man partner. However, I also used inductive and data-driven coding (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Saldaña, 2016) to capture aspects of dual-career academic couples' personal and professional lives that are not related to my guiding frameworks. My code book is located in Appendix C (Codes that emerged via this inductive, data-driven approach are marked in the codebook as INDUCTIVE).

Because I used multiple, embedded case design, I conducted my analysis in two steps. First, I developed an individual case report of each dual-career academic couple, which highlighted aspects of the couple's personal and professional lives, the challenges the couple faced (particularly as related to aspects of identity/status, organizational policy and practice, and field and societal factors), and the strategies the couple used to overcome these challenges, which I discuss in Chapter 4. After completing the individual case analysis, I then conducted a cross-case analysis (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014), which is described in Chapter 5. Cross-case analysis is particularly well-suited for exploring rival explanations (Yin, 2014) and generating insight into how processes occur across cases and are influenced by local conditions (Miles & Huberman, 1994, as cited in Merriam, 1998). In this phase, I drew from Yin's (2014) pattern-matching technique to identify similarities and differences across dual-career academic couples within their institutional context. For instance, I paid attention to the ways in which institutional policies or climate influenced the challenges dual-career academic couples faced, or the aspects of identity that played a role in how participants accessed professional resources. I used pattern-matching (Seawright & Gerring, 2008; Yin, 2014), to understand if/how each case demonstrated

a similar causal explanation for how dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives.

Rigor and Trustworthiness

In this study, I took multiple steps to establish rigor and trustworthiness in my results. In this section, I pay attention to issues of reliability and internal and external validity.

Reliability

Reliability is the process by which the researcher ensures that her results can be replicated (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). There are multiple ways I ensured reliability in this research. First, I ensured that the steps I took throughout the research were well-documented (Yin, 2014). I established data collection protocols for each data source, including protocols for interviews with institutional informants, dual-career academic couples, and document analysis. All data were stored in NVivo which served as my case study database (Yin, 2014). I also took several steps to maintain a chain of evidence (Yin, 2014) in my write-up of findings. For instance, as I wrote out findings, I referenced the sources of data from which my conclusions were drawn and linked those back to the interview protocol.

Internal Validity

I took several steps to ensure internal validity. Internal validity measures verify that findings are consistent with the reality of the situation (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). Given my social constructivist and critical standpoint, I recognize that the reality of the personal and professional lives of participants are subjective and dynamic (Merriam, 1998). To ensure the accurate rendering of these experiences, I triangulated data across multiple sources (Patton, 1999; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014), namely joint and individual interviews and document analysis. Yin (2014) defined triangulation as "the convergence of data

collected from different sources, to determine the consistency of a finding" (p. 241). Triangulation across sources included comparing different types of sources as well as comparing the experiences and perspectives of different people (Patton, 1999), for instance, one dual-career academic partner versus another, or one faculty member to an administrator. Triangulation across sources of data strengthened validity by revealing both consistencies and inconsistencies and allowed me to develop an understanding of patterns within the experiences of participants in this study (Patton, 1999).

Second, I engaged in thematic member checks (Merriam, 1998), wherein I presented participants with my preliminary findings to receive their feedback on the plausibility of the findings. Specifically, I presented dual-career academic couples at each institution with a memo that summarized the case description of their institution and received their feedback via email (Appendix B). The memo included a synthesis of major themes and did not include quotes or direct observations, but rather aggregate findings stripped of identities. I incorporated participants' feedback in the individual case descriptions in Chapter 4 and the cross-case themes in Chapter 5, where relevant. Third, I engaged in peer debrief/examination (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Patton 1999), wherein I asked two colleagues to review and examine my data and findings for accuracy and feedback. I shared excerpts of coded transcriptions, my final codebook, and a case description with two peers and asked them to review the codes for consistency with my own codebook and logic. I then incorporated their feedback into my codebook and findings.

External Validity

External validity or generalizability refers to the extent to which findings "can be legitimately compared across groups" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 210; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2014). One of the major ways I strengthened the external validity of this study was by using a

multi-case design, which enabled me to compare and contrast my findings across cases and thus increase the rigor of my study (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Yin, 2014). Second, the purpose of case study is not to be universally generalizable in the same way that quantitative approaches are intended (Becker, 1990; Yin, 2014). However, by using the guiding concepts of intersectionality and agency, this study is transferable to other couples and institutions throughout the use of analytic generalizations (Yin, 2014). Analytic generalizations include understanding the extent to which the data match or do not match with previously existing theories of the phenomenon (Yin, 2014). Thus, I strengthened the external validity by relying upon my guiding frameworks of intersectionality and agency and the existing literature on the topic to deepen knowledge on dual-career academic couples and the institutional policies that may support them.

Limitations

Although I leveraged multiple steps to ensure that my study was both rigorous and trustworthy, there are both practical and theoretical limitations to this work. Importantly, although I sought a diverse sample in terms of gender, race, rank/employment type, and partner hire status, my sample was not as diverse in some regards as I desired. Despite best efforts, most of the couples were heterosexual. Furthermore, of the 32 participants, 8 or 25% identified as faculty members of color. There was more diversity in terms of rank/employment type. More attention should be given to the experiences of LGBT couples.

From a theoretical perspective, one of the strongest limitations is the focus of this study on dual-career academic couples who have both successfully secured positions at the same institution. These couples therefore represent the ones who, based on the literature, have defied the odds by successfully navigating personal and professional obstacles to find two jobs at major research institutions. An alternative approach could be to contrast couples who successfully

found positions and been retained in academia to those who were ultimately forced to live apart or exit the professoriate. My focus on “successful” dual-career academic couples was a strategic one, in that I hoped to expose strategies that other academic couples might use to advance towards their personal and professional goals. Likewise, I hoped to identify institutional policies and practices that enable (and potentially constrain) academic couples’ ability to move towards their goals in ways that might be instructive for institutional leaders. Nevertheless, I acknowledge this as a limitation as well as a direction for future research.

Aspects of the case selection and participant recruitment criterion also limited this work. Each institution in this study was located in different geographic area. Geography plays an important role in determining whether faculty accept positions (Trower, 2002; Tuitt et al., 2007) and their subsequent experience at the institution (Bilimoria & Stewart, 2009; Tuitt et al., 2007), in ways that are mostly out of the control of institutions themselves. My protocols attempted to discern the role that geography played in participants’ experiences in order to acknowledge those contextual differences. However, I acknowledge that geography played a role in my results in ways that go beyond dual-career support policies or the institutional work environment. Likewise, I acknowledge that by recruiting participants from different disciplines, different career stages (assistant professors versus full professors), and different employment types (tenure and tenure-track versus non-tenure track), there is substantial variation in the experiences of participants. In some ways, this decision was a purposeful one, in that I hoped to capture how these factors influence faculty agency. Yet, I acknowledge that with wide variation, comparisons between couples is difficult to make, which is a limitation of these design choices.

Last, my study was limited in that I focused specifically on research institutions. This decision was primarily practical, in that research institutions are more likely to employ dual-

career academic couples based on their size and most ADVANCE grants had been awarded to research institutions, thus making these types of institutions the ones more likely to have dual-support programs in place. However, I acknowledge that this focus reinforces the dominate institutional hierarchy and assumes that all members of dual-career academic couples seek out faculty roles at research-intensive institutions. My intention is to leverage lessons learned from this context that are theoretically useful – even for dual-career academic couples who work in other institutional contexts

Table 4

Descriptions of Couples – Dunder Mifflin University

Couple	Pseudonym	Gender	Race	Sexual Orientation	Date Hired	Rank at Hire	Current Rank	Field	Children/ Ages	Used a Dual-Career Accommodation/ Initial Hire
Robert & Roy[2]	Robert	Man	White	Gay	2013	Professor	Professor	STEM	No	Yes/Robert
	Roy	Man	Black	Gay	2013	Assist. Professor	Assoc. Professor	Professional Field		
Erin & Andy	Erin	Woman	Asian	Het	1999	Assist. Professor	Professor	Social Science	Yes - 18 & 14	No
	Andy	Man	Multiracial	Het	1999	Assist. Professor	Associate Professor & Chair	Social Science		
Charles & Val	Charles	Man	Asian (Intl)	Het	1997	Assist. Professor	Professor & Chair	STEM[1]*	Yes - 22 & 18	No
	Val	Woman	Asian (Intl)	Het	2014	Lecturer	Senior Lecturer	STEM[1]*		
Oscar & Holly	Oscar	Man	White	Het	1999	Assist. Prof	Professor	Social Science	Yes – 20 & 16	Yes/Oscar
	Holly	Woman	White	Het	2004	Postdoctoral Fellow	Professor	Social Science		

*Denotes same field/discipline. [1]Denotes same department. [2]Interviewed pre-pandemic.

Table 5

Description of Couples – Vance University

Couple	Pseudonym	Gender	Race	Sexual Orientation	Date Hired	Rank at Hire	Current Rank	Field	Children/ Ages	Used a Dual-Career Accommodation/ Initial Hire
Jim & Pam	Jim	Man	White	Het	2008	Assist. Professor	Assoc. Professor	Social Science[1]*	Yes - 9 & 11	Yes/Jim
	Pam	Woman	White	Het	2008	Visiting Assist. Professor	Assoc. Professor	Social Science[1]*		
Dwight & Angela	Dwight	Man	White	Het	2012	Assist. Professor	Associate Professor & Chair	Professional Field[1]*	Yes - 11 & 2	No
	Angela	Woman	White	Het	2014	Teaching Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Professional Field[1]*		
Michael & Jan	Michael	Man	White	Het	2005	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Social Science[1]*	Yes - 5 & 2	No
	Jan	Woman	White	Het	2008	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Social Science[1]*		
Ryan & Kelly	Ryan	Man	White	Het	2015	Assist. Professor	Assoc. Professor	Social Science	Yes - 8 & 1	Yes/Ryan
	Kelly	Woman	White	Het	2015	Teaching Assist. Professor	Assistant Professor	Professional Field		
Kevin & Stacy	Kevin	Man	White	Het	2009	Assistant Professor	Assoc. Professor	Humanities	Yes - 15 & 11	Yes/Kevin
	Stacy	Woman	White	Het	2009	Teaching Assis. Professor	Service Assoc. Professor	Professional Field		
Stanley & Madge	Stanley	Man	White	Het	2006	Assist. Professor	Professor & Associate Dean	STEM[1]*	Yes - 14, 13, & 9	Yes/Neither
	Madge	Woman	White	Het	2006	Assist. Professor	Professor	STEM[1]*		

*Denotes same field/discipline. [1]Denotes same department. [2]Interviewed pre-pandemic.

Table 6

Description of Couples – Sabre University

Couple	Pseudonym	Gender	Race	Sexual Orientation	Date Hired	Rank at Hire	Current Rank	Field	Children/ Ages	Used a Dual-Career Accommodation/ Initial Hire
Toby & Teri[2]	Toby	Man	Asian	Het	2018	Professor & Chair	Professor & Chair	Professional Field	Yes - 12	Yes/Toby
	Teri	Woman	Asian	Het	2018	Clinical Assist. Professor	Clinical Assistant Professor	Professional Field		
Hank & Katy[2]	Hank	Man	White	Het	2014	Assist. Professor	Assistant Professor	Social Science[1]*	Yes - 1	No
	Katy	Woman	White	Het	2014	Assist. Professor	Assistant Professor	Social Science[1]*		
Meredith & Phillip	Meredith	Woman	White	Het	2012	Assist. Professor	Associate Professor	STEM*	Phillip has 3 adult children	Yes/Phillip
	Phillip	Man	White	Het	2012	Professor & Chair	Professor	STEM*		
Hunter & Helene	Hunter	Man	White	Het	2012	Professor	Professor	Professional Field[1]*	Yes - 3 adult children	Yes/Hunter
	Helene	Woman	White	Het	2012	Visiting Assoc. Professor	Associate Professor	Professional Field[1]*		
Clark & Phyllis	Clark	Man	Black	Het	2010	Professor	Professor	Professional Field*	Phyllis has one adult child	No
	Phyllis	Woman	White	Het	2010	Professor	Professor & Chair	Professional Field*		
Creed & Jo	Creed	Man	White	Het	2015	Asst. Professor	Asst. Professor	STEM	Yes – 8 & 10	Yes/Creed
	Jo	Woman	White	Het	2015	Assoc. Professor	Professor & Chair	Social Science		

*Denotes same field/discipline. [1]Denotes same department. [2]Interviewed pre-pandemic.

CHAPTER 4: WITHIN CASE FINDINGS

This chapter explores the descriptive findings of the study. The following research questions guided this study:

1. How do academic couples who work at the same institution navigate their personal and professional lives?
    a. What challenges do academic couples encounter as they simultaneously advance their professional careers and personal goals?
    b. What strategies do academic couples use to adapt to those challenges?
    c. How, if at all, do work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?
    d. How, if at all, do aspects of identity and status (gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status) influence the personal and professional lives of academic couples who work at the same institution?

The chapter is organized in the following way. I first provide an institutional case description. Drawing from institutional websites, national data sources (i.e., IPEDS, Carnegie Classifications), and interviews with institutional informants, I discuss key features of each institution, with a particular emphasis on policies and practices related to the hiring of dual-career academic couples and other faculty work-life resources or supports. Key features of each institution are summarized in Table 3 in Chapter 3.

Then, drawing from joint and individual interviews with couples and their curriculum vitae, I discuss each couple who works at the institution. Each couple is summarized in Tables 4-6 in Chapter 3. I start with a brief synopsis of each couple's employment status and demographics, how they met, and their trajectories to their current institutions. I then weave together a description of the two to three critical challenges each couple experienced in navigating their shared personal and professional lives, the strategies (actions and perspectives) they used to adapt to these challenges, the role of institutional work-life policies, practices,

norms, and culture on their ability to move towards their personal and professional goals, and aspects of identity that shaped their experience. I then repeat this pattern for the subsequent two cases. To protect confidentiality, I assigned all institutions and participants pseudonyms.

Case 1: Dunder Mifflin University

Dunder Mifflin University is a large public research institution with very high research activity. It is the state's flagship institution with an enrollment of around 30,000 students and 1,400 full-time instructional faculty. About 60% of undergraduates who apply are admitted. It is located in a suburban area but most participants described it as being located in a "small college town" in a rural part of the state. Dunder Mifflin is one the largest employers in the area. Dunder Mifflin's faculty are unionized, and the union takes an active role in activism and collective bargaining.

Dunder Mifflin has a long-standing, formalized dual-career partner hiring program that I initially coded into the high support category. As a part of this program, the partners of faculty members applying for faculty jobs may be hired into academic or staff positions. These positions can be within the same department/college or within another college. If a partner position is secured, the provost's office will then subsidize up to 50% of the partner's base salary for three years. Many partner hires are made within a college or unit (because this is an easier route) and thus are not supported by the provost's office. Dunder Mifflin additionally participates in a consortium-based partner hiring program with several local colleges. This consortium model also provides cross-institutional funding for a partner hire if a position is secured. Informants noted that this consortium is not often utilized.

Dunder Mifflin adopted their approach to dual-career hiring for multiple reasons with positive effects. Informants noted that dual-career couples were fairly common, particularly

among women in STEM fields. Thus, supporting dual-career couples would be a way to increase the number of women faculty in these fields. Furthermore, the faculty union plays a key role in advocating for the dual-career program and viewed it a strategic way to increase faculty recruitment and enhance faculty work-life integration. Institutional informants noted that the subsidy from the provost's office has had positive impacts. Subsidies have incentivized departments to see partner hiring as an opportunity to increase the number of faculty within their unit, as opposed to being resistant to a partner hire. Informants noted that Dunder Mifflin has been quite successful at recruiting faculty couples as a result of the policy, though were not able to provide concrete data regarding the number of hires made.

Dunder Mifflin has a number of other work-life policies intended to support faculty. These include a full semester of paid parental leave available to all faculty and an automatic tenure delay after the birth or adoption of a child. These policies would be available to both members of a faculty couple after they had a child. They offer a childcare subsidy that provides partial reimbursement to faculty and also have partial tuition remission for faculty dependents. Again, informants identified the union as a key driver of these policies and practices.

In the wake of the pandemic, Dunder Mifflin put in place a number of policies and practices to support faculty. The institution offered a one-year, automatic delay of tenure for COVID-related productivity impacts. They have additionally offered trainings to promotion and tenure committees about how to fairly evaluate the impact of COVID.

Dunder Mifflin also offers additional resources for faculty, including faculty development programs out of the Provost's Office and ADVANCE programming for women and faculty of color. The ADVANCE program provides educational resources and workshops, collaborative seed grants, and mentoring resources that promote the recruitment and retention of

a diverse professoriate. ADVANCE programs did not explicitly address dual-career academic couples because Dunder Mifflin's partner employment program preceded the grant award.

Robert and Roy

Robert and Roy are faculty members in different departments and different colleges at Dunder Mifflin University. Robert identifies as a White, gay, man and is a tenured full professor in a STEM discipline. Roy identifies as a Black, gay, man and is a tenured associate professor in a professional field. They do not have children.

Robert and Roy met when they were both working on the West coast, Robert as a research fellow and Roy as a professional not in academia. After getting married, they have made four moves, primarily driven by Robert's academic career. First, they moved to the East coast, where Roy began a graduate degree and Robert was a tenured associate professor. They then moved to the West coast so Robert could pursue a research faculty position and Roy completed a graduate fellowship. Next, they moved to a Midwestern state for Robert to take a tenured full professor faculty position, at which time Roy pursued his doctoral degree. Finally, Dunder Mifflin hired Robert as a tenured full professor and Roy as a tenure-eligible assistant professor into a different department/college, using the central partner hiring policy. Roy recently earned tenure and promotion to associate, and Robert recently began a faculty position at a university abroad, where he now spends about half his time.

The main challenge Robert and Roy have experienced relates to aligning Roy's professional interests to the reality that Robert's academic career has been highly mobile. That is, Robert's academic career has been the primary driver of the couple's many moves, which has made it more difficult for Roy to pursue his career. In fact, Roy pursued his doctoral degree and

became a faculty member to facilitate career options at the universities at which Robert would work. Roy explained why he chose this path:

> I got the Ph.D. because I was a [doing a non-academic professional role]. And Robert was being recruited at [previous institution]…So because they really, really wanted Robert, they said, okay, what would have been your spousal hire to pay for the joint position? And we'll have you as a research assistant if you get into the university. So, the two reasons were a) I needed something to do. And b) I wanted my schedule to align with Robert's as a nine month. That's it. I didn't have a burning desire. That was it. That was the reason why I got the PhD.

It was not his "lifelong dream" to become a faculty member, teach, or do research. Rather, Roy pursued a career in academia as a way to open up professional possibilities as Robert took a new position.

A confluence of factors brought Robert and Roy to Dunder Mifflin. First, neither Robert nor Roy were particularly happy about living in the Midwest. Second, Roy was nearing completion of his doctoral degree and was in search of a faculty position. Third, Robert faced an increasingly hostile climate within his department, in part due to departmental politics and in part related to his identity as a gay man. Robert stated:

> Primarily there had been developing an increasingly hostile climate in the group in my research area, not universal in the department, but in my immediate area. And so, it was getting, as a colleague put it, I had to put on armor to go into work every day.

As this quote illustrates, there were a variety of factors that pushed Robert and Roy towards searching for new positions. However, even though by this point Roy was nearing completion of his doctoral degree, he still expressed reticence at becoming a faculty member. Roy explained:

> I wasn't excited about becoming a faculty member, no. I look at faculty life as one of the most selfish things imagined. It's just selfish so I was not looking forward to it but I was also not looking forward to staying in [at Midwest institution] either. So, it was get on the train on the best thing that was going.

Roy elaborated on this selfishness, saying that he felt academics are oriented towards their own, ego-centric research, rather than towards common goals. Because of this, Roy considered the move to Dunder Mifflin to be the best of otherwise not very good options.

Dunder Mifflin's dual-career hiring policy facilitated their transition to the institution and worked for them fairly well. As was the case in other moves, Robert was the "initial hire," receiving an offer for a tenured full professorship. He did not bring up Roy's desire for a faculty position until after he had received the offer. Robert explained that their strategy was to get the offer first, and "that'll start the wheels turning for his [Roy's] possibility, and no decision will be made until his situation is satisfactory." Robert seemed fairly confident that he would receive an offer and that he would be able to negotiate a position for Roy. He is, in his own words, a "high-profile" and "powerful" person in his field, which seems to have boosted his capital in negotiation. Robert stated:

> They [Dunder Mifflin] were all ready to whatever financial resources were going to be available through it. My department was ready to contribute. I think our college had to contribute some…but it wasn't a tough sell.

Said another way, Robert had few concerns about bringing up his partner status after receiving the offer.

Using Dunder Mifflin's partner accommodation program, Robert's department chair contacted Roy's would-be department chair and dean. As Roy explained, Dunder Mifflin's program guarantees "that the trailing spouse gets a look over. And it's still up to the department to make the decision on whether or not they're going to hire you." Roy completed the interview and received an offer, with Robert's department/college and Dunder Mifflin's central administration contributing a third of Roy's salary each for three years. Roy reflected on the

process as fairly positive, especially in comparison to previous dual-career negotiations in which they had participated. He said:

> [Previous institution] has an attitude because they're the number one university in the state. So their thing was you should be happy to move here whereas with Dunder Mifflin, it was much more an open, encouraging thing.

Robert reiterated the positive experience with the dual-hire process, saying that he did not have any complaints. As these quotes highlight, Dunder Mifflin's partner program seemed to create a structured process by which Robert's department could locate a position for Roy. Yet, Robert and Roy's relative confidence – stemming from prior experience with dual-career negotiations as well as Robert's stature in his field – also seemed to play a role in their successful negotiation.

Robert and Roy's transition to Dunder Mifflin came with positives and negatives. Roy did not feel as though his status as a "partner hire" impacted his experience, due in large part to the fact that he and Robert do not share a department or college. Roy explained:

> In my case, because my husband was not within the department, it really wasn't that much of a signal. A sign. There has been very small talk of me being a spousal hire. At least within my presence. So, I can't say that it had an effect that I can point to.

Even so, Roy experienced challenges related to tokenism and workload that are common for Black faculty members and especially those who have intersectional identities such as being gay. Roy explained that his chair has, at times, asked him to become a kind of "poster boy" for diversity in the department, which has relatively low diversity in the first place. He said of his experience in the department:

> When I got to [Dunder Mifflin], my department head had wanted to highlight my intersectionality. And I'm like, hell fucking no. In the sense that if you want to highlight me, you highlight me for my research or my teaching first, not my identity.

As one of few Black faculty members and someone only recently tenured, Roy has also encountered issues of unequal workloads to shape his experience in the department. He discussed

a lack of transparency in how his department makes decisions about teaching loads and observed that he is often asked to engage in activities that he is not interested in or that would not advance his career (or both). On the other hand, Roy recognized the reality that as a Black man, he has to be cognizant of the racialized ways in which his responses will be received. He described:

> Well, there's times when you would say like, "Bitch, please, I'm not interested in this," but you can't. So, you have to figure out, being a person of color, are you going to be the angry brown person because they're just not there or do you moderate and figure out how do I deal with this without offending?

In other words, though Roy's race, sexual orientation, and rank have been incredibly salient to his transition to faculty life at Dunder Mifflin, he has developed strategies for resisting racialized workload expectations and tokenism.

Robert's transition to Dunder Mifflin has also been mixed. He was attracted to Dunder Mifflin in part because his department was trying to raise its research profile and he felt he could positively contribute to that goal. Yet, Robert encountered resistance to change from faculty members who have been in the department for a long time. Robert explained:

> I came up against some people who had been there a long time and I felt they had a sense of entitlement for say about decision making that wasn't commiserate with their productivity, in terms of their research profile for the department.

This passage highlights that though the department aspires to change, many of the faculty members are reticent to do so. This has undermined Robert's ability to move towards his professional goals. His identity as a White, gay, man has also shaped his experience in the department. For instance, in the last several years, Robert has become a strong advocate for raising issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion in his field, work that has had a mixed response in his department. He described that:

> My own experience of being a high-profile, powerful, gay man was mixed in the sense that some people responded very positively. Some people in my department were

> threatened. And so there were some tough aspects and also a lot of educating I had to do to bring people from the idea of inclusivity to a practice of inclusivity. And, so, it's a work in progress, I would put it that way.

In other words, Robert sees himself in a position to affect change, though progress in slow.

Professionally and personally, Robert and Roy maintain very distinct identities and domains. Professionally, because they are in different departments/colleges and different disciplines, there are few opportunities in which working together would naturally occur. Yet, Robert and Roy also maintain separate professional spheres as a strategy for sustaining their personal relationship and limiting conflict. They explained their approach in the following exchange:

> Robert:…We have not endeavored to find things that we share because we know we need separate domains.
>
> Roy: That's how we work well. You're the king at your room, I'm the king of my room.
>
> Robert: When we garden, you have your flowerbed over there, I have mine over here. We can share. Okay?

As this exchange illustrates, Robert and Roy have been together for long enough to know that maintaining separate domains at work is critical for their personal happiness. In fact, this "separate domains" philosophy is also present in their personal lives. Robert and Roy have a very strict division of labor. Roy described, "I run the household. Robert has some input, but I run the household." Although this arrangement had evolved somewhat when Roy was an assistant professor with a more demanding schedule, post-tenure, Roy re-assumed his duties as the primary organizer of household tasks.

Despite this kind of rigidity in personal and professional domains, Robert and Roy both discussed the benefits of sharing a profession. They both reflected on the ways they have benefitted from sharing professional networks at Dunder Mifflin. For instance, Robert gave Roy

feedback on his tenure dossier based on his own experience, and Roy plugged Robert into a network of gay and lesbian assistant professors when they first started at Dunder Mifflin. As Robert described:

> Because I and he have been able to be down in the trenches with each other in a different way sort of from firsthand knowledge than, okay, that's your job, and I'm being a sounding board, to, okay, I really can talk more knowledgeably about academia in general and the specifics of the university in particular. So in terms of sharing the burden of the difficult parts, I would say it has brought us closer for sure.

As this quote illustrates, having been in a situation before where Robert was in academia and Roy was not, they now see having the same job as beneficial.

In terms of life outside of work, Robert and Roy encounter substantial challenges in two major areas. First, Dunder Mifflin's rural location and lack of diversity do not facilitate the kind work-life existence that Robert and Roy would prefer. Robert described:

> We're big city people. This is a small town and so it's a little bit of fish out of the water. The first year we were sort of getting the lay of the land, there was a lot of nice about it but after you've seen Main Street, you've seen Main Street, you're sort of done. And we had made these aspirations to go to big cities on weekends and that kind of thing, which we did a little bit, but with Roy being pre-tenure, me starting up research it was a little challenging to do that kind of stuff.

Roy agreed, saying, "it's a small town and we like a bigger cosmopolitan area. So, in terms of finding recreation and non-work activities that we really like that has been one of the big challenges." Roy added that the climate for faculty members with children seems positive, but if faculty members do not have children, there is little to do. These quotes illustrate the importance of the geographic area on the work-life satisfaction of Robert and Roy, but also suggests that these concerns, likely known to them at the time of their hire, were overshadowed by the need to find two faculty jobs.

The second constraint on Robert and Roy’s work-life is that Robert recently took a part-time faculty position at an institution abroad, which takes him out of the country for long stretches of time. This role is in addition to his position at Dunder Mifflin. It was clear that this new development had brought up some tension between the two, though both partners seemed committed to discussing the positives of the situation. For example, when asked about the decision-making process surrounding Robert’s taking the job, Roy said, “Oh please, that's a whole hour by itself,” before turning to a discussion of how he has set the groundwork for teaching online in ways that would facilitate travel. At another point in the interview, Roy indicated that academic life “allows Robert and I to sleep in the same bed, in the same city…at least it used to.” Robert emphasized that the impact of his new role was “still a work in progress,” and indeed, each time I interviewed him, he was in a completely different geographic location. The emergence of this new work-life demand reflects the reality that even after a successful dual-hire negotiation at Dunder Mifflin, academic mobility norms and Robert’s desire to advance his career at the international level continue to shape Robert and Roy’s work-life.

In summary, Robert and Roy’s challenges have primarily come in the form of work-life dissatisfaction emerging primarily from the geographic location of the institution, Roy’s general skepticism towards a faculty career, and the aspects of Robert’s work that require travel. To navigate challenges, Robert and Roy maintain separate scholarly and institutional identities as well as distinct roles in their home life.

Erin and Andy

Erin and Andy are professors in different departments and colleges at Dunder Mifflin University. They share a joint appointment in the same, interdisciplinary school. Erin identifies as an Asian, heterosexual woman. She is a tenured full professor in a social science discipline

and also serves as a campus administrator. Andy identifies as a multiracial, heterosexual man and is a tenured associate professor in an interdisciplinary social science discipline. He noted that he "presents" and most people assume he is white. He is the chair of his department. They have one adult child and one high school-aged child.

Erin and Andy met when Erin was a doctoral student and Andy was a visiting assistant professor at a university in the South. When they met, Erin was in the process of applying for faculty jobs. She received and accepted a tenure-track assistant professor role at another southern university. Andy maintained his visiting appointment at their prior institution while also taking on part-time adjunct roles at Erin's institution. About five years later, Erin and Andy applied for and received two separate, tenure-track assistant professor roles in different departments at Dunder Mifflin. There was no partner accommodations in place at Dunder Mifflin at the time. Erin moved up through the faculty ranks within her department, earning tenure and being promoted to full professor, and has subsequently taken on several administrative roles. Andy moved into a non-tenure eligible role before moving back into a tenure-track job and was awarded tenure a few years ago.

Erin and Andy have encountered a few critical challenges as a dual-career academic couple. First, the period immediately prior to arriving at Dunder Mifflin was stressful, with Erin on the tenure-track at an institution in the South and Andy searching for a more permanent faculty role. Both Erin and Andy applied for jobs each year, searching for something that would fulfill their professional requirements and allow them to be together. Andy emphasized that he was not willing to take anything that would require him to commute, even though Erin was open to that possibility. He explained, "I wanted to be there, I wanted to support her in her first job. I wanted to make a life with her. So, that piece of it was a total no-brainer." Their job search was

also informed by an awareness of the gendered challenges dual-career academic couples often encounter. Erin described:

> And we knew the literature. I had been studying race and gender among academics, and I knew that if men have what's called a trailing partner, usually nothing happens. But if women do, they're more likely to end up with something. And so, we were pretty unwilling to do something where Andy took a tenure-track job and I just was coming along.

Said another way, Erin and Andy were fairly committed to the idea that Erin would be the "lead," or at minimum, they would apply for separate positions.

After several years of searching, Dunder Mifflin advertised two, separate tenure-track positions in Erin and Andy's respective areas of study. They both applied, neither indicating in their initial application materials that they had a partner. Because of differences in the pace of the interview process, Erin received her offer first, at which point Andy was participating in interviews. At this point, they both assumed department chairs at Dunder Mifflin were aware they were married. Erin recalled:

> There were probably some connections. So, the chair of Andy's department was also on the governing committee for the [unit where Erin and Andy would go on to have joint appointments]. And so, [the chair] knew about me and [chair] knew about Andy. So there were probably some little pieces where they were maybe, thought getting both of us might be a good thing.

Erin felt that their partnership likely facilitated their hire, in that the hiring departments knew that both partners were being offered jobs and thus more likely to accept. This assumption was warranted, as Erin would not have accepted the job if Andy did not also one. Andy agreed, indicating that he felt his offer came in quicker "in part because we had the fiction really that Erin might not take the offer if we didn't hear quickly." After receiving Andy's offer, they both accepted.

Erin and Andy described their initial professional transition to Dunder Mifflin as fairly positive, until they encountered their second critical challenge. In Andy's field, the terminal degree is often not a doctoral degree and thus Andy was going up for tenure without his PhD in hand. The year Andy was going up for tenure, his department hired a new chair who asserted that all tenured faculty members needed to have a doctoral degree, essentially violating his contract as a way to push him out. Dunder Mifflin's union stepped in, negotiating for Andy an alternative contract that he described as an "infinite tenure-track faculty member." In essence, Andy could be eligible for tenure if he found a department who would hire and tenure him, but until then, he would stay tenure-eligible in perpetuity.

The impact of this arrangement affected many aspects of Andy and Erin's professional and personal lives. As Andy described, he was professionally miserable. Though his position was secure, he and Erin were "very conscious that it had been unfair." Andy's unhappiness then spilled over to Erin and their family life, with Andy saying that, "living with me, [Erin] couldn't escape the misery." Indeed, during this time, Erin successfully earned tenure and her career was "thriving." Yet, Andy's professional situation forced her to look for faculty positions and keep her productivity at a level that would make her marketable. Erin explained:

> The main thing that I think has been disadvantageous to me about being in a dual career couple is that once I got tenure, I didn't feel like I could just relax, because I needed to wait until Andy could get tenure. Then when Andy didn't get tenure, I really didn't feel like I could relax, so I have felt under pressure to be productive in my research in order to ensure that Andy's career goals are met for a lot more years than I expected.

As this quote reveals, Andy's professional situation in another unit directly impacted the actions Erin took in her career.

Despite the factors pushing Erin and Andy away from Dunder Mifflin, they were also reticent to leave. At this time, Erin and Andy had two elementary-aged kids and wanted to

provide them with stability. Andy questioned whether his professional dissatisfaction was a good enough reason to uproot their lives, while Erin described wanting her kids “to have a really stable upbringing, wanting them to feel really good about their home and feel really anchored here.” Erin and Andy also described very strong social connections with other members of the Dunder Mifflin community, who provided emotional support to their entire family. In all, Erin’s successful career and the happiness and stability of their personal lives outweighed Andy’s professional dissatisfaction, strong as it was, and this calculation enabled him to persevere despite the circumstances. He reflected:

> My situation at the university was not so bad. It was only bad from a, well, this was really an inequity and it's not what I deserve. But it was a good ... objectively, my position was secure. And so then the question becomes, what's enough to really uproot your life when you have kids?

Said another way, the perspective Andy took – weighing the consequences for their family and for Erin’s career over his own professional satisfaction – allowed him to be resilient in the face of a negative professional situation. Fortunately, a few years later, another department hired and tenured Andy. As Andy described, this process happened relatively painlessly and he has been satisfied in his new department, recently taking on a role as chair.

Erin and Andy have also experienced challenges related to managing their roles as parents. They confronted challenges in becoming pregnant while Erin was on the tenure-track, so while they indeed had children after Erin was tenured, Erin rejected the notion this was on purpose. She said, “So my students will often say, "Oh, you waited until you got tenure to have kids." No, I did not. Nature intervened. And it certainly probably was less stressful to have kids post-tenure, but it wasn't my goal.” Erin and Andy subsequently adopted their second child, and both took parental leave when their children were born or adopted. Erin accessed leave with

relative ease, though Andy faced some resistance as a man in invoking his parental rights. Erin explained that, “Andy's [old] department treated him like shit for taking parental leave. They did not think men should take parental leave. They did not know why I wasn't taking care of the baby.” Put another way, gender norms influenced their experiences of taking leave, though each ultimately accessed the policy.

Managing caregiving was also complicated by the travel required of Andy’s scholarship and the precarity of his tenure status. His research requires participant observation and many of the grants and other funded opportunities, which he felt he had to take because of his tenure situation, required long stints abroad. Initially, Erin planned to join Andy on these trips, but chronic health conditions forced her to stay in the United States. These circumstances created what they both acknowledged was an unequal arrangement in terms of opportunities to do research abroad and in caregiving. Andy said that, “there’s no way to make equity…there’s no way where we could say, ‘We’re going to do an equal number of trips.” He elaborated later, saying:

> I've never felt like, "Oh, my research is more important." I mean, I have to do this. But it's a rock and a hard place where, I mean, there was just this period when it was one project after another. There was just this moment when the [region] was really very open to pretty unrestricted social science research. And that I was being pulled in. So Erin was really doing everything she could to make it work. And again, if health were different, and if she had been okay when she was in [country], instead of getting ridiculously sick, it could have been that we could have timed a five-week period like other couples might do where we could go. But it just never worked that way.

Erin agreed, saying “Those years are years that I do not enjoy thinking back on. I enjoyed my children, but I did not enjoy my children when Andy was out of town.” As these passages reveal, international aspects of Andy’s career, managing children, and chronic illness gave way to some inequality related to the distribution of childcare labor within their relationship.

Although unevenness emerged related to research travel, Erin and Andy also managed their caregiving roles by taking an egalitarian approach. In some ways, Erin and Andy shirked gender norms in that Andy took the lead in managing much of the child-related scheduling. Erin described how they arranged domestic labor when she said:

> Andy is just totally supportive. Doctor's appointments, soccer, all of these things the literature says that often times women keep all of it in their head and parcel out who's going to do what. Andy does all of that. He does the whole of friends and the managing of all of that kind of junk. And then, we share the cooking and the cleaning, and the other kinds of activities. It's been a very dual-partnered situation.

Andy agreed, indicated that egalitarianism was an important value to him as a partner and parent. He explained:

> I think we are lucky in that our commitments are similar…And I wanted to have time with my children. And again, obviously I read and listen to Erin's research on these things as well, and that has an influence on me.

In other words, a kind of feminist understanding of the ways caregiving and domestic labor can be gendered shapes and informs the way Erin and Andy divide household talks.

Erin and Andy maintain fairly distinct scholarly identities, though their identities as institutional citizens at Dunder Mifflin are quite intertwined and visible. As discussed, they share faculty appointments in an interdisciplinary department. As such, Erin and Andy attend faculty meetings together and have shared students. Within this unit, there are a number of faculty couples and thus norms about visibility guide their behaviors. Erin explained that, "we generally all try not to sit next to our spouses. Andy regularly sits down next to me, and I move because I'm just trying to maintain the norms of that space." Andy emphasized this point, saying, "I think she's taking her cues from the other couples a little bit, and sort of felt like it's important for us at meetings to have some sort of distance from one another." He went on to acknowledge that given the gendered expectations that often surround couples (i.e., the expectation that the woman

partner will “follow the lead” of her husband), he takes his cues in this situation from Erin. He explained:

> I get it, especially the gender piece of this, I get it. It's a lot. At this point, Erin's authority at the university needs no reinforcement, but I get it that for women and a couple it's the being taken seriously thing is much more of a potential issue. So we don't sit next to each other. We won't sit next to each other at meetings. And I wouldn't think about it. I think my inclination would be, it doesn't really matter where I'm sitting next to. It can be my wife. I tend to be somebody that, when I'm at a meeting, I'll sit next to a friend. So, that friend could be a spouse. But she's very much been the sort of, okay, well, let's keep our distance.

In all, these quotes show how norms and gender shape Erin and Andy’s interactions with one another in professional settings at Dunder Mifflin.

At times, sharing a department and navigating departmental challenges has been a difficult for Erin and Andy. Erin described that she had experienced several negative interactions with the chair of her and Andy’s shared department, stemming in part from the chair’s insecurity and his reaction to her identity as a woman of color. As a result, she has mostly stepped away from her role in this department. Yet, Andy has had different views of the chair and not observed negative interactions between Erin and the chair. Erin described their differences in perspectives:

> The person that is the current [head of the unit], I had to step out of [unit] because he was so nasty to me. Andy just didn't even see it. Other people in the [unit] would be coming up to me after meeting saying, "I can't believe he spoke to you that way. That was so unprofessional and terrible,” talking about our director. I would come home and Andy would have no idea what I was talking about, like none. I think that's been a little bit hard. He's such a positive person, and he wants to see the best in everybody, but it's hard that he doesn't see that this messed up, insecure guy directing [unit] treats me in ways that I think are both sexist and racist, and definitely does not want any woman to ever make any suggestions.

In contrast, Andy stated:

> [Erin] really, really despises the person who's running the [unit] right now. She's not working with him because I think she felt like he pushed her out and it's complicated, but he was really nasty to her because he was trying to control her like some authority. And so, this isn't like a personal thing for her and I don't blame ... she feels terrible. And it was

> awful for her. I'm still working with the guy like every day, because I'm not out of the unit.

He said later:

> But it's also certainly true that my love for her is going to color my perceptions about this issue that she cares about a lot. So, I might be biased. I'm more likely again, even without honestly having observed much of what she complains about with this guy, and I've seen other things, I give obviously her sense about this much greater weight than I would give anybody else in the unit. So, that's important too.

There are a few notable aspects of this difference in opinion. First, there are aspects of Erin's intersectional identities at play, in that as a woman of color she is likely more keyed into issues of racism and sexism, even though Andy is multiracial. At the same time, Andy's relative freedoms as a man allow for a kind of selective blindness to these issues. Second, however, it is important to note that Andy's quote makes it clear that it is quite difficult for academic couples who share a department to remain "neutral" should their partner be in conflict with another member of the department. Said plainly, there are real tensions for dual-career couples in navigating departmental politics when they are both involved.

In all, Andy and Erin's key challenges have been finding two satisfactory faculty positions, managing issues of work-life related to children, and advancing their careers. They have navigated these challenges by maintaining a strong commitment to egalitarianism and to each other, as well as a separation of their scholarly identities.

Charles and Val

Charles and Val are faculty members in the same department at Dunder Mifflin University. Charles identifies as an Asian, heterosexual man and is a tenured full professor. Val identifies as an Asian, heterosexual woman and is a non-tenure eligible senior lecturer. They are

both international faculty members and are trained in the same STEM discipline. They have two adult children who currently live with them.

Charles and Val met as graduate students in their international country of origin. They pursued doctoral degrees in the same discipline but at different universities in the United States. Val finished her doctoral degree first and took a postdoctoral fellowship. Charles then finished his doctoral degree. They then both completed postdocs at the same institution. Afterwards, Dunder Mifflin hired Charles as a tenure-eligible assistant professor. Later, Val took a part-time teaching position at a nearby institution. Val had a few part-time, adjunct roles at Dunder Mifflin over the years. She also worked as a full-time faculty member at two nearby institutions, earning tenure at one. About five years ago, Val began her position at Dunder Mifflin in the same department as a lecturer and was subsequently promoted to senior lecturer.

Charles and Val's main challenge primarily centers on the advancement of Val's career. Unlike many dual-career academic couples, Val started at Dunder Mifflin many years after Charles, and her path to the institution was circuitous. When Charles and Val initially searched for faculty positions after completing postdocs, they were expecting their first child. Thus, Charles went out on the market and Val delayed her job search, with the idea that she would re-enter the market after having the baby. Charles interviewed at Dunder Mifflin and accepted a tenure-track assistant professor position. Charles did not mention that Val was also a faculty member nor did he try to negotiate a position for her. He explained:

> I think we'd been told, "Don't bring up too many problems early on," but it was important that it be a place of opportunities. It seemed to me that Dunder Mifflin was place like that. There were at least [other colleges] around. By that time, I think both of us were thinking academic life. I don't think, at that point, Val considered other stuff. In some sense that turned out to be true; there were opportunities here. There were teaching opportunities, there were collegial opportunities for collegial interaction, but in some other sense it was also untrue. There was nothing immediately waiting for Val.

As this quote reveals, their mentors viewed their status as a married couple to be “a problem,” one that should not be mentioned as Charles searched for jobs. This bias then shaped their subsequent actions. It lead Charles to look for and accept a faculty position at a place like Dunder Mifflin, in proximity to other institutions, which would create opportunities for Val to find an academic job when she was ready. In reflecting on this decision, Val acknowledged that she had taken a step back career-wise but viewed this as a decision that facilitated her personal goals of being more fully focused on her child. She noted:

> Often in dual career academic couples, it'll be one person who takes a step back. I took that step back and I never regretted it, because it gave me a little more time. In fact, I should've taken two more steps back maybe. No, it's been good. At the same time, I knew I always wanted to work, and I really enjoy doing what I do.

Though Val did not attribute this “stepping back” to gender, there are, of course, gendered aspects of this decision at play. That is, in Charles and Val’s case, it seemed to be the assumption that Val would step back, not the other way around.

While Charles’ career at Dunder Mifflin unfolded positively along traditional lines, Val worked at several different institutions as a full-time faculty member before coming to Dunder Mifflin full-time. Early on, knowing that she wanted to return to faculty life in a full-time capacity at some point, Val strategically networked with institutions in the area, including at Dunder Mifflin. She made “it known that I was available to work even though I wasn’t actively applying for things.” Val’s citizenship status and gender was influential at this time, as she was on a spousal visa that sometimes forced her to turn down specific opportunities. Thus, she taught a few classes at Dunder Mifflin and at institutions in the area on a temporary basis, essentially as a strategy for keeping herself visible.

In some ways, the stringing together of different teaching roles early on set the stage for Val to be channeled into teaching-focused positions over the course of her career – a challenge which has been more or less prominent at certain points along the pathway. As Val explained, “the more time you spend away from academia, the harder it is to break back in.” For instance, at one institution, she started as a part-time lecturer, then replaced a faculty member on sabbatical, and was eventually hired as a visiting assistant professor. In this position, she thought she would be eventually eligible for a tenure-track role, but when the time came, her department did not hire her. The department indicated that she did not have the research productivity to be eligible – even though she was hired to teach and not given the resources or mentoring to ramp up research that would have made her competitive. Val explained that, “It was a brutal introduction to how there is so much unsaid in academia.” At the second institution, a teaching-focused comprehensive university, Val started as a tenure-track assistant professor and was awarded tenure. However, she had an intensive teaching load with few opportunities to teach the kinds of courses she liked or opportunities to do research.

Workload dissatisfaction pushed Val towards her current role as a senior lecturer at Dunder Mifflin. Val had achieved tenure at her previous institution but was unsatisfied with the kinds of courses she taught and overall workload. At Dunder Mifflin, Val feels as though her teaching contributions are better recognized and she has pursued multiple opportunities to innovate as a teacher (e.g., in science outreach). Although Val said that her entry into the department as a lecturer was related in part to her status as a spousal hire, the department hired her independent of any negotiations with Charles. Dunder Mifflin’s partner accommodation policy was not used. Neither partner indicated that there was anything particularly controversial or negative about the department’s hiring of Val. Her transition has been facilitated because Val

is a “known entity” to the department members, who view her as an “independent scientist” and a good teacher who has positively contributed to the department over the years as an adjunct. Charles explained:

> In some ways, the unofficial, the perceptual thing is maybe more important, the way colleagues see you. And that, I think, the seeds for that got laid several years ago. I think that was important, that Val was a person in her own right when she came in. In some sense, that individual stature may have been... Maybe it might have been, looking back on it, may be different if we had both grown up in the same department, right? You came as a person with a history and a large part of a career.

As this quote illustrates, the context surrounding Val’s hire, and specifically the lack of perception that she was given the role merely because she is Charles’ partner, fostered a positive work environment for Val.

Even though many department members possess this context, Val and Charles make efforts to maintain their separate identities within the department. In part, this is a strategy they use to avoid appearing as a “voting block.” For instance, Val said that she did not “want to be just someone who backs him up or he backs me up…that’s the conscious effort we make in the public arena because we are both colleagues.” This quote highlights Val’s awareness of the perception that academic couples who share a department will support one another in departmental decision-making because of their marriage rather than the merit of the decisions, which is particularly salient in their case given Charles’ position as department chair. Val indicated that Charles is much more conscious of wanting to maintain the appearance of separation because he does not want department members to make the assumption that she was given her role because of him. Although Val is aware of these assumptions, she indicated that she has freed herself from the any stigma or assumptions people may make, saying she is comfortable with who she is. However, Val and Charles’s individual predispositions towards

sharing personal details at work also shapes this behavior. As Val and Charles explained, and was apparent in the interviews, Val is a more "open" personality and more visible about her outside-of-work life, whereas Charles prefers to maintain strong separation between work and life.

Val and Charles have at times considered positions at other institutions but have been constrained in pursuing these opportunities for various reasons. For instance, after not being offered the tenure-track job at the liberal arts college, Val searched for jobs outside of the region, which "would have meant Charles would also look." They eventually decided to stay. Options for Charles never materialized, Val did not receive offers that were particularly exciting for her, and both were hesitant to move out of the area because of their children. This scenario illustrates the kind of binds that dual-career faculty members often face. In this case, one partner, Charles, finds stability and happiness in their career and the other, Val, is constrained in their ability to find the same professional happiness without disrupting the stability of their partner and family.

More recently, Charles and Val's identities as international faculty members have become more salient, in that they sought positions in their home country of origin, wanting to be closer to family. They decided to each take a year of research leave to experiment with this option, moving their family to their country of origin and securing positions at institutions. Yet, it became quickly apparent to both partners that their children would not be happy or successful living abroad. Charles explained that, "We jumped late in our family life. I think we would have stayed there had it not been for the age our kids were at." Val agreed, indicating that they did not want to set up a scenario where their kids lived in United States and she and Charles in a different country. In other words, the centrality of family for Charles and Val has, in some ways,

constrained their professional goals, but they have taken actions to ensure that they can maintain the family life that they desire.

At different points, Val and Charles both indicated that academia's cultural norms of working around the clock influence them in different ways. Val reflected:

> I guess what's different about academia and other professions is that you never stop. You're always thinking about work, planning to do something, doing something, even weekends, evenings, vacations; you're never completely switched off because you've decided to do this because this is what you enjoy doing.

In adapting to this challenge, Charles and Val both felt as though Val's being part-time while Charles was on the tenure-track was helpful. Val explained that if they both had been in such time-consuming jobs, it "would have been very intense…difficult to juggle schedules with the children." Val and Charles also described a fluidity and flexibility to their approach to managing caregiving and household tasks as another strategy. Charles described:

> But one thing that's been helpful is I don't think we have very clearly defined roles at home. So I think many couples I've seen and it probably works for them, for efficiencies... Either because of traditional gender roles or for efficiencies, they try and specialize. You be the one who does that kid, I'll be the one who does this kid. You handle the driving, you handle the planning. It's been more of a jumble at home for that and that's, I think, been helpful with neither of us irreplaceable in any given context. I think it started very early with the kids because often one of us would be away for the month in [foreign country] and the other would be here and I think that was... I can't say that we planned it but I think that's been helpful in not being... It was a helpful inefficiency in the long-term.

Val agreed, saying that a shared understanding of the demands of academic work also shaped the fluidity of household management. She said:

> [Some days you say] I really have to finish this, will you cook? And we can both step into these roles. When the kids were little, there were some roles that were definitely separate for us, in terms of looking after the kids. Also, I did, because I was home more, I did more of the household and childcare things. There is still a difference in that. People view chores, what needs to be done, there are differences of opinion. But there is never a sense that this has to be gendered. That this is what I do and this is what you do. The fact

> that we're both academics and we're both in the same field has meant that there is some fluidity around those rules. That's very nice for me, I don't want it any other way.

Said another way, Charles and Val have taken a fluid approach to the division, stepping into different tasks as the needs arise.

Altogether, the main challenges Charles and Val encountered related to finding a professional fulfilling position for Val in proximity to Dunder Mifflin and navigating work-life demands (e.g., children and eldercare). They navigated these challenges by being flexible and fluid about who does caregiving and domestic tasks and prioritizing the togetherness of their family over potential career-related moves.

Oscar and Holly

Oscar and Holly are professors in different departments in the same college at Dunder Mifflin University. Oscar identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured full professor in a social science discipline. Holly identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured full professor in a different social science discipline. They are both affiliated with an interdisciplinary school. They have one adult child and one school-aged child. Oscar and Holly met in graduate school, although they were students at different universities. They came to Dunder Mifflin as a result of Oscar's tenure-track job. Dunder Mifflin offered Holly a postdoctoral position as part of a partner accommodation (though there was no central policy in place at the time). She then moved into a visiting assistant professor role before receiving a tenure-track assistant professor role. They have both subsequently been awarded tenure and promoted to full professor.

The main challenge Holly and Oscar encountered professionally at Dunder Mifflin was early on and related to Holly's position within the university. Dunder Mifflin offered Oscar a

tenure-track assistant professor job. After receiving the offer, Oscar communicated that Holly was also interested in a faculty position. At the time, Dunder Mifflin had no dual-career partner program and few standard procedures for considering or processing dual-hires. Oscar recalled:

> [The department] just hadn't dealt with it, it was like, "That's an interesting request." So, the postdoc was ad hoc and they were very nice about it, but I think if we had been pushier at that moment, we probably could have swung it [a tenure-track for Holly] then. But you don't feel pushy when you're just coming in.

Because Oscar felt he had little negotiating power as an early-career faculty member and the department made it seem as though they did not know how to do a dual-career hire, Oscar did not push harder for a better position for Holly.

The period that followed, in which Holly was in a variety of short-term, contract-based visiting roles, was stressful and dissatisfying for both members of the couple. Holly went out on the job market nationally each year, hoping either to get a job offer at a new institution where Oscar could likewise find a position or leverage an outside offer to negotiate a position for herself at Dunder Mifflin. Holly expressed that her would-be department seemed reticent to even consider a partner hire. She explained:

> I think in fact in my department the senior men in my department, some of them married grad students who were then not hired, or were hired only in part-time lecture roles. One of them, their wife lived abroad after opportunities at Dunder Mifflin seemed closed off. So for those senior men in the department, there were like, "I had to suck it up and so you do too."

Said another way, department members in Holly’s would-be department were unwilling to make a position work based on their own experiences.

Meanwhile, Oscar worked towards tenure. He was not thrilled at the prospect of moving away from his department. The department was a good fit intellectually and Oscar had good colleagues and was generally thriving. Holly explained that these disparate perspectives towards

moving – she, working hard to move while Oscar was more "reluctant" – caused significant discord in their relationship. She put this into words when she said:

> In order to be a good job candidate, you have to start picturing yourself already doing the job. And that was so hard because I was picturing myself anywhere but here, in order to do that effectively. And Oscar, as a tenure track faculty member, you have to do the opposite. You have to picture yourself living there and committing to the institution forever and being happy and committed to that. So, we were occupying very different headspaces even though we were in the same house.

At the same time, as Oscar described, living in two separate places was never an option they considered. Oscar stated:

> We also never, ever considered being in different places. So even when Holly's search was going where-ever, it was completely clear that if it did go well somewhere else, we would just leave for somewhere else. That was explicit. That was not kind of, "oh that will work out." It was definitely explicit. We were not going to do commute and if you want to talk about stresses, I think the stress of being in separate places is extremely, extremely stressful and I think we were aware of that going in.

In other words, though there were challenges associated with Holly's searching, one of the fundamental perspectives they both took would be that they would not live apart. Holly furthermore characterized this period as socially isolating. She said, "literally, all my friends were friends that Oscar made through work. I was so isolated." Though Oscar was able to develop community with colleagues through his department, Holly did not have access to the same social networks and the small-town environment meant that there were few other opportunities to meet new people. During this time, Holly and Oscar also had their first child, which, though joyous, also brought new stress.

A confluence of factors led Dunder Mifflin to offer Holly a tenure-track assistant professor role in the same college but a different department than Oscar. First, Holly continued to network within her department, teaching courses and applying for open positions when they became available, keeping herself plugged into the department and making connections with

faculty who could support her hire. Second, Oscar earned tenure and became a valuable asset to his department, accruing more capital with which he could negotiate. Finally, Holly and Oscar made it known that Holly had received an offer at an institution that also had an open position aligned with Oscar's research backgrounds. As result of these factors, Oscar was in a good position to negotiate, with the bottom line being "it had to work for Holly, or I would leave." As this quote reveals, Oscar felt a fair amount of confidence that his status within his department would render a positive result, which was likely bolstered by his tenured status.

Holly's transition to her new department came with positives and negatives. On the positive side, there was a sense of relief at having a more stable professional life. Yet, Holly's experiences of unsuccessfully going up for jobs in the department had an impact on her confidence. She described:

> The five years of knocking on doors and being rejected a lot, it left some pretty deep defensiveness, hyper vigilant, always trying to make sure that people knew that I was doing a good thing and that I was deserving. Which probably made me annoying and also made me miserable.

On top of the psychological impact, Holly was also pregnant with their second child, which compounded her anxiety and self-consciousness. In all, while the job offer reduced some of the immediate stress Holly and Oscar experienced, the overall experience of being a partner hire activated Holly's imposter syndrome.

Becoming parents also brought on new challenges for Holly and Oscar. They experienced some of the normal stress of becoming new parents, such as navigating childcare and re-formulating their routines. At the time of their first child's birth, Dunder Mifflin had no paid parental leave or tenure delay policy. Holly was not working at Dunder Mifflin full-time and Oscar did not take any formal time off. For their second child, both took advantage of the

parental leave sequentially (Holly for a fall first semester and Oscar for a spring semester). Notably, it was Oscar's use of the parental leave policy that had more positive impact on Holly's career. Oscar's department encouraged him to exercise the leave and Oscar received no signals that he was expected to be productive during his semester off. This expectation (or lack thereof) allowed the entire family to move abroad for Holly's research. This was critical, as Holly was pre-tenure and needed to be abroad to build up her research program and conduct field work. On the other hand, the tenure delay policy, which applied to Holly but not Oscar, had no impact. Holly described feeling as though utilizing the tenure delay policy would not be advantageous to her career, stating:

> If I needed to stop the clock for my tenure case, I could have done that. In the end I didn't do that because I had spent so long as you know, on the road to getting the tenure track job, that by the time I got it, I just wanted to go straight through. And I was a little worried that if I waited longer than the standards might go up higher.

Oscar and Holly's use of child-related work-life policies reveals some of the tensions dual-career faculty members at the same institution can encounter as they navigate policy use. First, the provision of gender-neutral parental leave in their case was critical. Holly's use of parental leave was important, but it was equally (if not more) important that Oscar also have access to leave so that Holly could dedicate concentrated time to her work. Second, departmental expectations for tenure (or at least Holly's perceptions of them) mitigated any potential benefit of the tenure delay. Holly is in some regards the kind of faculty member for whom tenure delay is intended, and yet, her fear that there may be shifting standards if she exercised the delay constrained her use. In other words, institutional norms of productivity, intersecting with career stage and gender, undercut the purpose of the policy.

As their children have gotten older, differences in career stage also facilitated Holly and Oscar's ability to move towards their personal and professional goals. Because Oscar earned tenure before Holly was on the tenure-track, he took on more of the childcare responsibilities while Holly moved towards tenure. Holly described that, "the fact that his tenure was already in the bag allowed me to focus…a lot on my research." Oscar elaborated, indicating that this was an unplanned but beneficial strategy. He stated that doing the tenure-track consecutively "ultimately took the edge off" many of their childrearing stresses. In essence, while not by design, Holly and Oscar alternated whose career was in the lead. The non-lead partner, Oscar in this case adapted by taking on more parental duties to allow the other to focus advancing towards tenure.

Gender norms related to parenting and caregiving have differently influenced Oscar and Holly and shaped their actions in different ways. As several previous quotes indicate, Holly was at times highly attuned to the penalties that academic mothers can encounter. Because of this knowledge, Holly said that she has quite often tried to do things "without necessarily drawing attention to my status as a parent." Holly's avoidance tactics come in sharp contrast to the visibility of Oscar's role as a father. Oscar indicated that he was sure he "took advantage of reverse gender norms" in the sense that he was viewed as a "champ" for being a caregiver. Yet, Oscar's relative flexibility and freedom to step into and be visible about his role as a father facilitated Holly's bias avoidance tactics. As Holly explained, Oscar's "willingness to step in" has allowed her to have "a more unburdened, professional life." In all, Holly and Oscar's actions represent the dynamic nature of gender roles and parenthood, especially when partners share a professional field and an institution.

Shared perspectives on work-life and parenting also enabled Oscar and Holly to move towards their professional goals. After Holly earned tenure, the idea that one partner's career

superseded the other's more or less subsided and they each contributed equally to sharing responsibilities in their household and as caregivers. The flexibility of academia and discretion/autonomy each has over their schedule has made issues of work-life "easier to work out" according to Holly. Further, Oscar reflected that over time, he and Holly have also come to share a perspective on the "right amount of work-life balance." Oscar explained that he and Holly have "a fairly similar orientation towards" research productivity "but neither of us has to become a book a year type person. Sometimes I sort of wish I was a little bit more productive, but I think also that the match has been healthy." Holly agreed, saying, "I don't think either of us have big administrative ambitions…we both like the life of a full professor and [know it] is pretty darn desirable." Said another way, a shared perspective on career pace and career aspiration seem to facilitate all-around satisfaction, but this perspective has come with time and rank, wherein they have more autonomy to dictate the pace of their careers.

Though Oscar and Holly share an appointment in an interdisciplinary program, they have over the years maintained fairly distinct institutional and scholarly identities – meaning they avoid some of the challenges typically associated with scholarly collaboration or department sharing. On the scholarly side, they collaborated on a single paper a number of years ago and have just in the last few months been invited to participate on an interdisciplinary grant project that overlaps in both of their areas, their "first time on the same project" according to Holly. Informally, Oscar indicated that his academic network has expanded as a result of Holly's international work. Likewise, Holly's interest in a certain set of social science issues has also cropped up in Oscar's work. After nearly almost 15 years as an academic couple at Dunder Mifflin, most faculty members know that Oscar and Holly are married, but because they do not share a tenure-home, they do not have "regular involvement in each other's departments." Oscar

and Holly viewed this as a positive, and in fact summarized their sharing of an institution as beneficial to their relationship and to Dunder Mifflin. He said, “the institution definitely gets more from us, because we're always, always, always working. In a good way, not always working like it's a grind. We're talking, we're thinking, I find it very exciting.”

Overall, Oscar and Holly’s journey included challenges like finding a professional stable and satisfactory position for Holly and the pressures of being on the tenure-track while having small children. They navigated these challenges by trading off who was the primary caregiver for their children and by aligning their perceptions of what good “work-life balance” meant to them.

Case 2: Vance University

Vance University is a large, public university with high research activity and the flagship institution of the state. It has a total student enrollment of 26,800 and just over 1,300 full-time instructional faculty. About 80% of students who apply are admitted. It is located in a small city in a mostly rural state. Vance University is one of the largest employers in the region and the only major higher education institution in the area.

I initially ranked Vance University’s dual-career program in the medium category. Based upon publicly available information, Vance University appeared to offer centralized career services for partners of university hires (staff and faculty), including a designated staff member in human resources who makes referrals to hiring managers, facilitates networking opportunities, and provides assistance with resume writing. There was no publicly available information that indicated Vance University had a centralized mechanism for supporting dual-career academic hiring.

However, through interviews with institutional informants (Vice Provost for Faculty; ADVANCE Director), I learned that as a result of their ADVANCE program, Vance University

formalized its approach to dual-career academic hiring approximately 10 years ago. Officially, Vance's policy is similar to that of Dunder Mifflin's and Sabre's, in that there is a three-way split between the initial hire's department, the partner hire's department, and the provost office, if a cross-department partner hire is secured. Vance also participates in a higher education recruiting consortium with universities in the region (though most of these institutions are up to two hours from Vance).

Institutional informants indicated the dual-career efforts at Vance are a part of their overall efforts to improve faculty work-life within the context of their ADVANCE grant. Vance University took this approach to dual-career academic hiring primarily as a recruitment tool. Because the university is "the only game in town," Vance University began offering dual-career accommodations as a way to recruit faculty members who might not otherwise consider Vance a desirable location. Vance also recognized that putting in place dual-career supports would help increase the recruitment of women, particularly in STEM fields.

In addition to dual-career supports, in the last ten years, Vance implemented several other faculty work-life accommodations. There is a modified duty policy that faculty can use after the birth or adoption of a child or in the case of illness. Vance also has an automatic tenure delay after parental leave. There has been a recent emphasis on putting place inclusive hiring training for search committees to reduce implicit bias. Vance also initiated several faculty accommodations to be supportive during COVID. Vance put in place a one-year, opt-out delay of tenure for COVID-19. They created virtual tutoring for children of Vance employees and emergency childcare grants. Vance has also issued workload modification guidance, which recommended that faculty productivity expectations be temporarily lowered in the wake of the pandemic.

Jim and Pam

Jim and Pam are both tenured associate professors in the same department at Vance University. Jim identifies as a White, heterosexual man and Pam identifies as a White, heterosexual woman. They are both trained in the same social science discipline, although have different research interests. They have two school-aged children. Jim and Pam met as graduate students in the same program. After completing his degree, Jim took a postdoc in a Midwest city, and Pam followed, finishing her dissertation the same year Jim's postdoc ended. They searched for faculty jobs at the same time, looking across the country. Jim received a job offer from Vance University and the department offered Pam a visiting assistant professor position. A year later, the department offered her a tenure-track role. They both subsequently earned tenure and were promoted to associate professor. Pam recently completed a term as associate chair in the department.

The first challenge Jim and Pam encountered was their joint faculty job search. Based on the advice of mentors, they strategically aligned the timing of their search to go out on the market at the same time. This search was complicated by a few factors. First, Jim and Pam share a discipline – the likelihood that a department would hire two tenure-track faculty members was low. Second, Jim and Pam had different motivations for pursuing academia and thus different kinds of institutional aspirations. Jim was a more research-focused academic, looking for positions at research intensive universities. Pam in contrast, was less research-focused and indeed less sold on academia in general, saying, "I've never really thought that academia was going to be my life and my career." She elaborated in later interviews that despite having enjoyed relative career success, she has explored non-academic roles at various points of her life.

With these different motivations guiding their search, Jim and Pam mostly ended up applying to different institutions. In most cases, Jim and Pam made the strategic choice to not bring up their partner status until they received an offer. There was only one school where they made clear that the fact that they were married: a teaching-focused institution that advertised two positions, one of each in their respective fields. At this institution, Jim and Pam felt as though mentioning their status as a dual-career academic couples would be beneficial. Jim and Pam agreed that they would only take positions if the second partner was also offered a position. Ultimately it came down to two different institutions: one at Vance, where Jim was the "initial hire" and Pam the partner hire, and another at a comprehensive institution in the Midwest, where the roles were reversed. The decision to come to Vance was guided by Jim's career aspirations and his desire to be at a research-intensive institution. Pam recalled that the tipping point was a conversation between them where Jim told her that "he'd be miserable without a lab." Jim also remembered this conversation, saying at this point, "I wasn't ready to give up a research career." Said another way, they resolved the conflict about which offer to pursue by prioritizing the opportunities that Vance offered to Jim.

Pam and Jim's transition to Vance was, in their words, both "rough" and "tenuous," primarily related to Pam's contingent position and partner status, but also because Pam was pregnant. Pam's position was negotiated at the department level, using a partner accommodation not Vances's central policy. Jim recalled Pam's feeling like it was a "slap in the face" that she was offered a visiting position, especially given that she had been competitive for other tenure-track jobs. Pam agreed, saying although she never felt like she was explicitly treated differently or made to feel like an "outcast," her internal perception that she had come in on Jim's "coattails" lingered. Jim also felt like there were ramifications from negotiating for Pam's role

with their chair. He explained, “I know I asked a lot of him as a chair, in order to hire us and I felt like he expected a lot in return, or he held me to some higher standards. But it never really affected me, and that was more possibly just in my head, of how I felt around him.” By the end of the year, their department converted Pam’s visiting role to a tenure-track line with little controversy – neither Jim nor Pam elaborated much on this process. Regardless, as these quotes indicate, Jim and Pam felt as though their initial hiring experience influenced their transition into the department.

A second challenge Jim and Pam encountered and continue to deal with is navigating the demands of faculty life with having children. As mentioned, Pam became pregnant as a visiting assistant professor and at the time, Vance offered no parental leave or duty modification. Thus, Pam took unpaid leave. By the time their second child was born, Vance had implemented a workload modification policy, which Jim and Pam accessed in sequential semesters. Pam recalled difficulty in navigating the paid leave system because she was one of the first to access it. She remembered her department chair at the time saying, “if this didn’t go well with me, that there were going to be problems.” Said another way, being the “first” to use the policy in the department required more agency because there was a lack of institutional knowledge/process in implementing it. Jim did not mention any similar challenges.

After each of their children was born, gendered aspects of parenting played a role in how Jim and Pam shared caregiving duties. Though the goal was, and still is, to equally share parenting duties, gendered patterns of caregiving emerged related to nursing. Pam explained:

> I stayed home both those fall semesters with the two kids. And Jim did a little bit, kind of stuck around, let me get a little bit of work done here and there, but that was primarily me. I mean, he doesn't lactate, so…

She added to this later, saying even after she ended nursing, both children still called for her more often than Jim. Equal sharing of caregiving duties has become easier as the kids have gotten older, with Jim and Pam alternating who does drop off and pick up. The flexibility of academic life facilitates more egalitarian caregiving roles, in that they are both able to work from home a few days a week if they want and to more or less dictate their schedules to be home when school is over. Even so, Pam described that they “tried our best to split days,” hinting that some days and weeks are more even than others. In all, although egalitarian parenting is what Jim and Pam strive for, there was still a sense that Pam continued to do more involved parenting.

Work-life challenges have re-emerged related to the COVID-19 pandemic. At the time of our interview, K-12 schools near Vance were entirely virtual. It was clear that Jim and Pam experienced many distractions throughout the day, with their children coming through the interviews to ask for help logging in to their Zoom classroom or for rides to outdoor activities. Jim and Pam’s home office set up influenced which partner was more likely to be distracted. Jim set up his office in the basement while Karen’s office was in one of her children’s room. As Karen described, “I know I have to be ready to be distracted at any minute,” explaining that she breaks several times a day to help with schoolwork. Jim and Pam discussed this pattern as a result of some combination of gender and workstyle, as highlighted in the following exchange:

> Pam: I don't mind those little breaks. I do it anyway. I'm not one of the people who, I don't focus for an hour straight. I need little breaks. You're different. He works very differently than I do.
>
> Jim: Well, and also because I'm in the basement, I feel like they don't come bother me as much. And I think there's probably a gender thing there…
>
> Pam: There's a gender thing there. It's, "Mom," first.
>
> Jim: Because they'll come down here and they'll say, "Dad. Dad." And it'll take like 10 times for…

> Pam: He won't even hear it. That's long-term. I mean, he would sleep through them crying in the middle of the night and would never hear them.

As this passage illustrates, Jim and Pam are both aware of the gendered nature of their current parenting arrangement.

One of the main ways that Jim and Pam have adapted to work-life challenges is by re-adjusting their expectations, style of work, and in some ways their career goals. As Pam discussed, she takes a “militant” approach to her work – if the kids are in daycare or in school, she is “working hard,” not taking breaks for meetings or lunches if she can avoid it. In contrast, Jim discussed a kind of readjustment on his career goals and ambitions. Coinciding, or perhaps related to having children, he has faced challenges in getting his work funded. He explained:

> Just playing that really high-level research game and being on that treadmill, the appeal wasn't as great as it was when I was a postdoc or a grad student, I think. Yeah, for one reason or another, maybe because I reprioritized things when I had kids, I got off that treadmill. And, once you get off, it's hard to get back on. Although, I still feel like I could enter back in if I really wanted to, and maybe I could enter back in at my own pace if a grant got funded.

He elaborated further that after having children, he began to ask himself, "Well, is that what I really want out of my career?" and the answer has changed. In some ways, Jim saw this view as partly shifting because of Pam and her pre-existing skepticism about academia. He said that over the course of his career at Vance, he stopped caring about “the hyper-individualized competitive ego part of academia” which has also influenced his career ambition. Pam likewise indicated that she disliked the “egos” present in academia and often considered non-academic pathways, again suggesting a kind of transferal of perspectives between partners.

A third challenge Jim and Pam navigated more recently relates to sharing a department. Pam and Jim have collaborated only once on an academic piece, so have not encountered issues

related to establishing their independence as scholars. However, Pam recently ended a term as associate department chair, a role that created much professional and personal tension for the couple. For example, Pam described a scenario in which Jim was on a hiring committee which made a recommendation about hiring a certain candidate that the chair ultimately did not hire. Pam, as associate chair, defended the chair's action, which then became "super contentious." Pam described some of her colleagues as "incredibly hostile" towards her, with Jim caught in the crosshairs. He explained that he and Pam "weren't necessarily on opposite sides…but we were being in pulled in different directions and bringing too much interpersonal stress home…" Pam reiterated the kind of cross-over effect of their departmental situation, saying she saw Jim, "beginning to express just subtle passive aggressive discontent with me." She said:

> We would cross paths sometimes through it and yeah, it made it really difficult. And he took out some frustrations on me. Just like in the kitchen, making dinner. Just things he would say, "you get so upset about things." And it's like, I can't control this. Like he would expect me to be able to fix something. It's like that's, I mean even the Dean's can't do that. I can't do that.

Jim agreed, saying that he felt as though their relationship was at a "breaking point" due to the conflict in the department.

Ultimately, the strategy Jim and Pam employed to navigate this work conflict spillover into home life was to opt out of scenarios in which one partner has administrative power over the other. Pam's term as associate chair ended, and departmental colleagues approached Jim about taking on the role. Pam explained that Jim turned the position down because of the potential negative repercussions of the role for their partnership and family. She said, "[Jim] and I decided that together, our relationship can't take this." Jim agreed, saying that "emotional tension" in their relationship would not be worth any career or monetary benefits from taking on the administrative role. There have been benefits, however. As Jim explained:

> We have to think about not just the time it takes, but just the emotional toll that it might impart on the individual, and then, by extension, the other. That's something I think we never really thought about. But, now that we've gone through some of this, it's like we're not going to make that mistake again. And so, I think we haven't talked about work stuff near as much since she stepped down…and that's great.

The strategy of separation has the potential for significant impacts on both of their careers. In fact, Pam has gone so far as to explore the potential of transferring to another department and also applied for administrative roles that take her away from the department. Likewise, Jim also described that, after the conflicts they encountered previously, he feels "once-bitten-twice-shy," turning down roles or committees that would put him into conflict with Pam. Neither has yet found a role that would give them more separation. Yet, there was a sense that they both yearned for more professional separation to foster a better personal and family relationship, and that either would jump at the opportunity if it presented itself.

In closing, Jim and Pam's major challenges included deciding whose career would be the "lead;" sharing a department; and tensions in parenting and work-life. They used strategies such as modifying their priorities and saying "no" to leadership opportunities that would put them into conflict with one another.

Dwight and Angela

Dwight and Angela are faculty members in the same department at Vance University. Dwight identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured associate professor and head of his department. Angela identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured associate professor. They share a professional field, a department, and teach in the same academic program, but have different areas of specialization. They have one school-aged child and one younger child.

Dwight and Angela met in high school. They attended the same undergraduate and doctoral institution, completing their Ph.D.'s in the same year. After graduating, a liberals arts college hired Angela as an assistant professor and Dwight worked as an administrator at a different institution before Vance offered him a tenure-track assistant professor role. Dwight commuted five hours both ways each week to take the position at Vance. Two years later, Dwight's department at Vance hired Angela as a teaching assistant professor. The following year, the department offered Angela a tenure-track assistant professor role. They both are now tenued associated professors.

The main challenge Dwight and Angela have experienced relates to their journey to Vance. They had their first child while they finished their dissertations, at which point Dwight's career aspirations to become a faculty member were very strong while Angela's were less so. Because of this, Angela explained that their initial thinking was that "Dwight would really drive the search," meaning his career would take the lead in determining where they made their home. However, a small liberal arts college where Angela had taught a few courses "unexpectedly" offered her a tenure-track position. She accepted, but the college was located in a small town with few faculty prospects for Dwight. He applied for a few positions nationally, but the post-2008 faculty job market limited his prospects. The position at Vance therefore represented a kind of prime opportunity. It was a tenure-track job at a research institution, which is what Dwight wanted, and was geographically close enough to their existing town that Angela and their young child would not be forced to move. Dwight described:

> I don't think we ever had kind of a conversation of, "We shouldn't do this," but in some ways it was like, I don't know, that was the way not to make a choice at the moment. Angela still had her job, we were home with family. We had a house.

Thus, both Dwight and Angela felt at the time that Dwight needed to jump at the opportunity at Vance because it was a workable, if not ideal, option. That is, the position allowed Dwight and Angela to maintain their jobs and some semblance of the family life they had begun to build.

There were a few factors that pushed Angela towards seeking a position at Vance. First, they quickly realized that Dwight's commute to and from Vance "wasn't sustainable." Second, Angela's work environment at the liberal arts college was "dysfunctional" with high turnover and low faculty morale, so she was eager to leave. Third, Dwight's college experienced significant leadership and faculty turnover, leaving some gaping holes in terms of instructors for required courses. Knowing all this, Dwight exercised agency, demonstrating savvy advocacy techniques within the department. He described the entire process as one lacking in formality, saying, "it was all backroom in how it came to fruition." First, Dwight "made it known" that they would be interested in dual-career opportunities. He sent Angela's C.V. to the dean and department chair, and they invited Angela for an informal conversation regarding a teaching assistant professor role. During this conversation, the dean indicated that the teaching assistant professor would be converted to a tenure-track role after one year. Angela accepted based upon these conditions. In her first year, there was some stress related to the conversation of the tenure track role when the dean and chair departed. But again, Dwight and Angela were quick to ensure that the new dean knew of the arrangement as soon as they began, again demonstrating Dwight and Angela's ability as skilled negotiators. Negotiation skills were particularly necessary in this context given the lack of formal process surrounding Angela's initial hire and her transition into a tenure-track role. In this way, Dwight and Angela benefited from Dwight's knowledge of the norms and "backroom" procedures that could facilitate the hire.

In some ways, the structure of Dwight and Angela's department has insulated them from some of the challenges academic couples can experience when they share a department. The department is large and contains many different, smaller program concentrations, which means department members do not regularly interact with one another on hiring, funding, or other issues that normally activate hostility. Dwight and Angela both agreed that this structure facilitated Angela's transition. Dwight described:

> [Hiring Angela] wasn't a dual career hire that came in and moved the department in any direction. It didn't hit in anybody's line, it didn't affect anybody's world really because in some ways we were in a space by ourselves which was kind of protected from some of maybe the resource politics that new hires sometimes can bump into…sometimes I feel like our separateness within a kind of confederation department programmatically kind of insulated us and still does from some of the politics of the department.

Even with this structure, Dwight and Angela described taking many steps to maintain separate professional identities as they interact with one another in their department. For instance, they are strategic in the ways that they present themselves at faculty meetings. Dwight stated:

> I used to maybe consciously try to stay away from you early on in terms of like I didn't want to be like, "Oh, here come Dwight and Angela up to the faculty meeting," when we were just faculty. Like, I wanted you to have your own identity. I think I was probably projecting that, that I was like, "We're separate entities. Angela is not a trailing dual hire here." That's how it played out, but she's got her own different stuff.

Angela added that even in the COVID-19 virtual environment, they maintain this separation, saying:

> Now that we've gone virtual for everything, we have monthly department meetings. Dwight and I join those from different rooms in the house. But at the end of the year, we had a virtual social thing and then we were in the same space on the same screen. But when it's like official sort of department business, then we really intentionally separate ourselves into different spaces.

Notable in these passages is the sense that it was Angela who needed to maintain a separate identity from Dwight (as opposed to the other way around). Given the gendered ways in which

expectations surrounding the "trailing spouse" often manifest, the reflections highlight an implicit awareness of the need to assert Angela's independence as both a partner hire and a woman faculty member – assertions Dwight did not need to establish for himself.

Navigating the demands of parenthood and the demands of academic life has also been challenging for Dwight and Angela. While they had their first child prior to arriving at Vance, Dwight and Angela adopted a second child while Angela was on the tenure-track. Though both Dwight and Angela were eligible to apply for a parental workload modification, only Angela did so. Dwight explained that because they are both faculty members in the same, small program, they were unsure if there would be coverage for required courses. Moreover, Dwight said:

> I was unclear on the policy. Since that time, I realized that we could have staggered it. One could have taken it one semester, and one could have taken it the next…I don't know if I would have taken it. But I definitely was not fully aware of my options at the time.

As this passage demonstrates, lack of knowledge regarding policy use and concern about the health of the program shaped Dwight's actions related to parental leave. Even with these existing concerns, there was an assumption that Angela would be the one to utilize the workload modification. Angela said, "It wasn't much of a conversation, I think we both knew I was going to take it." This is particularly notable given that at this point, Dwight was tenured and Angela was still on the tenure track. Even so, this did not seem to be a point of contention between the partners, and Angela received course releases for the semester without dispute from the department or college.

Angela viewed the time as positive, but also mentioned that she tried and was successful at being research active during this period. She said:

> I was able, actually, to keep writing and publishing during that time, which I know is not a typical sort of experience for women in particular. I did not stop my tenure clock during

> that period, because I was still productive. I think because I didn't actually give birth to [child], so I didn't have any physical recovery time, myself, which made a big difference.

As this quote illustrates, even with access to workload modification at the adoption of their child, Angela was constrained by both the limitations of the policy (i.e., still being required to do research) as well as the rewards system (i.e., seeing not stopping the clock as advantageous).

Challenges in work-life also emerge from the all-encompassing nature of faculty life and difficulties in "turning it off," especially for Dwight and Angela who share a small academic program. As Angela described, the challenges in her job are "all related to work-life balance…which I think doesn't really exist, anymore, as a construct." As faculty members in the same program with courses taught mostly at night and two kids with active schedules, they juggle evening obligations. Dwight's schedule became slightly less flexible when he took the role as chair, and their pre-pandemic work week typically involved a high degree of scheduling, coordinated pick-ups and drop-offs, and early dinners to foster family time in an otherwise hectic schedule. Angela and Dwight agreed that Angela was better at stepping back and "turning off" work, both attributing this to Dwight's slightly more "obsessive" personality or need for "control." They have, over time, developed the ability to call each other out when work "encroaches" on their family time and communicate when they are stressed or anxious about work or family life.

One of the perspectives that Dwight and Angela have used to navigate this challenge is thinking of their careers as tied, or in Dwight's words, thinking of it as "one career." Dwight said:

> It's at times hard to separate the academic, the personal, the family. It's all part of one grand strategy. And we had control to do that in some ways I know everybody hasn't had. But like from when we're having courses to meetings to directing our career and how that fits with soccer practice and how we can balance that and strategize by using some

> childcare support, but also managing our schedules, us in a way that we can balance all these different things. So I mean, maybe that's obvious, but it kind of morphed at some point from individual professional careers and strategizing about that to one big thing of both, to be honest, me being as mindful of Angela's tenure progression as she was of mine and being mindful of our courses and our academic planning, and then our personal life.

Angela agreed, saying that in order to pursue the “one career” strategy, they needed to be very good at “communicating what our needs are.” She said:

> If I have a deadline coming up, then I'll say to Dwight like, "Right now, I have two weeks to write an article because that's just sort of how the semester's gone." And so, Dwight will be a little more flexible with his time. And then when Dwight has a due date, then we'll flip. And so, I think we've gotten really good at just communicating when we need more time for work and we're able to balance that pretty well. But I think if you were a couple that wasn't able to communicate that with each other, that would be challenging.

In other words, the fact that both Dwight and Angela share a profession that is characterized by its flexibility facilitates their ability to move towards their professional goals while also maintaining their family life. Indeed, Dwight and Angela agreed that flexibility, with each other and within the profession, and their “one career” approach had been to their benefit as they navigated childcare and virtual school during the pandemic. Dwight said, “the balance that we were able to create as a dual career couple made us, I think, more prepared than most to manage this situation.” He elaborated, saying:

> You can easily say if I'm doing stuff with the kids, I'm watching the kids or doing other things just on the personal side of the dynamic, Angela's working on her research. So, in that moment, is it a zero sum? Are we conceptualizing as a couple that in this moment right now, I'm losing research time? Good for Angela, not good for me. Yes, you can do that type of calculation. But, I think as you mature as a successful academic couple, as I said, it's all integrated. We have one shift, and we have strategies as a couple, as a family, and our professional lives to make that happen.
>
> So, I think the overall productivity of the shift was down [during the pandemic], the whole operation, because there's kids running in and there's homeschool. There's all that stuff. There's just being home and the stress of it all that I think every household feels. But the strategy that we had employed in the past has served us well, the shift is

> producing where we're doing things and we're trying to cover each other as we have in the past.

As these passages suggest, Dwight and Angela have mostly avoided feeling as though they need to compete with each other for time, skills which have benefitted them during the pandemic.

On the whole, Dwight and Angela have encountered relatively few challenges at Vance. Navigating the demands of academia and parenting seemed to be the greatest challenge. To navigate, Dwight and Angela use the perspective of "one career," considering work and family life as an integrated system.

Kevin and Stacy

Kevin and Stacy are faculty members in different departments and different colleges at Vance University. Stacy identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a non-tenure eligible service associate professor in a professional field. Kevin identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured associate professor in the humanities. They have two school-aged children. Kevin and Stacy met as undergraduates. They both pursued doctoral degrees in a city in the Midwest, and then moved to the Mid-Atlantic for Kevin to take a postdoctoral fellowship while Stacy completed her dissertation. Kevin received a tenure-track offer from Vance University and Stacy received a teaching assistant professor offer using a partner accommodation. The following year, also using a partner accommodation, she was offered a tenure-track assistant professor job. Stacy then moved into a non-tenure eligible service role.

Kevin and Stacy's major challenge in work-life relates to the kinds of positions and professional opportunities that have been made available to Stacy as a "partner hire." Vance offered Kevin a tenure-track assistant professor role in the humanities in the midst of the 2008 recession. The market was tight, and Stacy and Kevin felt "lucky" and "relieved" to be offered

any position. Kevin's mentors had warned that he should not reveal his partner status. However, during his interview, Kevin felt that department members strategically broadcasted that "it was a college town with a community" and a "family-friendly place." Given the job market, Kevin did not make a position for Stacy part of his negotiations. He brought up Stacy's interest in a faculty role and his future chair assured him that Vance's dual-career program would be helpful. Ultimately, though, they took the department chair's word that something for Stacy would work out. In retrospect Vance's dual-career program was not that helpful in locating a job for Stacy. Stacy described the program as "pretty bare boned" "where they will help connect to resources, but they do not guarantee a job of any sort." Instead, Kevin's chair became the main resource for Stacy, using her "personal and professional connections" to connect Stacy to faculty members in her professional field, which was located in a different college.

Though Kevin's chair assisted in making connections, Stacy's path was marred by bad leadership and leadership turnover, a lack of communication and process, and unclear expectations. Initially, Stacy accepted a non-tenure track program director position. This position was in the college appropriate for Stacy's professional field (different from Kevin's) but not in the department to which she would naturally apply based on her training. A few months later, a tenure-track position in the better fitting department (same college as initial role) became available. Stacy indicated to the chair that she was interested in applying for the job. Stacy's plan was to apply through the "normal" search process – she was not requesting a partner accommodation. A few weeks later, Stacy learned that the potential department submitted a dual career packet for the position on her behalf and offered her the job. The department did not interview Stacy formally or informally, and in fact, the department did not notify the faculty members who were supposed to serve on the search committee for the role that Stacy would fill

the position. Stacy said, "the dean walked into my office and said, 'here's your offer. Don't negotiate. I've done this for you." Said another way, Stacy had very little involvement in the process surrounding her hire and her college leadership made it clear that she received the offer as a favor, rather than based on her skills and qualifications. There are multiple ways in which this situation might be interpreted. Although Stacy viewed the mismanagement of this process to be the result of incompetent leadership, it could also be argued that the college was attempting to leverage Vance's central dual-career hiring policies to its advantage (i.e., receiving a subsidy for a tenure-line position that was already budgeted for, in essence getting some department funds to allocate for alternative use).

The context surrounding Stacy's initial hire set the stage for continued challenges. Stacy explained that she "was regularly made to feel that 'I've done this for you'" or that her position was a "charity case" even though the department and college frequently asked her to attend public-facing functions (e.g., at the President's house or represent the college at conferences). Stacy was not provided with an invitation to faculty orientation. Her workload expectations did not shift – as Kevin described, Stacy was "bearing the much heavier teaching and service load of…someone who was not expected to be doing the research of a tenure track professor." Despite these negative conditions, over the next four years, Stacy received positive ratings in her annual reviews and felt she was making steady progress towards tenure. However, department and college leadership continued to turn over. In her final annual review before going up for tenure, she received a satisfactory in research. This rating indicated that Stacy's performance justified the continuation of her appointment but was not adequate for tenure, even though Stacy felt her research was on par with expectations. Stacy met with her chair, who encouraged her to challenge the review. Stacy then met with the dean, who told her that it was unclear if she would

receive tenure. The dean said instead Stacy should consider taking an administratively focused non-tenure track role. As Stacy described, "I felt like I didn't really have an authentic choice," given that the dean encouraged her to take the role and her departmental colleagues would continue to harshly evaluate her. Stacy later learned that many other colleagues had received similar pre-tenure research evaluations and still achieved tenure. All said, ambiguous policies and unit leadership seemed to create conditions wherein Stacy felt like leaving her tenure-track position was the safest career move.

This situation had a negative impact on Stacy, Kevin, and their family. Kevin's career during this time progressed along a "fairly linear" path and he earned tenure five years after beginning at Vance. He described the process as fairly quick and painless. Yet, with Kevin's long-term stability at Vance guaranteed, Stacy had a heightened sense that her choices were constrained. As Stacy described, there was real fear about the stability of her options, stating, "If I don't go up for tenure and get tenure, that means my job is less stable in a state that doesn't have great funding for public education and in a place where we don't have a lot of other options for me." Though Stacy could have taken a risk and pushed for tenure, the "safer" option for the overall stability of the family was to take the administrative role. On Kevin's side, there was a clear sense of frustration and anger towards Stacy's college leadership, and also a sense of guilt. He explained that, as a result of his research, the family had moved abroad for a year, which he felt had "slowed down" Stacy's research productivity. Altogether, the context of her hire, poor leadership, unclear expectations, workload, and family constraints essentially forced Stacy to take the administratively focused role. In reflecting, Stacy expressed feelings of naivety, regret, and also real pain. She said things like, "I should have known better" several times and indicated that the scenario activated strong feelings of imposter syndrome.

In navigating this scenario over a number of years, it was clear that the most important asset Stacy and Kevin called upon was perspective. Stacy's flexibility and administrative talents have led to her "land on her feet." The administrative role she took on has allowed her to pursue leadership opportunities, interdisciplinary research projects, and shape a new doctoral program in ways that a tenure-track position would probably not have allowed. She explained that her frustration and anger has mostly subsided, stating:

> Now I feel a little bit differently because I've always fallen on my feet and there are a lot of people who are on my side and I'm generally not worried that I will not have a job in this place because a lot of people think I do good work and I work with a lot of people. I think there's generally good will towards me across the institution, not just in my department. I felt like if I needed to leave my college or my department, I'd be fine, and because of the nature of my work; because I do a lot of professional development, because I'm a consultant, I can do other kinds of things here.

Kevin reiterated this point, saying, "I think she is more valued by the institution as somebody who has these kinds of administrative roles…even though I'm the one who got tenure, I'd say in some ways her kind of institutional profile is higher than mine…I'm a [humanities] professor, and she is Stacy, super woman around town." In other words, despite an academic rewards system that has not recognized Stacy's contributions, Stacy took steps to diversify her areas of expertise, network across campus, and build her reputation in ways that make her feel her job stability at Vance is more assured.

Managing family demands with their careers has also been a challenge for Kevin and Stacy. Both of their children were born prior to arriving at Vance, and thus neither has used work modifications or other formal "family-friendly" policies. Both Kevin and Stacy attributed work-life challenges to the culture of academia and the kinds of intense work demands required of faculty members, particularly at Vance. Stacy stated, "the institution has expectations that are not tenable within the confines of what should be a sensible work week." She explained that she

regularly encounters colleagues and faculty friends who do not have kids who embody ideal worker norms of working around the clock and on weekends. She recounted a story that typified some of the issues in achieving any semblance of work-life balance. Stacy described:

> I started in January on the tenure track and that first semester I had this class, it was intro to [content], I had never taught it before. And [our younger child], who I guess at that point was like two, he got really sick. I was home for 13 days straight with him, taking all my meetings on the phone or on Skype or whatever. Yeah. That was the reality, and I remember we got to this point when I needed to get to class. I think I canceled the first class. I couldn't cancel the second class. It was once a week and I was waiting for Kevin to come home so I could get to this class. He was in an interview and couldn't get out of it. He literally showed up 10 minutes before I needed to be in class across town. I had put out my back because I'd be holding [child] all the time for two weeks. I'm literally limping into class 10 minutes after it started, not having had any real time to do the work to really prepare meaningfully for this class.

At this quote indicates, the demands of teaching, and the nature of faculty work where there is no one who can easily fill in when kids are sick, make it difficult for parents like Stacy and Kevin to manage caregiving and their faculty roles. Moreover, this passage reveals some aspects of gendered caregiving roles, as it was unclear how or if Kevin had played a caregiving role during their child's illness.

Issues of travel and schedules have also made issues of work-life challenging. Kevin's scholarship (pre-COVID at least) takes him abroad quite frequently. Although Stacy and the children accompany him when possible, there have been times when Kevin is gone for several weeks at a time. Kevin indicated that during these times, "there's no question that [Stacy] has done more of the heavy-lifting than I have." In other words, the international aspect of Kevin's research reiterates the gendered division of caregiving. Even so, Stacy argued that because of the kids, "we don't take advantage of every professional opportunity that comes our way. We're really selective. We always vet it to the other person." Thus, the desire to have work-life integration has impacted the kinds of opportunities both Kevin and Stacy pursue.

One of the key strategies that Kevin and Stacy expressed as critical to their ability to manage work and life is the mantra “family first.” Though both partners were aware of the challenges academic parents can encounter, it was clear that in nearly every decision they make, they take the time to consider the whole health of the family. Stacy described this perspective when she stated:

> We both always felt family first. We were never willing to take jobs in separate places. We weren't willing to ... I know some even wait until they're tenured to have kids. We were not willing to do that. We were going to put our family life before our professional aspirations. And I think we also again perhaps naively believed that when we were looking for jobs, Kevin was looking for a place for us to live, not just for a job.

The mantra of family first has sustained them even as they have encountered institutional challenges, such as the ones Stacy described before. Neither of them described Vance as their dream institution or dream geographic area, but in thinking about potential moves, they consider the whole picture – professional opportunities, geographic location, and their children’s happiness. Kevin described this kind of whole picture mentality when he said:

> We always had talked about is this an upgrade? And that it has to be an upgrade across the board, geographically and institutionally. I don't think either one of us would want to take a major professional step downwards in order to be ... Her family is in [city]. There have been a couple of jobs at small schools or whatever in [city] that were not tenured or something like that, and it wasn't worth it enough for us to be in [city] that I would give up my professional capital that I've accumulated to go there. So it has to be across the board personally and professionally. I think that with our older son, now a sophomore in high school, that I don't think we think that we can go anywhere while he's still in school. That it would be a couple of years before we could contemplate moving.

As these passages indicate, Kevin and Stacy’s family is central to their considerations of what satisfaction – both professional and personal – means. They consider the “whole picture” when making decisions.

Another way in which Kevin and Stacy navigate work-life demands is by establishing and drawing from a strong community support system. Kevin described that, “Where we live in

particular is a little bubble of people from all over who are not rooted here and who make community together there." They have made community with families who have kids of similar ages, which have been critical given they have no immediate family in the area. Their neighborhood community gives them a sense of connection to the university and also serves as their support system when they need backup care and help with the kids. Stacy recalled a time when she had an emergency deadline for completing her dissertation and Kevin was in a department meeting. She was able to ask her neighbor to take the kids for several hours, so that she could complete her Ph.D. Stacy explained that, "it's been our community that has made being isolated and in a place that's not familiar I think, it has allowed us to do this thing." In other words, given the need to move to an area in which Kevin and Stacy had no pre-existing social ties, their built community has facilitated their ability to make life and work more manageable.

Implicit in the challenges Stacy and Kevin have faced over the years is the sense that Kevin's career has been the "default" lead, primarily because he had a stronger ambition and inclinations towards an academic career. Kevin viewed academia as a "predestined" vocation, whereas Stacy has always been open to non-academic pathways. This is in part due to the narrow nature of Kevin's humanities field, wherein there are fewer options for people trained in his discipline and the more applied nature of Stacy's field. Kevin explained:

> I'm trained much more narrowly; I would describe myself as a very traditional academic in a traditional discipline. And I think that she was more widely trained for a diversity of careers, and that we knew that pretty much anywhere you go, there is a [kind of job]. Or there is, if you're in a big city, there are enough opportunities for some kind of [applied] research. And, so, we knew that my career would be more restrictive for us.

Likewise, Kevin's progress on the "traditional" academic career pathway – with clearly understood benchmarks for success – has made making his professional goals in some ways easier to achieve. Again, Stacy and Kevin's strategy as viewing family first, or in this case,

viewing Kevin’s career success as part of the larger family system, proved to be a useful perspective. For instance, Stacy said of Kevin’s travel demands, “it's essential that Kevin was getting his research done. I think we never saw it as this individual enterprise that Kevin needs to get tenure and so he needs to go on this research trip, and so this is a family enterprise.” Despite this mantra of family first, the relatively narrow set of career prospects for Kevin have impacted Stacy’s career choices, although Stacy did not seem to view this with resentment.

In all, Stacy and Kevin’s major challenges have been related to Stacy’s finding a meaningful and stable faculty role, challenges related to the dual-career process, and navigating the demands of academia with being parents. They have weathered these challenges by prioritizing their family and through Stacy’s willingness to be flexible in the kind of role she would take.

Ryan and Kelly

Ryan and Kelly are faculty members in different departments and different colleges at Vance University. Kelly identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenure-eligible assistant professor in a professional field. Ryan identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured associate professor in a social science field. They have two young children. Kelly and Ryan met as graduate students, where they studied different disciplines. After graduating, a liberal arts college in the Midwest offered Kelly a tenure-track assistant professor position. Ryan moved with Kelly to the Midwest, working in a part-time adjunct role in the same college. Five years later, Vance offered Ryan a tenure-track assistant professor position in his department. Another department in the same college offered Kelly a teaching assistant professor role, using Vance’s central partner hiring accommodation. The following year, she was offered a tenure-track assistant professor role.

The first challenge Kelly and Ryan navigated was finding two, professionally satisfying positions in the same location. They decided early on that they would not do long-distance, which Ryan described as a "flat-out condition," something that was not negotiable. For five years prior to coming to Vance, Kelly was on the tenure-track at a small liberal arts college while Ryan taught a few undergraduate courses, each year needing to negotiate a contract renewal. Ryan's professional dissatisfaction with this scenario was overwhelming. He kept applying for tenure-track jobs across the country, and received a few offers, but never at an institution that made an adequate offer for Kelly. In the fifth year, Ryan applied to Vance, making it clear from the outset that Kelly was also a faculty member and would need a position for him to take a job. Ryan said:

> At that point, I kind of got tired of playing games. There's always this debate about when do you bring up a dual career thing. At some point in that interview, talking to the chair, I just decided it's either going to work or it doesn't. I basically was very explicit. I was like, "Look, I have a dual career situation. I can't come here unless it works out."

This reflection underscores that Ryan viewed Kelly's position as a non-negotiable, and that he had nothing to lose by not bringing it up (perhaps because of several failed attempts in the past). As Ryan described, his past failed job searches tempered excitement about the offer. It was really the "first step" in his negotiation process, because his acceptance was entirely contingent upon a position for Kelly. He said, "I didn't negotiate anything in terms of my salary or startup because I basically put everything, any kind of negotiation power I had into the dual career stuff." In other words, Ryan used any capital that he possessed to ensure that Vance offered Kelly a faculty position.

The process by which Kelly was evaluated and offered a faculty position was unstructured and informal. Vance's dual-career program has a coordinator who sent out Kelly's C.V. to several different units in which there may have been a good fit. She interviewed with a

department for a teaching assistant professor role (though this department is not technically Kelly's field of specialization). This department was in the same college as Ryan's, making it the "easiest route," in that negotiating a partner accommodation within a college is easier than across them. Kelly described the interview as "cursory" and "low key." Ryan reiterated this point, saying, "I think the only reason it worked out for us is because the department probably didn't care that much about who filled this teaching position. It was like, it's not one of their research positions, they just need to fill it." In other words, the stakes were low and it seemed clear Kelly would receive an offer, which she accepted.

Taking the positions at Vance and uprooting their family was a difficult choice. As Ryan and Kelly both described in the following exchange, the trade-offs of the position were very clear:

> Ryan: It produced a lot of ambivalent feelings, because on the one hand, it's like, "Hey, good, this is kind of the best dual career gig that we've had."
>
> Kelly: I did turn away from, at that time, a tenure track position.
>
> Ryan: Yeah, I mean she was…
>
> Kelly: And I was pretty close to tenure there.
>
> Ryan: Yeah, she was five years. I think five years into it, right?
>
> Kelly: Yeah.
>
> Ryan: So that was obviously... It was the best dual career situation we had, but it obviously was a better deal for me than her. That was kind of the switch I think, where [previous institution] was a better deal for her than me.
>
> Kelly: But it was a little more equal than it had been.

In other words, the benefits for the overall family system and for equalizing their careers outweighed the career setback Kelly experienced from taking a non-tenure track job.

A second challenge Ryan and Kelly faced relates to Kelly's position and subsequent advancement. Ryan's transition into his department was fairly smooth. He described that he felt he had some advantages compared to other first year assistant professors, in that he had accrued substantial teaching experience and had an active research agenda. Kelly's path was less straightforward. Though initially hired as a teaching assistant professor in a social science field, at the end of the first year, she applied for and accepted a tenure-track role in a professional field (the field in which she is trained). This position was a great opportunity in that it was a much-coveted tenure-track role. However, it came with anxiety and doubts for Kelly. She explained:

> When I got the position in [department] the research level was a totally different level than I had been at before. I think I could have probably negotiated for a year or two [towards tenure] but I was really pretty anxious about making sure that I could successfully get tenure. So, I didn't do that. I just started over basically.

In other words, Kelly wanted more time on her tenure clock to build up her research, which had not been the focus of her prior jobs. Although Kelly had doubts, she also felt that she had to take the job, because of the stability that tenure could provide their entire family. Ryan recalled:

> I think she was scared because she felt like, "Obviously I have to take this job, right? It's basically the dream situation. We're both in real tenure track positions. I can't turn this down." On the other hand, I think she was really, really scared that basically, she was setting herself up for failure, that she was basically starting flat-footed and she wouldn't be able to get enough research going and she wouldn't get tenure.

At this passage illustrates, Kelly's fear were not just rooted in ramping up research, but also the prospect of having to do another dual-career search if she was not awarded tenure.

Collaboration is one of the major ways Ryan and Kelly have addressed Kelly's anxiety surrounding her position. Though Ryan and Kelly are not in the same discipline, there is overlap between their fields in terms of content area. As such, they have co-authored several papers togethers. Ryan explained that the collaboration emerged because he knew Kelly's anxiety about

the tenure-track role and was also aware of a few national datasets in his field related to her interests. He therefore “helped her get a few papers going” with an equal split, wherein Ryan completed analysis and Kelly completed the front matter and discussion. Kelly described Ryan as one of her main supporters in navigating towards tenure, stating that, “he’s always on board with, ‘let’s crank out a paper on such and such dataset.’” In all, Ryan and Kelly’s collaboration emerged in part to boost Kelly’s productivity and help her establish a research pipeline, but also as a strategy they used to mitigate some of Kelly’s imposter syndrome related to her new role.

As is the case for many faculty couples who co-author, Ryan and Kelly differed in the extent to which they worried about how collaborating might be viewed. Ryan and Kelly each indicated that because they are in separate departments and have different last names, it was unlikely that evaluation committees would realize they were married. That being said, Kelly had initial reservations about collaborating. She said:

> I was a little worried that there would be a perception that, he's been gifting me these things or, but then I'm often first author. Then he was like, well, they could say the same thing the other way around. You're gifting them to me. But yeah, like I said, I'm not I'm sure everybody realizes that he's my spouse, so that helps. I don't know, I guess I have certainly thought about that, but I haven't heard anything directly or haven't gotten any feedback on it.

In contrast, Ryan stated:

> I think a lot of my colleagues probably don't even know, when they see the citations, they probably don't even know that Kelly is my wife. Some do, some don't, but even if those that do, no one's ever said anything to me about, "Oh, you shouldn't be publishing with your wife." Or something like that, because frankly, I mean, I would dare them to say something like that, right? Honestly, if I have five publications and one of them is with my wife and you have one or zero for the year, try me, try to say something about that.

As these passages highlight, Kelly was aware of the fact that gendered expectations play a role when couples collaborate, whereas Ryan had little concern about the perceptions of his colleagues.

A major challenge Ryan and Kelly continue to negotiate relates to managing work with the demands of having two young children. Their first child was born while they were at their previous institution, but their second child was born more recently. Both Ryan and Kelly accessed Vance's parental workload modification and neither indicated encountering any resistance. Ryan described being able to take leave as "awesome" especially in comparison to having no leave with their first child. Kelly agreed, indicated that both having leave meant that Ryan could do more caregiving and "it just took a lot of the pressure off." On the other hand, neither ended up using the tenure delay policy. At the time of their second child's birth, Ryan and Kelly both took the delay. But subsequently rescinded it. Ryan explained that they opted into the policy as a matter of "principal," knowing that tenure delays are an important equity-minded policy. However, neither ultimately felt that they needed to use the delay, and both rescinded it. Indeed, Kelly also rescinded the COVID tenure delay for the same reason.

Parenthood has impacted Ryan and Kelly differently. Both agreed that it was hard and being parents had "totally reorganized both our lives." However, Kelly explained that becoming a mom had shifted her career ambitions. She said:

> I just find I don't care as much about my career, and I'm not as emotionally invested in it as I am about being a parent, and just doesn't feel it [my career] matters as much. But it does, it does... But it doesn't, take some days. I know that that's gendered, and I know that that's socialization, and I do hate that, but I definitely understand the mommy track and the mommy brain, and why women fall off the track and how easy it is to just not care as much about work now. I know that Ryan has higher... it just matters to him more. It's always, I think it's always mattered to him more, to be honest.

Kelly's interest in being a "star researcher" was never the same as Ryan's and becoming a mother has further diluted her interest in this area. On the hand, Kelly's strong interest in teaching and her dedication to students as a teacher made her a vital asset to her practitioner-

oriented field. Kelly also discussed how being a mother had helped her to better mentor and advise women graduate students.

The pandemic also serves as a key context for understanding Ryan and Kelly's work-life challenges and career goals. Kelly explained that the realities of having a child, the pandemic, her workload, and structural issues within her department have furthered "derailed" the research momentum that she had built. In addition to being on leave and getting virtually no research done during the pandemic, Kelly has a high administrative workload. As she said, "I haven't been able to continue to work at the same pace, but I hope it's not a pipe dream to think that I can regain some of that with a few changes in the next years." Ryan's productivity has likewise been impacted by the pandemic and increased childcare demands, but he seemed less concerned about the potential long-term consequences, most likely because he already earned tenure. As he explained, "I have a pretty strong pipeline, I'm not that much in doubt about whether I'll get promoted to full professor." Likewise, pandemic-related differences also emerged because Ryan is teaching one class in person and is permitted to use his office, whereas Kelly is still working entirely from home. Kelly explained that neither of them are as productive working from home, but Ryan's "work probably to him feels a little bit more how it was pre-COVID. I feel like I'm still kind of mired at home here a little bit, but managing." Overall, the intersection of gender roles, interest in being a highly productive faculty member, and the pandemic working environment coalesce to shape Ryan and Kelly's career goals, interests, and productivity.

One of the ways in which Ryan and Kelly have dealt with work-life challenges, pre-pandemic at least, is by leveraging the flexible culture of academia. They manage to carve out schedules that enable them to spend more time with their children. Ryan described:

> In some ways there's a lot of things that are hard about the dual career, or family stuff and all that, but honestly, there's a huge amount of advantages of being a professor when it comes to this. I can leave the office at 3:00. It's not that big a deal, really. Where, if I had an 8:00-5:00 and I couldn't really clock out until 5:00, that's a lot different situation. We know a lot of kids at these daycares that stay there from basically 7:00 to 5:00 or whatever, and that's a much different situation. I can do a lot of complaining about these things, but at the same time there's a huge amount of advantages to our jobs.

Kelly agreed, indicating that in her unit, department members were fairly visible about their outside of work demands. This climate has enabled Kelly to enact work-life boundaries. She explained:

> There's a lot of women with children. Our chair has a [child], and a lot of people who pushed for those things. I feel it hasn't been too bad. You have to have boundaries around it yourself too. If I agree to be on a committee for example, I just tell people I can only basically meet from nine to about three. I can't do evenings. But that's been pretty respected.

As this shows, the flexible culture and units wherein many faculty members were visible about their family lives made navigating work-life challenges more feasible for Kelly and Ryan.

All in all, Kelly and Ryan’s main challenges have been related to finding two professionally fulfilling jobs in the same area; issues of advancement along the tenure-track; and meeting work demands while also having small children. They used strategies like resetting their priorities, collaborating, and leveraging the flexibility of academia to navigate these demands.

Stanley and Madge

Stanley and Madge are both tenured full professors in the same STEM department at Vance University. Madge identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and Stanley identifies as a White, heterosexual man. Stanley is also a college-level administrator in their college. They share disciplinary training and have collaborated on several projects. They have three school-aged children. Stanley and Madge met as postdocs. After meeting, they got married and moved to a foreign country. After a national search, Vance University offered both Stanley and Madge

tenure-track assistant professor positions in the same department. Although they indicated on their demographic information form that they used a partner hire policy, in interviews, they indicated that they were recruited as a research team and that neither partner was the "initial hire." Both have advanced to full professor.

Neither Madge nor Stanley considers themselves to be the “partner hire.” As Madge and Stanley searched for jobs, they made clear that they were married and in need of two faculty positions. Their department invited them separately to interview and then offered two separate tenure-track assistant professor positions. Stanley discussed this relatively easy process:

> Yeah, we just came to [Vance] and interviewed separately, but they were already, at that time, quite interested in us. They wanted to interview us separately and see if we were acceptable to them and then they created an additional position, when it came to making us an offer, but it initially wasn't that.

Madge agreed, saying:

> They were really two identical positions, really. I don't think they ever said, "Oh, we want you, but we'll also hire him." Or, "We want him, but we'll also hire you." It was two completely equal positions. I don't think either of us were really a spousal hire.

Madge and Stanley speculated that one of the reasons the department created a second identical position fairly easily was because they are in a STEM discipline where it is very common for women faculty members to be partnered to other scientists. Madge described:

> Yeah, in [our discipline], I think the reason is that there are so few women, and honestly nearly every [woman in discipline] I know is married to a male [in the same discipline]. There's the rare exception, but I think that's just a natural thing to happen, because there's so few women in the field, so if you want to diversify departments and hire female candidates, you almost always, I really don't think I'm exaggerating by saying, almost always, you're almost always going to have to hire a male partner. And very often they're also a [scientist in the discipline]. It's just the way it works. I don't... yeah, I think that's why. It's just the very small number of women, most of them end up married to men in the field.

As this quote reveals, Madge felt that the hiring path was smooth because dual-career academic couples are considered normal in her field. At the same time, the assumption that women scientists have men partners specifically is heteronormative. It also reflects White privilege, in that neither partner seemed to experience any kind of skepticism about their abilities or merit and seemed to assume that a second position would be easily created.

Even with a smooth hiring process, Stanley and Madge described challenges in integrating their family lives with their professional careers. Stanley and Madge's careers have advanced along fairly similar trajectories, with each earning tenure and being promoted to full professor in a fairly linear and seemingly straightforward pathway. Stanley and Madge had one child prior to coming to Vance University and two children after arriving, one of which was born while they were both on the tenure-track. At that time, Vance had not yet put in place the duty modification policy, and any reduction in teaching load had to be negotiated within the individual unit. Madge described her attempts to negotiate with her department chair, stating:

> I remember I went to the chair and he didn't know what to do. I was the first woman in the department to ever have a baby so he was like, "I don't know what to do," and the baby was due in mid-July and classes start mid-August and he was like, "Oh. Obviously, you'll be teaching, right? And you'll have a whole month." And I was like, "No way, I'm not coming back to teach in only a month." And so that second kid, I actually took a pay cut that fall semester. He was born in July and I took a pay cut that fall semester because I said, "I don't want to teach," and there was no means for me to be off from teaching that semester, aside from taking a pay cut. So that really sucked. But I also didn't know any better, so I didn't really try to advocate very well for myself or talk to anybody else.

Said another way, in lieu of a formal policy, unpaid leave was the only option Madge could pursue after the birth of their second child. In contrast, after the birth of their third child, Madge accessed a workload modification with no notable issues. Stanley did not attempt to access duty modification either time. Stanley described their thinking around accessing such policies when he said:

> We were fairly, and still are to some extent, fairly clueless about trying to negotiate things. And one thing that came up, I think a year or two, after we got here was the ability to pause the tenure clock. So, Madge did that, and then she ended up revoking it later on as it really wasn't helpful.

These quotes include a few noteworthy sentiments. One, there is the notion that Stanley and Madge viewed taking leave and/or using tenure delay as something to be negotiated with their department chair (as opposed to a work-life benefit). Second, though work-life policies (i.e., tenure delay; duty modification for Stanley after the birth of their third child) were available, neither Stanley nor Madge fully accessed them. Third, though Stanley could have taken a duty modification, he appeared to never fully consider doing so.

In lieu of policies, Stanley and Madge navigated work-life challenges by leveraging the flexible culture of academia and having relatively few or low expectations of the university. Stanley explained:

> What made it possible for us was just the flexibility that we had. We were expected to obviously to teach our classes. But beyond that, as long as we were bringing in grants and students were successful, it didn't really matter what time of day we were at the office. I try to be there to overlap with our students, but it just wasn't always possible. So, I think just that facet of the job is speaks more than any policy, in my opinion.

As this quote indicates, Stanley did not view the lack of work-life policies as a deterrent to his work-life. The flexible work style of academia also facilitated a more egalitarian approach to managing caregiving and personal life. As Stanley described, “we've basically just divided the day up into shifts, where one person will be at home in the mornings and the other will be at home in the afternoon, and then we'll all be together again in the evenings.” Madge likewise described dividing up caregiving duties in shifts, saying that usually the equal approach works, but “occasionally it fails.” She explained that “occasionally I will mess up and Stanley will be

doing a lot of the work for a while, and I'll be like, "Oh, man, I've been really a jerk. I need to step up and clean the kitchen or do the laundry."

Yet, Stanley’s transition into administration disrupted some of the flexibility on which they relied. As Madge described, Stanley’s administrative role requires him to present in a “fairly inflexible” way. She explained:

> When Stanley applied for this job, truly, it didn't even occur to me like, "Oh, this is going to make life more difficult for me." But it did, actually, because I was used to sort of having a lot more flexibility. But then, once he took this job, then if someone needed to be picked up at 3:00 PM or was sick or had a doctor's appointment, then it always falls to me. Not always, mostly. More than it used to.

In other words, with Stanley’s more rigid schedule, Madge has taken on more caregiving duties. On the other hand, Stanley and Madge both indicated that they had experienced personal and professional benefits from the greater separation. The following exchange highlights these benefits:

> Stanley: Moving to this different role, it's been interesting because I come home with different stories and I think that's a positive thing. There's more of a distinction between work and home.
>
> Madge: Yeah, and sometimes... Yeah, I think that's true. It was a little bit of a negative before. I think another negative is just... I think because we work together and we're home together, if there's drama, someone I don't like in the department or some kind of departmental drama, it's hard to leave it.
>
> Stanley: Right.
>
> Madge: He's right there, he's in the same drama, and I'll end up talking about this work drama, probably more than if I was married to some who didn't care and didn't know this person and wasn't in the same situation, so I think that's a little bit of a downside.

As this passage illustrates, sharing a discipline and department has come with challenges and opportunities. Stanley and Madge have been collaborators since they met, but sharing a department has to some extent impacted the kind of grants, leadership opportunities, and other

career visibility kinds of opportunities they each pursued. Madge and Stanley described that they have taken a “staggered” approach when considering key awards or the decision to advance. For instance, Madge described that although they both went up early for tenure, Stanley went up first “just so we both weren't going through the process at the same time and being considered together.” In addition, Madge and Stanley have also navigated going up for internal awards and external funding. They explained how they decided who should apply for grants or awards in the following exchange:

> Madge: I think we've never had like all out like, "I really want this, you're not applying for this." But just…
>
> Stanley: Right.
>
> Madge:...who's more likely to get it? Who's done more this past year or fits whatever the bill is?
>
> Stanley: Yeah. And if we think we're both likely to get it, we both apply.
>
> Madge: We'll just apply. I don't think we've ever had a really hard feeling.
>
> Stanley: No.
>
> Madge: Then there's also some competition with some external stuff. Like obviously, NSF awards. We're always applying to the same funding solicitations, and we've written some proposals together, but we've also submitted separate, competing proposals for funding. Not I don't think there's... We really don't actually coordinate that much or discuss it much. I think it's mostly because we're so busy.
>
> Stanley: Yeah.
>
> Madge: We just submit our own things and occasionally Stanley will get funded and I won't or vice versa. I would say there's…
>
> Stanley: It's usually the other way around. Madge's a lot better grant writer than I am.
>
> Madge: I don't think there's any hard feelings about... There's never been hard feelings about that, really.

This dialogue reveals a kind of flexible, organic strategy that underlies some of Madge and Stanley's decision-making. More importantly, it reveals a critical aspect of understanding Madge and Stanley's experience. Though Stanley and Madge have attempted to "stagger" the opportunities based on who was most likely to receive the grant or award, Madge's career as a scientist is clearly ascendant. Indeed, in subsequent interviews, Stanley explained that Madge has been on a "very high trajectory" since early on and her research productivity and visibility "passed" his about ten years ago. As Stanley described, "I've had a reasonable amount of success in what I do, but I've generally felt that I've been able to play a good supporting role to her throughout." Madge did not make this comparison related to their trajectories, though it is worth noting that Stanley's turn towards administration in some ways coincided with the ascendance of Madge's research career. That is, it may be that Stanley became more interested in administration as a way to elevate his career since Madge had become a research "star."

In all, Madge and Stanley have experienced Vance positively. They have encountered challenges related to Stanley's taking a more rigid administrative role and accessing work-life policies such as parental leave. They have navigated by leveraging the flexibility of academia and, over time, by making their institutional and scholarly identities more distinctive.

Michael and Jan

Michael and Jan are both tenured associate professors in the same social science department at Vance University. Jan identifies as a White, heterosexual woman. Michael identifies as a White, heterosexual man. They have two young children who are not yet in school. Michael has one adult daughter from a previous marriage. Michael began on the faculty as an assistant professor in his department at Vance University about 15 years ago. Jan started in

the department as an assistant professor a few years later, and they subsequently married. They did not use a partner accommodation because they met after they started at Vance.

Two of the major challenges Michael and Jan described were in the areas of work-life and workload, issues which are interrelated. Michael and Jan have young children and decided early on that they would maximize the flexibility of their department and not enroll their children in daycare. Jan described how they subsequently arranged their work schedules:

> Before COVID, we would take turns being in the office and so we teach on alternate days and so our kids are not in daycare. One of us is always home with the kids. On my teaching days I would be on campus and on Michael's teaching days he would be on campus, and the other one of us is at home. Now during COVID, we aren't really on campus a whole lot, but one of us on our working days, we're in our home office and then one of us is with the kids.

As Michael and Jan explained, this decision comes with benefits and drawbacks. The drawbacks have been somewhat amplified by the pandemic. As Michael reflected, "it is almost impossible to get everything done during the day, because we're trying to do a full-time job two and a half days a week, plus some time on the weekends. Something has to give and usually it's the job." Jan likewise described the ways that trying to work while also being a caregiver is stressful:

> A lot of times on my days with the kids I try to work while the kids are busy and that's really stressful, because the kids stay busy for a like a minute and then it gets really frustrating. So I just decided a couple of weeks ago that on my days with the kids, I'm not going to try to get work done. That has lowered stress mostly on those days. But just trying to compartmentalize a little bit.

Through these passages, it became apparent that Michael and Jan saw being the primary caregivers of their children as priorities. As Jan articulated, one of her main sources of joy was her days with the children. Likewise, Michael described that the stress associated with their caregiving situation as a necessary cost, given the way that they wanted to parent. On the other hand, these passages also revealed that Michael and Jan, perhaps because of their tenured status

or race, where also in privileged positions where they could leverage the flexibility of academe to be "less productive."

Michael and Jan expressed mixed feelings on the work-life climate within their department. Michael described the ways that the department had positively changed, primarily because the department hired new, younger faculty members with young children. He indicated that when he was an early-career faculty member with a young child, the department had been fairly inflexible with little regard for faculty members with families. For instance, Michael described a situation in which his department chair had tried to coerce him into attending an evening event though he had no childcare for his young child (from a prior marriage). Jan felt that her experience in becoming a mother had been fairly positive. She stated, "I've always felt pretty supported in kind of getting what we need," related to scheduling and accessing parental duty modification after her children were born. She noted that the ADVANCE director had assisted her with completing the necessary paperwork and navigating the process. Michael, on the other hand, did not opt to take modified duties when either of the children born, though he knew it was available to him. He explained:

> Didn't think the department could afford to lose both of us. And because they were so accommodating with our schedules, it didn't bother me to be on campus a couple of days a week. So I taught through, but I could have insisted that I also get a semester, we just couldn't have taken the semester at the same time.

Put another way, because Michael and Jan share a department, Michael felt as though his leave would create unmet teaching needs within the department. He moreover felt that because he had flexibility, taking leave was unnecessary. Jan did not express similar concerns, reflecting a kind of gendered assumption that she would be in a full-time caregiver role where Michael would not.

A second challenge Michael and Jan discussed was their high teaching and service loads. Jan reflected that as associate professors, they have both gotten caught in the "service trap." Michael served a term as interim chair and "overserves" as an associate faculty member. Meanwhile, Jan, in Michael word's, "was one of the busiest people I knew before this year, independent of COVID." Michael felt that his teaching and service workload, along with the demands of caregiving, had substantially impacted his research productivity in ways that Jan had not experienced. Michael stated:

> My research productivity is not where it needs to be. And the only way that you correct that, is you make that a priority which means other things have to take a back seat. And so, I haven't kind of gotten to the point... Honestly I think Jan is probably going to pass me, and that will probably be the motivator that will get me on that path. And I'll probably be a year or two behind her.

He further explained:

> Productivity is a priority, but other things compete for my time and attention…when you've got young kids, and if you're doing parenting the way that we're doing parenting, where our kids, well, I mean, one should be at school in normal times, but she's here, and the other one is here, and so, that's time during the week. Right. So if I'm teaching two classes, and I'm serving an IRB and I'm doing reviews. And then so, I'm doing these other sorts of things that have deadlines, they tend to eat up the available time that I have. And so, pushing the analysis forward, or pulling the manuscript up that got R and R three months ago. That's not on fire, if that makes sense. And so, that stuff gets pushed off, because I only work two and a half days a week, plus weekends.

As these passages illuminate, Michael viewed his service and teaching as demanding his immediate attention, while research fell to the wayside. Jan agreed that that service and teaching had initially impacted her productivity as an associate professor. Yet, Jan felt she had mostly recovered, pushing forward her research in areas about which she was passionate. Jan attributed the differences in her and Michael's ability to recover as primarily related to workstyle when she said:

> We work very different. So, the learning curve to being in that sort of position is pretty steep. And so, my research dropped off a lot during my first year, first couple of years. And it's finally starting to pick back up again. I'm pretty good at working in chunks. So if I have 20 minutes, I can just sit down and be focused and crank something out. Whereas, Michael can't. And so, we work very differently. And so, even though we both got derailed on the service track, we recovered differently, I think.

As these quotes show, Michael and Jan responded differently to similar work demands. While Jan seemed to recalibrate the way she worked in response, Michael felt more stuck.

Sharing a department and indeed becoming a couple as members of the department has also come with some challenges. When they began their relationship, Michael was chair and immediately notified the dean and they maintained “fairly rigid boundaries” to avoid even “an impression of a conflict of interest.” For instance, Jan reported to the associate dean and another department member handled her tenure case. Jan indicated that she had concerns early in their relationship that department colleagues would think that she received some kind of benefit from being in a relationship with Michael. In response, Michael explained:

> I didn't talk to Jan much formally in meetings or when I was running a meeting. It doesn't occur to me that anything ever came up that would even approach like a conflict of interest sort of a thing.

On the other hand, even with rigid boundaries, they acknowledged that there were times that the lines between work and home were not always concrete. Michael and Jan explained this in the following exchange:

> Michael: That was a rough three years, it's not an easy department to manage. So I often had to do a lot of personnel things, the house that we were in had thin walls. And so I would try to go off into the study so she wouldn't overhear, but I wasn't always ... I imagine you probably overheard me negotiating with people and stuff. But I tried the best that I could to recognize that she's part of the department and therefore there are certain things that I shouldn't be telling her because she wouldn't know about them otherwise. And she was pretty good about respecting that, she doesn't pry in this stuff.
>
> Jan: I was just going to say that that's one thing that worked. I'm not a pryer. In many aspects of my life, I don't ask people why, or I'm just not interested. It's not my business.

> And so that worked out well. I was fine with him kind of doing his chair thing, I didn't have a need to know that stuff.

As this exchange highlights, Michael and Jan were aware of the need to maintain separation as the same members of the department, both to maintain the appearance of separation as well as the confidentiality of members of the department.

To sum, Michael and Jan's main challenges have come in the form of navigating heavy teaching and service loads while also being full-time caregivers of young children. Their main strategy for dealing with this challenge is prioritization: they elevated their roles as parents over their roles as academics and leverage the privilege and power from their salient identities to make work-life work for them.

Case 3: Sabre University

Sabre University is a large, public, research intensive doctoral university located in a large suburb outside of a major U.S. city. It is the flagship institution of the state and is located in proximity to many other large research universities, regional comprehensive institutions, and small colleges. Sabre has a large undergraduate and graduate student enrollment (*N*= 41,200). and large full-time instructional faculty (*N*=1,850) and admits about 50% of applicants who apply.

I initially ranked Sabre University's dual-career policy in the low support category. The institution has a list of dual-career resources on its faculty affairs website that includes links to job search websites, some of which were more localized (e.g., Sabre's HR website, local/state government HR websites) and some more general (e.g., Monster.com and Indeed.com). The dual-career website also includes general information relevant to faculty members and their partners/families moving to the area, including housing/apartment listings, local school

information, and commuting information. The website does not indicate that Sabre provides dedicated funding for partner hiring or has personnel whose role is focused on supporting academic partner hires.

Interviews with key institutional informants revealed that Sabre University has a formal dual-career policy that would be considered in the high support category. Sabre had a long-standing, informal dual-career policy implemented in the early 2000s. In this policy, if academic units (most often department chairs) are able to successfully negotiate a partner hire across units (e.g., initial hire in one college, partner hire in another), the partner hire's salary would be split three ways for three years: one-third each by the initial hire's department, provost's office, and the partner hire's department. After three years, the partner hire's salary would be supported by their hiring department. Partners' positions could be tenured, tenure-track, or non-tenure track. Recently, Sabre's Office of Faculty Affairs formalized this policy by giving formal guidance about the procedures to department chairs and deans. This guidance was publicly available on the faculty affairs website for a short time but at the time of writing, was no longer publicly available or advertised (the vice provost did not indicate why this was the case).

According to the vice provost, Sabre University has supported the hiring of dual-career couples primarily as a means to increase the competitive edge in hiring top faculty. The vice provost also noted that as a matter of policy, Sabre University does not actively recruit dual-career couples. That is, the policies that are in place are there as a way to support dual-career academic couples should a partner hire become necessary, not in place as a mechanism to actively recruit faculty couples. The vice provost also indicated that though there is a central dual-career support policy, much hiring of dual-career academic couples happens at the college or unit/department level in ways that the central administration has little to no involvement. In

these cases, the negotiation of the hiring policy is largely incumbent upon individual deans or department chairs/unit heads, indicating these academic officials have a large degree of power in dual-career hiring. Furthermore, these individual cases typically do not involve the three-way split discussed previously. That is, the financial arrangements likely vary substantially based from department to department and college to college. Because of this decentralization, Sabre University has no mechanisms for tracking the number of academic couples across the institution.

Sabre University has a number of other policies and practices intended to facilitate faculty work-life. There is a paid parental leave policy available to full-time faculty members (tenured, tenure-track, and non-tenure track faculty) of all genders. The parental leave policy provides 60 days of paid leave surrounding the birth or adoption of a child. If both parents are employed at Sabre, they can take the leave in sequential semesters. Sabre also has a one-year tenure delay for which faculty can apply. Faculty members can also request a modification of duties after they complete their parental leave. Sabre University offers all employees' dependents tuition remission and reduced campus gym membership. In the wake of COVID-19, Sabre University additionally issued a one-year, "no questions asked" COVID-19 tenure delay for which individual faculty members can apply. Faculty members can also submit an optional COVID-19 impact statement with their tenure dossiers.

Finally, Sabre has a long-standing ADVANCE program. Initially funded by NSF, the program is now supported by institutional funds. The initial NSF grant did not include a focus on faculty hiring or dual-career issues. Initial ADVANCE programs focused on creating peer learning communities and career development for women assistant and associate professors, the implementation of policies and practices to support the retention and advancement of women

(e.g., parental leave), and work environment research. Subsequent ADVANCE programs have explored issues related to inclusive faculty hiring, allies training, and workload, but there has not been an explicit focus on dual-career issues.

Toby and Teri

Toby is a tenured full professor who identifies as an Asian, heterosexual, cisgender man. He is the chair of his department. Teri is non-tenure track assistant professor and identifies as an Asian, heterosexual, cisgender woman. Toby and Teri share a broad professional field with different areas of specialization. They collaborate frequently on scholarly projects and have one, school-aged child.

Toby and Teri met while Toby was in graduate school and Teri was an undergraduate student. They began dating after Teri graduated. As a couple, Toby and Teri have made three moves across the United States, primarily driven by Toby's career advancement. Prior to Sabre, Toby and Teri were both faculty members at a university in the Midwest. Toby advanced from assistant to associate to full professor at this midwestern institution. Meanwhile, Teri pursued a master's degree and subsequently a doctoral degree with the goal of becoming a faculty member. After completing her doctoral degree, she was hired into a clinical assistant professor in the same college, different department as Toby. Sabre recruited Toby to be a department chair and offered Teri a non-tenure eligible, clinical assistant professor role in a department different from the one Toby would chair. They have been at the institution for about two years.

Teri and Toby have encountered several challenges while trying to advance their individual careers and personal goals as a couple and family. Negotiating whose career would take priority as they considered where to apply and where to live has been a central challenge, as they together rejected living separately as a viable option for their family. Teri stated that even

early on, “my priorities had to get shifted where when he was ready to go and be a professor, his priority was to be a professor and we went to [Midwest state] …Our whole life changed because of his career choice. My life continues to shift per his career choice.” Toby agreed with this sentiment, stating:

> Regardless of however I want to make it seem like we're perfectly equal in terms of the way we've sort of navigated our careers, it hasn't been that way. I think she really has supported my primary career. I mean, there's no way around it. It does require some sacrifice. In our case, a lot of that sacrifice came from Teri. I'd be interested to know at some point if there's somebody that can do both and they don't feel like they've sacrificed...But I just feel like academic careers require some level of sacrifice from somebody. I don't think it's going to be perfectly equal.

A prime example of these considerations are in the decision to take a position at Sabre. Prior to coming to Sabre, Toby and Teri had grown increasingly disenchanted with their Midwestern university and were additionally interested in finding academic positions in areas more geographically desirable (e.g., closer to family, in more diverse areas of the country). Yet, because of Toby’s rank and career seniority, Teri recognized that Toby’s career prospects would most likely dictate any professional move they made. She said:

> When I wanted to leave [Midwest state], I told Toby, I said, “If we go and we leave…I would have to be that spousal hire, it wouldn't be you.” And my husband, being a very feminist and progressive feels, “No, I'll be the spousal hire.” I'm like, “No, you don't understand that I'm not there in my career that I can pull both of us.” I've recognized that power shift. I understand what that means. And that required me to have very thick skin. Do I always have thick skin? No. I cried a lot about that back then. It's very painful because you work really hard as a doctoral student and you try to publish, you do all this stuff but in the end your career is always going to be contingent on his.

As this passage illuminates, Teri was keenly aware of the ways that Toby’s rank and seniority, and the power attached to those aspects of his career, shape her career trajectory. Moreover, this passage highlights the personal emotion associated with the reality of their tied careers. Toby

agreed that the move to Sabre primarily advanced his career. However, he added their search had been relatively constrained by geographic factors. He explained:

> It was a matter of trying to find a position that made the most sense for us as a family. And it was either going to be on the West coast where we have family, or it was going to be here on the East coast where we have family. And prior to that, there were other jobs that had approached me, or other places that had approached me, and most of those were still in the Midwest somewhere, but it didn't make sense to relocate out of [state] to somewhere else where we didn't have family again, it didn't make sense, so we stayed put.

Said another way, Toby and Teri were not willing to move just anywhere – there were a variety of factors that pulled them towards Sabre, although the primary one was Toby's career. With this confluence of factors in mind, when Sabre recruited Toby to the department chair position, it was a very attractive option. Teri had family nearby and the diversity both at Sabre University and in the surrounding area were significant pull factors. Toby and Teri felt like they could not pass up the offer. Teri explained, "there was nothing that [Midwestern university] could have done, once the gates opened, it was like, there was nothing that could have kept us there if we got the offer. And coming here, like I was willing to do anything…"

Navigating the partner hire process likewise brought on challenges. During Toby's interview for the department chair role, he casually, but purposefully, mentioned that he had a partner who was a faculty member and would also be looking for a position, indicating a kind of strategic transparency. Toby did not express any reservations or concerns about bringing up Teri's interest in a faculty position during this initial interview. In subsequent interviews, the dean of the college (the hiring official for Toby's position) was the first to bring up the issue that Teri was interested in a faculty position. The dean's leadership in this area was critical for Toby and Teri. Teri said, "I think for me [that] really sealed the deal for me as the partner, because I felt that [the dean] took that initiative without us asking." Toby reiterated this point, saying the

conversation was "fairly easy" "because it [the dual-hire scenario] was a known entity, it was a known issue." In all, both members of the couple felt strongly that the dean's support of the hiring process was a key factor in selling them on Sabre and also facilitating Teri's hiring process.

Even with good college-level leadership, Teri described the process in which she was interviewed by her department as informal and unstructured. She did a Skype interview with her would-be department chair and a few other faculty members wherein they asked her to talk about herself generally. She said, "I think they just wanted to see if I would be a good fit or if I was a problem, if they could work with me." In response, Teri offered to do a job talk and she described the reaction as positive, saying:

> I presented my research and I think that changed my dynamic with them, because you could just almost see that, at that point, the faculty in the room and the chair was very happy. They realized that I do research and that I'm not pretending to know stuff. Having to prove myself, but it wasn't set up for me to do that, but it was also very flexible enough that I could, if I knew to suggest it.

This quote and process highlight the extent to which Teri felt she had to prove herself as an independent scholar meritorious of her own position during the interview process, as well as the agency she took in offering to do a job talk even though the structure of the interview was not clear. This process also marks a place where Teri's identity as a Woman of Color played a role, in that she felt she needed to prove her competence via a research talk.

After the interview, Teri was offered and accepted a non-tenure track assistant professor position. This position was negotiated between the dean of their college and the chair of the department in which Teri was hired – Sabre's central dual-career hiring policy was not leveraged as far as Teri and Toby were aware. In accepting the offer, Teri took a pay cut and insofar as the offer was for a non-tenure track position, she was unclear on the extent to which any of her prior

experience would “count” in future promotion decisions. Ultimately, Teri decided that the personal benefits for their family in terms of quality of life and benefits to Toby’s career outweighed the drawbacks. She felt the stakes of the position – the strong desire to be at Sabre – as well as the intersection of her race and gender, constrained her ability to negotiate for anything better. Teri stated:

> When we were trying to move back here, I think that the stakes, or the consequences of not coming back here would have been so detrimental to my mental health that for me, it was just like, "Okay, I'll take ..." It's almost like I was afraid to negotiate. I'm a terrible negotiator, I don't play games. I think that's to my detriment. I don't know the language of Whiteness in terms of how to do that well. Even if I did, they would still see me as an Asian American woman and not as a White negotiator, because there is a difference.

As Teri indicates in this passage, her negotiation was explicitly tied her to her intersectional identity as an Asian American woman, which undercut the efficacy of her negotiations. Toby reiterated these stakes, recognizing the difficulty they encountered in weighing these costs and benefits when he said:

> It was hard because this was the place that we wanted to get to, and so a lot of what we talked about was about how much negotiation we would need to make, and what we were willing to go with to make it work. For Teri, I think it's fully accurate. I mean, Teri ended up taking the brunt of it, essentially. She took a pay cut. She was willing to stay in a non-tenure track position, and try to make it work.

Said another way, Toby and Teri viewed the negotiation as risky, because of their level of desire for the positions at Sabre to work out.

Toby and Teri each experienced challenges as they transitioned into their new roles at Sabre. Both indicated that learning new institutional processes and procedures in a “highly decentralized” institution had been somewhat of a culture shock compared to their previous institution. Teri’s transition experiences were heavily shaped by her status as a partner hire, her contingent faculty role, and her identity as a woman of color. Teri recalled that the chair

introduced her as a “spousal hire” at her first departmental meeting. The department gave her few resources and little guidance for how to navigate her new faculty role. Teri described her strong, underlying concern of proving her worth and intellectual merit in her first year at Sabre and beyond, saying:

> I think that I feel inferior, on an individual level, that Women of Color have immense imposter syndrome. Because of the dual hire nature, there's always a wonderment of whether, "Oh, am I good enough?" No matter who tells you, you are and how much reception you get, it doesn't matter. You always question that.

As this quote, and Teri’s experience in the interview process reveal, Teri was very much treated as a second-class citizen, given few formal or informal resources for transitioning into her new role. The reference to Teri as a “spousal hire” also reflected gendered and racialized ways that the scholarly competence and quality of Women of Color are questioned in everyday interactions with department colleagues. Moreover, department members who treated Teri with disregard and who did not provide support undercut some the initial good feelings Teri and Toby had about coming to Sabre.

Although anxieties related to proving herself were pervasive in the first year at Sabre, Teri eventually built a community with other Women of Color within her department and college who have helped and supported her. These sources of support have made her experience better over time. She discussed that many of the Women of Color in her department had given her a chance, whereas many White faculty members had not. Teri said:

> A lot of times in my experience, I've been spoken down to as if I didn't know what I was talking about. That treatment was not the case for me…They [the Women of Color faculty] gave me real classes to teach. They gave me real responsibilities and I knew I had to live up to it. And I did everything I could to earn that. And I feel very validated now in my second year, I'm a completely super gigantic happy, like, I don't know how to express it, but because they trusted me and they gave me real responsibilities and I think that went a long way.

This passage reveals that a critical mass of Women of Color provided the entrée Teri needed to feel as though she was a member of the department, valued for her abilities and contributions rather than her partner status.

One of the main strategies Toby and Teri leverage to avoid some of the stigma associated with Teri's status as a "partner hire" is to maintain distinct identities within the college and institution. Separate domains was a strategy that they began to develop purposefully at their previous institution as a result of some of Toby's community-based work, which required confidentiality, and has continued into their new roles at Sabre. Toby described that "once we get to the college, we split off and just do our own thing." Teri agreed, elaborating because they do not share departments and she is a faculty member and he an administrator, their institutional life essentially operates in different domains. In the cases that they do end up at the same meetings, they typically do not sit with one another. In college or departmental social gatherings, they attend together but, as Teri said, "we're not that couple who has to be seen together." Indeed, Toby and Teri both agreed that many of their institutional colleagues do not realize that they are married.

Even so, the maintenance of separate identities seemed to be more a salient narrative for Teri as compared to Toby. For example, Teri explained:

> It [doing things separately] has served as well on a practical level, as well, because a lot of times…my colleagues, they forget I'm married to Toby…because sometimes when I bring up or they witnessed somebody calling me a spousal hire…they're so astonished that they're like, you're your own person and you do your own thing and they recognize me as an individual…it serves me well with my peers. I can't control what the rest says, but that is a very important piece for me as a woman and also as a woman who has a partner in his position.

This quote illustrates how Teri took more precautions in maintaining her strategic independence, whereas this same narrative was not present in Toby's discussion of separate identities. That is,

though Toby viewed the separation of identities within the college as more of functional aspect of their separate role, Teri viewed their separation of identities as a strategy for asserting and maintaining her independence as a scholar.

Toby's transitional challenges were related to the assumption of a leadership role. Toby described his position as chair as one that came with a "steep learning curve." He had a great deal more autonomy as a department chair than he expected, and his department recently underwent an organizational change that had left some faculty members disgruntled. He also had far less time for teaching and scholarship than he had hoped, representing a kind of constraint on his professional goals. He explained that advancing his scholarship "has been challenging because the amount and intensity of administrative work is fairly high. There's constantly something there to do." Even with these challenges, Toby exhibited confidence that he had overcome the learning curve and was more effectively moving the department in a positive direction. He did not mention any challenges related his social identity as an Asian man.

Although separate as institutional citizens, Teri and Toby have developed a strong scholarly relationship with one another in recent years. Their C.V.s reveal a number of co-authored publications and conference presentations, among many other shared academic projects. Toby and Teri described their home life as a place where their scholarship is always present, in that they are often discussing ideas, sharing articles, and giving each other feedback. Toby explained that "we're constantly talking about either our projects that we're collaborating on or future projects that we want to collaborate on." They both discussed how being partnered with an academic with shared research interests has shaped their own scholarship. Toby stated that Teri's background "has really influenced me as a scholar, as a teacher and pragmatically as an editor for books and journals…" while Teri discussed the ways that Toby has pushed her to

think about different ideas and concepts over the years. Although this relationship was more hierarchical in the beginning, with Toby being the more senior scholar, this relationship has evolved to one that is more egalitarian. It was clear through their interactions during the interviews that their shared scholarly interests are a foundational bedrock of their partnership.

Another area in which Toby and Teri experienced challenges and stress relates to becoming parents. Their child was born while Teri was a doctoral student and Toby was an associate professor. In some ways, they avoided some of the common challenges in work-life that faculty members on the tenure-track tend to encounter, because Toby was already tenured when their child was born. This scenario, although not purposeful, allowed Teri to dedicate substantial time to her doctoral work and then her first faculty position. Teri shared that Toby "was ready to be a dad and he really took on a lot of those responsibilities and that supports me so much. So, I can't say that I share the narrative of many women who have had to navigate those things." This quote reveals that although Teri was aware of the challenges academic mothers typically have after having a child, Toby's career stage and engagement as a caregiver mitigated some of this difficulty.

On the other hand, Teri also shared that there was some lingering resentment regarding the division of childcare and time spent at home in the early years. While on the tenure-track, Toby dedicated a substantial amount of time to work, but because they did not have a child, there was less stress associated with that time. However, Teri explained that when she became a faculty member, Toby had reservations. She said:

> I think there was a part of him that didn't want me to be a faculty. He did say that, he says, "I don't know if I want to be married to a tenure track, because I know what it entails and it's going to make you sick." But the other piece of it, the flip side of that narrative is also that maybe he knows how much time it would take away from him and [our child]. So, I experienced it when he did it, but [our child] wasn't around. So, I think

> the first year, we had a lot of come to Jesus moments, but we finally came to a place where we confronted a lot of those maybe deep resentments.

There are multiple elements to this passage worth noting. Teri and Toby named themselves as "feminists" who maintain egalitarian norms within their household. At the same time, this story seemed to reveal that, subconsciously at least, Toby wanted a more traditional arrangement of domestic labor. Toby rationalized this desire as a kind of paternalistic tactic to protect Teri from the ills of the tenure-track; yet the advantages Toby experienced from having a non-academic partner were nevertheless apparent.

To some extent, Toby and Teri diverged on their perspectives of how much each of them contributes to current caregiving arrangements. Because of their child's age, they have not utilized any of Sabre's work-life policies (e.g., parental leave or tenure delay), so their experiences have been shaped more by implicit norms and expectations. Toby explained that he and Teri "respond equally" to managing caregiving for their child. In contrast, Teri said that even though Toby identified as a feminist, "he's also still a dude" who benefits from the "invisible labor" Teri does. Although this did not seem to be an ongoing source of tension or resentment, it was nevertheless present in their discussion of work-life integration. Regardless, Toby and Teri continue to feel guilt and stress related to how much time they spend at work. At one point in the interview, they joked, saying that discussions about paper formatting and grammar often made their daughter groan. More seriously, however, they both indicated that they experience a certain kind of guilt associated with their daughter as a result of the kind of all-encompassing nature of the faculty career and societal expectations around parenting. They explained their shared perspectives on academic parenting in the following exchange:

> Toby: We feel guilty already in terms of not being able to do enough for her. We're not, we're not…

Teri: We are not soccer parents.

Toby: We are not soccer parents. I mean, when we did take her to soccer, we are like, “If you ever have to travel, she's walking.” If you have to travel for a game, we are not going. We're staying here. You're going to play soccer…

Teri: Locally.

Toby:...locally and we will keep you in the local soccer league.

Teri: We don't care how talented you are and she's not, I mean she's not good at soccer.

Toby: And so that wasn't how we wanted to spend our time, we knew that early on. We communicated to her, we're like, “Nope, whatever we were going to do, we're not the traveling parent types.” So, we had to be very intentional about that because there's parent culture already is oddly pressure filled with lots of weird expectations.

Teri: It’s not good for the academics.

As this conversation illustrates, Toby and Teri were aware that the prevailing norms of “super-involved” parents were not in alignment with either the norms of the faculty career or their desired way of parenting, but, even so, this caused guilt. Both Teri and Toby elaborated on this guilt in subsequent individual interviews. Teri, in particular, honed in on the notion that much about mother and parent culture was informed by narratives of “White mother culture” where “there’s so much nurturing happening and so much time and hanging out with the kids,” that she often felt inadequate in her role. She followed up by saying that she and Toby’s strong identities and strong interests were often “to the detriment” of their daughter. Likewise, Toby stated that in terms of developing strategies for navigating parenthood and academic life, “I don’t know if we’ve really settled on something that assuaged my guilt for not doing more.” In all, the guilt related to parenting remains for Teri and Toby, despite the awareness of the ways gender and race shape expectations of parents in the United States.

Teri and Toby developed new ways of doing their work to facilitate greater involvement in their child's life. They each established activities they do one-on-one with their child, including activities that maximize some of their academic skills (e.g., critiquing newspaper articles, writing, and book clubs). They benefit from the flexibility of academic careers; in that they are able to coordinate schedules. Indeed, Toby recently adjusted his schedule so that he is more present during the after-school period and "signs in" again in the evening later if needed.

Overall, Teri and Toby's journey reflects challenges related to whose career is considered to be the lead; the stigmas associated with being viewed as the partner hire; and navigating the expectations of parenthood with the demands of faculty work. They strategized by being on the same page about the kind of parents that they want to be and by establishing separate identities as faculty members in their college at Sabre.

Hank and Katy

Hank and Katy are both assistant professors in the same social science department at Sabre University. Katy identifies as White, heterosexual woman and Hank identifies as a White, heterosexual man. They are trained in the same discipline but differ in research interests. They have one young child and another child on the way.

Hank and Katy met and began dating as graduate students, where they were in the same program. They got married shortly after they graduated, at which time they were both doing national job searches for faculty positions. Katy took a tenure-track assistant professor position at a Midwest institution and Hank followed, though he did not have a job lined up when they moved there. Katy spent two years on the tenure-track while Hank worked in a handful of part-time adjunct and administrative roles at the same university. Two years later, Sabre University put out ads for two tenure-track assistant professor jobs, one of each in Hank and Katy's

respective areas of specialization. They were each invited to interview and received separate offers that were not a part of a dual-hire accommodation. The department was aware they were married. They both accepted their positions and began as tenure-eligible assistant professors. Katy had to restart her tenure clock at Sabre.

The main challenge Hank and Katy encountered in terms of professional goals was getting to Sabre in the first place. Because they graduated in the same year, they searched for their respective first faculty jobs on a national level at the same time. This dual-search was made more complicated by the downturn of the academic labor market after the 2008 recession. During this time, Hank and Katy noted that they received mixed advice from mentors about how to structure their joint job search. Katy explained that “almost unanimously” faculty members told she and Hank to "find the best job for both of you, and don't worry about living in the same place." At the same time, faculty members who lived separately in the past also told them that “being apart was the worst time of their marriage…so they were giving advice that they followed, but they hated at times of their lives, so we didn’t follow their advice.” Thus, the couple decided that they would not live apart, despite the advice provided to them.

Katy and Hank used a handful of strategies in tackling this first job search. There was some overlap in the jobs they applied for but ultimately not much coordination; they did interviews at different places. Neither Hank nor Katy indicated to hiring departments that they had a faculty partner until later in the interview process, at which point they each mentioned that they were engaged and their partner would be interested in a position. They both tried to signal that having a position for the partner was not a deal breaker. Katy explained, “Because we were new, we didn't have any clout. So, it's more just saying, ‘Just so you know…’” Hank reiterated this point, stating, “It wasn't like an, ‘I wouldn't take this job, if there wasn't two offers,’ kind of

thing." These quotes illustrate the kind of strategic transparency Katy and Hank deployed as they searched for positions, despite feeling as though they had relatively little bargaining power as early-career faculty members.

Ultimately, Midwest university offered Katy a position; Hank did not receive a separate job offer. Although Katy attempted to negotiate a position for Hank as a part of her offer, she was unsuccessful. She described the situation, stating, "Maybe looking back, I could have pushed harder, but...I'm not a great negotiator, and I didn't feel like I had a lot of leverage, at that point, being a new person on the job market." Hank ended up teaching a few courses in the department as a visiting professor and taking on some more administratively focused roles in another unit at the university. Hank and Katy tried to keep Hank's desire for a tenure-track position on the department's radar. Hank said he was "always in the conversation of trying to get a tenure-line," went to department meetings, and even had an office space, but felt that he was "floating between various things." In all, these quotes reveal the many attempts that both Hank and Katy made to advocate for a position and the actions they took to ensure that Hank remained visible in the Midwest university's department.

Hank and Katy characterized this period as a stressful and frustrating time. Hank experienced significant professional frustration without a permanent role, and this unhappiness and uncertainty spilled over, impacting Katy's level of personal and professional satisfaction as well. Institutionally, Katy felt as though the department was not as intellectually rigorous and more teaching-focused than the kind of work environment she wanted. Moreover, the institution was in financial trouble, making the prospects for Hank to secure a long-term position less likely. Each of these factors negatively contributed to Hank and Katy's individual and shared satisfaction with their overall situation and made them eager for better opportunities.

Two years after moving to this Midwest city, two separate, tenure-track positions in the same department at Sabre were advertised, one of each in Hank and Katy's respective specializations. To Hank and Katy, the scenario of having two, separate positions in the same department, with their specific specialties, was "serendipitous," almost unbelievable. They applied separately to each position, deciding to make it clear they were married to one another in their cover letters. Katy explained their strategy, saying:

> Our thought process was, "If we say we're married in the cover letter, and talk up the person a little bit, then if they like one of us a lot, and the other one moderately ... or, if they like both of us a lot, then we're probably going to get hired."

The department invited Katy and Hank to interview separately and neither felt as though their partner status played a role in those evaluative settings. In their on-campus interviews, none of the department members brought up the fact that they were partners. Hank and Katy discussed their dual-career status in individual meetings with the department chair, but according to Hank, these conversations were more to give the department information rather than try to "talk up" the other person's work or be more competitive in the process. Neither Katy nor Hank indicated that they felt concerned about their partner status at any point. Ultimately, they both received and accepted tenure-eligible assistant professor roles.

Hank and Katy describe their transition to Sabre as positive on both the personal and professional level and the interaction thereof. Personally, Hank's new faculty role facilitated greater individual and shared happiness for both of them. Katy described this effect when she said:

> The good part of that was it wasn't fun to be so uncertain [at the previous institution], and for Hank not to have a full-time position. I think it [Sabre] was a lot better for both of us. And you [Hank] were happier, and then I was happier, because you were happier, to have those positions.

In other words, Katy's personal and professional satisfaction increased as a result of Hank's improved career situation, demonstrating the reciprocal nature of relationships and career for dual-career academic couples.

There were multiple factors that facilitated Hank and Katy's positive professional transition to Sabre. In part, their transition into the department was eased because it was clear they had each received individual positions and neither had used a partner accommodation. Hank and Katy mentioned several times that they felt "lucky" or "fortunate" that there had been two separate positions, highlighting the importance of being seen as an individual faculty member who meritoriously earns a position rather than getting one as a result of dual-career accommodation. Furthermore, Hank and Katy were both excited to work in the department, which had a "different type of intellectual climate" with well-known faculty and more academic intensity. Still, Katy experienced imposter syndrome at Sabre, feeling the environment was more intense and pressure filled. Though Hank agreed that the environment was more intense, he did not indicate the same anxiety about transitioning to a new faculty role at Sabre. Katy elaborated on these feelings, saying:

> I don't think you [Hank] felt it as much as I did, but I felt a more intense environment, so I had a big imposter syndrome thing, my first year. And so that was probably the not fun part of my marriage, was me being very stressed out my first year. But I think at first, it was a huge relief, because I think you were the stressed out one at [Midwest institution]. And so, when we went to [Sabre], I was the stressed out one.

Although Katy did not explicitly relate this feeling of imposter syndrome to gender, the differences in the kind of confidence Hank and Katy demonstrated is interesting given at this point, Katy had two years more experience as a tenure-track faculty member compared to Hank. Said another way, differing levels of confidence and self-assuredness impacted Hank and Katy's initial transition to Sabre.

Katy continued to feel stress and imposter syndrome as she advanced towards tenure, particularly in the early years. Although Katy did not explicitly indicate that the imposter syndrome was related to Hank, she indicated that given their career stage and shared metrics of productivity and success, it was sometimes difficult not to draw comparisons. She explained:

> In any field, you know what the best journals are and we can all count the number of publications. So, in our case, I think we're pretty equal in number. I don't even know who has more, but I'm sure it's pretty equal. But he's had more success than me in having more high impact journals. It's so funny though. It's never bothered me in a, "I need to win," kind of way, because again, I just don't have that competitive thought very often. It's more that you feel like, maybe you're not pulling your own weight, you feel kind of bad, or at least, I did.

Said another way, the tendency towards comparison among pre-tenure faculty members in general, and to Hank in particular, exacerbated Katy's imposter syndrome. Hank did not mention similar concerns about competition, and indeed demonstrated a fair degree of confidence that his tenure package would be successful.

Managing having a child is another source of stress and guilt for Hank and Katy. They have one, young child and at the time of the interview, had a second child on the way. Hank said that he sometimes worried that they were not able to spend enough time with their child, explaining:

> You just kind of feel like you want to be spending more time with your kid. We had people tell us, "Don't start counting up the hours your kid's at daycare, versus not, because if you do, it's just like wow they're with somebody else way more than they are with you," kind of thing. So that is something that you just think about as, "Wow, how much time are we spending together? Is that enough?"

As this passage highlights, Hank experienced guilt related to the demands of faculty life. Hank elaborated further, saying his greatest challenges related to navigating immediacy of the baby's needs, the general exhaustion that comes from having a small child, and the inability to devote any significant energy to work after being a caregiver. Katy agreed, and added that becoming a

parent had significantly altered the amount of time that she could, and was willing to, spend time on work. She described one of the biggest challenges post-baby had been getting her students used to the reality that she was no longer available or working on nights and weekends. In all, the norms of faculty work cultures – as signaled by the expectation that one will be able to sign on to work after dinner or over the weekend – shaped the work-life conflict both Katy and Hank experienced after having a child.

One of the aspects of Sabre that has somewhat mitigated these challenges is the culture of their department. Hank and Katy described their department as fairly flexible and family-friendly, accommodating in the sense that the department understands that Hank and Katy cannot teach at the same time and that they need to alternate who can be present at departmental functions in the evening or on weekends. They accessed parental leave for their first child and both took a tenure delay. Hank described that they made this decision "mutually decision mutually; we were fine financially, the dept and our program supported it, and we wanted to be in the same position related to tenure timelines." They both planned to take parental leave again for their second child. Hank described the climate in the department when he said:

> Everybody is very understanding of our schedule, particularly for us, because it's kind of weird, we're literally both in the same area. So, there might be things that our whole area is expected to go to, but we can't just both go, and so it's one of these things where one of us has to go, or the other one ... because the other one can't. And it's not like it's a big deal. People cover for us, and people...I feel like they're pretty accommodating with our schedules. So I feel like I've been supported, without a question by colleagues and stuff, on working with our schedule, and being supportive. Nobody was like, "Wait until tenure to have a kid," kind of thing... so I never felt like that was adding to the stresses or making it more difficult to navigate.

In other words, though Hank and Katy were aware of the challenges typically associated with having a child while on the tenure-track, they did not feel as though that narrative was pervasive within their immediate department. They further appreciated that the flexibility associated with a

faculty career mitigated some of the stress associated with having children in more rigid professions.

Hank and Katy adopted several different strategies for managing their careers with their personal lives. As a strategy for equally sharing caregiving duties, Hank and Katy maintain a fairly rigid schedule, alternating drop-off and pick-up times with daycare equally. They are acutely aware of what one another does at all times of the day, as Katy discussed when she said, "we really have to coordinate schedules" in terms of teaching, meetings, and departmental events. Indeed, Katy mentioned that "any time someone else throws off your schedule" was one of her main sources of stress, whereas Hank did not mention this as a concern. Even so, it was clear that Hank and Katy strive for egalitarianism in the division of caregiving and neither mentioned division of labor in this area as a source of stress or resentment.

An additional challenge that Hank and Katy face relates to being members of the same academic department. Katy and Hank inevitably interact with one another often as institutional citizens. They often sit on the same dissertation and thesis committees and interact with one another in department and program meetings. Over the years, they observed that some faculty couples actively avoid each other in such departmental settings, but Hank and Katy do not avoid interacting with one another as department members, often having lunch or going for walks with one another on campus. In other words, Hank and Katy tend to be fairly visible about the fact that they are partners in the context of the department, perhaps because they felt as though they were both hired on their own merit, but also perhaps as a result of their privilege as a White couple in tenure-eligible roles.

On the other hand, as scholars, Hank and Katy maintain fairly distinct identities. They have collaborated on research only one time and neither described any plans or strong desire to

work together in the future. Katy described one scenario, in the context of their professional society, where Hank had asked her to serve on a committee, a request which Katy turned down because she was concerned that it would appear as though her husband had given her “a nice position." Katy is quite aware of the ways in which gender and partner status may influence people’s perception of nepotism, and she acts to avoid situations in which any eyebrows might be raised. Katy also indicated that although they had not distinctly set a boundary, they “mostly don’t talk about work” at home, and that separation has come “naturally” to them. Likewise, Hank expressed that he got the most joy out of time spent with the family, not thinking or talking about work. In some ways, it seems as though Hank and Katy adopted the strategy of separation of scholarship and work and life as a reaction to the amount of time they spend together as departmental colleagues.

To sum, Hank and Katy’s major challenges related primarily to finding professional roles that were fulfilling and navigating the demands of parenthood with life on the tenure-track. They have implemented rigid schedules, maintained separate scholarly identities, and leveraged the flexibility of academia to adapt to these challenges.

Meredith and Phillip

Meredith and Phillip are faculty members in different departments in the same college at Sabre University. Phillip identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured full professor. He is the former chair of his department at Sabre. Meredith identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured associate professor. They share the same disciplinary training and research interests and collaborate often. Phillip has three adult children from a previous marriage.

Phillip and Meredith met via their graduate program. Phillip had a career in industry prior to pursuing his career in academia. Thus, they met while Phillip pursued his bachelor's and doctoral degree and Meredith completed her doctoral degree. Phillip and Meredith then did postdoctoral fellowships at the same institution. Phillip then took a tenure-track assistant professor role at a research university in the Midwest. Via a partner accommodation, the university offered Meredith a non-tenure eligible, visiting scholar position in the same department. Phillip subsequently moved through the ranks to earn tenure and become a full professor. Meredith meanwhile moved into a research scientist position and then a tenure-eligible assistant professor role. Sabre University recruited Phillip to chair a department. Via a partner accommodation, another department in the same college offered Meredith a tenure-eligible assistant professor position. She recently earned tenure and Phillip recently completed his term as chair and returned to the faculty.

There were a number of professional and personal factors that drew Phillip and Meredith to Sabre. Phillip and Meredith indicated that they were fairly satisfied at their previous institution: Phillip was a full professor and Meredith was preparing to go up for tenure after transitioning from a research scientist position. Several Sabre faculty members encouraged Phillip to apply for the chair position, which was attractive in that it was an opportunity to build a program both in terms of research productivity, prominence, and prestige. Phillip explained that he thought taking the department chair role would "be a challenge" and the opportunity "to do something more." Though the opportunities to build the department were paramount, Phillip and Meredith were also drawn to Sabre because of its geographic proximity to Phillip's parents, whose health was degrading. Phillip and Meredith both noted this as a factor that tipped them over the edge.

Although initially pulled towards Sabre, the dual-hiring process proved to be incredibly turbulent and challenging for Meredith. Phillip completed several rounds of interviews and the department offered him the chair position, while Meredith in tandem met with departments in the same college in which she could be hired. At first, Meredith and Phillip assumed that Meredith would be a faculty member in the department where Phillip would be the chair. This assumption was warranted, given they are scientists in the same discipline and were coming from the same department at their previous institution. Meredith interviewed and the department unanimously voted to hire her, honoring her time to rank at her previous institution and promoting her to associate. However, because Phillip would be the department chair, the dean informed them that Meredith could not be a faculty member in that the same department due to issues of conflict of interest. As Phillip and Meredith surveyed other possible departments where Meredith's scholarship might be a natural fit, they identified a department in a different college as an appropriate alternative. As Meredith explained "we all assumed, including the [other scientists] in [the potential department], that I would naturally go and be with the other [scientists]." Yet, the dean in Phillip's potential college was resistant to the idea of a cross-college arrangement for Meredith. The dean told Phillip that "he would not allow his money to be spent over in [the other college]." In other words, because the dual-career accommodation agreement at Sabre requires the hiring department to contribute one third of the partner's salary, Phillip's dean rejected the notion of funding a faculty member in a different college.

This turf-like mentality related to partner hires therefore constrained Meredith's opportunities, forcing her to consider departments within the same college, none of which were a particularly good fit. Meredith did two interviews in two different departments, both of which lacked the formality or structure of a traditional job interview. Meredith described the interview

in the first department as a “very uncomfortable charade” that ended with “everyone telling me there’s no room for me in their department.” At the end of the day, the chair of this department asked Meredith “why do you need to come here” and advised her to keep her position at her previous institution. As these passages reveal, the lack of structure and general attitude of the faculty with whom Meredith interviewed was incredibly hostile.

After this experience, Phillip and Meredith indicated to the dean that they would reject the offers. However, the dean encouraged Meredith to interview in another department. The chair in this department was more encouraging, but the interviews were equally unstructured. The department members voted to hire Meredith, though the decision was not unanimous. The department also did not recognize her time in rank, meaning that Meredith needed to start her tenure clock over again. In the midst of these interviews, Phillip attempted to elevate his concerns about the process and Meredith’s mistreatment to the dean and the provost. The provost acknowledged to Phillip that “this [the situation] is really a problem,” and agreed that Meredith was best suited for a position in a different college, but in the end, no action was taken that facilitated a cross-departmental hire.

Ultimately, Phillip and Meredith accepted the offers. They did so on the condition that Meredith would be transferred to the same department as Phillip once he completed his term as chair. Phillip explained that after a lot of discussion, the “deciding factor” was the proximity of Sabre to his parents and the belief that he “could affect enough of a change to make things work” for Meredith. Meredith viewed the decision as one primarily driven by Phillip. Her opinions towards Sabre at this point were reasonably more tepid. She described her hesitancy in the following statement:

> I wasn't excited to come here [Sabre] for the science…I was concerned about the opportunities, intellectual environment, and the opportunities for collaboration, because there were so few people here that were part of the international community that we were used to.

As this quote illustrates, Meredith's concerns not only stemmed from negative interview experiences, but also fears about the intellectual climate and associated opportunities for her research to thrive.

The context of Meredith's hire set the stage for subsequent negative experiences in the department, amplified by her status as a partner hire, gender, untenured rank, and lack of scholarly fit with the department. Meredith explained that department members widely acknowledged that "they didn't understand or care about" the kind of science that she conducted. Given this lack of fit, which Meredith realized could potentially impact her chances of being awarded tenure, she took steps to adjust her scholarship such that it better aligned with the work typically done in the department. She stated:

> I had to change my whole research career and objectives in order to get tenure in that department. And that was pretty horrible. But I said, "Okay. You know what? I'm really smart. I'm really clever. And I can do that." And, so, I have remade myself in trying to say, "What can I do to make it fit in?"

Said another way, Meredith assessed her situation and took active steps to make herself more marketable in the department, as a kind of strategy for enhancing her negative situation.

Even having pursued these strategies, Meredith continued to experience the department as "hostile" and indicated that department members took actions that they hoped would force her out. Department members constantly referred to her as the "spousal hire" and asserted that she was "not an independent scientist," alluding to the stereotype that Meredith's success was attributable to Phillip's. The department made it difficult for Meredith to access physical resources such as office space, funding for graduate students, and lab space - Phillip went so far

as to describe the office to which Meredith was assigned as a "rat hole." Prior to applying for tenure, Meredith's chair informed her several times that she would not be awarded tenure if she went up, even though her tenure case was incredibly strong. Department members accused her of research misconduct. An investigation resulted in a finding that there had been no misconduct. The sadness and discouragement associated with how her department has treated her over the years was apparent during our interviews – as Meredith recounted some of these stories she began to cry. Yet, despite the environment and threats that she would not be tenured, Meredith was awarded tenure and promoted to associate professor.

Phillip and Meredith attributed many of Meredith's negative experiences to retaliatory behavior aimed at Phillip. As chair, Phillip strategically advanced and advocated for departmental resources in ways that other department chairs within the college (including Meredith's) came to resent. Over the years as chair, Phillip indicated that he had made several hires, improved the department's infrastructure, and advanced the prestige of the department's academic programs, primarily by manipulating institutional processes. Though positive in terms of advancing his own career goals, Phillip said that as a result within the college:

> There was quite a bit of resentment that we were improving things, getting them better. And I don't think we're doing them at the disadvantage of anyone else. It was just the first time someone in [my department] was actually looking out for the interest of the department.

Said another way, Phillip's run-ins with the dean and other department chairs provides some context for Meredith's experiences within her own department. Meredith explained:

> If they're [her department members] mad at him then, yeah, they project it on me. Phillip gets all this stuff for his department. And then I'm sitting there in meetings that I have to...attend, and then they're saying all these bad things about [Phillip's department and Phillip himself]. And I'm with my head down and... It's like, what am I supposed to do? I don't know.

Phillip emphasized the consequences of the retaliation, saying that Meredith's department used tenure as a "tool against [Meredith]…as a way to come after me." In fact, Meredith and Phillip explained that the retaliatory behavior persisted even after Meredith was tenured and Phillip ended his term as chair. The dean recently informed Meredith that she would not be permitted to transfer to Phillip's department, contrary to what was agreed to at the time of their hire. Meredith and Phillip did not provide a specific explanation for why this was the case. Passages such as these highlight the ways that hostile climates within their college have shaped the experiences of both Meredith and Phillip, though the consequences for Meredith have been more severe.

In all, these experiences have engendered "tremendous resentment" and a lack of professional satisfaction for Meredith and Phillip. For Meredith, the cumulative impact has taken a toll on her mental health, well-being, and professional advancement. She said, "I get anxiety attacks just to have to go to faculty meetings or to the seminars." She also discussed examples of disciplinary colleagues encouraging her to return to the research topics she had been known for before "remaking" herself to fit with the department – in other words, her quest for tenure had undermined some of the scholarly contributions she could have made to the field. In contrast, Phillip's sense of anger, betrayal, and mistrust – towards academic leaders at the institutional and college level – was palpable as he said:

> What I've witnessed from the administrators is nothing short of disgusting and dispiriting. And were I able to speak, I think I would actually cause them a tremendous amount of problems. Because the way that they exploit trailing spouses here, as they refer to them, is among the worst of any institution I've ever seen.

As this quote illustrates, though Meredith and Phillip have achieved some markers of career success (e.g., Meredith's being tenured and Phillip's shepherding his department towards greater

stability) these achievements are marred by the deeply politicized and negative environment Meredith encountered.

One of the ways in which Phillip and Meredith have navigated around the negative climate is by leaning into their scientific collaborations with one another. They have co-authored numerous publications and done countless presentations and projects together. Both of their faces lit up as they described their many collaborations. Meredith explained that "science became more fun when I started collaborating with [Phillip]." Phillip echoed this point, saying "[Meredith] puts together pieces [scientific ideas] that I wouldn't have put together. I don't think most ordinary people would. I think she does that in a way that's remarkable." They also enjoy their roles as "academic parents" to their students. They described inviting students and postdocs into their home and their work on a summer undergraduate research experience. In other words, their shared science offers Meredith and Phillip a kind of safe harbor from the hostile climate that they encounter at Sabre, and the autonomy of the faculty career allows them to compartmentalize the dysfunction of their institutional lives from the happiness of their scientific and personal lives.

In terms of work-life challenges, much of the conflict typically associated with caregiving and family has now dissipated for Phillip and Meredith. Neither mentioned using or accessing any of Sabre's work-life accommodations. Phillip's children are now adults who live across the country. For a time, Phillip and Meredith navigated significant eldercare responsibilities, but found that the flexibility of faculty life meant that they could fulfill these responsibilities relatively unencumbered. Phillip described that "it wasn't easy" but "we were able to do that and it didn't impact work…" They have highly integrated personal lives,

mentioning multiple shared hobbies and non-work interests. As Meredith described, "I wouldn't have it any other way… [we are] partners in everything…going through life together."

In all, Meredith and Phillip's experience at Sabre has been challenged by negative leadership, a hostile climate, the stigma associated with being the "partner hire." They have adapted by charting new research paths and leaning into one another as foundational sources of support, but are still actively dealing with the challenges discussed.

Hunter and Helene

Hunter and Helene are faculty members in the same department at Sabre University. Hunter identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a tenured full professor. Helene identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured associate professor. They share disciplinary training and research interests in a professional field. They have three adult children who live with them. Helene's father, who has dementia, also lives in their home.

Hunter and Helene met as graduate students, where they completed degrees in the same program. After completing his degree, Hunter took a tenure-eligible assistant professor role at a university in the Southwest. Helene subsequently took a postdoctoral position at the same university and then applied for and received a tenure-track assistant professor position (not part of a dual-career accommodation). Hunter moved through the ranks to become a tenured full professor and Helene was awarded tenure and promoted to associate professor. Sabre University recruited Hunter as a tenured full professor. Sabre offered Helen a visiting associate professor role, which essentially meant that her promotion to associate was recognized but she had to re-apply for tenure.

There are several different kinds of challenges Helene and Hunter have navigated as a dual-career academic couple. One challenge they discussed at length was the context

surrounding their departure from their previous institution and recruitment to Sabre. At their previous institution, they were both fairly well-established: Hunter was a full professor and Helene an associate professor. They had each enjoyed the strong intellectual community, their colleagues, and living on the west coast. Yet, faced with a university restructuring and an increasingly hostile political climate, Hunter and Helene knew they needed to look for other jobs. Sabre recruited and offered Hunter a position as a full professor. After receiving the offer, Hunter explained that he negotiated very hard for a faculty position for Helene. He described the negotiation in the following way:

> I said, "Well, my spouse has a job at [previous institution]. She's an associate professor and she'll need a similar job at Sabre if we're going to be able to come. So, you'll need to accommodate that request." I was very clear with our department chair, who'd just become chair, that they shouldn't come back with any insulting offers that would seek to accommodate Helene in a non-faculty position. It had to be a job at least as good as what she had at [previous institution].

As this passage reveals, Hunter demonstrated a strategic transparency and confidence in his ability to negotiate. Moreover, given that Hunter and Helene already had jobs (however hostile the environment), Hunter had relatively little to lose by taking a hard negotiating stance for a partner accommodation. In any case, negotiations seemed to be promising, and given the desire for their children to start school in the fall, Helene and Hunter moved across the country. They planned to finish out the fall semester with their previous institution remotely and then begin their new jobs at Sabre in the spring semester. However, as they drove across the country, the department chair called and revealed that Helene would not be offered tenure at Sabre. Hunter explained:

> There was some resentment, particularly at the college, [promotion and tenure] committee level. They saw that this guy from [previous institution] just got appointed, and now there's this woman from [previous institution] who's co-authored with this guy. What's going on here?

In other words, skepticism about Helene's independence as a scholar undermined her tenure case. Helene described being blindsided by this news. She said:

> We were actually halfway across the country with a U-Haul and the pets and the kids and everything when we found out that this was going to happen. It's not like we decided, hmm, should we move? We were already moving. It was a bunch of bull.

As this quotation shows, the wheels were already in motion for Hunter, Helene, and their family to move, and learning that Helene would not be tenured caught them flat-footed.

Hunter and Helene then described the kind of risk assessment they did at that point. Hunter explained that they received the advice that, given the skepticism at the college level, the campus tenure committee would likely vote negatively, in which case Helene would never be considered for tenure again. If they did not push it, Helene could go up for tenure later when her case was more solid – a less risky choice, but one that would force Helene to go through the tenure process again. On the other hand, rejecting both offers altogether also came with risk. Hunter explained:

> You wonder, of course, "Well, we've got this opportunity here. Are we going to have another opportunity?" I think we probably would have eventually but who knows if that would have been the right offer either. We were pretty distracted at [previous institution]. If we had held out, maybe that level of distraction would have made us less able to do our work and, overall, less appealing as the years went on.

Said another way, Hunter and Helene worried that the climate at the previous institution would undermine future prospects, as opposed to accepting the offers from Sabre, which were not ideal but at least workable. By this point, Helene felt as though her options were limited. Given the hostile situation at their previous institution, the limited opportunities for dual-career academic couples in the same department, and the reality that they had already uprooted much of their

lives, she decided to accept the role, knowing that she would have to go up for a tenure again in a few years. She said of the experience “It was demoralizing, and I haven’t recovered.”

The context of Helene’s hire set the stage for her negative subsequent experience in the department. She has been unable to find a scholarly community with similar research interests, and because she did not have tenure, she had difficulty recruiting graduate students. As in the discussions of Helene’s tenure status at the time of hire, her collaborations with Hunter were scrutinized. Hunter explained that Helene “faced similar doubts from our own colleagues. People thinking, well, what's going on here? What's going on?” related to their co-authored publications, again reflecting the kind of gendered penalties women faculty encounter when they collaborate, generally and in particular with their men partners. Though she was awarded tenure six years later, Helene described these scenarios as completely impacting her professional satisfaction and motivation for advancing at Sabre, stating:

> My career here has just felt dead in the water…and I don't know if moving would change things. I don't know if I would go to some new place and all of a sudden pick up again where I left off at [previous institution]. I don't know. But it just sucks the life out of you in a way when that happened. I think it did me in. I think, if I was going to go up for full, this is kind of the time, but I just don't care. I just don't really care. It's sad when I think about it, but I try not to think about it.

Overall, this quote illustrates the dynamic impact that the negative environment has had on Helene, affecting not only her career advancement but also her interest and energy for her scholarship in general.

Hunter’s experience has been mixed, but more positive. He tapped into a network of scholars outside of his college, achieved productivity, and received grant funding for his research. On the whole, he said, “it's been to my advantage professionally to be at Sabre.” On the other hand, he has become increasingly frustrated with departmental leadership, indicating that

the direction of the department “lacks vision” and after a few years of frequent run-ins with the department chair, he has become “disengaged.” Although Hunter did not explicitly attribute his rocky relationship with his chair to Helene’s experience, it was clear that the chair and Hunter have had a contentious relationship from the beginning. These factors have led Hunter to feel as though in order for his career to progress, he would need to leave Sabre. He said he would like to “be part of a program where you feel like you could provide vision and leadership and really build something strong and great…I really don't feel like I can be a part of that here.” As these passages suggest, Hunter is ambivalent about Sabre. Though he has moved towards his individual professional goals, he lacks professional satisfaction in relation to the department leadership and climate.

Hunter and Helene experience both challenges and joys relating to sharing a department and scholarly interests. Collaborative scholarship is one of the joys of their relationship. “The stuff that we both love is the stuff that we get to do together and talk about and work on and think about all the time. It's super fun. That's the best part,” said Helene of her and Hunter’s collaborations. Hunter repeated this point, saying “it's nice that we both have our independent standing but then we can also collaborate and work together.” However, Hunter acknowledged that sharing a department can sometimes be challenging. He said:

> If I'm in a meeting and Helene's there and Helene strongly disagrees, I feel like I have to be careful about how I counter that because she's my wife, so there's that. I think she also, her way of interacting with me is colored by the fact that we're married. In a way, that's not always great.

Hunter followed up by saying:

> I think there's some challenges where you're trying to relate to your spouse as simultaneously as a colleague and as your spouse in a professional setting in a way that maintains respect for both of those relationships and then how that overlaps with the interactions you have with other people in those contexts.

Said another way, although Hunter and Helene experience professional satisfaction from collaborating, sharing a department and the kind of decisions that entails, can be a barrier to achieving relationship satisfaction.

Challenges in managing personal obligations were also present for Hunter and Helene and have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Their children are adults, so the work-life accommodations (i.e., parental leave) Sabre offers are not applicable. Helene and Hunter recently assumed substantial eldercare responsibilities of Helene's father, who has dementia and lives with them. They diverged in the extent to which these responsibilities impacted their ability to work. While Hunter indicated he did not feel Helene's father was a burden, Helene described the situation as exhausting, worsened by the pandemic. "To me, my dad is definitely a burden. It's really hard, I think, to be at this stage," she explained. Helene's caretaking roles were evident during our interview. Helene and Hunter participated in the joint interview on separate computers while being in the same house. Over the course of the joint interview, Helene moved frequently, spoke with her children and her sister several times, saying at one point "I don't know what's going to happen if I just hide, but we'll see" in reference to trying to participate in the interview. In contrast, Hunter remained by himself in their office. Indeed, in the individual interview, Helene further described the challenges for finding the physical and mental space for her work during the pandemic and more generally. She said:

> Hunter can go into his study, close the door and just compartmentalize. I'm the one out here in the house when my dad's going over there, and the kids come in, and this happens, and that happens. The dogs and the cats, everything is happening. That study has a desk for me. We both have desks in there, but if I go in there, I'm going to get pulled out in five minutes, so what's the point? Now I'm sitting in, this is my dining room…This is where I sit, I'm plugged in. The kitchen is right there. I've got to be right here, handling everything, all the time. When is my writing time?

She later described her concerns about her advancement prospects as related to her caretaking roles in an email, saying:

> The hard truth about being part of an academic couple is that academic work is so much easier for the husband/father to make time for. My husband understands that at some level, but it's not enough for me to just ask for his support in helping me make time for my work; I have to fight for it against him, which does not come naturally to me. As a wife and mother, I am much more comfortable helping and soothing my family members while I try to get by on the little snippets of time I can squeeze in. Of course I find time to do the pressing duties that I am called to do, like teaching and committee work. But no one is insisting and nagging me to work on my research and writing, so it keeps getting pushed to the back burner. Combine that with the fact that it's already difficult to find more time to do that, it just doesn't get done much or at all for long stretches of time.

As these quotes indicate, Helene's role as a mother and a caregiver for her father significantly impact her productivity in ways that differ entirely from Hunter's, even though they share the same work environment. Though Helene and Hunter are both aware of the gendered nature of this distribution of labor and the inequality of it, awareness does little to change the situation, with important consequences for Helene's potential advancement. These quotes also illustrate ways that Helene's negative experiences in the department and domestic labor have sparked resentment and dissatisfaction in Hunter and Helene's relationship. Yet, Helene indicated that she is taking steps to release the resentment. In a follow-up email after the interviews were completed, she said, "I've decided it's time to let go of my anger and resentment about the way I was treated when I came to [Sabre], and it's time to start a new phase." Said another way, Helene adopted a new perspective that allowed her to more agentically move towards her goals, despite the challenges she encountered. Helene and Hunter engaged in a series of conversations of how to protect her time so that she could advance to full professor.

Overall, Hunter and Helene's experiences at Sabre have been challenging, particularly as related to navigating the partner hire and tenure process, the stigma associated with being a

"partner hire," and caregiving demands. They are still very much in the process of navigating these challenges but have taken steps to try more evenly spread caregiving duties in ways that advance Helene's career.

Clark and Phyllis

Clark and Phyllis are faculty members in different departments of the same college at Sabre University. Clark identifies as a Black, heterosexual man and is a tenured full professor. Phyllis identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured full professor and head of her department. They share disciplinary training and research interests in a professional field. Phyllis has one adult child from a previous marriage.

Clark and Phyllis met when Clark was an assistant professor and Phyllis was a graduate student. Their paths diverged for several years. Clark took a position and earned tenure at a southern university and Phyllis likewise earned tenure at a different southern university. They continued to work as research collaborators for several years, eventually getting married. After marrying, they lived separately, with Clark commuting to and from the city in which Phyllis and her son resided. Clark received an offer from an institution in the mid-Atlantic as a full professor and Phyllis was offered a visiting associate professor role as part of a dual-career accommodation. After being at that institution for about 10 years, Sabre jointly recruited Clark and Phyllis as full professors (i.e., neither was the partner hire). They accepted the joint offer and have been at Sabre for about 10 years.

At certain points in their career paths, their dual-career status has been more or less challenging. After marrying, Phyllis and Clark were a commuting couple, with Clark driving or flying home each weekend. At that time, Phyllis' (now adult) child was still in school, meaning that she was more tied to her location. Hank and Phyllis explained that it was a tiring process, but

one that made sense at the time given their respective positions at institutions that they liked and where they both had opportunities for advancement. Phyllis explained the weariness of commuting, saying:

> We did it for several years. It's expensive, you've got two households, you've got whether he drove, it was a [many hour] drive, or flew. It makes any planning you're trying to do more complex. Just the trying to have some semblance of... I always felt like I'm either preparing for adjusting to his arrival or I'm adjusting to his departure, one or the other.

Clark agreed, stating, "You make it work, you do your best to make it work, but the commute was getting old." As these quotes highlight, commuting was a choice that facilitated their careers but not their personal satisfaction.

As senior faculty members with strong national reputations, Clark and Phyllis' intellectual and social capital and experience with negotiation facilitated their ability to work at the same institution and advance their careers. There were two key transition points at which this negotiation savviness was apparent. As indicated, after living separately for a few years, Clark and Phyllis realized that they no longer wanted to commute. They each tried to advocate for a partner position at their respective institutions, but neither offered an adequate position. Trying to force the hand of one institution or the other, Clark opened up a conversation with a third institution, which had recruited him in the past. Eventually, this third option offered Clark "one of those offers you can't refuse." The trade-off was that Phyllis would be the "partner hire," and come as a visiting professor. Phyllis explained the risk involved in this scenario when she said:

> I didn't want to leave [my institution], Clark really liked [his institution], I really liked [institution]. So, to go forward to [the third institution], in some ways, was not necessarily what we initially thought, but it was the one way to come together. It, for me, was the biggest risk. It turned out not to be so big, but it felt like it was at the time. It was the biggest risk because I was going as visiting and it was really over time, and with a new dean, that it proved to be actually a great opportunity, but I didn't know that in [year] when we went.

Said another way, pursuing the opportunity at this "third option" was not the ideal career choice for either Clark or Phyllis. It was particularly risky for Phyllis, in that she would take a temporary, visiting faculty role (i.e., was not clear if her tenure would ultimately be honored). Even so, the choice ultimately facilitated their personal goal of being together, which was paramount at the time.

Clark and Phyllis' careers flourished at this third institution. Phyllis took on an academic administrator position and advanced to full professor and Clark continued to be a leader in his field. Thus, they both accrued a great deal of capital and even strong reputations as academic leaders. As a result, institutions across the country, including Sabre, began to recruit Clark and Phyllis as a research team. Again, Clark and Phyllis' reputations gave them substantial negotiating power. Likewise, the reality that they had secure positions at their current institution meant that they could take their time in pursuing other opportunities and negotiating with multiple institutions. Stated plainly, each of these factors combined to give Clark and Phyllis a menu of options from which they could choose as they considered potential career moves.

Ultimately, there were a few factors that made Sabre the most attractive choice. Institutionally, Sabre recruited Clark and Phyllis to be senior leaders in a newly established school. As senior scholars both Clark and Phyllis have turned their attention towards influencing policy and practice, and this coming to Sabre would allow them to leverage their experience and to make a mark on the institution. Clark explained, "We realized, also, that we actually enjoy the building phase, we like the building of new programs, repositioning old programs to get them fresh." Leadership also played a role, as the dean of this school was someone with whom both Clark and Phyllis had known for many years, who they trusted and perceived to be a good leader. Institutional diversity and geographic location were also critical. Though they had both been

satisfied at their previous institution, Sabre's location in a diverse, urban center, its diverse student body and relatively diverse faculty were also attractive. Clark explained, "I love that I can be anywhere in this state and see Black people" and added that the history of Black leadership on campus was also a critical factor. Finally, as senior faculty members who consider Sabre to be the last institution at which they will work full-time, according to Phyllis, they also strongly weighed quality of life outside of work. Phyllis and Clark have strong social networks in the geographic area surrounding Sabre. With all of these pull factors in mind, Phyllis said the decision to come to Sabre was really a "no-brainer."

In negotiations with Sabre, there was never any question that Sabre sought to recruit both Clark and Phyllis – neither was considered to be the "partner hire" and thus no dual-career accommodation policy was used. Given this, Clark and Phyllis leveraged their negotiating power to ensure that the three early-career faculty members, two of whom were Black men and one who was a Latina woman, that were a part of their research team would also be offered positions at Sabre. Securing positions at Sabre was the critical consideration for Clark, who said:

> There were questions and concerns, the biggest one for me was the three young scholars that followed us. That is a tough decision to make and we wanted them to be successful. So it's been both a sigh and a recognition that we definitely did do the right thing, to see [them] get promoted and tenured…We took care of our young ones, that was a big deal.

Said another way, as senior scholars, Clark and Phyllis have devoted much of their capital to advancing their mentees careers.

Sharing a discipline and collaborating as researchers come with benefits and drawbacks. Of course, shared research interests are at the heart of Clark and Phyllis' partnership: their scholarship brought them together in the first place. They have enjoyed a decades long

collaboration, with numerous co-authored publications, grants, and presentations and serve as senior administrators in a Sabre research center. Clark explained:

> That's how we started, as research collaborators. We didn't know there was anything else. Only later in the fullness of time was there a whole different dimension. There are examples of dual career scientists in the same field working together, sometimes coming out of the labs of laboratory-based research but also other forms of social science research. I see us cut in that cloth, the cloth of two scholars with independent prominence in their own right and yet together also recognized as contributing.

In other words, their scholarly identities are very much intertwined and a critical part of their relationship and their story. Still, Phyllis recognized early on that she would need to be strategic in her collaborations with Clark and carve out a reputation as an independent scholar. She observed the gendered elements to this pressure when she said:

> Over time, I struggled a lot with making sure that I had my own identity, and that people recognized that just because we worked together, that didn't mean that I spoke for him, that he spoke for me, that we walked in lock step. When we came here [to Sabre], I think I had to do a little bit of education around that, as well as I'm not his secretary. But it did present I think earlier on in my career, real, very deliberate, "No, we're not going to work together." And so that as I moved through the [tenure and promotion] process, I did not encounter, "Oh my goodness, he's not just... He's her husband. She's not independent at all." And so that was really deliberate. And some of that still lingers today. I am cognizant. I don't think he's very cognizant of it. But I am still cognizant of it sometimes when people [ask]... sort of what is my contribution here, what is my role here? How do they see me as a separate entity from Clark?

All in all, a tension existed in Phyllis and Clark's intertwined scholarly identities. Though Phyllis viewed their collaborative science as a beneficial part of her relationship, her awareness of the persistent expectations that women will assume the identities of their men partners shaped the actions that she took. Clark, as a man and a more experienced scholar, recognized these gendered expectations for Phyllis.

Clark and Phyllis' racial identities and status as an interracial couple also shape how they navigate their professional and personal lives. Clark, as a Black, full professor man, has been a

leader in his field and is often the only, if not one of few, Black faculty members involved in high level institutional decision-making. Phyllis, as a White woman and department chair, is also engaged as a campus leader. He and Phyllis have both been deeply involved in efforts to mentor and promote greater racial diversity in their field and at Sabre, and because they also study issues of race and equity, race is often at the center of their conversation – particularly in the context of the protests for racial justice in 2020. Clark explained:

> We're a mixed couple at a time when issues of race is front and center in the country. So that's the other part of our conversation, but also when we're out in public, we encounter the reality of these dynamics that we're talking about right. We actually live them, and so that's the other part of that's not turned off. I don't know if my White counterparts, who are not in mixed race relationships, talk about race as much as we do, or experience it as much as we do, or see things that happen in a store and look at it through the lens of race the way Phyllis and I do. The anxiety that comes with what craziness is out there that, somehow, out in public, we'd be targeted in some unfortunate way. I think some of my other colleagues don't have those thoughts, if you know what I mean.

At this quote highlights, Clark's racial identity and his and Phyllis' status as an interracial couple influence not only their personal lives and conversations, but also their professional perspectives and issues for which they advocate at Sabre. Clark and Phyllis described one of the professional advantages of coming from different racial backgrounds is that they can see and observe aspects of their institution from different vantage points. For instance, Clark and Phyllis explained:

> Clark: We definitely see it in those subtle, micro-aggressions because I'll come home and I'll say to Phyllis, "I can't get this off of my mind, let me tell you what happened." Because I'm slow to react to those things, and they're subtle, but real and she can see the effect on me. That's happened even since being at Sabre. Go ahead, Phyllis, I'll give you the floor.
>
> Phyllis: Yeah, I would agree with that. Sometimes, it's hard to know what it is. There's time where one of us will say to the other, he'll say to me, "Well, you're being treated... You're getting such and such a response because, for all intents and purposes, you're considered Black." So, we're always questioning, was this about race? Or was it just plain…
>
> Clark: Meanness.

> Phyllis: Or just carelessness, or something. It's hard, sometimes it's so blatant, and other times it's like, no. Are other people experiencing this? Let's just do the benefit of the doubt here. It's always a dynamic we think about, and this spring, summer, fall, leading a department that has committed to addressing anti-racism, and it's in the midst of a pandemic and we can't even see each other except on Zoom. One faculty member said to me one day, "Well, you're way ahead of us on this because of your life experience." I thought well, probably in some areas, probably, but don't make any assumptions that it's an ongoing, life-long learning process, right?
>
> Phyllis: I do think that there's a sense that, that is helpful because of both my marriage and my work, that gives me a different perspective.

This exchange reveals a few key insights. One, Clark and Phyllis act as each other's professional sounding boards and confidants. They help each other make sense of the racial climate within Sabre. Two, Phyllis' role as department chair, currently working on issues of anti-racism, is influenced by her relationship with Clark. She experiences both greater awareness of the issues of racism in her department/the institution but also more legitimacy as leader on issues of racial equity. In all, Clark and Phyllis felt their different backgrounds were a benefit. They provided each other with different perspectives on the institution that made them better, more adaptive leaders in their respective areas.

Clark and Phyllis are extremely dedicated to their work, and thus, the biggest challenge they encounter related to work-life is forcing themselves to "turn it off." Clark described that they regularly do a "second shift" at home. The pandemic has exacerbated this work around the clock mentality. Clark said, "Now we're home all the time and we're working all the time. It's like this is worse. This is worse…There's both a lot of time together and yet not together. It's kind of odd." Phyllis echoed this sentiment when she said, "there's no question that we spend a lot of time talking about work when we're not at work." This intense commitment to their work reflects not only the demands of academic, but also the challenges for dual-career academics

who share a field and whose research is collaborative. For Clark and Phyllis, being a dual-career academic couple who share a field amplifies ideal worker norms.

Over time, Clark and Phyllis have adapted strategies for finding time to dedicate to their relationship and their own individual interests. For instance, Clark and Phyllis both mentioned that they plan and look forward to travel where they "recharge" - though Phyllis mentioned that Clark sometimes finds this more difficult to do. Likewise, though their professional lives are intertwined in that they share a college and scholarly interests, Clark and Phyllis strive to maintain "firewalls" in their institutional lives. These separations are particularly important in the context of their administrative roles and have developed naturally over time. Clark described that, "over the years we've got these pretty good firewalls, there were times that people would say, 'I didn't know you guys were married.' In the professional space and setting, we have firewalls so that we don't mix." Said another way, Clark and Phyllis view it as critical to maintain separate identities as institutional citizens, primarily for the professional benefits separation generates.

In summary, Clark and Phyllis have encountered challenges related to demanding workloads. Clark and Phyllis navigate these challenges by finding explicit periods to "unplug" from work, but it was clear that their work together was a part of what sustained them through challenging times.

Creed and Jo

Creed and Jo are faculty members in different disciplines, departments, and colleges at Sabre University. Jo identifies as a White, heterosexual woman and is a tenured full professor and chair of her social science department. Creed identifies as a White, heterosexual man and is a

tenure-eligible assistant professor in a life science department. They have two school-aged children.

Creed and Jo met as undergraduates. They then pursued graduate degrees at the same institution (different fields), with Jo completing her degree two years prior to Creed's completing his. Jo was offered a tenure-track job at a university in the Southwest, at which time Creed had not completed his degree. As Jo advanced on the tenure-track, Creed completed his degree and moved to Southwest. He moved into a non-tenure eligible research science faculty role the same year Jo was awarded tenure. A few years later, Creed applied for and received an offer for a tenure-track assistant professor job at Sabre. Sabre offered Jo a tenured, associate professor role as part of dual-career accommodation, negotiated centrally at the campus level. Since then, Jo has advanced to full and become department chair and Creed is currently going through the tenure process.

One of the major challenges Jo and Creed have encountered was their journey to having two positions at Sabre. At their previous institution, Jo was in a tenure-track position and eventually tenured. Creed essentially strung together a series of part-time, contingent roles until becoming a full-time research scientist. Even then, he was in a grant-funded, "soft money" contingent position with little hope for moving into a tenure-track role and year-to-year instability related to contract renewal. Creed felt a sense of increasing dissatisfaction and bitterness towards the institution because of the lack of recognition for the many years of work and grant-money he had brought to the institution. This bitterness was apparent when he said that he, "definitely had a lot of bad feelings about [institution], where I was ready to just go scorched earth on them and burn all the bridges, because I felt like they had already done that to me." Jo agreed, saying that the previous institution had jerked Creed around for years and that it caused

both of them to feel resentful. Such quotes demonstrate the kind of crossover of satisfaction that can occur when couples share an institution. Even though Jo was satisfied in her role, Creed's dissatisfaction negatively impacted her view of the institution.

Creed's contingent role and associated dissatisfaction caused stress within their relationship as well. Jo experienced significant guilt because her career flourished and took the lead while Creed's did not. Jo described:

> Until we came to [Sabre] it was tough. Because, I had the dream job, and he didn't. Because I got out first, I got the PhD first, it was like my career took precedence at least at first. And, so, I had a lot of guilt around that.

As a result of the guilt, Jo felt like for years at her previous institution, she was not at liberty to voice dissatisfaction to Creed. She said:

> I never wanted to complain about my job. So even as difficult as it got, sometimes, I never felt like I could really bring that home and, and complain and get support because it would just, there was... Yeah, it just was, I still had a job.

Said another way, the perception that Jo's career was "first" and that she achieved career success shaped her and Creed's ability to communicate at home and caused separation between the two.

Together, Creed's professional dissatisfaction and Jo's associated guilt made them anxious to search for new jobs. They developed a set of strategies to inform their job search, considering institutions in so-called undesirable locations or with less prestige that might be more inclined to consider dual-career hires. Jo and Creed looked online for institutions with advertised dual-career programs, that seemed have a critical mass of dual-career academic couples, and/or were located in geographic areas with a large number of universities that would open up other opportunities. Indeed, they both began to consider non-academic positions as well. Jo and Creed discussed this strategy when they said:

> Jo: You kind of think to yourself, "Okay, well, some universities are going to be more incentivized to do spousal hires," so like mid-tier public universities, they're in a place where people wouldn't necessarily want to move to should be the ones that are most amenable, right, to spousal hires. So, you would think like Oklahoma or North Dakota where there's not a lot of other stuff going on, and so if you want to hire an academic, especially a woman who's an academic, you really have to do something, because women tend to marry people with their equal degrees, right? That's just the way that it is.
>
> Creed: And then there was also sort of like a regional thing, we knew...[Sabre] is in a place where there's a lot of colleges around here, so even if it wasn't an immediate thing, there might be possibilities of finding work at another university, whereas like at [previous institution], I was facing, when that money ran out, there wasn't really any other options at that point. So, I was already starting to think about, what would it be like to move into consulting, or to do some other kind of non-university kind of job?
>
> Jo: When he was offered the job at [Sabre] I was like, "Well, if they don't offer me anything, I'm done with this academia thing, I'm going to become a midwife," that was my alternate plan.

As this exchange reveals, Creed and Jo thought strategically about the kinds of institutions where they might have the greatest opportunity for a dual-career hire, even if said institutions were not the most prestigious or located in the most attractive regions of the country. On the other hand, Creed and Jo did end up at Sabre, a fairly strong institution in a desirable location.

Sabre's centralized dual-career policy and departmental leadership facilitated Creed and Jo's path to Sabre. Creed applied for a position at Sabre about which he was very excited. He brought up Jo's desire for a faculty position in his final exit interview with the chair, a strategic decision based on advice from blogs about dealing with the "two-body" problem. Creed stated, "we were both not mentioning anything until we absolutely kind of had to or felt comfortable." He said the department chair received the news positively, reached out to the dean and chair in the social science department appropriate for Jo, passed on Jo's C.V., and then the department invited Jo to interview. Jo described the interview process as "normal" and "the same kind of interview" as it would have been for typical open search. Yet, she described feeling both anxious

during the interview because she wanted to make the position work for Creed and also confident about her ability to positively contribute to the department. Jo described:

> I guess there were two feelings. One was, "Don't fuck this up." Because this is our one chance, so don't screw it up. Right?
>
> But then there was this other feeling that I had my dream job [at previous institution] and so, worst came to worst, we would just be in the same position we were a year ago. So, there was a little bit of…comfort, I guess, in confidence that came out of that. I already had a job, and I knew that I was coming from a good place and that [Sabre] would benefit from having that experience. I felt a lot more confident, certainly than I did when I was interviewing without anything. Yeah, there's just a lot more comfort that comes when you interview and you already have a job, you're just not as... Because you're trying to decide, "Is this the place for me?" Right. And so, it's a very different kind of feel than where you're applying and this sort of feels like life or death. Right?
>
> But there was this sort of feeling, "If this doesn't work, it's been 13 years, when are we ever going to have a chance like this again?"

Jo's perception in this quote illustrates the kind of risk analysis she did internally as she went through the interview process. She experienced anxiety because of the opportunity to improve their family situation, but also a sense of assurance because her existing job was secure. Creed echoed the sentiment of anxiety about the position at Sabre: he felt like this was the last chance for him to pursue a career in academia. He said, "I sort of felt like this was the time where something was going to happen or it wasn't, [then] and I was going to be in a position to try to find something outside of academia. So, I felt a bit of pressure there to make things happen." These quotes illustrate the kind of high stakes associated with the dual-career search for both partners, in that the results of the interviews impacted both Jo and Creed's individual careers.

Ultimately, Jo attributed her successful hire within the department to a few factors. First, Creed's department had an existing relationship with Jo's would-be department, which made it fairly easy for the chairs to work together. Second, Jo felt she was a strong intellectual fit with the department and had good senior advocates who pushed for her hire. Third, Jo's previous

department was a highly ranked program in her field, where Sabre's was not, which gave Jo a kind of prestige capital as she interviewed. Fourth, Jo's department needed senior leadership, and her prior administrative experience made her an attractive candidate. Based on these factors, the process was eased. Creed described that Jo, "fit lots of different things that they were looking for, which made that an easy hire." Sabre offered and Jo and Creed accepted their offers, and the department, college, and campus approved Jo's tenure and rank.

Creed and Jo described their transition experiences to Sabre differently, due primarily to their different work environments and rank/affiliated workload. Creed described his experience as very positive, saying that his department is "the kind of department I wanted to be in," with strong support for his interdisciplinary scholarship, collaborative colleagues, and a good mentoring culture. The department chair has taken many steps to protect Creed's research time, offering a course release and the guidance to "say no" to work activities that would otherwise take him away from his research and a successful tenure bid. Indeed, Creed recently submitted his tenure package, and he expressed confidence that he would successfully be awarded tenure.

Jo's transition has been "a little bit rockier." As a senior leader in a department with growing academic programs, she has been thrown into administrative decision making. She said, "all of a sudden I went from being like the kid to being like a more senior colleague, so that was a weird feeling, that was a very strange feeling, like, 'Oh, they think I know stuff.'" Jo's appointment as chair, which began in the midst of the pandemic, has made her experience more challenging. She explained that as chair:

> People assume the worst of you all the time. You go from being their sort of peer and colleague to the man, the enemy. And you get dumped on and I think that... To me, it's just like, I'm the same person I was. But all of a sudden, you're in a position of power. And so you're perceived in a completely different way. So I don't like that at all.

At this quote reveals, Jo’s relatively quick transition into a leadership position has made her transition more stressful. On the positive side, Jo indicated her status as a “partner hire” has not played a significant role in her experience at Sabre. First, because Jo and Creed do not share departments, they indicated Sabre faculty members not familiar with the conditions of their hire do not know that they are partnered. Second, both Jo and Creed recognized that the context of their partner hire – Creed as the assistant professor and initial hire and Jo as the senior tenured professor and partner hire – is not typical. Thus, other faculty members do not expect that Jo would be in the position to be the partner hire and are surprised if/when they learn that she is. Jo explained:

> Normally it would be, they would seek the mid-career or later career person and then find a place for the trailing spouse who's lower rank. Right?...But I think it's sort of counterbalanced by…the data does suggest that women are more likely to sacrifice their career for their spouses, which is in some way what I did oddly, because I would've stayed at [previous institution] very happily, for forever.

In other words, Jo and Creed’s dual-career arrangement subverts expectations around partner hires related to rank but conforms to gendered expectations that the partner hire is typically a woman. However, because Jo has a higher rank, it shields her from feeling the stigma typically associated being the partner hire.

In their transition to Sabre, Jo and Creed also adjusted to new institutional structures and norms. Institutionally, Sabre does not have the kind of tight-knit academic community that they experienced at their previous institution. Faculty members live scattered around the metro area, so Jo and Creed both indicated that a “lack of community” within the department undermines the extent to which they feel connected to other faculty members at Sabre. They have also been forced to rebuild their social and scholarly networks, which is also made more difficult by Sabre’s decentralized, turf-life culture. Jo indicated that at Sabre she realized she had lost “all of

that social capital and social credibility" she had accrued at her previous institution and added that "people are a lot more distrustful [at Sabre] than [previous institution]." Creed reiterated this point, describing the decentralization at Sabre when he said:

> I've noticed there's a lot of people reinventing the same thing over and over, like lots of little units doing the same thing, whereas at [previous institution] and other schools, especially in the environment, I know that sort of stuff is centralized, either by design or just by accident, and here it's really not like that. So, you'll be working on something, and then you'll find out, like, oh, there's someone in this college doing that, and someone in that college, and they think they own that thing, so you have to be careful or change names of stuff, and that's a weird thing to navigate.

As these passages illustrate, Creed and Jo have spent much of their time figuring out how things work at Sabre.

Though being faculty members in different colleges mostly means that Jo and Creed do not interact in a professional capacity, some awkwardness has emerged as Jo recently took a chair role. Jo now interacts frequently with Creed's department chair, who of course knows that they are partnered. Jo shared that, "sometimes things'll happen in his department and his chair'll tell him not to tell me," and Creed described that he can sometimes "overhear meetings she has with administration" so that he has "lead time on certain decisions." This aspect of overlap has intensified during the pandemic, in that Creed and Jo now both work from home. Jo explained that, to navigate this potential awkwardness, they initiated a kind of "what happens in Vegas" rule related to the sharing of institutional information. They explained their strategy in the following exchange:

> Jo: We just have to just pretend like, okay, this is my role right now, and I'm not telling you this as the chair-
>
> Jo: I think if something comes up, we'll just say, "You can't tell anybody this, but I'm going to tell you this," you know what I mean? "Don't mention it to people."

> Creed: That's just our belief is that we're going to tell each other everything, and it may be never repeated outside of that, but we're going to know everything.

In other words, Creed and Jo do not attempt to shield each other from knowing things that occur in their departments or the institutional level but have a rule that all information will be kept within the marriage.

Creed and Jo have two, school-aged children and have mostly found the challenges associated with being on the faculty and having children to be manageable. As faculty members at their previous institution, they made the strategic decision to wait to have children until after Jo earned tenure. Creed explained that, “We had kids later than we would've, that was a very conscious ... Like, Jo was like, "This is not going to happen until I am tenured, or the process has begun." Jo emphasized this point, saying she was the first woman to have a child and take (unpaid) parental leave in 30 years, and although she found the department to be mostly receptive, there were clear differences between her experience and men colleagues in her cohort. She described:

> I had a colleague, a male colleague at [previous institution] who was roughly my age and our offices were next door to each other. He was married and his wife was a stay-at-home mom and our kids were kind of staggered. So he had a baby, I had a baby, he had a baby, I had a baby. So, like a year apart. Right? Basically. When his second baby was born, so my daughter would have been one, would have been about a year old at that time. And I had taken five or six months off. And he was like really kind of struggling with that new thing…he said he was going to be on leave. His wife had the baby, and I came into the office Monday or something. And the baby had been born on Friday and he was in the office on Monday.
>
> And I was just like, "What are you doing here?" And he's like, "Oh, well, my mother-in-law and my son are here and there's really nothing for me to do at home. So I just came back to work." And I was just like, "Great." And so I'm preparing my annual review material and both of us had babies. Right? That's what it looks like.

This story illustrates the differences in the way becoming a parent differently impacted Jo and her male colleague, and the pervasiveness of gender norms when it comes to navigating parental leave.

Because their children were born prior to their arrival at Sabre, they have not accessed any parental leave or other formal work-life policies. Jo and Creed both indicated that their departments were fairly family-friendly but expressed as more a culture of "benign neglect" as compared to proactively friendly. Jo perhaps best characterized this when she said, "academia in general is not kind to parents, but our department is not contributing to that. Right. We're not making it worse." Creed echoed similar sentiments, saying that his department colleagues mostly understood the need for flexibility and were supportive. On the other hand, Creed also indicated that the department and institution had sent mixed messages related to work-life issues in the midst of the pandemic. He described:

> There's been sort of an expectation or some talk of "Well, the initial part of this is over so life is kind of back to normal even though you're working at your house." Without totally acknowledging the fact that some of us are working two jobs to take care of kids' education at home at the same time.

Said another way, Creed experienced a kind of dissonance between the reality of his pandemic-related work-life demands and the expectations Sabre communicated to faculty members about productivity.

Jo and Creed's work-life is also facilitated by taking an egalitarian approach to the division of household labor and because they have an appreciation for the workload demands of faculty life. This was apparent in the following exchange:

> Creed: We see that in friends who have partners that are not in it, they don't really grasp how sometimes it's all-encompassing, and how it's not a 9:00 to 5:00 thing and how so much of it is like ...

> Jo: So I think it makes a huge difference in terms of we know that sometimes one of us is going to have to do a little more childcare than the other.
>
> Jo: And that that should be relatively equal. And we do, I would say, have a pretty good division of labor.

As this exchange highlights, Creed and Jo's shared profession facilitated their egalitarian division of labor. Importantly, Creed and Jo's division of labor was not perfectly equal at all times, but rather, there is a kind of flexible, give and take approach that guides their caregiving.

Overall, Creed and Jo's main challenges included finding a professionally fulfilling role for Creed; navigating the dual-career hiring process; Jo's transition to a departmental leadership role; and managing the demands of academia with parenthood. They have taken steps to maintain an equal distribution of caregiving and domestic labor and have helped each other navigate Sabre as faculty newcomers to the institution.

CHAPTER 5: CROSS-CASE FINDINGS

In the previous chapter, I discussed the descriptive findings, namely, the overall description of each case (the institution) and each couple (the embedded unit of analysis within each case). In this chapter, I discuss the cross-case findings using the guiding frameworks of agency and intersectionality. The chapter is organized around O'Meara et al.'s (2011) factors that influence agency: individual/shared, organizational, and field and society. Within each factor, I discuss four elements. I examine the ways each factor influences (constrains/facilitates) each couples' agency in navigating work and life. I explore the strategies (actions and perspective) participants identify to navigate each factor (if relevant). I discuss the kinds of outcomes participants experience as a result of their agency (or lack thereof). Consistent with the framework of intersectionality, I weave throughout the ways that aspects of identity differentially shape the experiences of participants. That is, I explore how participants enact agency, or experience enactments of agency (actions and perspectives) differently based upon their intersectional identities and the relative binds and freedoms that come with these identities. The main factors that influenced each couple are summarized in Table 7. This table summarizes the factors that emerged as most salient to couples' experiences based on their experiences (e.g., unit politics likely influenced all participants but may have only emerged as a salient factor for a handful of couples), though data from institutional informants, websites, and policy documents are integrated throughout this chapter.

Individual and Shared Influences

One of the key findings that emerged in this study is that for dual-career academic couples who share the same institution, it is nearly impossible to parse individual and shared influences on couples' personal and professional lives. A few key passages highlight this notion:

> Honestly, I do think that meeting Ryan and having him in my life played a role too, because [being a faculty member] was a hundred percent always his ambition and in his field, that's the only career outcome, and for at least the only one that's talked about or valued…He was always talking about publishing and getting an academic job, and it was like, "Oh yeah, I guess I'll do that too," kind of thing. Kelly, Vance University

> Way back before I got married, I used to flirt with guys and say, "Someday, I want to have kids so I can [do applied research] on them." Right? That would horrify people, and I thought that was funny. But I remember when I was talking to Hunter, we met as doc students, and so I said, "Hey Hunter, someday I want to have kids so I can do [do applied research] on them." And he wasn't horrified. He just said, "Hey yeah, we could [try this kind of research]." I was just like, "Oh wow, yeah." Helene, Sabre University

> There's always a natural competition, at least in our relationship. Because when I got my PhD, what I wrote in my Ph.D. to [Robert] was like, I never set out to match you educationally, but I have. That's competition. Roy, Dunder Mifflin University

> In both of our unique contributions to the field, I think that in the fullness of time, [Phyllis and I] will be recognized as actually contributing to the field as founders [field that] has emerged in our career arc, and we're part of that development. It doesn't hurt to be able to talk to someone who actually understands what you're going through, so when Phyllis's talking to me about managing the department, or whatever it might be, I understand exactly what she's going through, and vice versa. I think that we've been a tremendous support system for one another. Clark, Sabre University

As these examples show, there is a dynamic interaction that occurs between members of a couple. Most obviously, being in an academic couple was critical for understanding how couples in this study arrived at Vance, Sabre, or Dunder Mifflin. But this was not the only point at which being in an academic couple played a role. For some couples, academia is what brought them together. For others, partners were influential in their decision to pursue a faculty career. Partners were a source of support, feedback, and solace, but also played a role in tension, conflict, and

constrained choices. That is, understanding the personal and professional trajectory of a single participant necessarily required an understanding of the personal and professional trajectory of their partner.

For these reasons, in this section I consider the individual and shared factors that influence couples *simultaneously,* exploring the ways in which one partner's individual characteristics and background interacts with their partner's (and vice versa) to shape the professional and professional lives. Throughout, I identify the aspects of identity and status (e.g., gender, race, employment type/rank, partner hire status) that differentially shape each partner's experiences. The main themes that emerged in this area were: career primacy; beliefs and attitudes; formal and informal collaborations; and the exchange of social capital.

Career Primacy

Across couples, the extent to which one partner was considered to be the lead or primary career varied significantly based on an array of factors. Though no couples explicitly endorsed the notion that one partner's career was more important than the other's, all couples described that at least at one point, one partner's career weighed more heavily in decision-making processes. Moreover, there were gendered patterns in who was considered to be the "lead" in the path to their current institution. Across the 16 couples, 10 indicated that they had used a partner hire accommodation at their current institution and nine couples indicated one partner was considered to be the person who "led" in the hiring process. Of these nine couples, eight were heterosexual/of different genders and one was gay/of the same gender. The lead hire in all nine of these cases was a man (eight White, one Asian) in a tenure or tenure-track role. Among those considered to be the "second hire," there were seven White women, one Asian woman, and one Black man.

Some participants described the decision to be “second hire” as a sacrifice they made to fulfill some aspect of their partner’s career aspirations. For instance, Meredith said that as she and Phillip discussed coming to Sabre, her overall thought was, “if this is what you want to do, I support you. If you want this new challenge and you see the opportunity to build something and to make something, I support you. That's not a problem.” Likewise, Jim and Pam described their decision to come to Vance as one that was particularly difficult for Pam:

> Pam: Yeah, that was a hard decision. It was not an easy decision to make…
>
> Jim: Because she was giving up a tenure-track position.
>
> Pam: I was giving up a tenure-track position at [another institution]. I also did not want to live anywhere but [the Northeast]. So, giving up [the job in the Northeast] was the hardest. Of all the decisions, that was the one that like... And still to this day, I get a little choked up even thinking about it.

Jo perhaps summed up these comments best when she said, “the data does suggest that women are more likely to sacrifice their career for their spouses, which is in some way what I did oddly, because I would've stayed at [previous institution] very happily, for forever.” That is, across participants in this study, men were more often in the lead role, with women often making professional sacrifices such as giving up or turning down a tenured or tenure-track position or restarting their tenure clock. A similar narrative of sacrifice was not present among men participants in different gender relationships.

Participants who made these sacrifices described their willingness to have the second career as related to an internal negotiation of professional advancement/satisfaction versus relationship fulfillment. Teri explained, “I've had opportunities to also pursue a tenure track [job] and also do [other] things, [but] I have to negotiate location. So, in that way, that's hard for me to answer what I want [professionally] and what is actually the reality of what I'm content with.”

Likewise, both Jo and Kelly indicated they took positions at their current institution (and in Kelly's case, took a major career setback and restarted her tenure clock), to facilitate greater professional satisfaction for their partner. As Jo explained, "I think that was part of the reason why I was willing to do whatever, to get two jobs, just so I didn't have to feel [guilty] anymore." The desire to equalize the professional opportunities for their partner was a strong motivator for being the partner hire, even at a career cost.

Other participants discussed their decisions to have one partner "lead" in a more functional way, the result of one partner's getting a job first. For instance, at Hank and Katy's previous institution, Hank had not received any job offers so "following" Katy's career was the logical choice. Likewise, Hunter and Helene described that they had been so desperate to leave their previous institution that Helene giving up tenure to join Sabre seemed, at the time, worth it. Another way participants described career primacy was through the lens of which partner was paid more. As Pam explored in both individual and joint interviews, "I was promoted a little bit quicker than him. And got raises he didn't get, so I actually make a tiny bit more money." Interestingly, in Pam and Jim's case, it became clear that although Pam was the "partner hire," her career became the "lead" in terms of pay. In contrast, Jo explained that she has, for many years, made more money than Creed. She said:

> There is a cultural expectation that the husband will out-earn the wife and that his career will take precedence. And so, we know both of us are pretty aware that we're, not pushing against the grain, but just not, and so there are issues there and I think both of us try to be aware of that and not let those kind of traditional rules dictate how we live.
>
> But at the same time, I sort of understand that those cultural expectations are pretty embedded. And so I've never asked him, "How does it make you feel to know that your wife makes more than you?" But I would imagine that there's some level of... I would never point it out. I mean, taxes and all that, it comes up and I told him what my new salary would be as chair. But we were sort of aware of that background of gender roles and gender expectations.

As this quote reveals, Jo was aware that her status as the “breadwinner” had made her the de facto career lead. However, as was the case with Jim and Pam to Vance, Jo was considered to be the partner hire at Sabre.

Some participants also envisioned career primacy in terms of which partner was more senior. For some couples, because the institution hired the partner into a contingent or temporary role, their careers “lagged” behind their partners; thus, their partner’s career seemed to be more ascendant. For instance, Kelly described that Ryan was “two years ahead” of her on the tenure-track because she had started in a teaching role, and Dwight described that Angela had “went longer” in achieving tenure. Partners in these cases therefore had attained higher ranks with greater relative power and stability. This seniority was consequential. For instance, Teri indicated that Toby would always have greater comparative seniority, thus making it difficult to imagine a scenario in which she could become the “lead.”

Other participants indicated that they had at times felt their careers were secondary because of the star power or reputations of their partner. As Val explained, she and Charles had experienced tension earlier in their lives, “because in academia, you do look for that validation, those small carrots: promotions, little salary bumps, awards. And if one person is getting more than the other, I think it could be a source of friction.” Likewise, Phyllis recalled:

> I certainly experienced some of this earlier in my career of, "Will I ever be recognized in the same ways?" Those things. So, I can see how it could happen, even if you're in different fields. If one's getting great opportunities to go off and teach at Oxford a semester, but you're not, you're back in your department, doing what you always do.

Andy stated similar sentiments related to Erin’s success, saying she is a “star” and has been more competitive than he for faculty positions over the course of their careers. As these passages indicate, participants felt that whichever partner had a stronger reputation or more star power

was also the partner whose career was in the "lead." Given that on the faculty academic market, reputation and status are forms of currency, these passages also reflect that reality.

Altogether, there was no one single determining factor that determined career primacy. In some respects, whose career was considered to be the "lead" only mattered during the hiring process. At the same time, aspects of whose career led, who made more money, who was more senior, and who had the more ascendant reputation interacted. That is, it was not just that one partner was more senior while the other made more money. Rather, the person who was more senior, had a better reputation, and who made more money was likely to be the same person, and the person became the lead by virtue of their higher marketability and status. On the other hand, this cumulative effect was not always the case: in a few cases, the partner who "led" had a lower rank and/or the "partner hire" eventually made more money. Said another way, participants envisioned career primacy in different ways and whose career was considered to be the primary was not fixed in all cases.

Beliefs and Attitudes

Beliefs and attitudes refer to the underlying values or motivations that shape participants' perspectives and actions as they move towards their personal and professional goals. In this section, I discuss how couples' alignment (or misalignment) of career aspirations and empathy and understanding for one another shaped their agency in work and life.

Alignment of Career Aspirations

One tension that emerged was the extent to which there was alignment on the kind of career that each partner wanted to have. That is, members of a couple sometimes had different career aspirations (e.g., wanting to become an administrator or a high-profile scholar) which led them down different paths and sometimes caused tension. For instance, Robert described himself

as someone who is "really trying to be a world leader" in his discipline. As such, he described spending a good deal of time abroad, including taking a part-time faculty role at a university overseas. Roy, in contrast, found academia to be "disappointing" with little interest in doing research. He somewhat sardonically indicated his main career goals were to make it to retirement. Kelly also described differences in her and Ryan's career aspirations. She said:

> I think there's been moments of needing... No, I wouldn't say it's consistent…but needing him to be a little bit more present and him having worried about things at work, like is he doing enough publications? I'm like, Oh, my God, we have diaper here. It doesn't matter, that is a silly worry. And then him getting upset that I think that's a silly worry.

Robert/Roy's and Kelly/Ryan's stories reveal a kind of misalignment related to the "level" of career each partner wanted to have. Although Robert and Ryan aspired to be "stars" in their field, Roy and Kelly were inclined to spend more time and energy on their personal lives. Said another way, partners in these couples seemed to have different views on what the appropriate ratio of work-to-life should be, which sometimes caused tensions.

Individual preferences related to pursing academic leadership positions also influenced couples. For example, Angela explained that academic administration had always been "part of [Dwight's] interest much more so than it has been mine." Similarly, Madge indicated that she and Stanley have different identities as scholars. Her identity as a manager of large-scale collaborations propelled her to become a leader of large and prestigious grants, whereas Stanley's interests led him to pursue the administrative track. In and of itself, these different career interests were not a source of tension. However, there were consequences of new administrative roles on each couple's shared work-life. As administrators, both Stanley and Dwight described having more in-person demands, which increased the amount of caregiving Madge and Angela took on. As Dwight described:

> Making the decision for department chair and wanting to do that had its own professional and personal issues. So, it's professional in terms of new opportunities and new challenges and what I want to do. And it's also, all right, how does that fit in with not only [Angela's] career, but personally what does that do? I'm tied much more to campus. It changes my flexibility and dynamic.

As this shows, Dwight realized that his new administrative role had consequences for the way he and Angela had previously managed their work-life.

Other couples had a greater alignment between their expectations about productivity or the "level" of career that they wanted to have, which seemed to reduce conflict. For example, Oscar said:

> But we also remain quite attached to the sort of rank-and-file academic life. Neither of us has said in a significant way, "Oh, I'd like to sort of pursue administration." That can be likely quite different. So, again, I did a stint as chair. We're both now program directors. We're just sort of medium administrative. It's not really full-bore administrative...It's a pretty good balance of teaching and research with service when called. We have a pretty similar view…on the right work-life balance. There isn't a lot of, "Hey, can you knock off now? I'm tired of work," I think, coming either direction.

Likewise, Holly separately said:

> I don't think either of us have big administrative ambitions. Oscar did his time as chair and so he knows how the institution works. I could see him being a director of a center or something like that, but neither of us has any longing to go into the deanery, even though it pays really well. I think we both, like the life of a full professor is pretty darn desirable.

Stacy also indicated that she and Kevin had similar orientations towards work-life. She said:

> We were never balls to the wall academics. We were not people who had their kids in daycare every day until 6:00 so we can get to have fun. We regularly left the office by 3:00 or 4:00 to come home, be together as a family. We always eat dinner together and/or at soccer practice.

On the other hand, Clark and Phyllis demonstrated alignment in their shared desire to be prolific and influential scholars. As senior academics, they both have strong reputations and are influential leaders: their C.V.s indicated high-profile service and leadership credentials both at Sabre and within their field(s). They both share a desire to make contributions "to national

groups, to planning at the state level, to international [efforts], think groups and think tanks." Both Clark and Phyllis indicated that the demands are "non-stop" and they both find it difficult to turn-off work – but both partners gave the sense that they shared attitude towards work. These stories reveal that work-life integration is shaped, at least in part, by each partner's beliefs and attitudes towards what the appropriate or desirable ratio of "work" to "life" should be. Couples that had more similar work-life beliefs seemed to experience greater personal satisfaction, while those with dissimilar beliefs or attitudes encountered more challenges.

Empathy and Understanding

Almost all participants indicated that being in a dual-career academic couple fostered a greater sense of empathy and understanding for their partner. This empathy and understanding operated at a few different levels. First, many participants described how sharing a profession gave them an enhanced understanding of their partner's work demands and the time commitment required. For instance, Teri said that prior to becoming a faculty member, she had little empathy for the demands of Toby's career. She said, "I think I wasn't as kind as a partner in that way [while Toby was on the tenure track]…During that time, I was like, 'Why do you always have to write?' And I just didn't understand that." In contrast, now as a faculty member herself, Teri understood the time commitment of writing. Likewise, Madge and Stanley agreed that they had an appreciation for one another's big deadlines and could pick up the slack for each other without disagreement or conflict. Logistically, sharing a profession allowed couples like Stanley and Madge to be "clued into the different big things on each other's plates" and make adjustments at home as necessary.

Another dimension of understanding came from being able to share advice related to advancement or career development issues. Katy indicated that Hank is one of her main

sounding boards, and vice versa. She said, "[for other people] it is hard when you don't…understand or really appreciate a person's field as much or what they do for work as much because you can't really help them out if they have a problem. You can't give very good advice." Similarly, Hunter said because he and Helene have knowledge of the pressures of academia and rewards systems, they often "strategize professionally together." Charles argued that having knowledge of Val's work environment helped him get perspective on her experiences. He said:

> You understand a lot of detail and when somebody complains you can either sympathize in a deeper way or you can say, "Hey, knock it off, that happens to everybody, just come on." You know when something is real and when something is perceived.

These quotes highlight the notion that sharing a profession and institution fostered participants' ability to assume the perspective of their partner and give strategic, context-specific support.

On a personal level, many participants described being an academic as a critical part of their identity that they then shared with their partner. Sharing this identity fostered greater intimacy and relational closeness for many participants. For instance, Hunter explained that collaborating with Helene over the years meant that they shared "in all dimensions of life instead of just having these walled off, separate pockets." Likewise, Stacy indicated that she and Kevin's relationship has always been "an intellectual space" and that they "both take a lot of pleasure from that and we're closer to one another because of that." Kevin agreed, explaining:

> I cannot imagine having a partner who did something so completely alien to me that I didn't understand their frame of reference at all…There are a lot of upsides to having similar callings. And both being involved in work that matters to you personally. That you believe is making a difference in the world. The sense of mission, I don't think that's how most people view their jobs. And I think it kind of solidifies your relationship as a couple when you share that sense of mission.

Clark stated similar thoughts:

> I think it's a real blessing to have two couples in the academy because those core values of academic freedom are common. Some of the core experiences like graduation are common. I'm just telling you that's one of the favorite times of the year for both of us. As we watch our young scholars cross that stage, to have a spouse that understands that as deeply as you do, for the two of you, and some of those people walking across the stage are your academic children ... In fact, that's the language we use. Academic son, academic daughter.

As these quotes indicate, participants saw each other's shared profession as a reflection of their mutually-held values and beliefs.

On the other hand, participants noted that sometimes having an in-depth understanding of the institution and the profession came with relationship drawbacks. Many participants said that they could often get caught in the echo chamber of academe, where the stakes of certain decisions or interactions can get distorted. As Holly said, somewhat humorously:

> But the downside to that is sometimes a non-academic spouse will look at you and say, "Chill out. I'm sorry your book didn't get written today, wooga-wooga." Or like, "Was the dean mean to you?" Or, "Why are you working on a Sunday night? Let's watch a movie instead."

Creed and Jo also said that sharing a profession could sometimes undermine the extent to which partners actually listened to their partner's problems. They highlighted this in the following exchange:

> Creed: I was thinking too, it's hard, because I've seen how it works, it's hard to be the spouse that just is there to get vented on and not like, "Oh, here's the solution for that, because this is how we do it." It's hard to turn that part off and…
>
> Jo: Don't be the solution.
>
> Creed: Yeah, to just be a listener sometimes. Because I think if we were in really different lines of work or different occupations, you wouldn't really know what was going on, so you wouldn't be able to say, "Well, this is how we do it over here, why don't you just tell them to shut up and be smart about it?" And offer advice.

As these quotes reveal, because partners shared a profession and an institution, there could be the tendency for partners to assume the role of helpful colleague, and try to problem-solve, rather

than the role of supportive partner, and listen. Despite these drawbacks, overall, participants indicated an overall sense that sharing a profession and an institution was a benefit to their relationship and something that typically brought partners closer together.

Formal and Informal Collaborations

Couples in this study interacted as scholarly collaborators with varying degrees of formality and depth of collaboration. Regardless of the level of collaboration, it was clear that being partnered to another faculty member had an interactive effect on participants' scholarly thinking and achievements. There were several couples for whom scholarly collaborations were a critical part of their relationship and in some cases the thing that brought them together. For couples in this category, it was clear that their collaborations were a source of joy and intimacy. For example, Helene said, "there's nothing quite like having your partner 24/7 thinking and talking about the same fun stuff." Phillip and Meredith indicated that their science is highly collaborative and that their work "always mixed together." Other participants described the ways that scholarly collaborations with their partner were a natural part of their personal lives. For example, Michael said:

> [Jan and I] have similar interests. And so it's nice. We're sitting at dinner and we can talk about ideas that we're thinking about, we talk about our teaching a lot together. It feels natural. It doesn't feel like we're bringing work home. This is the life that we lead and it bridges well together, it meshes well, and it folds over.

Likewise, Teri explained how collaborating with Toby has pushed her on an intellectual and scholarly level. She said:

> Toby hates it when I say this, but in terms of intellectual stimulation and really thinking through some issues that we share. So, scholarship wise, he's my teacher and I know it's a very antifeminist thing to say, but that's the reality, right? That he has decades ahead of me and so he does push me to think about certain things.

On the other hand, many women who collaborated with their men partners experienced backlash in evaluative settings for doing so. Meredith, Phyllis, Helene, Kelly and Teri all indicated some amount of trepidation related to their collaborations, either because of actual criticism they had received or fear about potential for criticism. That is, collaborating with their partners came with relational benefits but also opened up the potential for professional backlash. For instance, Phyllis indicated that she was constantly aware that people would question "well, what's her contribution versus his contribution?" This question rang true for many other women participants who had collaborated with their men partner. In contrast, men who collaborated with women partners never expressed similar concerns, and in fact sometimes invoked their male privilege ADD THE RYAN EXAMPLE.

Other couples described their scholarly collaborations as more functional or transactional. For instance, Ryan and Kelly collaborated on a handful of papers even though they do not share a discipline. Kelly and Ryan equally contributed to the papers, but Ryan gave the impression that he had mostly collaborated with Kelly as a favor, not because they possessed natural shared interests. He said:

> Basically that's how she and I have worked together where I sometimes find these surveys that have interesting questions that I know that she'd be interested in that fits within her research area. It's not that I'm not interested either. I've actually published a few papers on [this topic], not with her. So it's not that I'm just finding random things. It does tie into some things that I do on my own as well.

As this story reveals, partners sometimes leverage collaborations to serve as professional supports to their partners, similar as they would to other colleagues.

A final set of participants maintained almost completely separate scholarly identities. Some couples, like Dwight and Angela, attributed this to a difference in methodological paradigms (e.g., solo work versus collaborative). As Angela said, "Dwight's not really much of a

collaborator because he does [this kind of research] and I think they often work alone. Whereas I do a lot of collaborating with people in our department, and then just other colleagues across institutions [in my content area].” Others attributed it more to work style differences. For instance, Andy said, “I'm more of an episodic worker than [Erin] is. I work in sprints; she works very steadily. I don't know whether we'd collaborate well.” Erin echoed this sentiment, saying that although she and Andy’s research interests are “weirdly similar,” “we just work in different styles.” Finally, a few other couples noted that they maintained scholarly independence to foster a better relationship. For instance, Jo reflected that she knew couples where “their entire work life is bound up in each other’s work. They write together, they publish together.” However, Jo said that for her and Creed, “we don’t want the work to be in our relationship, I guess.” Pam and Jim hinted that past collaborations had been a bit bumpy and they had subsequently avoided working on research together as a way to reduce marital conflict. They said:

> Pam: I remember being in your office once and getting up and leaving, because I just couldn't... It was just too much of this, with him and I. And I was just like, "I can't handle this. I need a break." And I remember getting up and leaving, but we got it done.
>
> Jim: Yeah. Had to have a lot of patience with each other, I think.

As these passages show, the decision to not collaborate sometimes arose because partners were in different disciplines. Yet, not collaborating also represented a strategic choice to reduce the extent to which work could play a negative role within the partnership.

Though couples in this last category had few or no formal collaborations, they nevertheless discussed more informal ways that their partners had influenced their thinking and scholarship. Creed offered that as interdisciplinary life scientist, Jo’s social science background has helped him become a better communicator and collaborator. Oscar indicated that Holly’s interest in a certain content area had pushed his scholarship in a new direction, what he described

as a “substantive reorientation” of his work. Other couples described a more intangible scholarly benefit to being partnered to a fellow academic. As Charles described, “I’ve had colleagues with whom I’ve never published but have clearly left a big thumbprint on my work, and I think that's the same with Val and me.” Through these couples, it became clear the impact of being partnered to an academic shaped participants’ professional goals and identities in important ways, even if formal collaboration was not present on each partner’s individual C.V.

Capital

Capital refers to the accumulation of resources through social relationships (Bourdieu, 2011; Coleman, 1988). Participants in this study described the exchange of different kinds of social capital between partners as being professionally beneficial. For senior faculty members who had been on their campuses for a long time, being in a dual-career academic couple enhanced the power and reputation the couple wielded. Several people brought up the notion of being a “power couple.” For example, Oscar and Holly explained the reputational capital they possessed:

> Oscar: I feel like we're both known on campus at Dunder Mifflin, we did not grow up in small towns, and I feel like it's almost retro charming. "They're a faculty couple." I don't want to say everybody knows us, I feel like we know a lot of people.
>
> Holly: People who know that we're married to each other are like, "They're a faculty power couple." Especially when he was a chair.

In other words, as senior, faculty members, Holly and Oscar felt their partnership enhanced their political capital or ability to be influential at the institutional level.

Other couples described that through their partners they accumulated greater information about how to be successful at the institution. For example, as a department chair, Jo shared with Creed institutional tips and tricks that could help him get tenure, in the same way she tried to

help assistant professors in her own department. She described regularly forwarding him the emails that she sent to her department faculty related to workshops, dossier templates, among other resources. Jim likewise described that going up for tenure at the same time as Pam was helpful because, “if I missed a little cue or whatever that I was supposed to do, she knew it was there or vice versa.” Similarly, Kelly described scenarios wherein she learned, from Ryan, that his department interpreted or implemented a policy in a different way compared to her own college. She said she was able to use that information as a way to advocate within her own unit.

Participants also described that being partnered to someone who shared the same institution offered them greater insight and perspective into the inner workings and unspoken aspects of their institutions. For example, Andy explained that he and Erin are in two different colleges with different disciplinary paradigms. Being able to see decisions through Erin’s lens helped Andy navigate as an institutional leader. Hank elucidated that being partnered to Katy has helped him navigate the department’s culture. He said, “I don't have the same conversations at work, about work, with Katy, as I do with other people,” which he viewed as an asset. In Katy, Hank had a built-in, trustworthy colleague who provided a valuable perspective. Toby explained that Teri’s experience as a non-tenure track faculty made him a better department chair, because he was more attuned to the kind of “rankist” inequities that contingent faculty often encounter. Said another way, the ability to learn about the institution from their partner’s perspective made participants more savvy leaders, department members, and institutional citizens and allowed them to move towards their professional goals.

Finally, couples described the sharing of networks as another type of capital exchange. Creed and Jo, for instance, shared that Jo often connected him to “people or opportunities” outside of his discipline. Creed’s department chair had served as Jo’s mentor when she assumed

her chair role. Oscar and Holly explained that Oscar had met many international collaborators as a result of travelling with Holly to do field work. Robert summarized this exchange of social networks when he said:

> We've each been able to help the other connect with informal support structures in the university through our respective academic channels. Someone who helped Roy in an informal way advising him through the tenure process was my department head who hired me and someone who really helped me in some of my dealing with diversity issues was now no longer at the university is someone Rich had met and worked with through his channels.

As this passage highlights, couples tapped into each other's networks, getting access to mentors and collaborators who helped them professionally. In all, there were various kinds of capital that couples exchanged: reputational/political; informational; and networks.

Organizational Influences

Organizational influences refer to the aspects of institutions that influenced each couple's personal and professional lives. Given the case study methods of this study, there were multiple themes that emerged in this area including: policies and resources (the role of dual-career partner accommodations and the process surrounding them; work-life policies and practices; promotion and rewards policies; and COVID-19 related polices); leadership; climate (work-life climate; racial climate; unit colleagues; and unit politics); and norms and expectations (legitimacy; fit; and ideal worker).

Policies and Resources

Policies and resources can shape agency both symbolically (e.g., sending the signal that the institution values work-life) and literally (e.g., facilitating a parent's ability to take time off after the adoption of a child) (O'Meara et al., 2011). The policies and resources that shaped participants' agency in their personal and professional lives were hiring policies and practices

(including dual-career partner accommodations), promotion and rewards policies, work-life polices, and COVID-19 related policies.

Hiring Policy and Process

Unsurprisingly, hiring policies and practices, including dual-career policies and the negotiation and decision-making processes associated with them, represented one of the strongest influences on participants' agency. Participants' experiences with dual-career policies varied a great deal regardless of the public visibility of the policy and level support of each institution. Of the 16 couples in the study, 10 couples indicated that they had used some kind of partner accommodation, while six couples indicated that they had been hired separately. In this section, I discuss themes related to how couples decided to disclose their partner status and the three pathways couples used to becoming faculty members at the same institution (via dual-career hiring policies; separate or cluster hires; and through sequential hires or retention offers).

Disclosing Partner Status. Before receiving offers, couples dealt with the challenge of when to bring up the fact that they had "a partner situation." None specifically stated that the presence (or absence) of a formal or public policy made them more or less likely to bring up their partner status. Participants for whom disclosure was relevant more or less chose one of four strategies: avoid bringing it up; wait until the institution made an offer; bring it up in the cover letter or during the interview; or assume that the department knew about the partner situation. These strategies were largely contingent upon participants assessments of the stakes and risks involved with bringing up their partner status and their confidence in negotiation.

Of the couples who were married at the time of hire, two participants did not bring up their partner status at all during the hiring process. For Dwight and Angela, this was a function of Angela's having a role at another institution – they did not broach the subject during Dwight's

interview process because Angela had secure employment elsewhere. In contrast, Charles and Val's decision not to advocate for a position for Val when Charles was originally hired was more complicated. Their mentors "unambiguously" advised them not to mention their partner status, indicating a kind of tacit recognition that having a faculty partner could undermine the potential to be hired. Charles and Val were also expecting their first child and Val did not want a full-time job. Furthermore, immigration and visa regulations related to being on a spousal visa "didn't allow" Val to work. Finally, as international faculty members, Charles and Val also discussed several times how they felt "clueless" about hiring and negotiating processes at United States universities. Altogether, Charles and Val's identities as international faculty members, advice from mentors, and family considerations led Charles to avoid bringing up Val's interest in a faculty job at Dunder Mifflin.

Four participants disclosed their partner status at some point during the interview process. Often participants made this decision because they would not accept an offer without a position for their partner. For example, Ryan explained:

> On the interview, I had already been upfront that with the chair basically saying, "This is the situation, I can't come unless it works out." And so, I didn't negotiate anything in terms of my salary or startup because I basically put everything, any kind of negotiation power I had into the dual career stuff.

Likewise, Toby signaled early on in the interview process that Teri was also in search of a faculty role. In their case, the dean's continued openness to "this process of the dual-career hire" made them more interested in Sabre as an institution. Hunter also disclosed Helene's need for a faculty position in his initial interview. Other participants described a more "wait and see" approach to disclosure. For instance, Creed remembered that he and Jo had consulted academic blogs related to "how to deal with the two-body stuff" and agreed that neither would mention

their partner status "until we absolutely kind of had to or felt comfortable to." By the end of his final interview with the chair, Creed felt confident about his prospects at Sabre and comfortable with his would-be chair, and thus let the chair know that Jo would "need" of partner hire. Creed indicated the disclosure "was received pretty well" and that his chair did not seem shocked. As these stories show, participants revealed their partner status more readily when the risk associated with "coming out" was lower (e.g., already had position elsewhere). Yet, it was also the case that in each of these situations, the person disclosing was a man, marking a place where privilege seemed to lower the perception of risk.

Three participants waited to bring up their partner status until the institution made an offer to the initial hire, with varied results. Participants often reported that they did not bring up their partner situation, or indeed mention any aspect of family, as related to employment laws that bar such discussions during interviews. For instance, Robert stated that he did not bring up Roy's interest in a faculty position until after he received an offer because "that's not allowed." Thus, it was only after Robert had the offer did "the discussion about Roy's situation [begin] in real earnest." Oscar described a similar logic, saying "obviously it's also the law that people do not ask about it," but also indicated that mentors had strongly encouraged him not to bring up his partner's status. In his case, Oscar mentioned Holly's desire for a faculty job after receiving an offer. Holly received a temporary postdoc – it was only years later that they were able to negotiate a faculty position. Other couples did not bring up the partner status explicitly because they feared that it would make the initial hire a less attractive candidate. For example, Kevin and Stacy described that because the academic labor market was poor and the market in Kevin's humanities discipline even poorer, they did not want to bring up Stacy's role and undermine

Kevin's prospects. Thus, Kevin waited until after his department made an offer. Kevin explained:

> I think I brought it up with my chair when we were in negotiations, and [they] said essentially like, "Don't worry. We've got a terrific dual career program, and we'll work with you guys." So, I took it on good faith that they would work with her.

Across these cases, there are some commonalities. In each, the member of the couple who received the first offer was a White man for a tenure or tenure-track role. However, even with this privilege, participants expressed reservations or even fear that their partner status might somehow disadvantage them in the hiring process.

Five couples did not worry about or need to indicate their partner status. For example, the dean of Clark and Phyllis' unit at Sabre already knew that they were a couple. Thus, the dean recruited them as a package. As Phyllis explained, the dean took steps to convince her and Clark to come to Sabre. She described it as a two-year conversation between the dean and Clark and Phyllis wherein the dean asked, "What would it take? Would you be interested?" In other words, neither she nor Clark needed to negotiate a partner position: their cards were on the table and there was no risk involved. Meredith/Phillip and Madge/Stanley likewise explained similar logics: the departments in which they were recruited were already aware of their partner status prior to the beginning of the hiring process.

In contrast, Erin/Andy and Hank/Katy applied to separate open positions. Their disclosure considerations therefore looked much different. In Hank/Katy's case, they decided to strategically disclose that they were married in their cover letters. Hank explained they thought their partnership might be viewed as advantageous. That is, Hank and Katy thought the department would find them both more attractive because they were married and therefore would be less likely to turn down jobs if they both received offers. There is an aspect of White privilege

in this assumption: neither Hank nor Katy expressed trepidation that department members would view their partnership as problematic. On the other hand, Erin/Andy experienced a somewhat similar scenario and both identify as People of Color. Andy explained:

> Erin had already been made the offer, then when I came to interview [my department]…actually made it pretty clear to me at the interview that I was their top candidate. So, at that point, that was a nice thing because [Erin's department] and [my department] could work together in pushing my department and the dean or the provost to make the offer for me, because they knew that Erin was waiting. So, I remembered that my offer…came a little quicker than they thought that it was going to be able to in part because we had the fiction really that Erin might not take the offer if we didn't hear quickly.

These situations reveal a potentially different risk assessment for couples applying to two separate positions. Because participants applied to separate, open-search positions, the risk that of having a partner was lower, since the positions already existed. In these cases, being in an academic couple was something that facilitated hiring.

Dual-Career Hiring Policies. As discussed, all three institutions had, in essence, the same central policy: there was a process by which dual-career hires could be negotiated and split for up to three years between the initial hire's department, the partner hire's department, and the Provost/academic affairs. In practice, however, institutions hired couples through a variety of channels. Of the 16 couples in the study, 10 indicated that they had used some kind of partner accommodation. Of these 10 couples, three couples knew that their hiring department had used their institution's central hiring subsidy while seven couples thought their hires were the result of department or college negotiations (not using the policy). Nine of these 10 couples considered one partner to be the lead and the other to be the second hire (one couple, Madge and Stanley, indicated that they used a partner accommodation, but neither was the second hire). All nine lead partners were men (eight White, one Asian) in tenured or tenure-track roles. Eight of the second

hires were women (seven White, one Asian) and one was a Black man; three were tenure-track or tenured professors and six were initially hired into visiting/contingent faculty roles.

When couples shared a college or department, most hiring packages were made at the department or college level. Most of these couples (*n*=7) negotiated with the dean or the department chair. That is, the central policy was not used. Pam, for instance, explained that when she was hired as a visiting assistant professor, "the support came really entirely from the department, not from the university." Likewise, administrators at Sabre negotiated Toby and Teri's hire within the college. Toby explained:

> In retrospect now looking back, I'm fairly certain [the hire] happened within the college. Thinking about what was going on at that time, none of those things came up. It was really flipping back and forth between our conversation with [the Dean] then for Teri, conversation with [her department chair]. And so, there wasn't any other resources offered to us or any intimation that they were seeking other resources, and so part of that resulted in the pay cut, in part because it was what [Teri's department chair] was willing to pay.

This quote reveals a few noteworthy points. One, Toby and Teri did not have specific insight into the machinations of how their college/department funded Teri's position. Only through Toby's subsequent knowledge of institutional processes as a department chair was he able to retrospectively piece together how the hire occurred. Two, even with the support of the dean, Teri's department chair wielded a great deal of power in dictating the conditions of Teri's hire.

Participants viewed department and/or college level hiring primarily as a result of decentralization and particularly unit-centered budget structures. For example, Kelly explained that her initial teaching assistant professor position was in the same college as Ryan's tenure-track assistant professor role. She said:

> The easiest route was this teaching assistant professor position in [a social science department] because they had a need, it was in the same college, it was the same dean, it was a cost saving to them, and it fit with my previous experience.

That is, even though Kelly's training was in a different field, becoming a faculty member in the same social science college as Ryan was easier because funding for the position was within unit. If Kelly's only option was to be in a different college, the process would have been more difficult: Ryan's college would essentially subsidize a position in another unit and there were fewer incentives for Ryan's college to pursue that path. Meredith and Phillip encountered this same issue with decentralization at Sabre with a less positive result. That is, Meredith did not have a good fit with any of the departments in the same college. Their dean was not willing to contribute funds to support a position for her in another college that would have been a better fit, which forced Meredith into a department where she was bound to be unsuccessful. As Phillip described, "[Sabre] is the most balkanized, department-oriented university anyone has ever seen" as exemplified by not just Meredith's situation but other decision-making processes across the university. All said, the decentralized structure at all three institutions seemed to undermine the extent to which cross-unit partners occurred, even with the presence of a central policy.

In the few cases wherein the hiring departments used the central dual-career policy (*n*=3), participants' experiences were mixed. Scenarios in which the partner hire's would-be department treated the hiring process as "normal" seemed more positive. For instance, Roy and Jo were both "partner hires" facilitated by their central institutional policy. Both participants indicated that their interviews with their potential departments were traditional, day-long processes. Roy and Jo both also received "standard" faculty offers. Jo described:

> It was in very, sort of normal interview process…I felt like they really took it very seriously, and I had a strong advocate in the department, who was, two strong advocates, who were both full professors, who were really pushing for this, so I think that helped a lot. I met with the dean, I mean, it was the same interview process as it had been for an open search.

In contrast, Stacy’s experience was more negative. Stacy’s dean leveraged Vance’s central policy without her knowledge and without the buy-in of her potential department. She described how she learned that the dean was using the dual-career policy when she said:

> I got a call a month later asking me what my husband's last name was from the secretary to the assistant to the dean. I said, "Oh, yeah. It's not my last name. It's [Kevin’s last name]. Can you tell me why?" She said, "Oh, I've got this dual career packet that we're submitting for you." No one even told me that they were submitting my name for this job to the provost's office.

As this quote reveals, Stacy’s dean hired her into the tenure-track position without her knowledge. She was not formally interviewed and did not receive an offer that she could negotiate. Overall, these data reveal that Dunder Mifflin, Vance, and Sabre’s partner hire policy outlined a funding mechanism, but did not stipulate a hiring process in which partners like Stacy might be interviewed and evaluated.

Lack of process surrounding hires was present in college- and department-level hiring as well. For example, Teri, Meredith, and Kelly all described informal, unstructured interview processes as diminishing their sense that their potential department was taking them seriously. Meredith’s experience was perhaps most emblematic of the opaque hiring process. She explained:

> There were supposed to be two [talks]. There was my interview, and then I was supposed to do this other talk... It hadn't been explained to me what it was, and maybe I should have asked more questions, but I gave my research talk and it was supposed to be a teaching talk…Everything was wrong, they didn't even have anything set up for me to do the second talk. So, they had to find a projector. And it was very unprofessional.

Likewise, Kelly also indicated that her interview and hiring process were both informal. She stated, “before I even was at the airport basically, they had written up an offer for me too.” Though these unstructured processes seemed to be more present when the partner hire was interviewing for a contingent faculty role (as was the case for Teri and Kelly), Meredith was

hired into a tenure-line position. In other words, unstructured processes were present regardless of position type.

Separate or Cluster Hires. Six couples indicated that they were not hired via a dual-career policy at either the institutional or unit level. What became clear, however, is that couples possessed varied definitions of what it meant to use a dual-career hiring policy. For instance, Dwight and Angela indicated that they had not used a dual-career accommodation policy on their demographic survey, but then explained in detail the negotiations they did with their chair to facilitate Angela's position. In contrast, Madge and Stanley marked on their demographic survey that they had used a dual-career accommodation but had never felt in the hiring process that one partner was the "initial" – they were in essence recruited as a team. Some participants viewed their hiring process to completely separate and therefore "by the book," even though in reality, processes were much more ambiguous than how participants described them.

Regardless, when couples viewed themselves as separate hires, they went to great lengths to assert that neither was the partner hire. For example, Andy described he felt excited about his prospects as Dunder Mifflin:

> When two partners…they're going to a university that wants them both equally, and is hiring them independently. I mean, obviously, it's fantastic. In that case, neither of us were trailing spouses, and that was great.

Katy similarly emphasized this point when she said:

> And we were really lucky for married academics, in that the ad for Sabre wasn't an ad that one of us was trying to get and bring the other person. It was two ads in our specialty. And so, when we applied, we didn't have to go through this spousal hire thing, which made it a lot easier.

As these passages indicate, couples hired separately felt fortunate they could avoid the negotiation and the stigma typically associated with being a partner hire. Indeed, Andy

emphasized not using a partner accommodation has provided him with continued legitimacy on campus when he said, “Obviously when you've both been hired as independent, if you've never won people in the pool, then that legitimizes both partners in a particularly forceful way.” Yet, these comments reveal a tension. On one hand, Hank/Katy and Erin/Andy viewed being hired into separate positions and not using a partner accommodation as a legitimizing force that made their hiring processes smoother. On the other, as discussed previously, the hiring departments were aware couples were partnered and the couples viewed it as an advantage. That is, though neither couple used a formal partner accommodation, partner status still played a role.

Sequential Hiring and Retention Offers. Some couples were hired within the same college or department as a result of sequential hiring (i.e., partners were not hired at the same time). This situation was the result of either an unsatisfactory initial negotiation (e.g., partner offered a non-full-time or temporary role) or no negotiation at the time of the initial hire. In these cases, there was no element of disclosure: departments were well-aware of the partner status. For instance, in Dwight and Angela’s case, Dwight “let it be known” to his dean that Angela was interested in faculty positions at Vance. When specific positions became available, Dwight lobbied the dean to consider Angela for faculty positions precisely because she was his partner. That is, it was in the interest of both Dwight and Angela for Angela to have a position at Vance. In Charles and Val’s and Oscar and Holly’s cases, the partner hire situation was also explicit. That is, Charles’ department made an offer to Val, and Oscar’s department negotiated with Holly’s department to get her a position, as part of a retention package. As Holly explained, “Oscar and I were able to negotiate that spring for the position. In some ways, Oscar just had to threaten that he was going to apply for this job and convince his advocates in his department that he was really going to leave.” All said, there were multiple ways in which partners came to be

working at the same institution. Not all couples came to their institutions via a dual-career hiring policy, even though all three institutions had the same central policy in place.

Promotion and Rewards Policies

Promotion and tenure policies were equally important in understanding the experience of participants. Often, issues of promotion and tenure were intertwined with the partner hiring process, manifesting differently for each couple related to their respective ranks, the kinds of positions in which they were hired, and prior experiences in academia.

Several participants had to restart their tenure clocks upon moving to a new institution or transferring into a new role. For some participants, this was strategic decision. For instance, Vance initially hired Kelly into a teaching role. After a year, Kelly moved into a traditional, research-focused tenure-track role. Though Kelly could have negotiated for some recognition of her time in rank, she started her clock over to ensure she would have time to ramp up her research. Other participants felt more constrained, feeling as though restarting their tenure clocks was an unnecessary hoop through which they had to jump as a partner hire. Angela, for instance, was not allowed to count any of her years on the tenure-track at her previous teaching institution, which meant she was on the tenure track for nine years. On the other hand, Angela recognized that, "when I got to Vance, I already had my research agenda established, I'd moved beyond my dissertation and was involved in other research," which made ramping up her research and moving towards tenure relatively easier. Likewise, Erin indicated that she later realized she could have negotiated for Dunder Mifflin to award her tenure as part of her hiring package but said she "was just so happy that we were both going to have jobs together, I wasn't negotiating anything for myself." In some ways, the excitement of being able to work in the same place led couples to

not ask too many questions or take risks in negotiating in ways that would have been advantageous career-wise.

Another subset of participants, namely Helene and Meredith, felt as though the unit's failure to recognize their time in rank was linked to their status as a partner hire and their gender as women. That is, despite being very close to earning tenure, or having earned tenure at their previous institution, they had to restart their tenure clocks. Helene's case epitomized this notion, in that she withdrew her application to have her tenure recognized at Sabre and came as a visiting associate professor without tenure. As Hunter described, they later learned that members of the college-level promotion and tenure committee had been highly skeptical because Helene had co-authored publications with Hunter. Helene ultimately earned tenure at Sabre, but the entire experience undermined the extent to which she ever felt "comfortable" within her department, recognized or valued for her scholarship, and overall contributed to her desire to leave. Likewise, Meredith also indicated that none of her prior experience, which included many grants and many published manuscripts, counted towards her tenure clock (though she was due to go up at her previous, better-ranked institution). Similar to Helene, department members and the department chair were skeptical about Meredith's qualifications for tenure as related to her relationship and collaborations with Phillip. Phillip described:

> I heard over and over again that [Meredith] had been a post-doc or graduate student in my lab. [The department] insisted on it. They insisted on it when evidence was presented to them that this was not the case and they still insisted on it. Her department chair constantly used it as a tool in anything we were negotiating. Yeah, it was a real problem. She was completely at their mercy and they knew it. And they used it. They used it mercilessly. It would have been different if she had been a woman who had been the department chair and I was a male I bet it would have been different.

As this quote illustrates, Meredith and Helene both experienced a kind of double standard related to their collaborations with their partners, which department members invoked as a way to block each woman's respective tenure eligibility.

For several partner hires, the path towards promotion was shaped by the contingent faculty positions into which they were initially hired. For example, Teri came to her department at Sabre as a clinical assistant professor with a few years of experience at her prior institution. Even two years into her time at Sabre, Teri had little clarity on when or if she would be eligible for promotion. She observed:

> By the time I came here, I would be on my fourth year as an assistant clinical. But it was unclear to me whether I'm an assistant clinical starting over, or will they count what I've done up until this point? So, the idea of rank has always been very blurry in my regard, especially as a dual hire.

Stacy's path was likewise influenced by her start in an administratively focused, contingent faculty role. When she began her tenure-track position, her workload did not shift, and she was still expected to complete many service and administrative duties. This essentially set the stage for Stacy to not be as research productive as she could have been, resulting in her decision not to go up for tenure and switch into another administrative role. In other words, being hired outside of the "normal" process delegitimized faculty members like Teri and Stacy, but also created more ambiguity about their workloads and rank, thereby undermining their prospects for advancement.

A final influence of promotion and tenure systems, and in this case specifically the tenure system, was the real fear and trepidation that some participants felt towards the prospect of not being awarded tenure. For these participants, not getting tenure was not just about their individual careers, but the potential disruption to their partner's career and the entire family

system. As Stacy explained, part of the reason that she did not pursue tenure was because she did not want to go up, fail, and be out of a job – essentially undermining the stability of Kevin's career and their family life. Ryan also indicated that Kelly's anxiety when she started her tenure-track role was due in part to her fear that if she was unsuccessful in her bid for tenure, "they'd be screwed again." Ryan, on the other hand, did not express similar concerns about his tenure process. Prior to going up, Ryan felt there was "really no doubt" he would be awarded tenure, indicating a kind of White and male privilege in this context.

In a similar vein, participants who earned tenure prior to their partner also experienced anxiety related to their spouse's partner status. For instance, Erin explained that she maintained a high level of productivity as an associate professor while Andy was untenured – just in case they needed to find a new position. Oscar likewise indicated that because he and Holly were on the tenure-track in sequential five-year spans, it felt as though they were both on the clock for ten years. As Oscar described, "It really made for a solid, instead of five-and-a-half years to the tenure decision, it was 10 years until both of us, I passed and then Holly passed." These stories reveal the real consequences of tenure and promotion on entire family systems. Participants considered their individual professional success but also their partner's, and felt anxiety related to the instability that not being awarded tenure could bring.

Parental Leave and Tenure Delay

Access to and encouragement to take parental leave varied from institution to institution, department to department, and participant to participant. To reiterate, both Sabre and Dunder Mifflin had a paid parental leave policy that faculty members could access after the birth or adoption of a child. Vance had a duty modification policy where faculty could request a course release but were still expected to be research and service active.

Heterosexual White women and Women of Color participants who had children when parental leave or duty modification was available generally indicated they encountered few issues in accessing it. For instance, Holly described, "I was able to benefit from a childcare leave with my second son. I was not the only person…were a lot of junior faculty who had kids and it was a moment when these policies were really trying to make life better for junior faculty who were parents." Erin, also at Dunder Mifflin, indicated similar sentiments, saying that she took leave after the adoption of she and Andy's second child relatively easily. Likewise, Angela stated that, "[My chair] was really easy to work with, and I tried to make it really easy. I had people lined up to teach my classes already, so I took care of all of that legwork on the front end." As these passages show, White women and Women of Color in different gender relationships in this study encountered relatively few issues in accessing parental leave at their respective institutions.

Results were more mixed when focused on men participants. Only one Man of Color in this study was eligible for taking parental leave Dunder Mifflin (That is, other Men of Color did not have children or had children who were older). Andy, a multiracial man, accessed parental leave, but encountered strong departmental resistance. He felt the strong presence of gender norms in his department, explaining that his departmental colleagues could not understand why he needed, or wanted, to take leave. White men seemed to encounter greater internal or self-imposed barriers to accessing parental leave. Both Dwight and Michael, White men who shared departments with their partners, felt as though they could not access the teaching release because it would leave their department with unmet teaching needs. For instance, Dwight said, "It was also at that point, there were only three of us that taught within [the program]. If neither one of us taught then there was also like, who's gonna teach in the program?" As this shows, men who shared a department with their women partners felt constrained in their ability to access parental

leave because they felt a sense of obligation to meet teaching demands. On the other hand, Dwight or Michael could have taken leave in a subsequent semester, thereby reducing the burden on the department. Furthermore, in both cases, it seemed assumed that Angela and Jan would take leave (and not vice versa).

Other White men participants had easier experiences accessing parental leave. As Holly explained, "Oscar took his childcare leave to take care of the kids while we were all [abroad], but he was taking care of the baby full-time." This indicated that Oscar not only took but also fully leveraged the time off. Oscar also expressed that his department was fully supportive of his taking leave and did not expect him to be productive while away from work. Hank, at Sabre, and Ryan and Jim, at Vance University, likewise accessed course releases or parental leave and mentioned little to no resistance from their departments, suggesting a place where White privilege may have given them an advantage in using this benefit.

Many participants saw themselves as "test cases" for parental leave, in that they had multiple children and their institutions implemented parental leave in the intervening years. This often meant participants were the "first" to navigate the policy structure. Many couples indicated that being the first was somewhat anxiety-inducing. For example, Jim and Pam explained the negative signals they received as some of the first parents at Vance to access the leave policy:

> Jim: Yeah. No, it changed a lot in between that nine-year-old and then our 11-year-old. In those two years, there was a new dean, a new provost and a new chair. Then all of that, then we sort of trail blazed a lot of the family friendly policies that they instituted.
>
> Pam: I was told that I was on the chopping block when I was pregnant with the second one. You don't remember? It was [chair's] term, about how if this didn't go well with me getting a leave with [child], that there were going to be problems and she'd be bringing me up here on the chopping block. You don't remember that?
>
> Jim: Problems for you or problems for…

> Pam: The university…because they were implementing these policies for the first time. I think I was the first one that... Well, one of like three or four women at the same time, all having children that were…
>
> Jim: Yeah.
>
> Pam: ... going on the block.

Madge echoed similar sentiments, saying that as the first woman to have a child in her department in many years, she had to in essence teach her department chair how to process her leave request. It is notable here that White women were often the “firsts” to navigate these scenarios, marking a place wherein Whiteness may have mitigated some of the risk associated with being the first. Overall, participants in this “test case” scenario endorsed the notion that policies enhanced work-life, though acknowledged that being the “first” presented some obstacles.

Although parental delay and duty modification for children was useful, participants in this study found tenure delays to be less so. Only two participants, Hank and Katy, in the same department and on the same tenure timeline, took the tenure delay. Other participants found that they did not need to use tenure delays when offered (e.g., already had tenure when their children were born, not in tenure-track roles). Yet, participants who were eligible expressed concerns about using tenure delays, related to career progression and general advancement. For instance, Holly recalled:

> If I needed to stop the clock for my tenure case, I could have done that. In the end I didn't do that because I had spent so long as you know, on the road to getting the tenure track job, that by the time I got it, I just wanted to go straight through. And I was a little worried that if I waited longer than the standards might go up higher.

Likewise, Kelly and Ryan both took and then rescinded their parental tenure delay, which they described in the following exchange.

> Ryan: I technically took that extension as well, but then rescinded it essentially. I took it for two reasons. One is, is as principal…
>
> Kelly: They offer it, you take it.
>
> Ryan: Yeah, I think it's important to take these policies that are available. The other thing is you never know. What if she would have had real medical issues or something like that? Even though I felt pretty good about where I was at that time tenure-wise, it was like who knows, it could be a train wreck the next three or two years. So, might as well take advantage of this.

In this way, tenure delay was viewed as more of an emergency benefit rather than something that facilitated greater work-life for participants. Ultimately, only two of the participants who were eligible for a parental leave tenure delay in this study took one.

COVID-19 Related Policies and Practices

COVID-19 related policies had relatively limited impact on the couples in this study. Each institution offered a COVID-19 tenure delay, though specific implementation varied (e.g., Vance and Dunder Mifflin opt-out, Sabre opt-in). There were relatively few participants to whom a tenure delay would have applied (i.e., already tenured or in a non-tenure eligible role). For the few participants who were eligible for the COVID-19 tenure delay, they did not ultimately utilize it. For instance, Creed explained that he took and then rescinded the delay:

> We went ahead with it anyway even though I requested the extension, just because we sort of did that to kind of cover bases just in case there was trouble with getting materials together or getting letters from outside. But everything has both come together…So, on a person level I don't think it's affected me, just because the timing of everything was okay. I was sort of already ready to go through with this.

Likewise, Kelly indicated that she already had "good momentum" towards tenure and did not need to take the delay. That is, similar to participants' experiences with the parental tenure delay, the participants in this study did not view the tenure delay as something that helped them better navigate the pandemic.

Other COVID-19 related work-life policies and resources varied across institutions but still had relatively limited influence on participants in this study. For instance, Vance made emergency childcare assistance and tutoring service available. But, none of the Vance participants indicated that they had accessed these services. Madge described:

> I think we do have a daycare assistance program where faculty can apply for funding for an in-home babysitter or something since some daycares have closed, but I don't know anything about that really because our kids are past daycare age, so I haven't really paid much attention to that.

Dunder Mifflin likewise offered emergency childcare and eldercare assistance, though none of the participants in the study accessed these resources. Participants at Sabre also did not mention any specific COVID-related policies or resources that the institution had either offered or that they had accessed.

Leadership

Formal policies and practices played a somewhat limited role in the work-lives of participants. Thus, institutional, department, and college leaders were critical for understanding if and how dual-career academic couples moved towards their professional and personal goals. Leaders, particularly department chairs and sometimes deans, were critical to the hiring process for almost all participants. There were some examples of good leaders who facilitated hires, for instance, chairs and deans who were supportive of partners. For example, Dwight described his dean as “a champion” of Angela’s work and hire. Likewise, Teri explained:

> Once they offered Toby the position, the dean offered it…the dean took it upon [themselves] to say, "I understand you have a spouse who is an academic." So [the dean] facilitated that connection, so then she connected me to my current chair. So because we're very decentralized here in this institution, my current chair could have potentially said, "Nope. Don't want her." There's nothing the dean could have done.

Stacy also elaborated that even though Vance had a designated dual-career staff member, Kevin's chair used her own networks and connections to find Stacy a position. She said:

> It was mainly the personal connections of Kevin's chair, who she's a woman and part of an academic partnership, so she and her husband both were in the [humanities department] when he was hired. But she really had taken it on herself to support women in academe and in particular at Vance, so she hosted a women's lunch and that kind of thing. And so, she, through her personal and professional connections that really through her personal connections would have to be other faculty to interview new people in [Stacy's college] and connecting to them.

As these quotes indicate, leaders play a critical role in signaling to partners that the institution would be friendly. Chairs and deans also leverage their own social and political capital to help make connections for partner hires outside of their unit and/or to put in place the resources to make partner hires occur.

There were also many examples of poor leadership setting the stage for subsequent challenges. As Phillip and Meredith described, they accepted positions at Sabre based upon a kind of handshake deal that Meredith would be allowed to transfer departments when Phillip stepped down as chair. The dean and chair subsequently "reneged on that promise," though Phillip has now stepped down. Phillip and Meredith also described their dean as fostering a hostile climate. Phillip described one scenario that happened with their dean shortly after he and Meredith signed their contracts:

> Meredith had signed everything. And I went in and spoke to the dean and the dean started yelling at me, and telling me, "Your wife made such a problem for me. Your wife, it's all her fault. She made such a problem for me." And this, "I'm not going to forget how your wife made such a big problem for me." And so I thought, "Well, geez. We've signed the contracts, we're already getting here. But this is...This is not just misogyny. This is totally dysfunctional." And there wasn't really anyone to talk to because the dean was the dean.

Similarly, Andy's career trajectory at Dunder Mifflin was in essence derailed for many years because of the actions of a powerful chair. These actions were not necessarily related to his

being part of an academic couple. However, Andy's decision to stay at Dunder Mifflin despite this chair-induced challenge was very much related to the fact that Erin had a flourishing career at this institution and moving would have meant disrupting their family stability. As these stories illustrate, leaders could at times substantially derail participant's ability to attain professional satisfaction, which then translated into their personal lives.

Leaders also served as gatekeepers to other work-life policies and set the tone for the work-life and diversity climate within the department. Participants had many examples of "old guard" chairs blocking or not supporting parental leave, especially prior to work-life policies being implemented. As Pam explained, when she and Jim had their first child, Vance did not offer any parental accommodations. Her chair was unwilling to offer her any flexibility and she ended up taking unpaid leave. These early experiences have lingered, and Pam said she holds "a little bit of ouch" towards certain male colleagues in her department based on her experience. On the other hand, many participants indicated that new leadership, including chairs, deans, and provosts also positively enhanced their work-life. As Holly described:

> I also just benefited from being in departments where there was a critical mass of faculty with young children. So when I started the [social science department] had its meetings starting at like 3:30 or four until whenever the senior faculty felt like they were done. And so at that time, the parents who had to pick up the kid at childcare would leave the meeting and there were still important discussions and decisions being made. And then one of the younger faculty members who was the first one to get tenure. She became the next chair and she moved faculty meetings, or she started by making the cutoff for discussion, a firm cutoff and then gradually we made them at a more family friendly time so that people could pick up their kids.

Dwight, Holly, Erin, and Andy likewise indicated that the overall signals sent by leaders related to work-life set the tone within colleges and units, particularly in the context of the pandemic. For instance, Erin described that Dunder Mifflin's provost had been proactive in creating faculty related COVID-19 supports (e.g., COVID-19 impact statements). Although such policies and

practice did not mitigate the work-life stress that faculty encountered during the pandemic, they did signal to faculty that leadership was aware of their challenges.

Finally, many participants in this study, after being hired, went on to become leaders (e.g., department chairs, center directors, administrators) within their institutions. Their experiences as dual-career academic couples made them better understand the nuance and complexity of partner hiring and faculty work-life issues more generally. For instance, even as a untenured faculty member, Creed described had how he had witnessed his department's resistance to partner hires:

> We've had opportunities to bring in people as the trailing spouse and I've seen many of my colleagues be like "Why would we do that? That person doesn't fit our mission." It's all that. And I'm junior, so I won't speak up too forcefully, but I'm like "Well, there's opportunities we can help people, but they also bring this sort of..." So, it's interesting to see. There's a real conservative-ism in academia, especially people who are full professors. There's just like a way things were done. It makes me wonder what the behind-the-scenes conversations were like when I was being hired.

Several participants indicated situations wherein their departments had lost quality colleagues as a result of a lack of support for partner hires. For instance, as department chair, Phillip said:

> We lost one of the best people we hired because I could not get through something for a spousal condition and it was justified. The person, the husband was someone who, everyone who the department that would hire him looked at him and said, "No, we really couldn't give that status to this person. The person doesn't have experience." That's a natural thing that's going to happen anywhere where you do that.

At the same time, participants also reported some mixed feelings and biases towards academic couples that they themselves had experienced. Several participants described scenarios in which challenges arose related to partner hires, like divorce or couples becoming a voting block in departmental decision-making. As Pam described, one couple in their department had divorced and "it created huge problems in the department," resulting in both faculty members eventually leaving. Similarly, Roy stated that if he were to become a department chair, he would "never

allow a spousal hire in the same department" because of the tendency for partners to defend one another as partners instead of colleagues.

Other participants reported that, as leaders, they tried to advocate for partner hires as a signal of their values. For instance, Andy explained:

> I had a possibility of a spousal hire in my unit a year and a half ago. And it wasn't just from my perspective, looking to see if this was a good fit, which it was, and we have both people now. It was a question of feeling like this is an important thing to try to be doing.

Likewise, Dwight indicated that as a chair, he hoped to foster a hiring experience wherein candidates "are able and feel safe to share at an early stage of the process" that they had a partner who would also be interested in faculty positions. To sum, leaders not only influenced participants, but participants' experiences as partner hires and as faculty members trying to navigate work and life shaped their actions when they became leaders themselves.

Climate

Climate refers to a faculty member's broad sense of their department or institution (O'Meara et al., 2011). Across institutions, participants identified four main aspects of climate that influenced their ability to manage their personal and professional lives: the flexible work-life climate; the racial climate; relationships with colleagues; and departmental politics.

Work-Life Climate

Across all three institutions, participants discussed their units as having relatively flexible work-life cultures that have facilitated their ability to manage their personal obligations. Participants like Creed explained that the climate is "very much like get your work done, but you don't have to be sitting in your office 9-5 every day." Likewise, Angela said that the flexibility of faculty schedules "is really essentially because I don't want to miss any chorus concerts or anything that's happening, and so this career has allowed that for me." Indeed, Jan said that the

flexibility afforded to her and Michael was one of the main things that kept them at Vance, Jan stated, “I'm not really interested in going anywhere because I would have no hope that we would end up at a place this flexible as we are now. And so while the kids are young enough, I want to be home with them.” Likewise, participants like Kevin indicated that faculty flexibility “is better at navigating that then the formal institutional policies are.” In all, participants indicated that it was the flexibility of their schedules, rather than any specific policy or practice, that contributed to their ability to navigate work and life.

Many participants also remarked on the family-friendly work-life changes that had come over the last 15-20 years, for example, with the introduction of a new younger faculty who had children. A critical mass of faculty with children seemed particularly important related to the work-life climate. For instance, Angela reflected:

> Our department has a lot of parents of young children, high school-aged children. And it's mostly women. So, our program is not, but our department is mostly women. And so it's a really friendly environment, generally, for families, which is really nice. There are days when we would be on campus when [city] schools would be closed for snow, and you'd see just a ton of kids who had to come to work with their parents, and that's just generally accepted in the department.

Holly echoed similar sentiments about her unit at Dunder Mifflin, describing that department parties where kids were welcomed, flexible scheduling had all shifted over her time with the department and that this kind of cultural elements “went beyond” formal policies in facilitating work-life.

On the other hand, many participants recognized the flexibility of their departments as, in Jo’s words, “a double-edged sword.” That is, flexible schedules were beneficial in that they enabled participants to be present for things outside of work or create schedules that better

worked for them. Even so, flexible schedules did not mean that productivity demands, or expectations were lower. For instance, Hank stated:

> If I didn't have class or something, there's pretty much nothing that couldn't move around for the most part. So, I feel pretty good, I can do that stuff, but you pay for it somewhere else. You just can just make up for those times. You've got flexibility, but it's not like you're working less. It's just like you get to move stuff around.

Jo and Creed likewise summed up this sentiment in the following exchange:

> Jo: Because our jobs are so much alike, there would be no ... It would be so glaring if there was any sort of horrible imbalance in the division of labor in the relationship, whereas if you have different jobs, it's like, "Oh, we'll you've got more flexibility," for us it's like, no, we've got the same...
>
> Creed: Same inflexibility.
>
> Jo: Same inflexibility.
>
> Creed: Same flexibility.
>
> Jo: Right, the same ...
>
> Creed: Yeah, we've got the same stuff.
>
> Jo: Flexible inflexibility, right?

These passages reveal a few key points. As participants noted, flexibility allowed faculty to manage aspects of their personal lives. However, flexibility did not mean that participants worked less. On the other hand, Creed and Jo indicated that because they share flexible jobs, it facilitates a more egalitarian distribution of labor. That is, as compared to relationships wherein one partner has a flexible schedule and the other a more rigid schedule, Creed and Jo felt they were better able to share domestic responsibilities.

Racial Climate

Although I attempted to weave throughout the findings the ways that racial identity shaped aspects of participants experience, I discuss in this section findings specifically related to couple's views of how race and the racial climate shaped their experiences in work-life. Unsurprisingly, White participants and Participants of Color varied in the extent to which they described race as salient to their experiences. White participants, and particularly those wherein both partners identified as White, did not explicitly describe issues of race as relevant to their experiences in navigating work-life, even if it was apparent that their race afforded privilege in many circumstances. In contrast, Women of Color and Men of Color (and to some extent their White partners, if relevant), described racial diversity and inclusion as critical to their experiences in navigating work and life.

Many Participants of Color told stories that indicated the role of intersectional racial identities in the hiring/recruitment. For instance, Teri's story of department members being "surprised" that she gave a high-quality research talk during her interview marks a place wherein gendered and racialized assumptions about competence shaped recruitment. Alternatively, Robert and Roy viewed their status as an interracial gay couple as something that may have given them an advantage in the hiring process at Dunder Mifflin. They explained:

> Robert: Well, I would say this, the [area in which Dunder Mifflin] is located is a liberal bastion overtly and aspires to be and so the idea of bringing in an interracial gay couple to the university was probably a net plus.
>
> Roy: I would agree.
>
> Robert: In terms of consistency with aspired values.
>
> Roy: Especially if you're in a, how do they call it now? Primarily White?
>
> Dawn: PWI or historically White?

> Roy: Yeah, exactly. In the case of my department, it brings diversity where they have none.

As this exchange reveals, Roy saw his identity as a gay, Black man as something that made him attractive as a faculty candidate, perhaps increasing the extent to which his department was receptive to hiring him as a partner. Robert and Roy also felt that their shared status as an interracial gay couple likewise gave them an advantage. They noted, however, a gap between Dunder's Mifflin's espoused commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion and lack of diversity-minded action, as exemplified in the institution's low faculty racial diversity. Moreover, Roy and Robert's interaction also shows that their status as an interracial couple also made Robert, a White man, more attuned to the lack of racial diversity at Dunder Mifflin and the area in which the institution was located. Likewise, Phyllis, a White woman married to Clark, a Black man, also described a greater awareness of issues of institutional and geographic diversity as being relevant to their share desire to work at Sabre University. White participants in same-race couples did not mention similar push/pull factors, marking a place where White privilege facilitated work-life for some couples in this study.

Participants of Color described how their status as the "only" Person of Color in some campus settings shaped their interactions with other faculty members and students. For instance, Charles noted that, as an international, Asian faculty member, he often received negative teaching evaluations from students related to his accent. Overtime, he learned to brush such criticism aside, although he noted he continued to receive negative feedback even as department chair. Val also shared that as a Woman of Color in a man-dominated field, she was often the "only" woman and/or woman of color in the room. She explained:

> In the classes that I teach, I make it a point...I always do the demonstrations myself…If you go on YouTube and you look, most of the demonstrations are done by men. So, I will go in now, and even in COVID times, when I'm not in the classroom, I go in and record the demonstration and show it to [the students]. You can't forget who you are or what your identity is and it does play a role in everything, but I don't feel like it's held me back in any way.

In this way, Val recognized that her race and gender shaped her experience. She also acted, using her teaching as a way to disrupt gender and racial norms in her discipline and higher education as a field. Similarly, Teri was also attuned to the ways her identities as a Woman of Color, a contingent faculty member, and a partner hire shaped her experience in work-life. For instance, she described a sense of isolation within her first year at Sabre. Teri reflected:

> Last year I was kind of just floating around. Because we're so decentralized as an institution and as a college, I was just left on my own in many ways. The thing is, it's hard, because I feel like our leadership did say, "We're here to support you." But then they say it, but then the actions and the things that come into that sponsorship didn't happen. So, no one knew what to identify to support me. Does that make sense? Me being new in this space, I don't know the culture, so I don't know how to navigate it either. So, they'll say, "Just let me know what you need." Well, I don't know what I need.

As this passage indicates, Teri experienced a lack of mentorship and resources, which would likely not have been the case if she was tenure-track faculty member and/or hired through an open search. Moreover, the decentralized culture in her department and the institution at large allowed this lack of resources to "slip by" unnoticed, all of which increased her sense of isolation as a new, Woman of Color faculty member at Sabre.

Some Participants of Color also illustrated how gender and specific racial identity shaped experience. For instance, Charles noted that as a department leader and experienced faculty member, he has been on many powerful committees. In these committees, Charles said it was "painfully obvious" that there were few women, but less obvious that he was the only Person of Color. He remarked:

> It took me maybe until the end of my first year in that [promotion and tenure] committee to realize, "I'm the only non-White person there." It's not something I feel I have to [notice]... Whereas I feel those women probably felt acutely... They have to think about it all the time. I didn't have to think about it but the fact that the faculty is very diverse but certainly our administration representation are totally not diverse, I think it's taken a long time for me to even realize that.

There are several notable pieces of this passage. Charles seemed to be saying that as a man, he experienced privilege relative to White women academic leaders, in that men composed the majority of the faculty generally and were the majority of this committee specifically. On the other hand, Charles' status as an international, Asian faculty member may also play a role in his experience. The salience of his racial identity was less pronounced as compared to a U.S.-born Black or Latino faculty member. For instance, Clark, a Black man with similar career status to Charles, remarked that he was keenly aware that he continues to be "the only Black faculty member" in a variety of settings at Sabre. Erin, an Asian woman, likewise recounted multiple encounters with an academic leader who treated her "in ways that are both sexist and racist." She explained that though she and her partner Andy, an interracial man, both interacted with this leader, Andy really "couldn't see" the mistreatment, marking a place where Erin's intersectional identities gave her a different perspective than Andy. This is not to say that any one participant's experience is comparatively better or worse, but rather call attention to the diversity of experiences among Participants of Color. As these passages show, many Participants of Color indicated that the racial climate was critical to understanding the way in which they were recruited, their interactions with colleagues and with students, as well as their perspectives on their institutions as a whole.

Unit Colleagues

Relationships with department and institutional colleagues were critical to understanding participants' views of the climate within their units and institutions. These relationships represented varying levels of formality (e.g., mentors, collaborators, general interactions). Some participants indicated that their status as a "partner hire" had significantly influenced their relationships with department colleagues. Meredith, Teri, and Helene indicated that their departmental colleagues had never really accepted them as equals. For example, Meredith described a meeting shortly after she began in her department:

> [The department members] were talking about the new people that they want to hire later. And then people turned around and looked at me and one of them actually said, "They hired these new people, but they don't do what we need them to do. And they're not going to let us hire the people that we knew." And they were just staring at me, because I took away one of their people that they needed to hire. I took one of those spots away from them, even though they wouldn't have had this spot when it was... if I wasn't there, then they wouldn't have had it.

Likewise, Teri indicated that department members initially did not trust her. She stated:

> How do I earn membership and access to certain spaces and groups? And after a while I realized, I'm just going to do my own thing. And again, it's the Women of Color in my department who I can't say enough. They have supported me from the way beginning. Some didn't trust me. I mean, for obvious reasons, because they didn't know me, but they gave me a chance, which is something that I don't know that I have ever experienced from White faculty.

As Teri and Meredith's stories reveal, being a partner hire made the transition to a new faculty role more difficult, because department members viewed them with suspicion. Often these experiences intersected with their gender and/racial identities.

Though there were negative examples, other participants also indicated that relationships with colleagues fostered their ability to manage their professional and personal lives. Participants at Dunder Mifflin and Vance, both located in more rural or isolated areas of the country,

described their institutional and department colleagues as critical parts of their social networks, which increased their satisfaction with work-life. For instance, Andy said that the unit in which he and Erin share a joint appointment is the place where they have met all of their best friends and that it “feels very much like a home.” Roy and Robert described that Roy’s connections with other early-career LGBT faculty members had provided much needed social support as they transitioned to life at Dunder Mifflin. Similarly, many of the Vance faculty described their “faculty enclave” as being critical to their sense of work-life satisfaction. For instance, Stacy remembered:

> One of [Kevin’s] mentors from [large city] visited us, to give a talk here, and we hosted a dinner for him before the talk. And he thought it was quaint and adorable, but also lovely that all Kevin's colleagues who came for this dinner walked from literally half a block or two blocks away. That's our world. And again, it's fabulous for so many reasons, but [the mentor] said, "That would never happen. It's so rare that I see my colleagues." He's from [large city]. He lives in [large city]. "I never see my colleagues really outside of either work or work social events."
>
> I remember thinking, “Oh my, gosh. What would that be like to have work be something that's compartmentalized and not everything?” Because I think for us, work is everything.

Likewise, Stanley indicated that that he and Madge had benefitted from living in a community composed of many other Vance employees. In contrast, Sabre is located in an urban area where faculty members are more spread out and are less reliant upon the university and university members as part of their social networks. For instance, Jo explained that their transition to Sabre had been difficult because she and Creed did not interact socially with other members of her department. She reflected:

> I miss that sort of comradery and that ability to kind of get together socially and have that sort of bonding so that when you have disagreements, it's like, our kids play together. I disagree with you on this, but, it's not like you're dead to me. So I do miss that kind of building those relationships such that you can weather the disagreements and be totally fine with it.

Hank and Katy described a climate of kind of benign neglect when it came to their colleagues. They indicated that there was not much of a mentoring or collaborative mentality among faculty. Although this climate had not held back Hank and Katy's careers, they also did not indicate a strong sense of community among their faculty colleagues. In all, such findings indicate an interactive influence of colleagues on participants' sense of the climate. Participants in units with supportive colleagues – either within their immediate unit or outside of it – seemed to indicate a more positive view of the climate. However, other participants encountered departmental colleagues who were resistant to partner hires, thereby increasing a hostile and undermining sense of belonging and commitment to the institution.

Unit Politics

A final aspect of the climate that came to the fore for participants was the role of unit/departmental politics. By politics, I am referring to participants' experience with navigating and/or advocating for their interests, which often involved some kind of conflict or negotiation with other members of the unit (Jarrett, 2017). The unique challenge for participants in this study, especially for those who shared a unit, was that navigating departmental politics was not merely an individual exercise, but one that impacted their relationship and vice versa. For instance, Jim and Pam observed that departmental conflict related to faculty hiring had negatively influenced their relationship at home. They each separately described the scenario in the following passages. Jim explained:

> The last year when Pam was [associate] chair when I was on a hiring committee and we were having lots of difficulties with expectations. It was like internal politics in that we weren't necessarily on opposite sides of them, but we were just being pulled in different directions and bringing too much interpersonal stress home, talking about colleagues not nasty, but just you don't know how to make a colleague happy. It's an impossibility to make people happy.

Pam described:

> During that last year though, Jim started coming part of these larger discussions about like hiring practices that became super contentious. And he was in on a hiring search committee team and some of the people that are being kind of hostile towards me for like defending my chair, started getting hostile toward Jim, because he's on the search committee.

She continued later:

> I saw him beginning to express just subtle passive aggressive discontent with me. And I think it was about the overall just kind of failures that were happening throughout our department, because things went from great to really, really crappy in about two years. A lot of just, I mean, it went from like super collegial to like unbelievable hostility. And he was in a lot of it. I was in a lot of it. We would cross paths sometimes through it and yeah, it made it really difficult. And he took out some frustrations on me. Just like in the kitchen, making dinner. Just things he would say, you got so upset about things. And it's like, I can't control this. Like he would expect me to be able to fix something. It's like that's, I mean even the deans can't do that. I can't do that.

As these passages reveal, departmental conflict negatively spilled over into Jim and Pam's home life. Similarly, Meredith and Phillip attributed much of Meredith's mistreatment to inter-college politics. Phillip explained:

> Essentially, all the animosity that [Meredith's department] had for [my department] and then when [my department] started to be successful when I came to be the chair was very definitely directed at her. She was threatened constantly. She was endlessly threatened. When she had her three-year review, they made her stand in the hallway like a graduate student who's waiting for their chair committee to make a decision.

Meredith elaborated:

> It was nightmarish. I probably still have PTSD. Because my department's a hostile department towards me, and overtly, and were doing things to try to get me to quit or to leave or to ruin our reputation in things, including accusing me of misconduct. They opened an investigation when I was going up. I thought I was going to have a nervous breakdown. And so, for the year up to that, because my department chair told me the faculty was going to vote against me for tenure, which had [something to do with] Phillip too.

In this case, college-level politics involving Phillip had negative repercussions on Meredith's career and her emotional well-being. All said, the role of politics on couples, and the gendered

nature of departmental politics, was quite apparent and almost always represented a prime example of the negative spillover from work into home life.

Norms and Expectations

Norms and expectations are formal and informal scripts, patterns and practices that indicate how faculty members should behave (O'Meara et al., 2011). The norms and expectations that shaped participants' agency in moving towards their personal and professional goals were related to issues of legitimacy, fit, and perceptions of the ideal worker.

Legitimacy

Norms and expectations related to professional legitimacy were one of the key forces that influenced participants in this study. There were two ways in which participants discussed professional legitimacy: first, related to the merit and quality of hires recruited outside of the "normal" faculty hiring process and second, related to the need for partners to establish themselves as independent entities. Gendered and racialized notions regarding merit, quality, and independence often underscored discussions of legitimacy.

Merit and Quality. Many participants, typically the person who was the "partner hire," described that they often felt (or were made to feel) that they did not earn their job fairly or on their own merit or qualifications. These issues of merit and quality were largely experienced by women participants, particularly those considered to be the "partner hire" but also for those couples who did not use a partner hiring accommodation. As Stacy described, members of her department and college administration treated her as a "charity case." Even as Stacy made positive contributions to the unit, there was "still that sense of I wasn't authentically given this job, I wasn't the person you would have chosen." Teri likewise said in her first year, she was continually aware that members of her department had not "asked" for her. Holly stated that

many department faculty members were initially resistant to hiring her because they felt they did not “owe” a partner hire to Oscar’s department. Other participants mentioned words like “coattails” and “tack ons.”

Participants reflected that questions about their merit negatively influenced aspects of their well-being. For instance, Helene and Hunter both indicated that at their prior institution Helene had been hired based on her “own merit” and not treated like a “favor.” In contrast, her hire at Dunder Mifflin was entirely tied to Hunter, which undermined her career confidence and motivation. Holly likewise explained that she felt she needed to work twice as hard once she was hired to earn greater legitimacy. As Stacy summed up, the sense that she had not earned her job in her own right “feeds into all the imposter syndrome we all deal with anyway.” Val echoed similar sentiments but indicated that overtime, these feelings had faded. She said:

> [Charles] was made full professor at a young age, he was a bit of a star in his field. And would people then see this as just being something that Dunder Mifflin has done to keep their star professor. He's scared to not let anyone make that assumption. Because I don't even think about it, as I said, I got to the point where [in my career], I'm very comfortable with who I am. So, it's not something that's at the forefront of my thoughts.

There are several aspects of Val’s reflection to unpack. Both she and Charles internalized and experienced concerns about Val’s merit (though perhaps in qualitatively different ways). Accordingly, both she and Charles engaged in actions to ensure that department members viewed Val to be legitimate. Second, anxieties and concerns about legitimacy shifted over time and as the result of context. For Charles and Val, the need to establish Val’s legitimacy was likely more activated given that Charles was chair: the perception of favoritism and lack of merit would reflect upon Val as well as Charles as a leader. Yet, Val’s statement also indicates that concerns about merit can be assuaged as the result of individual perspectives and/or more positive interactions with colleagues. Nevertheless, concerns about merit and quality were a largely

gendered phenenonemenon. As many women participants and their partners concluded, they did not feel department colleagues would view them as “less than” if they were men.

Tied to the theme of merit was the underlying assumption that it would be impossible for partners to be of equal quality, suggesting that partners are always evaluated in contrast to one another (as opposed to in contrast to department colleagues in general). Andy summarized this notion when he said, “there are still many people that will assume that a partner hire or even two people coming at the same time suggests one is weaker. And it isn't always on gender grounds [though] obviously, gender bias can be severe.” Other participants recognized this assumption when they indicated that they felt fortunate that their partners were of equal quality and thus, never had their relative merit questioned. For instance, Jim said, “there is the whole idea that, ‘well, you got your job in an unfair way,’ or something like this or on somebody else's coattails. I'm just lucky that Pam and I don't have that huge asymmetry in our successes.” Dwight echoed similar sentiment when he described Angela’s experience with the tenure process. He stated:

> If either one of us would have [been] more on the fence [related to being deserving of tenure], or there were more concerns…I think that would have been something that would have really been amplified a little bit about. [I] wouldn't want to think this person got it because of the other person…The journey to promotion and tenure, because Angela had a very successful run… we didn't have to worry about that so much, because [her tenure case] was above reproach.

Interestingly, Dwight noted this kind of amplified need for Angela to be “beyond reproach” even though, in their words, Angela did not use a dual-career policy when she was hired. That is, the tendency to scrutinize the quality of partners, and in particular the quality of women partners, in comparison to one another existed regardless of their hiring context. Women needed to be “beyond reproach” when it came to their achievements to mitigate the perception or the reality that they had been hired in relation to their partner.

Independence in Collaborations. Another way in which issues of legitimacy came to the fore was in the extent to which partners received credit for their collaborative work. For instance, partners were sometimes wary of collaborating because they were aware of the assumption that one partner (typically the man in a different gender relationship) did the bulk of the intellectual work. Kelly, for example, said that she was initially hesitant to co-author with Ryan because she was "worried that there would be a perception that, he's been gifting me these things" even though she was listed as first author. This undermining of scholarly independence was even more extreme for Helene. In her case, her departmental colleagues initially questioned her collaborations with Hunter, but went on to question her contributions to other scholarly collaborations. Hunter and Helene explained:

> Hunter: Helene wrote this incredible article…It's among the most heavily cited [about content area]. It's had an enormous impact. And it was coauthored by [man scholar who is a methodologist]. It's quite often the case that content area scholars will co-author with methodologists. So, somebody on the college committee said, "Well, for all we know, [methodologist] wrote that article. Helene might not have written any of it." Which is just an incredibly sexist and condescending thing to say. Here she is the lead author, content area specialist. [the co-author] is…
>
> Helene: [Co-author] doesn't know anything about [content area].
>
> Hunter: He'll be the first to tell you he wouldn't be in a position to write that article. So that's the kind of struggles. It was very unpleasant.

As these passages reveal, gendered assumptions, where men receive more credit for collaborative work, influenced many women participants. These assumptions were amplified in the context of couples who collaborated, because department members expected that men partners would contribute more than their women partners on co-authored work.

There were varying degrees to which participants identified strategies for overcoming or addressing issues related to collaboration. Phyllis reflected that she had taken very deliberate

steps to not work with Clark at certain times during her career so that her independence as a scholar was never second guessed. Many participants, mostly women, indicated that they felt having different last names in some ways shielded them from any gender stereotypes related to credit coming to bear. As Kelly said:

> I'm not sure everybody realizes that he's my spouse, so that helps. I don't know, I guess I have certainly thought about [the perceptions people might have], but I haven't heard anything directly or haven't gotten any feedback on it…As I think about the tenure and promotion people, [they] aren't going to know. So, they'll just assume that [Ryan's] a colleague.

As these quotes show, participants were fairly aware of the potential to be penalized for co-authoring with their partners and took steps to either actively establish themselves as independent or consider ways that they might avoid the bias.

Independence as Colleagues. Participants in this study also went to great lengths to be viewed as independent colleagues with separate interests and opinions. This was particularly salient within the context of participants who shared academic units and operated at a few different levels. At a formal level, several couples were in, or had been at some point, the position wherein one partner became a unit head to whom the other partner would (under normal circumstance) report. In these scenarios, all partners indicated that their institution had formal conflict of interest policies and guidance to establish, for instance, separate reporting lines. These separate reporting lines were particularly important when one partner was chair while their partner went up for promotion or tenure. Even with these policies, participants engaged in a kind of performance with their department colleagues to ensure that the entire process was viewed as legitimate. For instance, Dwight described going out of his way to make it "very clear to the faculty on multiple occasions" that the associate chair would manage Angela's tenure process.

Charles/Val and Michael/Jan likewise indicated that they took precautions in ensuring that conflict of interest policies were used and also visible to members of their department.

Many couples made efforts to maintain separate institutional identities informally, taking steps to manage the perception of independence with their colleagues. For instance, Dwight indicated that he typically “stayed away” from Angela in department meetings because he wanted her to have her “own identity.” Clark explained that he and Phyllis enacted “firewalls” or at least a “plausible deniability” on issues of shared governance, personnel, or other departmental matters. Phyllis similarly stated:

> I struggled a lot with making sure that I had my own identity, and that people recognized that just because we worked together, that didn't mean that I spoke for him, that he spoke for me, that we walked in lock step. When we came here, I think I had to do a little bit of education around that, as well as I'm not his secretary.

As these passages indicate, gender norms and expectations played a role in these attempts to maintain separate identities. That is, for different gender couples, women were more worried about making it clear they were independent members of the organization. Furthermore, although men took actions to establish their partner’s independence, they did not feel it necessary to assert their independence. In other words, participants took different kinds of actions to respond to and avoid the paternalistic assumption that women are susceptible to being influenced by their men partners.

In some cases, participants acknowledged that maintaining institutional identities was more performative or perceptual rather than literal. For instance, participants indicated that they did not sit next to one another in meetings to give the appearance of separate entities. Angela explained:

> If we're somewhere and somebody makes a statement, it's really more natural for me to turn to Dwight and make a comment. But right from the beginning in these department

> meetings, we were cognizant about not doing that. So, we'd wait until we got in the car. And then I'd say, "Hey, what did you think about..."

Put another way, even if Dwight and Angela did not sit next to each other at a meeting, it was not as if they were not going to discuss the matter at a later time. Likewise, Charles said, “I certainly act differently” in interacting with Val than with other department colleagues. He indicated that he was less likely to personally advocate for Val, even if he thought she had a “legitimate beef.” Instead, Charles encouraged Val to find a third-party ally to act as her advocate to avoid the perception of favoritism. Said another way, Charles did not literally separate himself from the situation, but instead used a different strategy to make his action(s) less visible. Other participants described departmental meetings in which their partners were equally, if not more, vocal in their disagreements over department matters. For instance, Pam explained:

> It was my job as chair to lead faculty meetings once a month, I mean, [Jim] was often one of the most vocal people, because he always was. He's a talker and he's the White man in the room often and he kind of plays the role and he talks a lot. And he didn't change his behaviors whatsoever. I was kind of curious. I never talked to him about, but I was kind of curious if he was going to be different in the faculty meetings. Maybe a bit more quiet. I thought maybe he would be more quiet. And he wasn't.
>
> And he and I would get into very minor disagreements. And then he amazed me sometimes, I mean those are, if you have ever witnessed faculty meetings, but they can be super, super, super tense. It's like, it's really common for them to be tense. And he was very much a part of it. He didn't ease up on me because I was the chair. And I didn't on him either, like if he said something that I disagreed with, I let him know.

In all, there was a sense that participants, especially those who share a unit, went to some lengths to assert their independence from one another as a kind of bias avoidance tactic. That is, couples realized that their colleagues might view them as a voting block. They were sensitive to the perception that if one partner agreed with the other, they would have a spotlight put on them.

At the same time, participants also recognized that it was impossible to pretend as if their partner was merely their colleague. They described logistical and relational aspects of their lives

that made separation unrealistic. First, particularly in the context of the pandemic, participants described separation as logistically difficult to achieve. For instance, Creed and Jo indicated that because Jo is a department chair, Creed will often "overhear" institutional matters long before they are announced to Sabre's faculty. Michael and Jan likewise recalled scenarios in which could overhear Michael negotiating with department faculty on issues like salary. As discussed previously, many participants reported sharing information on issues of policy or practice and subsequently leveraging said information in their own units.

Second, almost all couples indicated that they debriefed the challenges and conflicts they experienced over the course of the day with their partner as a form of relational connection. As discussed earlier, the empathy and understanding that comes from sharing a career and institution was one of the key benefits many participants described. As Charles described, "if there's something I feel I need other eyes to look at before I send out that email or before I launch into a consequential conversation with somebody, I will talk to Val about." That is, participants are one another's valued confidants and sounding boards. To maintain rigidly separate identities would undermine that source of support.

Finally, participants described the interactive effects of sharing a unit/institution with their partner. That is, participants described the expectation of independence as removed from reality. For example, Jim commented that though it was the tendency of "hyper-individualized" academic cultures to view faculty independence as a positive or necessary attribute, it was unrealistic because faculty members have families and partners who influence their decisions. Similarly, as Andy and Erin described Erin's negative interactions with a colleague, the challenges of trying to be "separate colleagues" became apparent. Though negative interactions had, in a professional sense, only influenced Erin, it was impossible for Andy to pretend as if this

colleague's behavior towards Erin did not influence his opinions. He summed this up when he said:

> There's kind of two sides to it. On the one hand, if we're at a meeting together, we're professionals and we're speaking professionally, so we might not agree on everything. We're autonomous members of that unit. On the other hand, her opinion and her concerns are very important to me.

Put another way, the expectation that participants could disassociate their views of colleagues, units, and the institution from their partner's experiences within these same contexts was largely unrealistic, if not impossible.

Fit

Many participants discussed the extent to which they felt a "fit" with their department, institution, or academia at large as related to their work-life satisfaction (or dissatisfaction). One of the themes that emerged in this area was that partners hired into departments wherein they had a good intellectual or administrative fit had a better experience. For instance, Creed and Jo discussed fit related to their search for positions. Creed said that as he applied for positions, he and Jo considered the extent to which the institution had a department that would be a good intellectual fit for Jo. He said:

> [The institution] would have to have the right kind of home for the other person. Like if they had a department that was like [subfield in Jo's discipline] kind of thing, that wouldn't be a good fit for Jo, and if it was more like, a more traditional [life science] it wouldn't work for me. So that helped us, not helped us, that sort of eliminated a lot of options. But that was kind of what the conversations were like, was "Hey, I found this job, it looks kind of cool, let's go see if there's something in the other unit that makes sense," or "Do we know anybody there?" even, kind of things.

In other words, Creed and Jo's sense of fit within departments acted a filter by which they considered institutions. In the case of coming to Sabre, Jo was a good fit from both an intellectual and experience perspective. Jo explained:

> [The department at Sabre was] was very bottom-heavy, and I was already in an administrative appointment in my previous job… so I'd already had this sort of admin experience, and they were basically facing a leadership vacuum in the department, because they had a bunch of untenured professors, and then a bunch of full professors who were all on the way to retirement.

Likewise, Angela explained that Vance University as an institution was a good match for her research agenda. Dwight emphasized that their roles at Vance were in alignment with their professional interests and goals:

> It would have been really difficult if one [of us] wasn't a fit. I know that can be turned on its head. We did not have an example of one of us really being unfulfilled, or one person not having good assignments, or one person not getting the support to grow in their professional spaces. We both thrive. In the situation where we could both thrive in and it seemed to just feed on itself and make it better.

In contrast, other participants indicated that lack of fit with their department had plagued their experiences. These participants were often the partner hire and had often been forced into departments where the research interests were not well-understood. For example, Meredith explained, "I understand what [the science other members of the department are] doing, and I think about how to apply it to my discipline. But it's not a two-way street. While, in my department, I would feel intellectually isolated, I honestly have strong community with the [other departments on campus]." Likewise, Helene explained that enthusiasm for her research area is "just really dead. I've had a few students who will come to [content area] seminar, but it's so few that I almost can't run it. I try to, I'd like to teach it every other year, and so far, I have pretty much managed to do that with the bare minimum, four or five students." In these cases, partners were hired into departments in which there was no fit, which magnified the hostility these participants experienced. As Erin, as an institutional leader summarized it, "I definitely think that if the policy forces departments to hire people that they don't want to hire, that's a terrible outcome."

Other participants indicated a lack of work-life satisfaction primarily emanating from their lack of fit with academia's culture and climate. Several participants indicated that the individualized nature of the faculty career undermined their satisfaction. Roy stated:

> My background is I came from the private sector and everybody works on the team. And the ultimate bottom line is the profit. If you step out of line, and make a negative effect on the profit, your ass is fired…And with faculty that's not necessarily the same because it's very self-interested. [On a boat] everyone's going the same direction. They're going the same speed. And everyone's trying to make the same effort. They're working as a team. With faculty, it's, "I rowed yesterday, why should I row today? I don't like the direction. We're going too fast. We're not going fast enough. You're not the boss of me." It's a very selfish sort of thing which just doesn't resonate with me. Because there's very little of, we need to do this as a team.

Pam echoed this thought:

> I miss humble people. The egos get to me. I just, I can't stand the egos. I remember, when I first got to Vance… one [of] my senior colleagues at first, I remember him telling me about how humble people were in the department. And as he was saying this, like the conversation was immediately then shifted to him telling me the number of [scholarly product] that he had produced. How one of them got an award. And I'm like, oh my God! It was such a contradiction.

Though these passages indicate a dissatisfaction with faculty life, at the same time, these participants indicated a kind of paralysis and fear of the unknown related to pursuing alternative pathways. For instance, Roy had pursued a faculty position to increase the professional opportunities available to him related to Robert's academic role. Likewise, Pam explored non-academic career paths but knew that the stability of a tenured role was not likely to be replicated in another sector. Put another way, participants recognized a lack of fit undermined their professional success and/or professional satisfaction. However, their status as dual-career academic couples somewhat constrained their ability to take steps to pursue different paths.

Ideal Worker

One of the prevailing influences on participants was the intense productivity expectations and pressure to be "on-demand" at all times, or ideal worker norms. These norms could be both externally placed upon participants from colleagues or their institutions, or stem from within participants as a kind of internalized expectation they had of themselves. Many participants indicated that expectations related to productivity conflicted with their ability to be present in their personal lives. For instance, Phillip explained that as he navigated his parent's eldercare demands, "I was also very careful to never let [caregiving responsibilities] extend over into anything else. At least in those first four years. I mean, I usually worked on average about a 16-hour day. It wasn't like Sabre was at a loss for it." Other participants described the culture of relentless pressure as being incompatible with the realities of having children. Katy explained that the most difficult thing about becoming a parent has been the reality that she is no longer available all the time. She explained, "but most weekends, except for a little bit of work at night, I'm not working. And so that was hard for my students to get used to, it's hard for me to get used to. That was probably one of the biggest changes." Likewise, Hank said he often felt unable to live up to expectations to "sign into" work on the weekend. After looking after a young child all day, he does not have the "physical or the mental capacity to do this anymore." Stacy summarized these weekend work expectations when she told the following story:

> One of my dearest friends with whom I went to graduate school who happens to be at Vance, she and I were working on a project together. We came on Monday morning to work on it. I said, "How was your weekend?" She said, "I feel really guilty. I only came in one day this weekend." I said, "Do you usually come in both days of the weekend?" She's like, "Yeah, usually. Otherwise, how am I going to get tenure?"
>
> I said to her, "I both feel for you that you come in two days a weekend, that you regularly don't give yourself any time out of work, but it also suggests to me if that is the only way that someone can be successful at getting tenure, then I don't have a chance and that it's

> not an even playing field, because I'm care-taking over the weekend. I've got two kids. By you setting the standard of coming in two days a weekend, you're setting that standard up so that I can't be successful here."

Indeed, Stacy indicated that the people she knew to be the most successful “don’t have kids.” In all, participants experienced academic workloads and expectations to be inconsistent with the demands of their personal life.

For many participants, especially those with children, the pandemic illustrated how pervasive ideal worker norms are – even in units with relatively positive work-life climates. For instance, Creed said that during the pandemic, his department chair has taken on the mantra of “being resilient in the face of difficult challenges.” Creed described, “[For my chair] it's very much like a ‘we can do this and let's get together and go ahead and go forward.’ Without realizing that some of us are still in a period of shock and grief and all of that sort of stuff” related to the pandemic. Likewise, Jim said:

> The university's just like, "Well, change your workload and we're fine to give you more credit for teaching this year, because we know you're doing a lot more work for teaching. We know your research is going to suffer.” So, we are hearing those signals, but that doesn't change the internal pressure of, I still need to get out this grant because there's only one cycle a year and I told collaborators I was going to get the grant back out, so I can't really not do it just like Pam can't not finish her book because the editor is after her to finish it.

That is to say, even during the unprecedented nature of the pandemic, participants still felt a great sense of pressure to maintain high levels of productivity. This pressure came from both the signals institutions sent and participants’ internal desires and anxieties to fulfill work obligations.

Field and Society

In this section, I consider aspects of field (i.e., disciplinary or academe at large) and society (e.g., norms and expectations) that influenced how academic couples moved towards their personal and professional goals. The main themes that emerged in this area were: norms

and expectations (gender norms and gender roles in parenting; parenting norms and expectations; the role of family in priorities and ambitions; family considerations in mobility) and social-economic factors (regional and geographic culture and diversity; the academic labor market).

Norms in Parenting and Caregiving

As described in the previous chapter, 11 couples had school-aged children. Due to the pandemic, two couples had adult children living at home with them. As indicated in Chapter 4, navigating the demands of being parents and being faculty members was something that all participants with children encountered. Social norms and gender roles related to caregiving and associated domestic tasks played a significant role in participants' experiences. Some participants indicated that traditional gender roles shaped how they handled caregiving and domestic labor. This was particularly true when couples had younger children. For instance, Pam described being "on" with the kids more often than Jim when the kids were younger and breastfeeding. Despite attempts to "share days" Pam said, "they still wanted me. I mean, probably about a year to two years of both of them wanted mom, mom, mom, mom way more than dad." Likewise, Val indicated that, "because I was home more, I did more of the household and childcare things" but also elaborated she had never felt a sense that the distribution of the caregiving had been "gendered."

As a strategy, most couples indicated that they tried to maintain a fairly equal distribution of childcare and associated domestic tasks. For instance, Charles explained he and Val's approach:

> I don't think we have very clearly defined roles at home. So, I think many couples I've seen and it probably works for them, for efficiencies... Either because of traditional gender roles or for efficiencies, they try and specialize. You be the one who does that kid, I'll be the one who does this kid. You handle the driving, you handle the planning. It's been more of a jumble at home for that and that's, I think, been helpful with neither of us

> irreplaceable in any given context. I think it started very early with the kids because often one of us would be away for the month in [abroad] and the other would be here and I think that was... I can't say that we planned it, but I think that's been helpful in not being... It was a helpful inefficiency in the long-term.

Stacy echoed similar thoughts when she said, “we are a true partnership when it comes to parenting…No one is ever off, but it's someone is cooking or someone is doing practice while someone else is teaching or someone is doing practice while someone is cooking, that kind of thing.”

Sometimes differences in caregiving emerged related to the different natures of each partner’s work, namely, the extent to which one partner’s research needed to be in-person and/or abroad. Some participants indicated that they had shifted their research focus to domestic issues as a way to maintain better work-life integration. For instance, Pam said, “traveling to [country] was just too much with a family.” Similarly, Erin indicated she re-focused her research on domestic issues related to both personal health and child-related factors. Other participants indicated that their international or other work-related research had caused their partner to, at times, do more of the caregiving. Andy described, “I've never felt like, "Oh, my research is more important." I mean, I have to [travel abroad] But it's a rock and a hard place where, I mean, there was just this period when it was one project after another.” Likewise, Kevin and Stacy explained:

> Kevin: I would acknowledge, I should acknowledge that by virtue of my work that the research I need to conduct is in [country] that a lot of my scholarly community is [abroad], that when there have been quite more ... locations when I have been gone for…
>
> Stacy: Months.
>
> Kevin Well, yeah, a month is maybe the longest time, but where she has had to teach, she has to shoulder all the burden. That often what happens is I'll get invited to a conference. Because we don't have a whole lot of research funding here and they're paying for my travel out there, I will try to cobble together some more funds so that I can spend a second week in the archive…Or a couple of years ago, I was a visiting scholar at [an

> international university], and so I was gone for a solid month. So I think there's no question that she has done more of the heavy lifting than I have.

In other words, many participants indicated that their research took them away from their families for long stretches at a time. Still, it did seem as though men partners were more likely to travel, whereas women partners were more likely to adapt (though this was not universally the case).

Many women participants indicated that issues of scheduling, organization, and other “mental load” kind of issues tended to stress them out compared to their partners. As Katy described, the greatest source of stress for her is “when somebody shows up 30 minutes late for a meeting, or cancels a meeting the day of, and then asks if I can meet the next day…Basically anything that throws off how I plan to do things that week.” Likewise, Helene said, “I think about all the work that female faculty do at work, more than what men do, and then at home. Oh my God, the emotional labor. Just trying to remember all the things of all the stuff that nobody else is paying attention to, that has to get done.” Holly echoed this thought, saying, “[Oscar’s] less likely to check in with me about what his schedule for the day is…I don't know if that's just perception or if that's me or the fact that I'm maybe more anxious about getting all the things done. He's just a less anxious person in his own way.” Finally, Angela summed this up when she said:

> When Dwight was [an administrator], we used to kind of joke that he was [the coordinator] at work, and I was the family coordinator. So, maintaining all those schedules and making sure that there's dinner at four so everybody can eat, and making sure the soccer cleats are clean, and all of that work of just managing everything that's happening with the family, I think still falls predominantly on the woman in the partnership. I think that's still an issue, not just for academic couples, but dual career couples generally.

Put another way, women participants indicated issues of scheduling, meal planning, purchasing, and other household management tasks largely fell to them, even in partnerships committed to egalitarianism.

For most couples in this study, the pandemic heightened gendered aspects of mental load and invisible domestic labor. Mothers and fathers alike discussed the stress of working at home while their children were doing virtual learning. For instance, Michael said:

> The most stressful part of my life right now is when I've got a five-year-old in kindergarten in a Zoom class and I've got the two-year-old losing his fill in the blank over Blippy or whatever, and you can't get them to chill out and he wants to do what she's doing. And she gets really uptight, because it's school time. And most of my stress comes from just managing these kids and not screwing them up.

On the other hand, there were differences along traditional gender lines. For instance, several men participants indicated that they had set up their workspace in the basements or other areas more removed from their families. Stanley described:

> Madge got the one upstairs and I got a room in the basement, and I think there's pluses and minuses to both of those. Me being down in the basement is not quite such a nice space, but I'm sort of separated from the family a bit more and Madge's up there with a nicer view and everything, but the kids are more likely to drop in during the day.

In a similar situation, Pam had actually set up her home office in her child's bedroom. She described a typical, pandemic day trying to support her child's learning:

> [Our child] today was working this morning on this math problem where he memorized this group of numbers in order to unlock this key and he was having a hard time with it. It was a game. It was set up like as being a game. So, I mean, I stood with him. It was like five minutes or so, but I helped him kind of advance to his next level, because he was having a hard time memorizing numbers. It was only five minutes, but…so it's five minutes there and that would probably happen two or three times a day, you know?

Other participants likewise indicated the difficulties they had encountered in maintaining any semblance of productivity while caring for children. Kelly for instance said, "I don't work very well here at home because…I see all the housework that needs to get done." As observational

data, I noted that several men participants (Stanley, Kevin, Ryan) participated in their individual interviews from their on-campus offices, whereas their partners did theirs from home. In all, there appeared to be gendered patterns in the ways that couples managed their roles as parents, and the pandemic served to amplify some of these patterns.

Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations

Societal expectations about parental involvement and parental presence also influenced participants in this study. As Toby and Teri discussed, there are many expectations related to parenting in today's culture, often grounded in White, middle-upper class mother culture. Such expectations – that parents and particularly mothers will be highly involved in their children's lives – were the source of stress, guilt, and inadequacy for many participants in this study.

Participants of all genders described feelings of guilt related to the perception that they spent too little time with their children. Toby and Teri described that although their child is old enough to stay at home alone and is self-sufficient, they still "wish [we] were better parents." Several participants indicated a kind of shame over their decision to put their kids in daycare at an early age. Jim/Pam, Kelly/Ryan, and Hank/Katy all seemed a bit sheepish to describe their use of daycare. Each couple commented, albeit using slightly different language, that they tried very hard to ensure that that they used daycare as sparingly as possible. For instance, Ryan said, "We know a lot of kids at these daycares that stay there from basically 7:00 to 5:00 or whatever, and that's a much different situation." In other words, these couples wanted to rationalize their use of daycare and seemed to find comfort in the fact that their kids were not at daycare as much as others.

Women, especially those with younger children, described the high expectations they had for themselves as both professionals and mothers. They often explained that they had the

expectation that to be both 100% present at work and 100% active in their children's lives. This was perhaps best exemplified by Jan and Michael, who had decided that they would leverage the flexibility of their jobs to forgo childcare. As Jan explained, being a mom was her most important job and she loved being at home with the kids, but she also has a high service load, has committed to re-tooling all of her courses in the pandemic, and leads a research team. As Michael said, Jan is a "super mom" who maintains high productivity in work and life. In contrast, Michael's productivity has taken a hit given their childcare situation, but he seemed overall less anxious about the career consequences. Some participants reported trying to counter this super mom trope. For instance, Teri had a strong, intersectional feminist awareness of the unrealistic expectations of White mother culture. She tried to maintain her own identity as a scholar and as a human outside of motherhood, but still felt like she "wasn't very good" at navigating her multiple roles. Likewise, Katy said that she constantly reminded herself aspiring to be a perfect parent and a perfect faculty member was unattainable. She said:

> I'm going to do the best I can. I'm going to be the type of professor I want to be and the type of parent I want to be and then, if that is not good enough, then that just means it's not a good fit, or whatever. Because I used to think, it would be devastating to be told you're not good enough for a place and I thought, "Well yes." You're also…and I found this more and more being a parent…You're also just constantly making choices based on your values, you just have to make peace with that. I could work all the time, I choose not to.

As these passages reveal, both Katy and Teri had an awareness that the expectations around mothering are unreasonably high and took steps to modulate their expectations of themselves. Still, guilt and feelings of inadequacy remained.

Unfortunately, the pandemic appeared to exacerbate the sense of guilt that many parents faced. As couples with school-aged children tried to manage their faculty workloads with

facilitating virtual school or keeping children entertained, the guilt mounted. Pam and Jim described:

> Pam: Yeah, it's just been being the shitty parent, that's where my concerns go. I mean, when I look at them, and I'm just like, "Oh, I really want to do something with you because I can tell you're just stagnating." And towards the end of the summer when school was going to start back in some form, I actually started goofing around with them and doing some math. And I couldn't believe how much he had forgotten. We were just doing basic division with him and I was like, "Oh my gosh. We need to..."
>
> Jim: We also, I think as the summer wore on, playing outside kind of got old and it was hot. So, screens, we started losing the battle with the screens. We were so good for a couple of months with just having an hour or two a day and then…
>
> Pam: Basically what happened, is we were... I mean, I think we're pretty strict with screen time, but the friends that they play with a lot aren't. So, it just became the defacto thing, like, "Oh, just go over there."

Likewise, Kevin said that during the pandemic, he has not been "able to give as much energy to my kids as I would like." As these passages show, participants in this study had an internalized set of expectations of what "good parenting" should look like – no screens, high energy, dedication to helping their kids learn. Despite the unprecedented nature of the pandemic, these expectations remained intact and created guilt and stress.

The Role of Family in Priorities and Ambitions

On a practical level, most participants indicated that becoming parents had shifted the way that they organized and produced their work. Almost all participants indicated that as parents they were more efficient with their time and in some cases actually more productive. Madge typified this idea, describing that before kids, she would work non-stop for days or weeks on end. In contrast, Madge said she is now more scheduled, takes more breaks, and is more organized. Furthermore, participants noted that becoming parents had reshaped their work-related priorities, in essence making work less important. For instance, Creed said:

> Once you're a parent and you have to take care of this person, a lot of the work stuff that really is like the center and focus of your identity usually as an academic, that kind of went a little bit more relaxed and was able to... And I think that made the work stuff a little bit more enjoyable or kind of a little... It's still high pressure, but a little bit less. [Kids] kind of gives you more perspective on things.

Similarly, Holly said that as a parent:

> When you come home, you can't count on getting work done. There might be someone growing up, there might be somebody happy or unhappy who wants to see you, and you've had them away all day and you just have to focus on your life at home.

Finally, Jan indicated that although she had taken on many new work opportunities right around the time she had kids, "being a mom was more important to me than anything else I was doing." Participants overall indicated that becoming parents had shaped how they worked and their perspective on the importance of work.

Other participants discussed that becoming a parent had reshaped their career ambition. For instance, Val indicated that after their first child, she "didn't feel a strong ambition to be looking for tenure-track positions." By the same token, Kelly indicated that since becoming a mother, her identity had been less tied up in being an academic. She attributed this at least in part due to gender when she said:

> That's a gender piece to some extent too. Men have careers. That's a lot of identity is wrapped up in career. Ryan's pretty invested in like, well, is this the top ranked place and how many publications, and what quality publications? To me, I'm like, I think I've already arrived. I just don't care about that. That much for less ambition, I guess. I don't know. A lot of my emotional energy, and thinking, and planning, and wonderment is much more focused on being a mother than it is about being a faculty member. I just don't think that's as true for Ryan.

Jim likewise indicated that his career ambitions and goals had shifted as a result of having kids, He reflected:

> All through grad school and postdoc, it's just that's what I knew, was this being in a big lab and how big science kind of works. And that's what I felt was maybe expected of me by my advisors, and what I expected of myself too. And then I think since we've had

> kids, it's just kind of like, "Well, is that what I really want out of my career?" And that's changed a little bit.

That is, although there were gendered aspects to the relationship between career ambition and family, men and women in this study indicated that becoming parents had shifted the amount of emphasis they put on their work.

Family Considerations in Mobility

Children and family were one of the most important factors to understanding the mobility (or lack thereof) of participants in this study. Participants with children often indicated that their decisions to stay or leave their institution was heavily influenced by the proximity of their institutions to extended family and/or the extent to which their children were at an age at which moving would not be disruptive. For instance, Kevin and Stacy considered offers from Vance and a university abroad. Kevin said, "I kept telling Stacy, where do you want the kids to live? [Abroad] or in [city where Vance is located]? And ultimately, it was the family calculus that kept us here." Likewise, Dwight indicated that he had been recruited to serve as an administrator at other institutions but given their older child's age, he and Angela felt uncomfortable disrupting her stability. He and Angela both discussed that there were:

> Good family windows for us if we're thinking about making a move…I think it's those things do trump aspects, I think of other ambitions, especially because things are pretty good. Like, destabilize those things might not be something we choose to do.

Said another way, participants considered the overall happiness of their family and children when evaluating potential career moves, not just the prestige of the position or the prospective opportunity for advancement.

The reality that faculty advancement is often tied to getting a new job at a new institution was consequential to participants' professional satisfaction. For example, Kelly and Val both

imagined that in an alternate life, where they did not have to worry about their children or partner's job, they likely would have searched for jobs elsewhere. Kelly, for instance, was one of two faculty members in a program that was sunsetting at Vance. Although she was confident that she would have some kind position after the program ended, she observed:

> I think if I was single and didn't have children and I could just go anywhere or do anything, I would have done a full job market search two or three years ago [when] this was coming down the pike. But, it's just not in my cards. Is it workable? Probably. Is it ideal? No. Is it better than some options? Yeah. This is the thing with dual career, you make sacrifices you hope that they're livable.

Similarly, Val said that even the prospect of trying to navigate a family move given Charles' existing role at Dunder Mifflin deterred her from looking for other jobs. She said:

> I was concerned about one, I wanted to be there for my [child] who was very little, but I was concerned about moving out of the area and going further away. I think I did not look widely for that reason, but I just looked at opportunities in the area."

Said another way, Val and Kelly both felt as though their mobility, and therefore career prospects, were constrained. Although these were choices that were livable given their families, they also recognized that they were not necessarily realizing the full potential of their careers.

One of the other consequences of the highly mobile, cosmopolitan nature of the faculty career is that often, participants took jobs far from where they grew up or had family. This essentially cut participants off from the pre-existing social supports (e.g., biological or chosen family) that can help support work-life integration. For instance, Creed and Jo described enrolling their older child in daycare when they first started at Sabre in the following exchange:

> Jo: And we were able to get our son into the preschool on campus. I would say when we were filling out the school forms and we didn't have anybody's name to put down, for like, "Who picks your kid up from school?" And we had just moved like two weeks ago.
>
> Creed: We didn't know anybody to, yeah. It felt like, seriously isolated.

Ryan, Holly, and Stacy similarly said that they were often envious of colleagues who had family in the area, who could step in to watch the kids during emergencies or when partners needed to travel. Ryan, for instance, said:

> That's one of the things that's really hard here is we have these friends who have kids and we'll see them out shopping without their kids and it's like, "Oh, where are the kids?" "Oh, they're at their grandparents' house." I was like, "Oh, of course, they're at their grandparents house." So having family around, it makes life way easier. And so that's really hard that here, I mean, we can hire babysitters, et cetera, but it's really just us. And so we don't get those grandparent times and things like that.

One of the main ways participants navigated the social isolation associated with mobility was by building a strong social support network in their communities. For participants at Vance and Dunder Mifflin, located in more rural areas, participants explained that often their social networks overlapped with their institutional colleagues. For instance, Stacy explained that their close friends and neighbors, all affiliated with Vance, are always there to “hold the kid and feed [them] dinner” if she or Kevin encounter a conflict. Erin also said that she and Andy “basically co-parented our kids with another couple” from Dunder Mifflin. She said, “that connection matters,” particularly in the context of work-life integration.

This was less so for participants at Sabre, whose faculty live all over the larger metro area. For instance, Meredith and Phillip indicated that they had never had faculty members over to their house and Creed and Jo indicated it was difficult to foster social ties with other faculty members given long commutes. In lieu of making social connections through campus, couples like Jo and Creed and Hunter and Helene slowly built social networks in their communities, which helped ameliorate some of the isolation they initially experienced. For instance, Helene described a large network of families she has connected with over the years and Creed and Jo likewise mentioned that meeting families in their neighborhood was a “huge” positive

development. In all, the expectation of mobility in academe, a field norm, often forced participants to move away from their pre-existing social supports. Still, couples took actions to form new social communities to mitigate the impact of this loss.

Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity

Many participants identified their work-life satisfaction as related to the geographic area of their institution. Participants views varied largely based on individual background and identity. For instance, many Sabre participants loved the diverse, urban environment in which the university is situated, the progressive politics of the state, and the extent to which being in a large urban area facilitated easy access to international travel. In this vein, Clark and Phyllis said that one of the things that drew them to Sabre was the "quality of life" outside of work. In contrast, Hunter and Helene described themselves as West coasters and found the culture in the state to be incompatible with their more laid-back preferences. Similarly, participants at Vance diverged a great deal in their perspectives on the region. Most participants expressed distaste for the state's general conservative politics. Some, like Michael, viewed the town in which Vance is located to be "not a place where you would want to raise your kids." Other Vance couples acknowledged the town's limitations but generally viewed it to be a place where they had enjoyed raising their kids.

Racial diversity of the geographic area and of the institution impacted participants differently primarily as a function of race but also to some extent sexual orientation. White and heterosexual participants experienced greater privilege when considering where their institutions were located and/or the diversity of the institution (factors which were often interrelated). For instance, White couples at Vance University and Dunder Mifflin, institutions in less diverse parts of the country, had no hesitancy about taking jobs or staying at their institutions as related to the

lack of racial diversity. They did not mind, or did not need to care, about bringing their families to primarily White institutions or areas.

Participants of Color expressed these considerations as being highly relevant to both their initial acceptance and subsequent satisfaction at their institutions (Indeed, this may be one of the reasons that I was able to recruit only White participants from Vance, as opposed to more racially diverse participants from the two other institutions). For instance, Clark described the diversity of Sabre University, and in particularly the presence of a large Black community on and off campus, as one of the critical factors that led him and Phyllis to the institution and that retained them over time. Toby and Teri likewise indicated similar sentiments in what drew them to Sabre, describing how the diversity of the area made them feel like they would have "done anything" to move to the institution, including Teri taking a pay cut and accepting a contingent faculty role.

In contrast, Erin said, "the Whiteness of [Dunder Mifflin's] context remains extremely difficult for me." She and Andy both explained how they yearned to be in a place with greater racial diversity, for both themselves and their children. Robert and Roy described how, over the years, they had "ruled out" the South because of the pervasiveness of anti-Black racism. On the other hand, prior to the passage of marriage equality, Robert and Roy also had to consider the LGBT climate, marking a place where intersectional identities shaped their professional trajectories. Overall, the racial demographics of the institution and the geographic area opened up opportunities for White and heterosexual couples, increasing the number of institutions that they could consider as places where their personal and professional lives might thrive. In contrast, the racial demographics of the institution and the geographic area closed doors for couples wherein one or both partners was a Person of Color. Couples of Color had to determine

what they were willing to live with – two faculty jobs in an undesirable area or alternative, potentially non-academic jobs arrangements in a more desirable area. Couples of Color also prioritized the diversity of the institution/area over the prestige or pay associated with the faculty role.

The Academic Labor Market

The negative academic labor market was a final field-level influence that shaped participants personal and professional lives and perspectives, typically in negative ways. Several faculty members had been on the job market during the 2008 recession or shortly thereafter. These participants recognized that there had been a kind of scarcity mentality that guided their search for faculty jobs. As Dwight described, “the market wasn’t great…not as bad as now, but it was not great.” Given this, the job at Vance was really his only viable option. Likewise, Kevin and Stacy indicated that they felt “relieved” that Kevin had gotten any tenure-track offer. They therefore jumped at the prospect even if it was not in the most desirable location or at the most prestigious institution. The negative academic labor market, and the pandemic, likewise shaped participants’ views about the prospect of moving elsewhere. Many couples, particularly those who were tenured, realized that the potential for finding two jobs in better locations, in institutions with more resources, and/or with the relative amount of work-life integration they currently enjoyed would be difficult. Jim said, “I haven't really looked at other faculty jobs because it's so hard to make a lateral move in the academy. To recreate even some semblance of the satisfaction we do have here is an impossibility.” Helene similarly said:

> That's the hardest thing in academia, is trying to figure out, trying to find the place that you are going to be productive and happy. You don't just say, "I'm choosing Alaska, I'm choosing Hawaii." You just have to see what the market is, and so I don't know what that means.

She further reflected:

> If it's between going to the same institution and being a trailing spouse, or going to different institutions, I probably would choose different institutions because that trailing spouse thing was shit. It's just pure shit.

At these passages indicate, given the reality of the academic market and her experiences as a partner hire at Sabre, Helene would rather be at a different institution that her partner than use a partner accommodation again. Said another way, the labor market, where faculty jobs are already scarce, further constrained the opportunities of participants in this study.

Summary

In this section, I discussed the cross-case findings of this study, specifically focusing on how dual-career academic couples at the same institution navigate their personal and professional lives. Overall, the results reveal dual-career academic couples' personal and professional lives were deeply entangled. Understanding one partner's actions (or inactions) and perspectives was nearly impossible without having a deep understanding of their partner's respective actions and perspectives. That being said, aspects of individual identity (e.g., gender, race, employment type/rank, and partner hire status, itself) shaped partners' experiences differently. Different organizational, field, and societal features also shaped the kinds of actions and perspectives participants used to navigate towards their professional and personal goals. In the next section, I discuss these findings in greater depth, and consider the implications of this study for research, policy, and practice.

Table 7

Main Influences on Dual-Career Academic Couples' Shared and Individual Agency

Institution	Couple	Individual and Shared Influences	Organizational Influences	Field and Society Influences
Sabre University	Toby & Teri	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Partner Hire Accommodation; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Racial Climate; Unit Colleagues; Legitimacy; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Family Considerations in Mobility; Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity
	Hank & Katy	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Work-Life Policies; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Unit Colleagues; Fit; Ideal Worker	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; The Academic Labor Market
	Meredith & Phillip	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Partner Hire Accommodation; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Unit Colleagues; Unit Politics; Legitimacy; Fit; Leadership	Family Considerations in Mobility
	Hunter & Helene	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Partner Hire Accommodation; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Legitimacy	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Family Considerations in Mobility; The Academic Labor Market
	Clark & Phyllis	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Work-Life Climate; Racial Climate; Legitimacy; Ideal Worker; Leadership	Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity
	Creed & Jo	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Partner Hire Accommodation; Work-Life Climate; Unit Colleagues; Legitimacy; Fit; Ideal Worker	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Shifting Priorities and Ambition
Dunder Mifflin	Robert & Roy	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Partner Hire Accommodation; Racial Climate; Unit Colleagues	Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity

	Erin & Andy	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Work-Life Policies; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Racial Climate; Unit Colleagues; Unit Politics; Legitimacy; Fit; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Family Considerations in Mobility; Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity
	Charles & Val	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Partner Hire Accommodation; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Racial Climate; Legitimacy	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility
	Oscar & Holly	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Capital	Partner Hire Accommodation; Work-Life Policies; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Unit Colleagues; Fit; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Family Considerations in Mobility
Vance University	Jim & Pam	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes;	Partner Hire Accommodation; Work-Life Policies; Work-Life Climate; Unit Politics; Legitimacy; Fit; Ideal Worker; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility;
	Dwight & Angela	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes;	Partner Hire Accommodation; Work-Life Policies; Work-Life Climate Promotion and Rewards Policies; Unit Politics; Legitimacy; Fit; Ideal Worker; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility; The Academic Labor Market
	Michael & Jan	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Work-Life Policies; Work-Life Climate	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility; Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity
	Ryan & Kelly	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Partner Hire Accommodation; Work-Life Policies; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Legitimacy; Ideal Worker	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility; The Academic Labor Market
	Kevin & Stacy	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes	Partner Hire Accommodation; Promotion and Rewards Policies; Work-Life Climate; Legitimacy; Ideal Worker; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Guilt and Parental Involvement Expectations; Family Considerations in Mobility; Regional and Geographic Culture and Diversity; The Academic Labor Market

	Stanley & Madge	Career Primacy; Beliefs and Attitudes; Collaboration	Work-Life Policies; Work-Life Climate; Leadership	Gender Norms and Roles in Parenting; Shifting Priorities and Ambition; Family Considerations in Mobility;

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

About three years ago, a retired faculty member, a former dean, asked about the topic of my dissertation. When I responded, "dual-career academic couples," she nodded knowingly and said, "Ah, the two-body problem...it's a tough one." This exchange is perhaps emblematic of the extant literature on dual-career academic couples. The challenges dual-career academic couples face are emphasized in the literature and in the popular press. These challenges warrant attention. However, as O'Meara et al. (2011) argued, researchers also need perspectives, like agency, that "notice" how faculty members navigate, negotiate, reframe, and act in the face of tough circumstances. Researchers need to, in the words of Ganz (2010), "acknowledge probabilities, but also grasp at possibilities" (p. 511). Viewed with agency in mind, the deficit framing of the "two-body problem" distorts the many benefits that couples experience from being partnered to one another and the benefits that institutions may experience as a result of recruiting and retaining dual-career academic couples.

In this study, I examined how 16 dual-career academic couples (32 individuals) at three research universities (Dunder Mifflin University, Vance University, and Sabre University) navigated their personal and professional lives. Using the guiding theories of agency (O'Meara et al., 2011) and intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016), I explored the challenges they encountered and the strategies that they used to adapt to those challenges. I also described the ways that work-life policies, practices, norms, and culture influenced these couples' personal and professional lives, as well as aspects of identity and status.

The key challenges couples in this study encountered were finding two, professionally satisfying jobs at the same institution or in the same locale; negotiating whose career was

considered the "lead," navigating the dual-career hiring process and the consequences of being the second hire; issues of working together (as collaborators and/or department colleagues); and managing work-life demands, particularly in the context of the pandemic. Couples acted with agency and used agentic perspective to navigate these challenges, including prioritizing staying together; internally adjusting and recalibrating career and personal priorities; aligning their expectations about what constitutes "work-life integration"; exchanging capital; and having empathy and understanding for one another.

These challenges and strategies were nested within the context of interactive individual/shared, organizational, and field and societal influences. Couples engaged in small and large acts of agentic resistance, for example, resisting gendered and racialized expectations related to being a "good academic." On the other hand, aspects of organizational policies and culture and field and societal norms and expectations also constrained the actions and perspectives available to couples. In this section, I discuss the key findings of the study as well as the implications for policy, practice, and future research.

Discussion of Key Findings

Faculty members are often seen as individuals. However, results in this study showed their relationships matter. It was largely impossible to understand one participant's personal and professional trajectory without understanding the path of their partner's. From professional decisions (e.g., where to work; what kinds of jobs to take; when and how to advance) and personal ones (e.g., when and if to have children; where to live), couples' paths were deeply influenced by being in a relationship, and indeed, being in a relationship deeply influenced their choices. This finding is intuitive and not unique to academic couples, with past research consistently showing that dissociating the personal from the professional is unrealistic (Baker,

2004; Bakker et al., 2008, 2009, 2011; Becker & Moen, 1999; Bergen et al., 2007; Sotirin & Goltz, 2019). As Sotirin and Goltz (2019) cogently summarized, being in a dual-career academic couple is "an orientation, a way of moving through and engaging with lifeworld contexts of academe, couplehood, parenthood, professoriate careers, the academic job market, and a variety of social intersectionalities" (p. 1224-1225).

Many of the participants' challenges emanated from the norms and expectations of academia as a professional field. Couples described the field-related expectations that they devote 100% of their time to work, relentlessly pursue career advancement, move frequently to take the "best" job at the most prestigious institution, and assume an independent scholarly identity. The overwhelming effect of these norms and expectations, and the systems of power and oppression that they reflect, in this study mirror past research. In faculty life, the ideal worker is not just an individual who has "unlimited time to give to work," but an individual who has few if any domestic responsibilities (Sallee, 2012, p. 799). Academics are also socialized to view cosmopolitan mobility and the pursuit of prestige and reputation as an indicator of their ambition and commitment to the profession (Rhoades et al., 2008). For academics to be taken seriously (Ackers, 2004; Reed, 2013), they must move anywhere to take a job, thereby prioritizing their careers over everything, including their partner's professional interests or goals. Academia also places a high value on independence and individual contributions. That is, perceptions of merit and quality are grounded in personal brilliance, reputation, hard work, or achievements (Gardner, 2008; Guinier, 2015; Posselt et al., 2020). These interrelated norms and expectations form a composite of who typically is considered to be a good academic. Intersectional perspectives on the "good academic" highlight the ways in which these norms are gendered, racialized, and heteronormative, creating structures that undermine the success of

anyone who does not fit the “default” composite of a White, heterosexual man with a stay-at-home wife (Cheryan & Marcus, 2020; Kelly & McCann, 2019; Sallee, 2012; Williams, 2001).

Yet, participants also experienced challenges related to living up to societal norms and expectations of being good partners and good parents. Most faculty couples espoused egalitarian viewpoints related to the division of domestic labor and childrearing (if applicable). Yet, even in the presence of egalitarian views, couples across the study largely indicated that one partner (for couples in different gender relationship, usually the woman) did more child-related caregiving, especially related to mental load and emotional labor, and/or domestic tasks, which reflects past research (Colbeck, 2006; Mason et al., 2013; Misra et al., 2012). On the other hand, some participants described situations wherein men took on more caregiving, usually as a result of having a more advanced rank (i.e., the man a tenured associate professor while the woman is on the tenure-track). Furthermore, many participants in this study described how the intense pressure to be a super-involved parent also elicited guilt and shame, reflecting the internalization of hegemonic White, middle-class cultural assumptions of good parenting (Dow, 2016; Ishizuka, 2019).

In all, my results showed systems of power and oppression acted upon participants in academic life and personal life simultaneously, opening doors for some participants and couples and closing doors for others. That is, structures and systems privileged some couples and/or some partners while constraining others. For instance, in some cases, racialized demographic patterns facilitated couples’ mobility: White couples, less concerned with the racial demographics of their institution or the geographic area, experienced greater advantages in the academic labor market. Similarly, gendered and racialized norms, as well as the power embedded in the tenure system, gave men, and in particularly White, tenured men, more agency

in negotiating faculty roles for their women partners. These negotiations were technically "successful" in that couples achieved their shared personal goals of living in the same place and working at the same institution. At the same time, women in the second hire position tended to experience career disadvantages associated with using partner hiring policies. Moreover, women's experiences varied substantially at the intersection of race and employment type. For instance, although many White women who used partner hiring policies were afforded the privilege of transitioning into tenure-track faculty roles, Women of Color did not experience similar choices. All said, participants could hold both privilege (i.e., finding full-time academic employment in the same place as their partners) and disadvantage (i.e., being tracked in less powerful contingent faculty roles) at the same time as a result of their intersecting social identities and their relationships with their partners. This finding speaks to the innate complexity associated with understanding intersectional systems of oppression in academe (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Participants' privileges and disadvantages were context-driven and ever-evolving (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Within the context of theses system and structures, participants used agentic perspectives and took agentic action, as individuals and as couples. For instance, participants in the second hire position, all of whom were White women, Women of Color, or Men of Color, were well-aware of the stigmas associated with being a "partner hire." They possessed a realistic self-appraisal of the opportunities that they left on the table. Yet, participants also used agentic perspectives, considering their lives holistically, from the viewpoint of not just what kind of career they wanted to have, but what kind of life they wanted to have. For instance, consistent with past studies (O'Meara & Campbell, 2011), participants of all identities noted recalibrating their career ambitions or expectations of themselves after having children. In this way,

participants enacted agency, rejecting the norm to be the hyper-productive ideal academic. Similarly, couples acted with agency when they determined that they would stay at their institution until their children graduated high school because they prioritized family stability over a new prestigious position.

Lest this argument seems to endorse a narrative of choice or “opting out” in inequality (e.g., Percheski, 2008; Stephens & Levine, 2011; Stone & Hernandez, 2013), I want to reiterate the very real, systemic inequalities that many faculty members in the second hire position encountered. However, O’Meara et al. (2011) argued that when one assumes agentic perspectives, they acknowledge “the constraints of a context” and then foster “the belief in one’s ability to overcome resistance and move forward with choices” (p. 8). Couples’ shared decisions and ongoing internal negotiations were particularly apparent in the joint interviews. Participants faced barriers, and in response they strategized, recalibrated, and acted. They made the best of their situations in the ways that worked for them, their partner, and their family - not necessarily the expectations set by academe or by society.

One of the critical contributions of this study was the nesting of dual-career academic couples within three different organizational contexts: Dunder Mifflin University, Vance University, and Sabre University. I chose each institution because it appeared as though each took a different policy approach to dual-career hiring. Yet, my results revealed that each institution had essentially the same central policy in place. That is, Dunder Mifflin, Vance, and Sabre each had a cost-sharing strategy wherein the initial hire’s department, the partner hire’s department, and central academic affairs share, for a period of time, the second hire’s salary. This policy is largely consistent with what Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003) would consider the best practice among institutional approaches – what I considered to be in the “high support category.”

My results showed that what varied was not the policy, but the extent to which the policy was made visible. At Dunder Mifflin, where the dual-career policy was most visible, couples, even those who did not use the policy, recognized that there were supports in place for dual-career academic couples. Visibility created a sort of symbolic signaling that their institution recognized dual-career academic couples existed. On the other hand, couples at Vance and Sabre, where the policies were less transparent, had more mixed perceptions of the institutional approach to dual-career academic couples. This was true regardless of whether the institution hired couples using the policy or not. These findings are largely consistent with past research, which shows that work-life policies, like dual-career hiring policies, can signal to potential faculty members that the institution is committed to work-life and supportive of dual-career academic couples (Blake, 2020; Tuitt et al., 2007; Schiebinger et al., 2008). On the other hand, the reverse is also true: if institutions do not want to increase the agency of couples in negotiating for dual-career accommodations or the agency of departments in accessing the central funds, rendering the policy less visible and transparent fosters those outcomes.

Ambiguity and lack of visibility surrounding the hiring policies also increased the sense that game-like negotiation tactics needed to be used to avoid risk. Across participants, there was a sense that when, if, and how to disclose partner status was essentially a game, with couples trying to negotiate the best “deal” for the second hire and academic units trying to get the “best bang for their buck.” The game for couples involved assessing the kinds of risks (i.e., that the initial hire would not receive an offer, or the institution would not make an offer to the partner), if any, associated with disclosing the initial hire’s partner status. This finding is consistent with past research (Morton & Kmec, 2017; Rivera, 2017). Signals from unit heads and deans and department members during the interview process, as well as the presence of a visible central

dual-career policy, informed these assessments, but often the signals were ambiguous and up for interpretation. Likewise, calculations of risk varied substantially, with tenured men, of all races and sexual orientations, feeling as though they had less to lose for disclosing. In all, these results are consistent with past research that shows ambiguity in process and procedure (e.g., in negotiation) elicits social bias (Babcock & Laschever, 2009; Beddoes et al., 2014; Dovidio, 2001; Fox et al., 2007; Hernandez et al., 2019; Heilman, 2001; Rudman & Glick, 2001), in ways that favor men, and in particular tenured White men. This study applies this same concept to dual-career hiring policies and suggests the ambiguity of said policies reiterates the systematic advantages that tenured White men have when it comes to dual-career accommodations.

Even with a central dual-career policy at each institution, couples were hired in multiple ways. Ten couples used a dual-career hiring policy. Of these, only three couples used the central dual-career policy, whereas seven couples used a partner accommodation with their college or department. The remaining six couples indicated they were hired separately, as a result of a retention offer, or as part of a cluster hire – none of these latter pathways utilized the central hiring policy. Disparate hiring pathways and the low use of the central policy speaks to the role of decentralization and to the power of academic units/departments in the partner hiring process. As my results showed, the decentralized process sometimes worked for academic couples, but only when deans and departments had incentives to do so (e.g., when the second hire was a good "fit" for the hiring unit; when a second hire was being placed into a contingent faculty role; when they "proved" their quality during the interview and/or in a temporary role when they are first hired). When these dimensions were not present and/or units felt forced to hire partners (e.g., the dean forced one department to hire a partner), the results were more negative for couples and particularly for the second hire. However, because the units involved did not utilize the central

policy, central administrators were not culpable: when second hires were mistreated or did not advance, it was a department problem, not an institutional one. This finding mirrors past research showing decentralized, unit-based organizational structures decrease cross-campus collaboration, reduce accountability, and increase the role of deans and department chairs in decision-making (Gasman et al., 2011; Griffin & Muñiz, 2011; Kezar, 2001; Thomas, 2018; Tierney & Sallee, 2008). Decentralization also allows central administrators to pass the blame to units, units to departments, and departments to individual faculty members when central policies do not work or are not well-implemented (Thomas, 2018; Tierney & Sallee, 2008).

My findings show that not all institutions hired both partners at the same time. Some partners started as postdocs and taught a few courses on an adjunct basis before joining the faculty ranks, while others had long-term careers elsewhere before transitioning to the faculty at the institution where their partner worked. Some participants explicitly viewed these negotiations as part of a "partner hire accommodation" (i.e., as part of a retention offer), wherein the institution offered a job to the second hire in direct relation to retaining the initial hire. Other participants felt the second hire received an offer independent of their partner's existing employment (even if having a partner in the department gave them an advantage). This finding diverged somewhat from past studies. For instance, past research (and the experiences of participants in this study at prior institutions) showed that partners grow dissatisfied when they are offered short-term adjunct positions, because they feel as though the institution is stringing them along (Sotirin & Goltz, 2019; Yakaboski, 2016). My results instead suggest that couples can experience success in becoming faculty at the same institution outside of negotiating at the time of initial hire. However, this strategy also makes several assumptions about the future: that the department will want to retain the initial hire; that the initial hire's leverage in negotiating

will be *greater* in the future than at the point of hire; and that the department will have the ability to hire in the future (i.e., the department will not experience a hiring freeze in the wake of a global pandemic). In all, though this was a strategy that seemed to work out for some couples in this study, there was a degree of risk involved.

For couples who used dual-career hiring policies, this study examined who was considered to be the initial and second hire and the implications of this status on subsequent experience at the institution. Across the three institutions, ten couples (nine different gender couples and one same gender couple) indicated that they used a dual-career partner hiring policy. In nine of these couples, there was a clearly established initial and second hire. In these nine cases, the initial hire was a man (eight White and one Asian) in a tenure-track or tenured faculty role. The second hires were more racially diverse and had more varied appointment types and career trajectories: Three participants were hired into tenure-track or tenured roles (one Black man and two White women); one participant (an Asian woman) was hired into a promotable contingent role; four White women were initially hired into contingent positions and moved into tenure-track or tenured roles; and one White woman was hired into a contingent role, moved to a tenure-track role, and then moved back to a contingent role after a negative pre-tenure review. Although dual-career policies are thought to be a potential strategy for increasing gender equity in the professoriate, the concentration of White women, Women of Color, and Men of Color into the second hire position reflects the persistent gendered and racialized organization of labor in academe. Men in this study, most of whom were White and heterosexual, “ended up” in the initial hire position for a variety of reasons – they were more likely to receive an initial offer, had more seniority, a higher rank, or greater reputation, were more confident in their ability to negotiate a partner hire, or were more “committed” to being a faculty member compared to their

partner. These findings are not surprising: academic systems and structures are designed so that White, heterosexual men accrue more capital (Brynin & Schupp, 2000; Kachchaf et al., 2015; Pifer, 2001; Williams & Williams, 2006), and capital in the academy accumulates over time (Sheltzer & Smith, 2014; Valian, 1999), all of which lends itself to men, and especially White, heterosexual men, being the career "lead" (Amcoff & Niedomysl, 2015; Baker, 2004; Bayes, 1989; Careless & Mizzi, 2015; Yakaboski, 2016). However, this finding does suggest that dual-career hiring policies are potentially reinforcing these norms in academe. This is not to say that these results suggest that dual-career policies should be discontinued, but rather to call attention to the intersectional systems of power and oppression that can subvert well-intentioned and equity-minded policies.

I also examined the processes and climate for the hiring process and reception of second hires. Many institutions that hired partners in this study used informal and unstructured processes. Because departments evaluated second hires haphazardly, without buy-in from department members, second hires were discredited and viewed with skepticism. This was perhaps best exemplified by participants who recounted department colleagues using terms like "partner hire" or "spousal hire" as a slur that delegitimized and undermined their qualifications and merit. On the other hand, the "spousal hire" is also deeply gendered, reflecting the same issues associated with the "trailing wife" moniker that fell out of favor many years ago (Shoben, 1997). That is, such terminology reflects the patriarchal and heteronormative assumption that women faculty members are wives whose careers are subordinate to their men partner's.

Furthermore, many second hires encountered resistance related to the notion that they had illegitimately "taken a spot" that should or could belong to another faculty member in the future. There is a lack of logic underlying this fear on behalf of departmental members. Although it is

true that resources for faculty hiring are finite, it is also true that the idea that departments have guaranteed “spots” for abstract faculty hires is a construction, not a reality. Yet, such concerns also indicate a kind of risk aversion (O’Meara et al., 2020; White-Lewis et al., 2020). That is, department members weighed the consequences of the loss of an abstract, potential future hire more heavily than the tangible benefits of hiring a dual-career academic couple. In all, my study showed that this risk aversion combined with biased concerns about legitimacy and merit (Posselt et al., 2020; O’Meara et al., 2020). It created conditions wherein department members became hostile and resistant, feeling as though second hires had illegitimately “stolen” their position. In some cases, their resistance was almost impossible to overcome.

The tracking of women, and especially Women of Color, into contingent faculty roles is another notable, yet concerning, finding related to equity. Women in this study took contingent roles, sometimes leaving tenured or tenure-track positions, to keep their families intact and/or to support their partner’s career advancement. This occurred as a result of direct use of partner accommodation (e.g., a woman partner offered a clinical or teaching role during the initial negotiations) as well as when partners were hired separately (e.g., a partner hired as a lecturer some years later). Although some White women in this study successfully converted to tenure-track roles, the two Asian women hired into teaching-focused contingent roles indicated no prospects for similar internal moves. In these cases, White women experienced privilege, eventually gaining access to more powerful, prestigious, stable, tenured positions, while Women of Color were blocked from similar opportunities. Though the two Asian women viewed their situations agentically, speaking to their desire to teach and giving examples of successful self-advocacy, it was also true that their status as contingent faculty constrained their ability to generate the same level of career success as their partners. Past research highlights the critical

intersection of gender, race, and employment type (Hart, 2011; Harper et al., 2001; Rideau, 2019), but this study suggests that dual-career hiring policies – as currently implemented – are a potential mechanism through which these systems of oppression are perpetuated.

In addition to dual-career hiring policies, other organizational features related to work-life also shaped the experience of couples in this study. By and large, participants in this study cited the flexibility of academia as the primary way that they managed their work and life demands. Participants varied in the extent to which other work-life policies (e.g., parental leave, tenure delay) were applicable to their contexts (e.g., no children, grown children) or helped them to navigate everyday work-life conflict – particularly in the context of the pandemic. Sallee (2012) noted "while the institution might provide policies for major life events, faculty were left to negotiate the day-to-day challenges on their own" (pp. 797-798). This sentiment mirrored many of the findings of this study, highlighting the ongoing need to consider not just work-life policies but also work-life cultures within organizations and academe at large, which mirrors past research (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012).

Cumulatively, the multiple case study approach also allowed me to observe some patterns among dual-career academic couples within different institutions. To be sure, experiences varied from institution to institution and couple to couple, at the intersection of gender, race, rank/employment type, years in the professoriate, and pathway by which they were recruited and hired. At the same time, there was a sense that couples at Dunder Mifflin University and Vance University were more satisfied with their hiring experience and subsequent treatment at the institution. Couples at these two institutions seemed to feel as though their institutions acknowledged and recognized the unique recruitment situations of dual-career academic couples. In addition, participants noted that their institutions had made some forward progress in

addressing work-life issues for faculty members. Overall, these institutions were imperfect, but still seemed to have more partner-friendly and work-life cultures. Such culture contributed to the long-term productivity, retention, and willingness of participants to engage as institutional citizens. In contrast, many couples at Sabre University expressed resentment and anger, directed at unit heads, deans, and the institution as a whole. This ill-will was a result of their hiring experience, negative interactions with colleagues, and a general toxic work climate within their units. Though White women and Women of Color were the direct targets of much of this hostility, negative feelings also transferred to their men partners. The finding that faculty members from historically marginalized groups are significantly impacted by toxic workplace cultures is consistent with past research and is of concern given the links between toxic cultures and negative professional (e.g., lower productivity, retention, satisfaction) and personal (e.g., stress, anxiety, depression) outcomes (Eagan & Garvey, 2015; Gardner, 2012; Twale & De Luca, 2008; Zambrana, 2018). However, given the known recruitment challenges for academic couples, faculty couples who are angry at their institutions are also likely to be retained, thereby perpetuating the cycle of toxicity. As O'Meara et al. (2021) recently argued, faculty members are not robots – institutions rely on their energy to fulfill their missions. It is therefore a matter of equity, of full participation, and of institutional vitality to ensure that faculty members are not left to fester in toxic work environments. Institutions with toxic work-life cultures are therefore missing out on the benefits of fully engaged, thriving faculty members.

Implications

Implications for Theory

In Chapter 2, I articulated two, complementary guiding concepts for understanding the experiences of dual-career academic couples navigating towards their personal and professional

goals. Specifically, I drew from the theories of intersectionality and agency. Intersectionality focused on aspects of identity and status (e.g., the intersection of gender, race, rank/employment status, and partner hire status) and the systems of power and privilege in which identity and status is constructed, re-constituted, and maintained (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Agency focused on the strategic actions and perspectives couples took, both independently and together (O'Meara et al., 2011). Agency is influenced by and operates within intersectional systems of power, privilege, and oppression, as these systems manifest in individual/shared characteristics, organizations, and in field in and society (Neumann et al., 2006; Gonzales, 2012; O'Meara et al., 2011). Drawing from concepts of collective agency (Bandura, 2000), I articulated the possibility of both individual agency and shared agency for dual-career couples. Shared agency referred to the interactive, synergistic series of transactions that occur between a couple as they move towards their personal and professional goals, while individual agency referred to each participant's actions and perspectives. In this section, I revisit these concepts and consider how this study pushes forward knowledge in this area. Based on this study, there are three major adaptions to the model of agency I originally proposed in Chapter 2. I provide a description of the rationale for the adaptation along with a story that illuminates why I made this change, and then describe the final model (Figure 4).

First, O'Meara et al.'s (2011) original model depicts a fairly linear description of agency. That is, individual, organizational, and field and societal factors influence strategic actions and perspectives, which in turn influence outcomes, which in turn influence agency again like a loop (Campbell, 2012; Campbell & O'Meara, 2014; Neuman et al., 2006; O'Meara et al., 2011). There is some latitude in the O'Meara et al. (2011) model for consideration of the ways the outcomes one experiences as a result of their agentic action (e.g., the promotion of an

interdisciplinary scholar) may then shape influences (e.g., changes in organizational rewards system to recognize interdisciplinary scholarship in the future). In this study, results showed that participants' individual agentic perspectives and actions spurred positive outcomes, which then begot further shared agency. For instance, let us return to the story of Erin and Andy. In their scenario, Andy's opportunity to become tenured was derailed for several years. He felt stuck and was dissatisfied, which impacted Erin and their family. Erin, recognizing Andy's professional challenges, took agentic action and remained highly productive, which left open the possibility that she and Andy could look for jobs outside of Dunder Mifflin. This productivity engendered greater social capital for Erin, spurring greater opportunity for agentic action for both partners, and so on. In this way, we might think of agency as being iterative and cyclical. For this reason, I adapted the model of agency in Figure 4 to appear circular, showing the iterative ways in which taking agency shapes outcomes, which then reconstitutes the influences on agency, and so on. This is shown by making the model itself circular and by the connecting lines between influences, processes, and outcomes.

Second, another finding emerged related to the ways that individual, shared, organizational, field, and societal factors interact to influence agency. I noted in Chapter 5 that it became nearly impossible to parse individual from shared influences on couples as the unit of analysis. For instance, Dwight and Angela described the ways their gender identities influenced their work-life differently as individuals, which in turn influenced the way they interacted with one another as partners. Consistent with past research (Archer, 2009; Clegg, 2005; Gonzales, 2015; Kahn, 2009) individual influences (like gender) also operated within and interacted with aspects of organizations and field and society. For example, societal gender norms became operationalized in organizational policies (Acker, 1990) and manifested differently for

participants based upon their gender (e.g., Dwight felt as though he could not take parental leave while Angela felt it was assumed that she would). This suggests that the influences on agency are nested: gender as an individual identity operates within the context of organizations, which operate in the context of field and society. Thus, within the category of influences, in Figure 4, I created a nested model of individual/shared, organizational, and field and society, wherein each factor simultaneously influences and is influenced by the others (as indicated by the nested circles at the left side of the figure and the two-way arrow connecting the nested circles).

Third, scholars have argued that agency is domain specific (Neumann et al., 2006; O'Meara et al., 2011); that is, it is best understood in the context of moving towards a specific goal, like advancing towards tenure (Sallee, 2011) or maintaining work-life balance (Culpepper et al., 2020b; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011). In this study, I examined couples' agency in navigating towards their personal and professional goals – what might be considered two domains. My results showed the dynamic and interactive ways that these domains influence each other. For instance, Toby enacted agency in his professional life by taking a department chair role at Sabre. Yet, Toby's personal life (i.e., Teri's need for a faculty position) undoubtably shaped his acceptance of said role. That is, each one partner's individual agentic process influenced the other's, what might be considered an individual level influence. However, because I also looked at shared agency, Toby's individual agentic process also influenced the outcomes he and Teri experienced together. The lines between their professional and personal satisfaction (two outcomes, in two different domains) were blurry and difficult to disentangle. For that reason, in Figure 4, I added two-way arrows in the process and outcomes category, to show the interaction of individual and shared agency (as indicated by the connecting arrows in

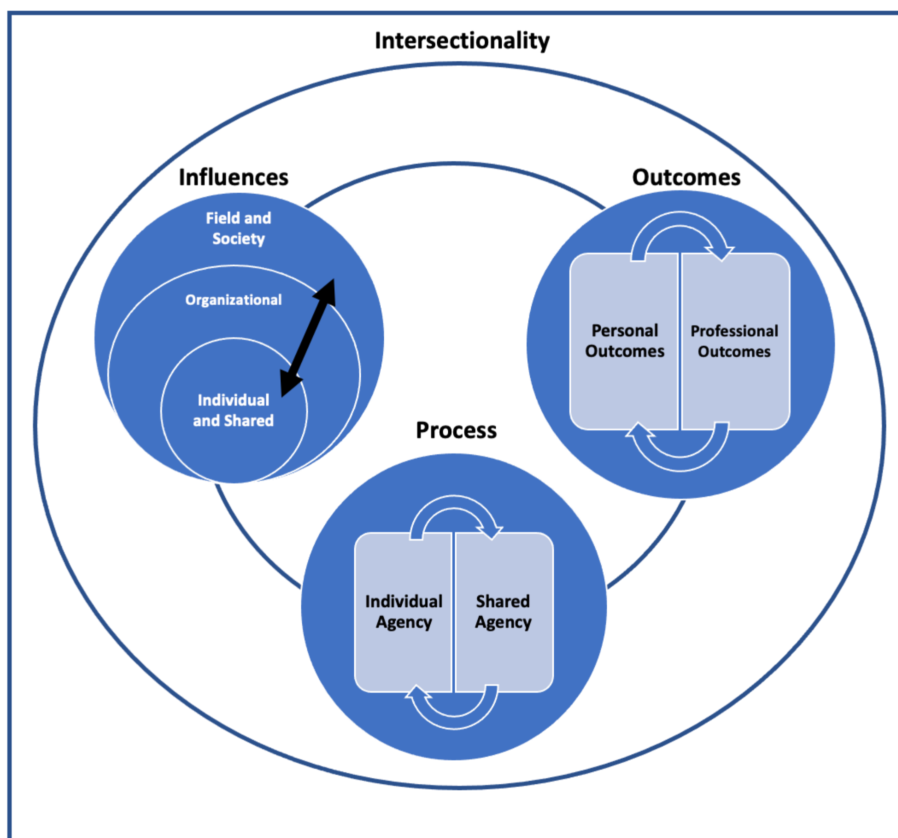
the bottom circle of the figure) and interaction of outcomes (as indicated by connecting arrows in the right circle on the figure).

Finally, I argued in Chapter 2 that intersectionality offered a structural lens through which one might consider agency. That is, I suggested that an intersectional perspective on the influences, processes, and outcomes of agency would be useful for understanding the systems and structures each partner operated within and against. Overall, my results suggest that these structures are omnipresent across all aspects of the model. Though couples in this study had been successful in finding two jobs at the same institution, interlocking systems of power and privilege shaped the context for couples' actions and perspectives. In particular, I want to underscore the intersection of employment type (e.g., contingent versus tenured or tenure-track) with other systems of oppression like gender and race as unique to academe. I am not the first to argue that the concentration of women and faculty of color in contingent roles is a pressing issue of social justice (e.g., Hart, 2011; Kezar & Sam, 2010, 2013; Waltman et al., 2012), but my study strongly suggests that issues of rank and rankism are a system of oppression on which higher education researchers might better interrogate and conceptualize.

Within these systems, some couples and some partners were privileged (e.g., the confidence of a tenured man negotiating a partner hire accommodation) and others more disadvantaged (e.g., a woman of color in a contingent faculty role feeling less confident in negotiation), which is consistent with past research (Archer, 2012; Gonzales, 2015). Based on these findings, in Figure 4, rather than using intersectionality as a lens, I changed it to a circle around the entire model of agency.

Figure 4.

Individual and Shared Agency for Dual-Career Academic Couples with an Intersectional Lens



Can there be a shared agency for dual-career academics? My study suggests yes, though shared agency is iterative, contextual, and takes different forms over the course of their lives together. Couples navigate and negotiate structures of power, as they manifest in in their relationships, society, and the field of higher education. They also negotiate with each other, learning new strategies, new priorities, and new ways of relating to one another. Kelly perhaps best summed this up when she explained that sharing a profession was a foundational strength of her and Ryan's relationship.

There are many reasons why it would behoove institutions to pay attention to shared agency for dual-career academic couples (and indeed, to pay attention to the interactive nature of agency for faculty members who are partnered in general). This study showed that dual-career academic couples are often deeply committed to making their roles work at their current institutions, for a variety of reasons (e.g., personal values, love of the geographic area, stability for their families, market constraints). When faculty members feel as though their opportunities for advancement are constrained or their work-life balance is inhibited, they are less productive, satisfied, committed, and fulfilled (Culpepper et al., 2020b; Gonzales, 2012; Neumann et al., 2006; O'Meara et al., 2011). Institutions should therefore create conditions where faculty members' agency is facilitated, not out of altruism, but as a way to foster greater productivity and energy for the mission of the institution (Gonzales, 2012; Neumann et al., 2006). Second, facilitating shared agency for dual-career academic couples is also an equity issue. As my results showed, field, societal, and organizational systems and structures constrain the agency of academic couples. Such systems and structures normalize, and even require, one partner to take the "lead" role while the other steps back. If equity is to be achieved in higher education, systems and structures must foster the full participation of all faculty members (O'Meara, 2020; Sturm, 2006), as opposed to forcing couples to negotiate internal trade-offs between one another.

Implications for Policy and Practice

As results in this study showed, dual-career academic couples are diverse and have a strong presence across disciplines and fields (not just STEM, as is commonly discussed). To recruit and retain a diverse and excellent faculty, institutions cannot put their heads in the sand. This study suggests that providing a central dual-career hiring policy is a foundation on which to build. More attention should be paid to the process and implementation surrounding the policy.

As other researchers (e.g., Blake, 2020, Kmec et al., 2015) have likewise concluded, institutions should consider greater transparency around the presence of dual-career accommodations, for instance, on the central academic affairs website and in materials that candidates receive when they apply for faculty positions. Institutions could also be more transparent about how many faculty members are hired using the central dual-career policy. They should also examine if there are gendered patterns in who is considered to be the lead and second hire. Moreover, institutions should consider formalizing hiring processes for "second hires" (and indeed, all contingent faculty or other kinds of "target hire" processes) to increase their legitimacy (Hughes et al. 2012). For instance, creating standardized protocols for the hiring of faculty, even when a search waiver is in place, can help increase buy-in from department members. That is, giving second hires the opportunity to discuss their scholarship or teaching with department members can reduce the sense that the second hire is illegitimately taking a faculty spot.

On the other hand, given the role of decentralization, there is also a need to consider how to foster more collaborative approaches to hiring. Deans, department chairs, and faculty affairs administrators should be given concrete guidance about the dual-hiring process and the steps they should take when approached about dual-career accommodations. Institutions might also consider the creation of faculty work-life coaches or central dual-career administrators (Brust et al., 2018; Gardner & McNerney, 2018; Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003) who meet with all candidates during the interview process and counsel candidates on dual-career processes (rather than having the candidate navigate the process with the department). Such an administrator might also serve as a connector between units (Wolf-Wendel et al., 2003). The key here is creating circumstances where the dual-career coordinator is viewed as having some degree of influence over academic

processes (i.e., is in academic affairs versus human resources, as was the case at Vance), not merely someone who can forward resumes.

Chairs and deans are also a critical mechanism in ensuring the success of dual-career hiring programs and couples themselves. Chairs and deans can help legitimize second hires to department members by giving second hires opportunities to share their scholarship via seminars or guest lectures. Similar to the practice of chairs introducing new faculty members on the first day of class as a way to reduce gender and racial bias in student teaching evaluations (P. Norris, personal communication, January 26, 2021), chairs and deans could send introductory emails to the department members about each new hire's scholarship and past experience. Chairs can also ensure that second hires are given access to similar transitional resources (e.g., access to orientation, start-up funds, departmental mentors). Furthermore, many of these insights apply to all faculty members who are hired outside of so-called "normal" hiring processes.

Another implication for policy and practice relates to promoting work-life integration across the faculty life course. Policies like parental leave and tenure delay are useful at a critical time for faculty members who have children and who are on the tenure track (Sallee, 2012). However, there is a need for institutions to consider work-life benefits that can apply to faculty at various stages of their careers and with varying family statuses (Culpepper et al., 2020b). For instance, institutions should consider cafeteria-style benefits policies wherein academic couples (and indeed all faculty) can choose a package of work-life relevant to their needs (Culpepper et al., 2020b, Work-life Law, 2013). The need for work-life benefits that go beyond parental leave and tenure delay have become all the more apparent during the pandemic. Practices like part-time tenure-track appointments, phased retirements, job-sharing, alternative pathways to tenure and promotion, and customized workload agreements (O'Meara, 2015; O'Meara et al., 2021;

Sallee & Lester, 2009) may be viable options for faculty members who have different work-life considerations over the course of their careers or who are dealing with external contingencies like the pandemic.

Implications for Future Research

There are several directions for future research as a result of this study. Related specifically to dual-career academic couples, there are many directions that researchers might pursue. As discussed, the most recent national study of dual-career academic couples was in 2008 and represented 13 research institutions (Schiebinger et al., 2008). Large faculty surveys like HERI and COACHE may wish to consider adding questions about the presence of dual-career academic couples to fill this gap. Replicating the work of Wolf-Wendel et al. (2003), researchers may also wish to better understand how institutions respond to dual-career couples given the current academic labor market by surveying provosts and other academic officers involved in policy development. Similar to studies where researchers observe search committee processes (Rivera, 2017; White-Lewis et al., 2020), future studies might also consider understanding how search committees and department chairs deal with dual-career situations when they present themselves in the search process. As my study focused on faculty couples who were able to find two jobs at the same institution, researchers may also wish to focus on couples wherein one person left academe to facilitate their relationship. Critically, though I recruited a relatively more diverse sample compared to past qualitative studies, future studies should put the experiences of couples of color, international couples, and LGBT faculty couples at the center of analysis. Based on this study, I recommend that researchers seeking these perspectives not limit themselves to faculty members within certain institutions and instead recruit on a national or even international basis.

It is clear that there will be decades of research on the impact of the pandemic on faculty work-life issues. Researchers might wish to focus on the effectiveness of policies put in place to mitigate the pandemic's effects and the ramifications of the pandemic on equity for women and faculty of color (Gonzales & Griffin, 2020). Based on this study, future researchers may want to consider the reasons why faculty members took advantage of COVID-19 related work-life policies or not; the strategies faculty used to adapt to pandemic work-life challenges; and the potential long-term impact of the pandemic on the well-being of faculty members. In particular, intersectional perspectives on these issues will be critical, particularly at the intersection of gender, race, and rank

In terms of faculty work-life more generally, there are several areas in which more research is needed. Researchers may wish to consider application of intersectional perspectives to examining the experiences of women and People of Color (and especially Women of Color) in contingent faculty roles. The results of this study showed the multiple ways these roles may become more gendered and racialized. More research is needed to understand issues of work-life issues for contingent faculty members and the policies and practices that foster agency in this area. Based on my results, researchers may also wish to explore the nexus of shifting parenting cultures and expectations and work-life conflict for faculty.

Regarding methods, I observed that joint interviews were a useful tool for understanding issues of faculty work-life, particularly as a way to observe relationship dynamics. Joint interviews allowed me to better understand how couples interacted with one another, helped participants tell more comprehensive, contextualized stories about the key moments of their personal and professional trajectories, and gave them the opportunity to reflect with one another decisions that they made. Joint interviews allowed me to, for a brief moment, imagine how the

couples might move through their personal and professional lives together and as individuals. Several participants emailed me after the interviews to say that participating had sparked new conversations about next steps in their careers or facilitated hard conversations about imbalances in care work. Given this, one potential direction of future research I see emerging from this study is the use of other more innovative techniques in understanding faculty work-life issues. For instance, I see the potential for engaging whole families in research on faculty work-life. Researchers may wish to use time diaries (e.g., O'Meara et al., 2020) to understand the different ways members of couples differentially spend their time or ethnographic techniques (e.g., in-home observations over an extended period of time) to better understand how faculty cope with work-life conflict outside of work.

Conclusion

In 2018, Matt Reed, a vice provost for academic affairs and *Inside Higher Ed* commenter, described the challenges of a dual-career academic couples in the following way:

> In the early career years…dual-academic couples [face] some awful decisions. The odds of both of them getting the kind of jobs for which they were trained within commuting distance of the same home are slim. So they have to decide either to live apart -- this, during the years when many couples start families -- or to accept underemployment for one or both of them. To make matters worse, "visiting" positions often offer shelter only for a year or two, requiring serial moves. And with many schools ratcheting up their tenure requirements, the partner lucky enough to get the "real" job may be distracted to the point of emotional absence.

After listing these many challenges, Reed argued that lack of hiring resources, rather than a lack of will, constrains administrators' ability to support dual-career academic couples. In this study, I examined how 16 dual-career academic couples at three research universities navigated their personal and professional lives. Overall, results showed that reducing the experiences of dual-career academic as "problems" is reductionist. There are dynamic, complex, and interconnected

ways that dual-career academic couples experience both the challenges and the joys of academic work and life. Dual-career academic couples are not problems that institutions need to solve, but rather possibilities that institutions should maximize.

APPENDIX A: PROTOCOLS

Recruitment Emails

Preliminary Institutional Informant Interview Email

Dear X:

My name is Dawn Culpepper and I am a doctoral student at the University of Maryland College Park. My dissertation examines how dual-career academic couples navigate their personal and professional lives.

Specifically, this qualitative study will focus on dual-career academic couples within the context of three institutions. I'm specifically targeting institutions that have received ADVANCE-IT grants and contacting key institutional informants like yourself to understand the feasibility of conducting the study at your institution and the approach that your institution has taken to address dual-career academic couples. To that end, I am hoping to set-up a brief, 20-30 phone interview with you sometime in the next two weeks.

This research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland College Park (IRB#XXXX). I am conducting my dissertation under the supervision of Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara.

Thank you for considering participating in this study. If you have any questions about the study, please email me at dkculpep@umd.edu

Sincerely,

Dawn Culpepper

Faculty Participant Email

Dear X:

My name is Dawn Culpepper and I am a doctoral student at the University of Maryland College Park. My dissertation examines how dual-career academic couples at INSTITUTION navigate their personal and professional lives.

Specifically, I am seeking dual-career academic couples who are in early-career (completed their PhD in 2010 or later) and who both work in full-time (TTK and NTTK) faculty roles at INSTITUTION, to better understand how institutions support and retain academic couples.

Participants will be asked to complete to one, 60-minute joint interview as a couple, and one, 30-minute individual interview. They will also be asked to submit their CVs. Interviews can take place online (Google Hangouts, WebEx) or in-person, at a time convenient to participants. All participants' identities will be masked to maintain confidentiality.

This research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland College Park (IRB#XXXX). I am conducting my dissertation under the supervision of Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara.

Thank you for considering participating in this study, or sharing the study information with potential participants. If you have any questions about the study, please email me at dkculpep@umd.edu

Sincerely,

Dawn Culpepper

Institutional Informant Recruitment Email

Dear X:

My name is Dawn Culpepper and I am a doctoral student at the University of Maryland College Park. I am currently seeking faculty participants for my dissertation study, which examines how dual-career academic couples at INSTITUTION navigate their personal and professional lives.

I am contacting you because you were identified as an academic leader who has insight into the overall institutional landscape for dual-career academic couples at your institution. I am writing to invite you participate in a short (30 minute) interview about your experience with dual-career academic couples. Interviews can take place online (Google Hangouts, WebEx) or in-person, at a time convenient to you. Your identities will be masked to maintain confidentiality.

This research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Maryland College Park (IRB#XXXX). I am conducting my dissertation under the supervision of Dr. KerryAnn O'Meara.

Thank you for considering participating in this study, or sharing the study information with potential participants. If you have any questions about the study, please email me at dkculpep@umd.edu

Sincerely,

Dawn Culpepper

Demographic Survey

Dual-Career Academic Couples Study
Demographic Survey

Instructions: Please fill out this demographic as completely as possible. This information is confidential and will only be reported in the aggregate. Any identifying information will be masked to ensure that the information cannot be tied to you.

	Partner 1	Partner 2
Name		
Age		
Gender		
Race/Ethnicity		
Sexual Orientation		
Disciplinary Affiliation(s)		
Professional Title		
Rank		
In what department(s) is your primary academic appointment?		
In what year were you hired to the institution at which you currently work?		
Did you or your partner use any dual-career support policies at the time at which one or both of you was hired?		
In what year did you complete your terminal degree?		
From what institution did you receive your terminal degree?		
How long have you and your partner been in a relationship?		
Do you have children?		
If yes, how many? What are their ages?		

Interview Protocols

Joint Interview Protocol

Introduction: Thanks to both you both for agreeing to participate in this research study. The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of dual-career academic couples navigating towards their personal and professional goals. As you know, I am asking that participants complete a joint interview, which we are doing now, and then a brief individual interview within the next few weeks. Before we get started, I would like to ask your permission to record this interview. Recording allows me to take more detailed notes. If you prefer, I can take hand-written notes in lieu of recording. Do I have your permission to record?

1. Tell me the story of you met and came to be married/partnered.
2. Describe to me how you both came to work at INSTITUTION. Probe for:
    a. Where did you live/work prior to coming to INSTITUTION?
    b. What factors guided your decision to leave the previous place and come to INSTITUTION?
    c. Who was initially recruited to the institution, or was it in some way concurrent?
    d. To what extent did the initial hire bring up their partner during the hiring process?
    e. How did the second partner find their position? Was a dual-career accommodation used? If yes, what your experience in using the accommodation?
    f. What story stands out to you about how you both came to work at this institutions? What were your hopes and feelings about working together at the same institution?
3. Now that we've discussed hiring, I want to shift gears to discuss your experiences at your institution post-hire.
    a. What story stands out to you about how the first year to the transition went for you as a couple? Probe for challenges, opportunities, benefits associated with transition to new role, new department.
4. What's the work-life climate, or the overall sense of, your department? The institution?
    a. What are some of the things you like about working at INSTITUTION? Probe for relationships with colleagues, mentors, Opportunities for professional development, research, geographic location.
    b. What, if any, barriers or challenges have you experienced related to achieving your professional goals with your department or the institution more generally?
    c. What, if any, policies have you accessed related to work-life? What was that experience like?
    d. What, if anything, has your institution done to support you and other faculty members during COVID? Probe for policies, practices, use of them.
5. Now, I want to turn to discussing how you two balance your professional responsibilities with your shared personal lives.
    a. Walk me through a typical work day for both you.
        i. Which aspects of your day bring you anxiety/stress?

    ii. Which bring you joy/excitement?
    iii. How has this changed as a result of the pandemic?
  b. If they couple has children:
    i. I understand that you have children who are X ages. What has been your experience in navigating having a family with being a faculty member?
  c. When you tell the story of what the pandemic was like for your family in 20 years, what story will you tell?
6. This next set of questions is about the experience of being partnered to another faculty member.
  a. How, if at all, is your relationship influenced by sharing a profession, and an institution? Probe for benefits, challenges.
  b. To what extent, if at all, do you interact with one another in a professional capacity, either on campus or outside of campus?
7. Is there anything I else I should know about your experience as a dual-career academic couple?

Individual Interview Protocol

Introduction: Thank you again for agreeing to participate in this follow-up individual interview. The purpose of this individual is for me to clarify and better understand some of the topics we discussed in the joint interview.

Before we get started, I would like to ask your permission to record this interview. Recording allows me to take more detailed notes. If you prefer, I can take hand-written notes in lieu of recording. Do I have your permission to record?

1. What drew you to a faculty career?

2. Describe your current career goals.
   a. Describe the extent to which you feel your goals are attainable. What actions do you take to move towards your goals? What perspectives do you use to move towards your goals?

3. Depending on joint interview responses, questions in this interview may further explore:

   a. Participant feelings and experience related to the hiring experience (e.g., was the participant the initial hire or the partner hire, and what was that experience like)
      i. What was it like to be the “partner” hire during the recruitment process?
   b. Participant experiences related to navigating work and personal lives (e.g., attempting to navigate being a mother/father, caregiver of an elder parent or sibling, both partners having demanding careers, one partner’s career being more ascendant than the other’s partner)
      i. For example, in your joint interview, you mentioned that you became recently became a parent/caregiver of a parent. What story stands out to you about how assuming this new role has shaped your experience as a faculty member?
      ii. For example, In the joint interview, you mentioned that you have clinical while your partner has a tenure-track role. Describe a time where it has made a difference that you were in a different kind of faculty role as compared to your partner.

8. How, if at all, have you and your partner’s career trajectories unfolded in different ways? What, if any, is the role of identity and/or status those differences (e.g., gender, race, rank/employment type, partner hire status?)

4. **What has been the impact, if any, of the pandemic on your scholarship?**
5. Is there anything that we haven’t covered in previous interviews that you think is important to understand about your experience at INSTITUTION as a member of a dual-career academic couple?

Institutional Informant Protocol

Introduction: Thanks for agreeing to participate in this research study. The purpose of this study is to understand the experience of dual-career academic couples navigating towards their personal and professional goals, and to understand the institutional context that influences dual-career academic couples.

Before we get started, I would like to ask your permission to record this interview. If you prefer, I can take hand-written notes in lieu of recording. Do I have your permission to record?

1. What is your role at INSTITUTION? Probe for:
    a. How long have you been at institution?
    b. How long have you been in your current position?
    c. What are your major professional responsibilities?
2. How has INSTITUTION approached recruiting dual-career academic couples? Probe for:
    a. What policies (formal and informal) exist to support dual-career academic couples?
    b. Why did the institution choose to adopt this approach?
    c. What have been some of the outcomes, positive or negative, associated with these policies or practices?
    d. How would you describe the overall climate/perspective of hiring officials, department chairs, or hiring committees towards dual-career academic couples?
    e. What do you see as some of the tensions, or challenges, that the institution has to maneuver into order to facilitate the hiring of academic couples?
3. After dual-career academic couples arrive at the institution, what is their transition experience? Probe for:
    a. How are "partner hires" received by the department?
    b. From the research, we know that often a partner hire will be hired into a short-term non-tenure track position.
        i. In this the case at INSTITUTION?
        ii. If yes, to what extent, if at all, have you seen faculty successfully transition into long-term roles?
4. Describe the institution's overall approach to work-life integration. Probe for:
    a. Does the institution have parental leave?
        i. If yes, who is leave available to?
        ii. How often to faculty make use of parental leave?
    b. What other work-life benefits does the institution have (e.g., tenure delay, tuition reimbursement for dependents, elder care benefits, wellness programs)?
        i. How often do faculty make use of them?
    c. What do you see as some of the major challenges faculty face in balancing, integrating, or otherwise managing their work responsibilities with their personal ones?
5. Can you think of any dual-career couples who have left INSTITUTION?
    a. In your view, what were the main reasons the couple left the institution?

6. Is there anything else that would be useful for me to know about the experience of dual-career couples at INSTITUTION, or the overall work environment for faculty?

APPENDIX B: MEMO OF PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

Dual-Career Academic Couples

Memo on Preliminary Findings for Participants
February 27, 2021

This study broadly examined how dual-career academic couples (defined as two individuals in a relationship who are both in faculty roles) at the same institution navigate toward their personal and professional goals. This memo outlines the study's key preliminary findings. The findings are based on the experiences of 16 couples (32 individuals) at three institutions.

Finding Two Professionally Fulfilling Roles

As all participants in this study were currently employed at the same institution, it was clear that this was not by chance. Participants discussed that living in the same location as their partner/family was a (if not "the") critical priority that guided their decisions. This priority shaped couples' experiences prior to arriving at their current institution as well as their experiences at their current institution. For instance, couples described that in the past, there had been periods wherein they lived separately or did long commutes and at some point, decided that was no longer a viable option for their relationship. Other couples described situations in which one partner had a full-time, tenure-track role while the other felt stuck, stringing together postdoc, adjunct, or other temporary positions while searching for a more stable faculty role.

At their current institutions, participants varied in the extent to which they felt professionally satisfied. Some participants described feeling fortunate and relieved that, given all the challenges they had previously weathered, each member of the couple had a stable faculty position. Other participants were less professionally satisfied but emphasized, given the constraints of the labor market and their priorities of living in the same place, they had few if any plans to change institutions.

Across couples, the extent to which one partner was considered to be the lead or primary career varied significantly based on an array of factors. Though no couples explicitly endorsed the notion that one partner's career was more important than the other's, all couples described that at least at one point, one partner's career weighed more heavily in decision-making processes. Couples indicated that who was in the lead was determined by factors including: which partner was offered a position; which partner was offered the more advantageous position; which partner was more senior, had attained a higher rank, or had the bigger reputation; and/or who was more committed to a faculty career. Often (though not always) these factors interacted (e.g., the higher-ranking partner was also offered more advantageous position). Although participants sometimes brought up salary as an area where inequality emerged between partners, no participants specifically described a scenario wherein they weighed two offers and took the one that offered the higher salary. Said another way, salary may have played a role, but it did not appear to be the among the most important factors couples considered.

Negotiating the Hiring Process and Dual-Career Accommodations

One challenge many couples grappled with was whether and when to disclose their status as a dual-career academic couple. When the initial hire was negotiating from a position of power (i.e., they and/or their partner already had a fairly secure position elsewhere), they were more likely to disclose in the interview process. Other participants did not disclose because of the pervasive advice in the profession that it could be held against them in the evaluation process and thus brought up their “partner situation” after receiving a job offer.

There were three main ways in which couples came to be working at the same institution. First (most common), couples were hired simultaneously using some kind of dual-career accommodation. That is, one partner was initially hired, and the second was hired as a “partner hire” related to the initial hire’s offer. Second, in some cases, one partner was hired and then the second partner joined the full-time faculty at the same institution some years later. Typically, couples negotiated this second position related to the retention of the initial partner (i.e., the initial hire threatens to leave unless an accommodation can be made). Last, couples were sometimes hired into separate faculty roles and a dual-career accommodation was not used. While some couples in this final category were hired prior to the creation of formal dual-career accommodation policies, others had been recruited long after the implementation of such policies. In all, there were a diversity of paths by which couples came to be working at the same institution.

For participants hired via a dual-career accommodation, experiences with the process varied widely. Some participants reported that hiring departments interviewed them using the same processes as a “normal” faculty search. Others described informal, unstructured processes, particularly in the context of being evaluated for contingent faculty positions (which was often the case). In the latter category, participants felt the unstructured process tended to delegitimize their skills and qualifications as faculty members and undermined their entrée to their department. Department chairs and deans played a significant role in dictating the process and the associated reception of the second hire: good deans and chairs had a positive impact while other participants discussed scenarios in which leaders’ actions undermined their success and professional satisfaction.

Finally, regardless of the kind of policies institutions had in place (or lack thereof), most second hires occurred at the unit level. That is, even with the presence of centrally-funded dual-hiring programs (e.g., a three-way split between the initial hire’s unit, the second hire’s unit, and academic affairs), hires mostly occurred as a result of inter-college or inter-departmental negotiations. In these cases, central administration had little to no involvement in hiring. Most participants had little insight into the machinations of these negotiations when they went through the process (although some participants later learned of the circumstances after being hired and/or speculated on the circumstances based on their subsequent experiences with dual-career hiring as department members).

Dealing with the Consequences of being the “Second Hire”

Many, though not all, participants who were hired via a dual-career partner accommodation felt a stigma associated with their status as a “partner hire” that lingered over time. That is, participants reported that being the second hire influenced their promotion process/prospects, interactions

with colleagues, and overall career trajectories. Often, this stigma intersected with known gender biases in the academy. That is, among different gender couples in this study, stigma of being the "second hire" exacerbated the kinds of double standards for competence and collaboration women faculty members often encounter. Challenges were amplified when second hires felt otherwise "othered" as a result of being from a marginalized racial group or sexual minority group; or, were hired into contingent positions or into departments where their research was not well-aligned with unit norms.

For these reasons, couples wherein each partner was hired separately viewed themselves as fortunate. Given the precarity of the academic market as well as the stigmas they knew many second hires experienced, participants hired separately felt as though they had avoided conflict.

Working Together and Working Apart

Couples varied in the extent to which they collaborated on scholarly projects. For some couples, scholarly collaboration was one of the foundational aspects of their relationship and their scholarly careers were deeply enmeshed with one another's. In these cases, participants sometimes indicated that one partner received greater credit for the work or indicated a concern that would be the case. Among couples of different genders, these concerns emerged along gendered lines, with women partners receiving greater scrutiny (or fearing greater scrutiny) in collaborative work. For other couples, collaboration occurred more sporadically or not at all. In these latter cases, participants reported being partnered to another faculty shaped their scholarly thinking (i.e., pushing one partner to consider another disciplinary paradigm or method). Said another way, participants felt being partnered to a faculty member had intellectual impact regardless of whether their C.V.s indicated formal collaboration.

The extent to which couples interacted with one another as members of their institutions and/departments varied widely. Some couples took strategic steps to maintain distinct institutional identities and felt it was easy to do so because they did not share a unit. Couples who shared a unit experienced more significant challenges, reporting that it was sometimes difficult to disentangle inter-departmental conflict and/or politics from their home lives. For these couples, creating more rigid home-life boundaries was an important strategy to pursue. Similarly, some participants reported a kind of negative spillover, wherein if one partner experienced their department or colleagues as hostile or negative, the other partner would likewise be more inclined to have a negative perception.

Managing Work-Life Demands

All participants described constraints and tensions related to managing work demands with aspects of their personal lives, which the pandemic amplified in many cases. All participants interviewed during the pandemic described disruptions and/or extra work related to shifting to virtual instruction, restrictions to research sites, and/or the increased demands of caregiving. Even before the pandemic, many participants described that expectations related to research, teaching, and service as incompatible with reality. Others indicated that their passion for their scholarly endeavors made it difficult to "turn-off" work at home. Some participants noted a heightened inability "turn-off" work because their partner was also a faculty member: the lines became work and life were often blurry.

Stresses and anxieties related to work-life emerged related to gender, particularly around parenting. Many participants (all genders) indicated that they often experienced guilt related to the lack of time spent with their children. All couples with children described that they tried to maintain as fair a distribution of caregiving as possible. While some couples said they achieved success in being equal caregivers, other couples indicated that the woman partner had taken a more substantive caregiving role (particularly when children were small). Women participants also tended to describe stress related to mental load and emotional labor kind of issues more than their (men) partners. Work-related travel tended to shape some of these disparities (e.g., the extent to which a partner did international research), as well as the extent to which partners had more rigid schedules related to administrative roles (e.g., chair).

In terms of formal institutional policies intended to facilitate work-life, results were mixed. Participants mostly discussed work-life policies related to parental leave or tenure delay. Gender patterns emerged: all women participants who had access to parental leave when a child was born utilized the policy, whereas not all men participants took leave when it was available. None of the participants ultimately used a tenure delay. On the other hand, a substantial number of participants were in situations wherein said policies were not applicable to them (e.g., had no children or had children prior to coming to the institution so no need for parental leave). Likewise, COVID-19-related work-life policies (e.g., tenure delay) or practices (e.g., emergency childcare) had very little impact on any of the participants of this study. The very few participants who were eligible for tenure delay did not take it. Though participants were aware of some of the emergency resources like childcare or tutoring that institutions had put in place (if relevant), they had not accessed them.

Participants noted that alignment between views of the appropriate “work” to “life” ratio as a critical factor in their relationship satisfaction. That is, members of couples seemed to experience more satisfaction when both partners placed a high value on being very committed to work or were both more committed to a more even balance of work and non-work activities. Couples who experienced misalignment (i.e., one partner very committed to work and the other wanting more balance) seemed to experience greater conflict.

Many participants discussed the flexible nature of academic work as a helpful tool for navigating the demands of work and life. That is, despite high productivity expectations, participants felt as though sharing a profession characterized by its flexibility had allowed them to make things work. Participants cited this flexibility as far more influential on their work-life than any formal institutional policy. Furthermore, some of the couples indicated that their shared flexibility had enhanced their ability to weather the pandemic with slightly less stress (as compared to situations wherein one partner had a more rigid schedule and the other did not).

Finally, several participants noted that issues of quality of life, related to the geographic area in which their institution was located, impacted their work-life. Many participants noted that, in an ideal situation, they would live in another part of the country (e.g., more urban or less urban, more diverse, closer to their families). Yet, being in the same location as their partner eclipsed these quality-of-life issues. On the other hand, couples who lived in areas aligned with their

quality-of-life seemed to experience greater work-life satisfaction as a result of living in a place that offered greater opportunities outside of campus life.

Facilitating Empathy, Understanding, and Career Success

Almost all participants indicated that being in a dual-career academic couple fostered a greater sense of empathy and understanding for their partner. Participants often described the benefits of knowing and understanding their partner's career goals, values, reward systems, and time demands. They viewed it as a strength of their relationship and something that facilitated greater relational closeness and admiration (despite of the many challenges).

Participants also described the exchange of different kinds of social capital between partners as being professionally beneficial. Participants described that through their partner, they strengthened their professional networks, often meeting collaborators or mentors through their partner. Couples also discussed the accrual political capital by sharing an institution, and as a couple, being seen by other faculty as influential. Finally, participants described a kind of informational capital, being able to exchange with their partner "insider" tips, advice, and perspectives on their organization in ways that allowed them to more successfully navigating their careers.

APPENDIX C: CODEBOOK

Dual Career Academic Couples Codebook

Code	Description
AGENCY	
Influences	
Field and society	Field and society influences focus on the macro, structural influences of agency, including social stratification and norms and expectations
Norms and expectations	Such influences could include societal beliefs and stereotypes about individuals from certain social groups (Ridgeway, 2011). Sexism and heterosexism may intersect to make parental leave less accessible to gay men faculty (Huffman, King & Goldberg, 2014; Sallee, 2012). Field and societal influences could also manifest via differential access to power and decision-making on the basis of social group category (O'Meara et al., 2011).
Autonomy	Field norms about autonomy in hiring
Gender Norms and Gender Roles in Parenting	Related to parenting and eldercare and the impact of these roles
Career and Family Planning	The role of academia on timing of when to have kids or whether to have kids
Caregiving	who does the majority of caregiving for children and/or others
Childcare	How caregiving is divided between partners
Eldercare	INDUCTIVE - who does eldercare and the role of eldercare concerns in WLB
Emotional labor mental load	who takes on the care work and handles the schedule
Distractions and who works where	INDUCTIVE - related to covid, who gets disrupted, who works in the basement compared to the kitchen table
Scheduling	INDUCTIVE - the importance of rigid schedules and who is where when
The role of travel	how couples deal with travel and caregiving
Guilt and Hyper Involved Parenting	INDUCTIVE - guilt related to time not spent with kids, often related to societal expectations
Mobility	Academic mobility refers to the norm wherein faculty members must move across state and national borders to attain faculty jobs, receive promotions, and get pay raises
Constraints on Career Mobility	Staying at the institution because of partner's job
Disrupting normal social ties	INDUCTIVE - One of the effects of mobility - The mobility of academic couples in this study means that they often move away from existing families and social networks that would enhance WLB; Also the idea that healthy marriages are supported by social networks but academia causes couples to remove away from these networks.

Code	Description
Geographic area	Considering institutions that are near other institutions and/or in urban places; The context of the geographic area (e.g., diversity or lack thereof)
Quality of life	INDUCTIVE - Wanting to live in a geographic area that facilitates quality of life (e.g., near friends, in a urban or rural area)
Racialized expectations	Social norms and stereotypes related to race
Social Stratification	One of the ways stratification might influence dual-career academic couples is through the segregation of faculty into different disciplines by race and gender, or disciplinary stratification.
Academic Labor Market	INDUCTIVE - to the context of the academic labor market on experiences
COVID	INDUCTIVE - the context of COVID in personal and professional life
Benefits	Benefits or silver linings of COVID
COVID Policies	The impact of COVID policies
Ideal worker norms	High expectations about productivity even during the pandemic
Impact on advancement	The potential impact of COVID on participant advancement
Impact on productivity	The impact of COVID on participant productivity
Impact on work life stress	How COVID has influence stress, anxiety
Leadership	The impact of leadership during COVID
Response to distractions	Who gets distracted or is doing more caregiving
Organizational	Organizational influences focus on the aspects of the faculty member's college or university (O'Meara et al., 2011) that may shape the individual and collective agency of dual-career academic couples in advancing their personal and professional goals.
Climate	the sense of the institution or department
Colleagues	INDUCTIVE - the role of departmental and institution colleagues in the climate
Collaborators	INDUCTIVE - being able to find collaborators
Sense of belonging	INDUCTIVE - colleagues fostering a sense of belonging or not
Diversity Climate	
Racial Climate	Climate pertaining to racial diversity or the lack thereof
Work-Life Climate	INDUCTIVE - the extent to which departments facilitate work family integration
Flexibility	INDUCTIVE - flexibility of faculty life
Presences of other Dual-Career Couples	INDUCTIVE - having a number of dual-career academic couples in the department
Intellectual climate	INDUCTIVE - the level of exchange, intensity of the department or institution
Politics	INDUCTIVE - having to advocate, engaging in conflict with others

Code	Description
Rankings Prestige	INDUCTIVE - the role of rankings or snobbishness as dictating the climate
Leadership	provosts, department chairs, and deans
At previous institution	experiences with leaders not at current institution
Impact on satisfaction	Leadership impacts participants professional satisfaction
Mismanagement	INDUCTIVE - Leaders not managing resources or people well
Trust and betrayal	INDUCTIV - Leaders not living up to promises
Participants as Future Leaders	INDUCTIVE - participants become leaders themselves
Support for Partner Hiring	Leadership supporting or recruiting partners
Support for WL	Leadership setting the work life climate/environment
Transition into unit	INDUCTIVE - Leaders facilitating or not facilitating entry to unit
Norms and expectations	daily practices, assumptions, scripts
Fit	INDUCTIVE the extent to which participants have an intellectual fit with the department or their goals/values fit with faculty life
Ideal Worker	On-demand, workaholic cultures, inhibit faculty members' ability to advocate for work-life integration while also doing what it takes to succeed professionally
Legitimacy	INDUCTIVE - the sense that partner hires are "real" faculty members
imposter syndrome	INDUCTIVE - the sense of being found out as a fake
Independence	INDUCTIVE – Participants discuss wanting to be viewed as separate colleagues from their partner, not perceived as a voting block
Quality Merit	Individuals possess certain qualities, characteristics, or achievements that afford them access to certain earned opportunities, such as being hired into a prestigious department or admitted into a high-ranking graduate program
Policies and resources	financial, social; work-life
Childcare	Childcare or childcare subsidies
Conflict of Interest	Policies related to conflict of interest between partners
Dual hire policy process	Partner accommodations and process surrounding them
Disclosure	INDUCTIVE - how and when partners bring up their partner situation
Goals	INDUCTIVE – participants perceptions of the goals of the policy
Kind of Hire	INDUCTIVE – how participants came to the institution (via a partner accommodation, not a partner hire, via a retention offer)
Process	INDUCTIVE - the way in which the hiring happened
Negotiation	INDUCTIVE - The process of how the partner hire was negotiated
Structured/unstructured	INDUCTIVE – Formal interview process, formal offer letter, etc.
Lack of clarity or transparency	INDUCTIVE - Ambiguity surrounding the process

Code	Description
Tensions with the policy	INDUCTIVE - Issues or conflicts that the policy brings up
Funding and pay	issues with resources like salary, salary compression, access to labs or offices
Hidden curriculum	Implicit ways of knowing how to access policies or resources (Blake 2020)
Parental leave & tenure delay	Many institutions have pursued reforms, such as place paid parental leave (Miller & Hollenshead, 2005; Raabe, 1997) and tenure delay (Antecol et al., 2018) in order to facilitate the personal and professional success and agency of faculty who want to have families (Feeney et al., 2014; Lester & Sallee, 2009; Lester & Sallee, 2017; Mason et al., 2013; O'Meara & Campbell, 2011; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2012; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2018). In addition, some studies show that the flexible and autonomous nature of facult
Parental leave - other place	Experience with parental leave at prior institution
Parental leave at institution	Experience with accessing/not accessing parental leave
Tenure delay	Experience with using tenure delay
Tenure and promotion	INDUCTIVE - experiences with the tenure and promotion process
Transition	INDUCTIVE - issues related to orientation and the entree of participants to the organization
Workload	issues related to the distribution of teaching, service, and research
Shared and Individual Influences	"people's shared beliefs in their collective power to produce desired results" & Aspects of individuals that shape agency
Beliefs and Attitudes	Beliefs and attitudes about marriage and partnership shape the perspectives and actions couples use in their personal and professional lives.
Career Aspirations Expectations	INDUCTIVE - participants views of what kind of faculty life they want to have and why they became faculty members - e.g., do they want to be a superstar faculty member or are they ok with more moderate productivity
Alignment	INDUCTIVE - Participants experience alignment between they and their partners aspirations
Misalignment	INDUCTIVE - Partners have different views of career aspirations
Motivations	INDUCTIVE - Motivations for becoming a faculty member
Empathy and Understanding	INDUCTIVE - Sharing a career promotes greater empathy and understanding between partners which is identified in the literature as an important part of successful relationships
Psychological traits and internal resources	Predispositions and learned behaviors (e.g., self-efficacy, emotional intelligence) that facilitate or constrain agency
Realistic Self-Appraisal	Self-awareness
Ways of Dealing with Conflict	INDUCTIVE - how partners describe their style and their partner's style of engaging in conflict either with externals or between themselves
Work Style	INDUCTIVE - how participants describe their and their partner's work

Code	Description
	styles
Career Primacy	Whose career is considered to be first or the lead
Comparison and competition	INDUCTIVE - the sense that partners benchmark one another's success against each other and/or literally compete for resources like grants
Salary and Wages	INDUCTIVE Considering primacy through the lens of who makes more money
Formal Collaborations	the extent to which partners collaborate and how that is viewed
Benefits of Collaboration	the personal and professional benefits of collaborating (Creamer 2001)
Credit and Collaboration	gendered expectations related to collaboration where women get less credit
Informal Collaboration	Kinds of collaboration that happen informally through feedback and sharing of ideas (Creamer 2001)
Why collaboration hasn't happened	INDUCTIVE - reasons why partners do not collaborate
Social Capital	accumulation of resources through social relationships
Information	INDUCTIVE - the extent to which partners exchange social information with one another about how to be successful at the institution
Mentors	access to mentors and sharing of mentors between participants
Networks	access to networks and sharing of networks between partners
Political Reputational Capital	INDUCTIVE - the star power of individual faculty members
Outcomes	
Personal	
Mental Health and Well-Being	INDUCTIVE: The extent to which participants discussed happiness, depression, or anxiety
Relationship Satisfaction	The extent to which participants felt personally fulfilled, satisfied with their partner and their personal life
Professional	
Advancement & Professional Growth	The extent to which participants feel they can advance towards their professional goals
Productivity	Scholarly output
Professional Satisfaction	The extent to which participants are professional fulfilled
Retention	The extent to which participants feel they will stay at their institution
Spillover Between the Two Realms	Interaction between the personal and professional, either positive or negative
Processes	
Actions	the strategic and intentional actions faculty take and the strategic views or perspectives they use to make meaning out of their experiences"
Building a social community	INDUCTIVE - creating social ties in the community to mitigate some of the impacts of mobility - building a chosen family

Code	Description
Integrating Professional Lives	INDUCTIVE - not trying to maintain separate identities
Keeping Plugged Into the Institution	INDUCTIVE - Keeping plugged into the department to make dual-career situation work eventually
Priorities & Reprioritizing	INDUCTIVE - the belief that living apart is not an option
Separating Professional Lives	INDUCTIVE - maintaining separate roles and identities
Separation as a way to avoid bias	INDUCTIVE the idea that partners are separate to try to avoid issues or perceptions
Separation as aa relational benefit	INDUCTIVE - We are professionally distinct because it's good for our relationship and we want to be that way for ourselves
Separation as functional	INDUCTIVE – It doesn't come up so we don't have to deal with it
Separation as WLB	INDUCTIVE - Taking on different personalities at home and at work often to maintain separation and maintain work-life balance
Staying Productive	INDUCTIVE - keeping options looking, continuing to be productive to keep options open
Perspectives	
Evaluating Risk	INDUCTIVE - Being risk averse, often taking a more conservative path to maintain stability
Openness to other careers	INDUCTIVE - Wiewing nonacademic careers a potential way to open up opportunities
Setting Realistic Expectations	INDUCTIVE – Changing expectations of oneself to be more successful
Shared Career Success	INDUCTIVE - Wiewing career and family decisions not as individual careers with a zero sum, but as a whole system - your success is my success and vice versa
Viewing the Whole Picture	INDUCTIVE - Weighing costs and benefits, taking turns
INTERSECTIONALITY	The role of gender, race, rank/employment type, and partner hire status as influencing experiences with privilege and disadvantage
Citizenship	the role of international or domestic faculty
Gender	the influence of gender
Partner Status	the impact of being the partner hire; all mentions of trailing spouse, spousal hire, partner hire, etc.
Race	the impact of race
RankFacultyType	the influence of seniority or contingent versus TTK

References

Abes, E. S. (2012). Constructivist and intersectional interpretations of a lesbian college student's multiple social identities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *83*(2), 186–216. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2012.11777239

Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: A theory of gendered organizations. *Gender & Society, 4*(2), 139–158. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124390004002002

Acker, J. (2006). Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations. *Gender & Society*, *20*(4), 441–464. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243206289499

Ackers, L. (2004). Managing relationships in peripatetic careers: Scientific mobility in the European Union. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*(3), 189–201. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2004.03.001

Ackers, L. (2005). Moving people and knowledge: scientific mobility in the European Union. *International Migration*, *43*(5), 99–131. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.2005.00343.x

Aiston, S. J., & Jung, J. (2015). Women academics and research productivity: An international comparison. *Gender and Education, 27*(3), 205–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2015.1024617

Allan, G. (1980). A note on interviewing spouses together. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 42*(1), 205–210. https://doi.org/10.2307/351948

Allen, J. A., & Kitch, S. L. (1998). Disciplined by disciplines? The need for an interdisciplinary research mission in women's studies. *Feminist Studies*, *24*(2), 275–299. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178698

Allen, S. M., & Hawkins, A. J. (1999). Maternal gatekeeping: Mothers' beliefs and behaviors that inhibit greater father involvement in family work. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*(1), 199–212. https://doi.org/10.2307/353894

Allen, T. D., & Finkelstein, L. M. (2014). Work–family conflict among members of full–time dual–earner couples: An examination of family life stage, gender, and age. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *19*(3), 376. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036941

Almquist, E. M. (1975). Untangling the effects of race and sex: The disadvantaged status of Black women. *Social Science Quarterly, 56*(1), 129–142.

Alonderiene, R., & Majauskaite, M. (2016). Leadership style and job satisfaction in higher education institutions. *International Journal of Educational Management*, *30*(1), 140–164. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEM-08-2014-0106

Amato, P. R. (2007). Transformative processes in marriage: Some thoughts from a sociologist. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 69*(2), 305–309. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00365.x

Amcoff, J., & Niedomysl, T. (2015). Is the tied returnee male or female? The trailing spouse thesis reconsidered. *Population, Space and Place, 21*(8), 872–881. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1969

American Association of University Professors (AAUP). (2010). *Recommendations on Partner Accommodation and Dual–career appointments*. https://www.aaup.org/article/partner-accommodation-recommendations#.YFJjMV1KiEs

American Philosophical Association. (2010). *Report on dual career hiring policies*. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.apaonline.org/resource/resmgr/Status_Future_Reports/dualcareerreport.pdf

Anaya, R. (2011). Graduate student mothers of color: The intersectionality between graduate student, motherhood, and women of color in higher education. *Intersections: Women's and Gender Studies in Review Across Disciplines*, (9), 13–31.

Anderson, D., Braxton, J., Culpepper, D., Curtis, J.W., Graham, M., Shaw, S. & Williams, C. (2020, November). *An equity-minded framework for faculty and staff employment decisions in a time of financial challenge*. Association for the Study of Higher Education. https://www.ashe.ws//Files/2020%20Research%20to%20Practice%20Project%20(Spencer)/ASHE_Employment-Equity_UPDATED.pdf

Anderson, E. A., & Spruill, J. W. (1993). The dual–career commuter family: A lifestyle on the move. *Marriage & Family Review, 19*(1–2), 131–147. https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v19n01_08

Anonymous. (2014). Spousal hire realities. *Inside Higher Ed*.

Antecol, H., Bedard, K., & Stearns, J. (2018). Equal but inequitable: Who benefits from gender–neutral tenure clock stopping policies? *American Economic Review, 108*(9), 2420–2441. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20160613

Antonio, A. L. (2002). Faculty of color reconsidered: Reassessing contributions to scholarship. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(5), 582–602. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2002.11777169

Archer, M. S., (2000). *Being human: The problem of agency*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511488733

Armenti, C. (2004). May babies and posttenure babies: Maternal decisions of women professors. *The Review of Higher Education*, *27*(2), 211–231. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2003.0046

Armstrong, M. A., & Jovanovic, J. (2015). Starting at the crossroads: Intersectional approaches to institutionally supporting underrepresented minority women STEM faculty. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, *21*(2), 141–157. https://doi.org/10.1615/JWomenMinorScienEng.2015011275

Astin, A. W., Astin, H. S., & Lindholm, J. A. (2010). *Cultivating the spirit: How college can enhance students' inner lives*. John Wiley & Sons.

Astin, H. S., & Davis, D. E. (1985). Research productivity across the life and career cycles: Facilitators and barriers for women. In J.S. Glazer, E.M. Bensimon, & B.K. Townsend (Eds.) *Women in Higher Education: A Feminist Perspective* (pp. 415–423).

Astin, H. S., & Milem, J. (1997). The status of academic couples in U.S. institutions. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 128–155). Urbana–Champagne, IL: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

August, L., & Waltman, J. (2004). Culture, climate, and contribution: Career satisfaction among female faculty. *Research in Higher Education, 45*(2), 177–192. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000015694.14358.ed

Austin, A. (2001). Review the literature on scholarly collaboration: How we can understand collaboration among academic couples. In E. Creamer, *Working equal: Academic couples as collaborators* (pp. 130–145). New York, NY: RoutledgeFarmer.

Austin, A. E. (1990). Faculty cultures, faculty values. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, *1990*(68), 61–74. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.37019906807

Babcock, L., & Laschever, S. (2009). *Women don't ask: Negotiation and the gender divide*. Princeton University Press.

Babcock, L., Laschever, S., Gelfand, M., & Small, D. (2003). Nice girls don't ask. *Harvard Business Review*, *81*(10), 14–16. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400825691-005

Baez, B. (2000). Race–related service and faculty of color: Conceptualizing critical agency in academe. *Higher Education, 39*(3), 363–391. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1003972214943

Bain, O., & Cummings, W. (2000). Academe's glass ceiling: Societal, professional–organizational, and institutional barriers to the career advancement of academic women. *Comparative Education Review, 44*(4), 493–514. https://doi.org/10.1086/447631

Baker, K. C. P. (2004). *Academic dual–career couples lifestyles and affects on careers in academe* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Ohio State University.

Bakker, A. B., & Demerouti, E. (2009). The crossover of work engagement between working couples: A closer look at the role of empathy. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *24*(3), 220–236. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683940910939313

Bakker, A. B., Demerouti, E., & Burke, R. (2009). Workaholism and relationship quality: A spillover–crossover perspective. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *14*(1), 23–33. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0013290

Bakker, A. B., Demerouti, E., & Dollard, M. F. (2008). How job demands affect partners' experience of exhaustion: Integrating work–family conflict and crossover theory. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *93*(4), 901–911. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.93.4.901

Bakker, A. B., Shimazu, A., Demerouti, E., Shimada, K., & Kawakami, N. (2011). Crossover of work engagement among Japanese couples: Perspective taking by both partners. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *16*(1), 112–125. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0021297

Bandura, A. (2000). Exercise of human agency through collective efficacy. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 9*(3), 75–78. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8721.00064

Barbee, A. P., & Cunningham, M. R. (1990). *Departmental issues in dual–academic marriages*. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA.

Barroso, A. (2021, January 25). For American couples, gender gaps in sharing household responsibilities persist amid pandemic. *Pew Research Center.* https://www.pewresearch.org/fact–tank/2021/01/25/for–american–couples–gender–gaps–in–sharing–household–responsibilities–persist–amid–pandemic

Bartley, S. J., Blanton, P. W., & Gilliard, J. L. (2005). Husbands and wives in dual–earner marriages: Decision–making, gender role attitudes, division of household labor, and equity. *Marriage & Family Review, 37*(4), 69–94. https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v37n04_05

Bartolomei–Suarez, S.M. & Guillemard–Gregory, L. (2018). Choosing the best: Successful practices for increasing the number of female faculty in the industrial engineering department at the University of Puerto Rico at Mayaguez. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 129–142). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Bass, B. C. (2015). Preparing for parenthood? Gender, aspirations, and the reproduction of labor market inequality. *Gender & Society*, *29*(3), 362–385. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243214546936

Baxter Magolda, M. B., & King, P. M. (2012). Assessing meaning making and self–authorship: Theory, research, and application. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey–Bass.

Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report, 13*(2), 544–559.

Bayes, M. (1989). The effects of relocation on the trailing spouse. *Smith College Studies in Social Work, 59*(3), 280–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/00377318909517359

Bearce, M. (2013). *Super commuter couples: Staying together when a job keeps you apart*. Equanimity Press.

Beattie, G., Cohen, D., & McGuire, L. (2013). An exploration of possible unconscious ethnic biases in higher education: The role of implicit attitudes on selection for university posts. *Semiotica*, 197, 171–201. https://doi.org/10.1515/sem-2013-0087

Becker, H. S. (1990). Generalizing from case studies. In Eliot W. Eisner & Alan Peshkin (Eds.), *Qualitative inquiry in education: The continuing debate* (pp. 233–242). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Becker, P. E., & Moen, P. (1999). Scaling back: Dual–earner couples' work–family strategies. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 61*(4), 995–1007.

Beddoes, K., & Pawley, A. L. (2014). ‘Different people have different priorities’: work–family balance, gender, and the discourse of choice. *Studies in Higher Education*, *39*(9), 1573–1585. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2013.801432

Beddoes, K., Schimpf, C., & Pawley, A. L. (2014, June). *New metaphors for new understandings: Ontological questions about developing grounded theories in engineering education.* Presented at the American Society for Engineering Education Annual Conference, Indianapolis, IN.

Beitin, B. K. (2008). Qualitative research in marriage and family therapy: Who is in the interview? *Contemporary Family Therapy, 30*(1), 48–58. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10591-007-9054-y

Bell, D. A. (2010). The intricacies of spousal hiring. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Bellas, M. L. (1997). The scholarly productivity of academic couples. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 156–181). Urbana–Champagne, IL: Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Bergen, E. (1991). The economic context of labor allocation: Implications for gender stratification. *Journal of Family Issues, 12*(2), 140–157. https://doi.org/10.1177/019251391012002001

Bergen, K. M., Kirby, E., & McBride, M. C. (2007). "How do you get two houses cleaned?": Accomplishing family caregiving in commuter marriages. *Journal of Family Communication, 7*(4), 287–307. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267430701392131

Bernasco, W., De Graaf, P. M., & Ultee, W. C. (1998). Effects of spouse's resources on occupational attainment in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, *14*(1), 15–31. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordjournals.esr.a018225

Bertrand, M., Kamenica, E., & Pan, J. (2015). Gender identity and relative income within households. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *130*(2), 571–614. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjv001

Bessette, L. S. (2012). To my husband [Blog post]. *Inside Higher Ed.*

Bianchi, S. M., Milkie, M. A., Sayer, L. C., & Robinson, J. P. (2000). Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor. *Social forces, 79*(1), 191–228. https://doi.org/10.2307/2675569

Bielby, W. T., & Bielby, D. D. (1992). I will follow him: Family ties, gender–role beliefs, and reluctance to relocate for a better job. *American Journal of Sociology, 97*(5), 1241–1267. https://doi.org/10.1086/229901

Bilge, S. (2010). Beyond subordination vs. resistance: An intersectional approach to the agency of veiled Muslim women. *Journal of Intercultural Studies, 31*(1), 9–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860903477662

Bilimoria, D., & Liang, X. (2012). *Gender equity in science and engineering: Advancing change in higher education*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203149133

Bilimoria, D., & Stewart, A. J. (2009). "Don't ask, don't tell": The academic climate for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender faculty in science and engineering. *NWSA Journal*, *21*(2), 85–103.

Bilimoria, D., Perry, S. R., Liang, X., Stoller, E. P., Higgins, P., & Taylor, C. (2006). How do female and male faculty members construct job satisfaction? The roles of perceived institutional leadership and mentoring and their mediating processes. *The Journal of Technology Transfer*, *31*(3), 355–365. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10961-006-7207-z

Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L., Folbre, N., & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology, 109*(1), 186–214. https://doi.org/10.1086/378341

Blair–Loy, M. (2003). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives.* Harvard University Press.

Bland, C. J., Center, B. A., Finstad, D. A., Risbey, K. R., & Staples, J. (2006). The impact of appointment type on the productivity and commitment of full–time faculty in research

and doctoral institutions. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *77*(1), 89–123. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2006.0002

Blake, D. (2020). *Dual–career hiring for faculty diversity: Insights from diverse academic couples.* Samael Dewitt Proctor Institute for Leadership, Equity, & Justice. https://proctor.gse.rutgers.edu/sites/default/files/Proctor_Report.pdf

Blaser, B. (2008). *More than just lab partners: Women scientists and engineers married and partnered to other scientists and engineers* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Washington: Seattle, WA.

Blee, K. M., & Tickamyer, A. R. (1995). Racial differences in men's attitudes about women's gender roles. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 57*(1), 21–30. https://doi.org/10.2307/353813

Bourdieu, P. (2011). The forms of capital. In M. Granovetter & R. Swedberg (Eds.) *The Sociology of Economic Life* (3rd Ed.). New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Bowles, H. R., & McGinn, K. L. (2008). Gender in job negotiations: A two-level game. *Negotiation Journal, 24*(4), 393–410. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1571-9979.2008.00194.x

Bozeman, B., & Gaughan, M. (2011). Job satisfaction among university faculty: Individual, work, and institutional determinants. *The Journal of Higher Education, 82*(2), 154–186. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2011.0011

Bradbury, T. N., Fincham, F. D., & Beach, S. R. (2000). Research on the nature and determinants of marital satisfaction: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *62*(4), 964–980. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2000.00964.x

Bradley, H., Healy, G., & Mukherjee, N. (2005). Multiple burdens: Problems of work–life balance for ethnic minority trade union activist women. In D. M. Houston, *Work–life*

balance in the 21st century (pp. 211–229). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230373594_11

Bray, N. J. (2008). Proscriptive norms for academic deans: Comparing faculty expectations across institutional and disciplinary boundaries. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(6), 692–721. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2008.11772124

Brett, J. M., & Yogev, S. (1988). Restructuring work for family: How dual–earner couples with children manage. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, *3*(4), 159.

Brines, J. (1994). Economic dependency, gender, and the division of labor at home. American *Journal of Sociology, 100*(3), 652–688. https://doi.org/10.1086/230577

Brust, P., Lundeen, L., & Parker, R. (2018). Transitioning from "Two–body Problem" to "Dual Career Opportunity": A long and arduous journey. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 67–82). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Brynin, M., & Schupp, J. (2000). Education, employment, and gender inequality amongst couples: A comparative analysis of Britain and Germany. *European Sociological Review*, *16*(4), 349–365. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/16.4.349

Bryson, R. B., Bryson, J. B., Licht, M. H., & Licht, B. G. (1976). The professional pair: Husband and wife psychologists. *American Psychologist*, *31*(1), 10–16. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.31.1.10

Bunker, B. B., Zubel, J. M., Vanderslice, V. J., & Rice, R. W. (1992). Quality of life in dual–career families: Commuting versus single–residence couples. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 54*(2), 399–406. https://doi.org/10.2307/353071

Burgess, N. J. (1994). Gender roles revisited: The development of the" woman's place" among African American women in the United States. *Journal of Black Studies, 24*(4), 391–401. https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479402400402

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.

Byrne, A., & Barling, J. (2017). When she brings home the job status: Wives' job status, status leakage, and marital instability. *Organization Science*, *28*(2), 177–192. https://doi.org/10.1287/orsc.2017.1120

Calarco, J. M., Meanwell, E., Anderson, E., & Knopf, A. (2020). "My Husband Thinks I'm Crazy": COVID–19–Related conflict in couples with young children. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/cpkj6

Callister, R. R. (2006). The impact of gender and department climate on job satisfaction and intentions to quit for faculty in science and engineering fields. *Journal of Technology Transfer*, *31*(3), 367–375. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10961-006-7208-y

Campbell, C.M. (2012). Faculty agency: Departmental contexts that matter in faculty careers [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Maryland.

Campbell, C. M., & O'Meara, K. (2014). Faculty agency: Departmental contexts that matter in faculty careers. *Research in Higher Education*, *55*(1), 49–74. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-013-9303-x

Cano, A. (2019). The challenges of the trailing spouse. *Inside Higher Education.* Retrieved from https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2019/05/24/institutions–should–develop–more–inclusive–practices–dual–career–couples–opinion?utm_content=buffer66376&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook&utm_c

ampaign=IHEbuffer&fbclid=IwAR1rVlMSF1qIQzpdC0DlhcUWO0a5A0QvuNCEW3Lv18Efj5h1TUUXibZDriw

Carbado, D. W., Crenshaw, K. W., Mays, V. M., & Tomlinson, B. (2013). Intersectionality: Mapping the movements of a theory. *Du Bois Review, 10*(2), 303–312. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X13000349

Careless, E., & Mizzi, R. (2015). Reconstructing careers, shifting realities: Understanding the difficulties facing trailing spouses in higher education. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, (166).

Carlson, D. L., Petts, R., & Pepin, J. (2020). US Couples' divisions of housework and childcare during COVID–19 pandemic. https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/jy8fn.

Carter–Sowell, A. R., Vaid, J., Stanley, C. A., Petitt, B., & Battle, J. S. (2019). ADVANCE Scholar Program: enhancing minoritized scholars' professional visibility. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal, 38*(3), 305–327. https://doi.org/10.1108/EDI-03-2018-0059

Castañeda, M., Zambrana, R. E., Marsh, K., Vega, W., Becerra, R., & Pérez, D. J. (2015). Role of institutional climate on underrepresented faculty perceptions and decision making in use of work–family policies. *Family Relations*, *64*(5), 711–725. https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12159

Cech, E. A., & Blair–Loy, M. (2014). Consequences of flexibility stigma among academic scientists and engineers. *Work and Occupations, 41*(1), 86–110. https://doi.org/10.1177/0730888413515497

Cetin, M. O. (2006). The relationship between job satisfaction, occupational and organizational commitment of academics. *Journal of American Academy of Business Cambridge, 8*(1), 78–88.

Charleston, L., Adserias, R., Lang, N., & Jackson, J. (2014). Intersectionality and STEM: The role of race and gender in the academic pursuits of African American women in STEM. *Journal of Progressive Policy & Practice*, *2*(3), 273–293.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Sage.

Chen, P., & Hinton, S. M. (1999). Realtime interviewing using the world wide web. *Sociological Research Online, 4*(3), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.308

Cherlin, A. (2009). *Marriage, divorce, remarriage.* Harvard University Press.

Cheryan, S., & Markus, H. R. (2020). Masculine defaults: Identifying and mitigating hidden cultural biases. *Psychological Review*, *127*(6), 1022–1052. https://doi.org/10.1037/rev0000209

Chesley, N. (2017). What does it mean to be a "breadwinner" mother? *Journal of Family Issues*, *38*(18), 2594–2619. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16676857

Ciciolla, L., & Luthar, S. S. (2019). Invisible household labor and ramifications for adjustment: Mothers as captains of households. *Sex Roles*, *81*(7), 467–486. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-018-1001-x

Clark, D., Mickey, E.L., & Misra, J. (2020). Reflections on institutional equity for faculty in response to COVID–19. Susan Bulkeley Butler Center for Leadership Excellence and *ADVANCE Working Paper Series, 3*(2), 92–114.

COACHE (2018). Faculty retention and exit survey. https://coache.gse.harvard.edu/faculty–retention–and–exit–survey

COACHE. (2008). *Highlights report 2008: Selected results from the COACHE tenure–track faculty job satisfaction survey*. https://coache.gse.harvard.edu/publications/highlights-report-2008-selected-results-coache-tenure-track-faculty-job

Cohen, P. N. (1998). Replacing housework in the service economy: Gender, class, and race–ethnicity in service spending. *Gender & Society, 12*(2), 219–232. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124398012002006

Colbeck, C. L. (2006). How female and male faculty with families manage work and personal roles. In S.J. Bracken, J.K. Allen, & D.R. Dean (Eds.) *The balancing act: Gendered perspectives in faculty roles and work lives* (pp. 31–50). Stylus.

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, *94*, S95–S120. https://doi.org/10.1086/228943

Collins, P. H. (1999). Moving beyond gender: Intersectionality and scientific knowledge. In M. F. Ferree (Ed.), *Revisioning gender* (pp. 261–284). Sage.

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Polity Press.

Conger, R. D., Elder Jr, G. H., Lorenz, F. O., Conger, K. J., Simons, R. L., Whitbeck, L. B., ... & Melby, J. N. (1990). Linking economic hardship to marital quality and instability. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 52*(3), 643–656. https://doi.org/10.2307/352931

Cooke, F. L. (2007). 'Husband's career first' renegotiating career and family commitment among migrant Chinese academic couples in Britain. *Work, Employment and Society*, *21*(1), 47–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017007073615

Coontz, S. (2005). The evolution of matrimony: The changing social context of marriage. *Annals of the American Psychotherapy Association, 8*(4), 30–34.

Cornwell, B. (2012). Spousal network overlap as a basis for spousal support. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *74*(2), 229–238. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00959.x

Craig, L., & Churchill, B. (2020). Working and caring at home: gender differences in the effects of Covid–19 on paid and unpaid labor in Australia. *Feminist Economics*, 1–17.

Cramer, D., & Jowett, S. (2010). Perceived empathy, accurate empathy and relationship satisfaction in heterosexual couples. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 27*(3), 327–349. https://doi.org/10.1177/0265407509348384

Creamer, E. G. (1998). Assessing faculty publication productivity: Issues of equity. *ASHE–ERIC Higher Education Report, 26*(2).

Creamer, E. G. (1999). Knowledge production, publication productivity, and intimate academic partnerships. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *70*(3), 261–277. https://doi.org/10.2307/2649197

Creamer, E. G. (2001). *Working equal: Academic couples as collaborators*. RoutledgeFarmer.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, (1), 139–167. https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Creswell, J.W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among the five approaches* (3rd ed). Sage.

Crook, S. (2020). Parenting during the Covid–19 pandemic of 2020: academia, labour and care work. *Women's History Review*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2020.1807690

Crouter, A. C., Baril, M. E., Davis, K. D., & McHale, S. M. (2008). Processes linking social class and racial socialization in African American dual-earner families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *70*(5), 1311–1325. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2008.00568.x

Cui, R., Ding, H., & Zhu, F. (2020). Gender inequality in research productivity during the COVID–19 pandemic. *SSRN Electronic Journal.* https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3623492

Cullen, J. C., Hammer, L. B., Neal, M. B., & Sinclair, R. R. (2009). Development of a typology of dual–earner couples caring for children and aging parents. *Journal of Family Issues*, *30*(4), 458–483. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X08326003

Culpepper, D., Goodman, M. A., & Norris, L. (2020a). Linked lives: The experiences of higher education and student affairs doctoral students and their partners. *Journal for the Study of Postsecondary and Tertiary Education*, *5*, 105–123. https://doi.org/10.28945/4554

Culpepper, D., Lennartz, C., O'Meara, K., & Kuvaeva, A. (2020b). Who Gets to Have a Life? Agency in Work–Life Balance for Single Faculty. *Equity & Excellence in Education 53(4),*531–550. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2020.1791280

Cunningham, M. (2005). Gender in cohabitation and marriage: The influence of gender ideology on housework allocation over the life course. *Journal of Family Issues, 26*(8), 1037–1061. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X04273592

Curhan, J. R., Neale, M. A., Ross, L., & Rosencranz–Engelmann, J. (2008). Relational accommodation in negotiation: Effects of egalitarianism and gender on economic

efficiency and relational capital. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 107*(2), 192–205. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.obhdp.2008.02.009

Curtis, A., Lundquist, J., Templer, A., & Misra, J. (2009). *The geography of work and home at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst: Joint Administration–Massachusetts Society of Professors Work–Life Committee report*.

Dagg, A. I. (1993). Academic faculty wives and systemic discrimination —Antinepotism and "inbreeding." *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, *23*(2), 1–18.

Dale, A. (2005). Combining family and employment: evidence from Pakistani and Bangladeshi women. In D.M. Houston, *Work–life balance in the 21st century* (pp. 230–245). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230373594_12

Daly, C. J., & Dee, J. R. (2006). Greener pastures: Faculty turnover intent in urban public universities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *77*(5), 776–803. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2006.0040

Daminger, A. (2019). The cognitive dimension of household labor. *American Sociological Review, 84*(4), 609–633. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122419859007

Bernal, D. D., & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the" legitimate" knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *35*(2), 169–180. https://doi.org/10.1080/713845282

Deryugina, T., Shurchkov, O., & Stearns, J. E. (2021). *COVID–19 Disruptions Disproportionately Affect Female Academics* (No. w28360). National Bureau of Economic Research. https://doi.org/10.3386/w28360

de Wet, C. B., & de Wet, A. P. (1997). Sharing academic careers: An alternative for pretenure and young family dual–career faculty couples. *Journal of Women and Minorities in*

Science and Engineering, *3*(3), 203–212. https://doi.org/10.1615/JWomenMinorScienEng.v3.i3.50

Deakin, H., & Wakefield, K. (2014). Skype interviewing: Reflections of two PhD researchers. *Qualitative Research, 14*(5), 603–616. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794113488126

Denson, N., Szelényi, K., & Bresonis, K. (2017). Correlates of work–life balance for faculty across racial/ethnic groups. *Research in Higher Education, 59*(2), 226–247. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-017-9464-0

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research.* Sage.

Deutsch, F. M., & Yao, B. (2014). Gender differences in faculty attrition in the USA. *Community, Work & Family*, *17*(4), 392–408. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2014.885880

Dew, J., & Bradford Wilcox, W. (2013). Generosity and the maintenance of marital quality. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *75*(5), 1218–1228. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12066

Didion, C. J. (1996). Dual careers and shared positions. *Journal of College Science Teaching*, *26*(2), 123–124.

Dika, S. L., & Singh, K. (2002). Applications of social capital in educational literature: A critical synthesis. *Review of Educational Research*, *72*(1), 31–60. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543072001031

Dispenza, F. (2015). An exploratory model of proximal minority stress and the work–life interface for men in same-sex, dual-earner relationships. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, *93*(3), 321–332. https://doi.org/10.1002/jcad.12030

Dolan, K., & Lawless, J. L. (2020). It takes a submission: Gendered patterns in the pages of AJPS. *American Journal of Political Science*, *20*.

Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The third wave. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 829–849. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00244

Dow, D. M. (2016). Integrated motherhood: Beyond hegemonic ideologies of motherhood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *78*(1), 180–196. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12264

Drago, R., & Williams, J. (2000). A half–time tenure track proposal. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 32*(6), 46–51. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091380009601767

Drago, R., Crouter, A. C., Wardell, M., & Willits, B. S. (2001). *Final report to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation for the faculty and families project: The Pennsylvania State University*. Work–Family Working Paper, 01–02.

Dugger, K. (1988). Social location and gender–role attitudes: A comparison of Black and White women. *Gender & Society, 2*(4), 425–448. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124388002004002

Duxbury, L. E., & Higgins, C. A. (1991). Gender differences in work–family conflict. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *76*(1), 60–74. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.76.1.60

Eagan Jr, M. K., & Garvey, J. C. (2015). Stressing out: Connecting race, gender, and stress with faculty productivity. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *86*(6), 923–954. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2015.0034

Eagan, K., Stolzenberg, E. B., Lozano, J. B., Aragon, M. C., Suchard, M. R., & Hurtado, S. (2014*). Undergraduate teaching faculty: The 2013–2014 HERI faculty survey*. Higher Education Research Institute, UCLA.

Elboute, T., & Kimmelman, P. (2014). In faculty hiring, spouses pose unique challenge. *Yale Daily News*.

England, K. V. (1994). Getting personal: Reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *The Professional Geographer*, *46*(1), 80–89. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0033-0124.1994.00080.x

Epstein, C. F. (1973). Black and female: The double whammy. *Psychology Today, 89*(2), 57–61. https://doi.org/10.1037/e400512009-005

Erickson, R. J. (2005). Why emotion work matters: Sex, gender, and the division of household labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*(2), 337–351. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2005.00120.x

Ezrati, J. B. (1983). Personnel policies in higher education: A covert means of sex discrimination? *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *19*(4), 105–119. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X83019004006

Feeney, M. K., Bernal, M., & Bowman, L. (2014). Enabling work? Family–friendly policies and academic productivity for men and women scientists. *Science and Public Policy*, *41*(6), 750–764. https://doi.org/10.1093/scipol/scu006

Fellows, K. J., Chiu, H. Y., Hill, E. J., & Hawkins, A. J. (2016). Work–family conflict and couple relationship quality: A meta–analytic study. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *37*(4), 509–518. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-015-9450-7

Ferber, M. A., & Hoffman, E. P. (1997). Are academic partners at a disadvantage? In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 182–207). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Ferber, M. A., & Loeb, J. W. (Eds.). (1997). *Academic couples: Problems and promises*. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Fernández-Ballesteros, R., Díez-Nicolás, J., Caprara, G. V., Barbaranelli, C., & Bandura, A. (2002). Determinants and structural relation of personal efficacy to collective efficacy. *Applied Psychology, 51*(1), 107–125. https://doi.org/10.1111/1464-0597.00081

Finkelstein, M. J., Conley, V. M., & Schuster, J. H. (2016). *Taking the measure of faculty diversity*. TIAA.

Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, *2*(2), 209–230. https://doi.org/10.1177/146879410200200205

Fisher, C. D. (2015). Embracing the "Two–Body Problem": The case of partnered academics. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *8*(1), 13–18. https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2014.4

Fleig–Palmer, M., Murrin, J., Palmer, D. K., & Rathert, C. (2003). Meeting the needs of dual–-career couples in academia. *CUPA–HR Journal*, *54*(3), 12–15.

Fowler, J. H., Grofman, B., & Masuoka, N. (2007). Social networks in political science: hiring and placement of Ph. Ds, 1960–2002. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, *40*(4), 729–739. https://doi.org/10.1017/S104909650707117X

Fowler, S. B., & DePauw, K. P. (2005). Dual–career queer couple hiring in Southwest Virginia: Or, the contract that was not one. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 9*(4), 73–88. https://doi.org/10.1300/J155v09n04_06

Fox, M. F. (2005). Gender, family characteristics, and publication productivity among scientists. *Social Studies of Science*, *35*(1), 131–150. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312705046630

Fox, M. F., Fonseca, C., & Bao, J. (2011). Work and family conflict in academic science: Patterns and predictors among women and men in research universities. *Social Studies of Science*, *41*(5), 715–735. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312711417730

Fries–Britt, S., Rowan–Kenyon, H. T., Perna, L. W., Milem, J. F., & Howard, D. G. (2011). Underrepresentation in the academy and the institutional climate for faculty diversity. *Journal of the Professoriate, 5*(1), 1–34.

Frisco, M. L., & Williams, K. (2003). Perceived housework equity, marital happiness, and divorce in dual–earner households. *Journal of Family Issues*, *24*(1), 51–73. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X02238520

Fulweiler, R. W., Davies, S. W., Biddle, J. F., Burgin, A. J., Cooperdock, E. H., Hanley, T. C., ... & Traylor–Knowles, N. (2020). Rebuilding the academy: Strategies for supporting academic mothers during the COVID–19 global pandemic and beyond. https://www.preprints.org/manuscript/202009.0632/v1

Furstenberg, F. F. (2005). Banking on families: How families generate and distribute social capital. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *67*(4), 809–821. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00177.x

Gahn, S., & Carlson, S. (2008, October). *Breaking the norms: Measuring the impact of new policies*. Presentation at the New Norm of Faculty Flexibility: Transforming the Culture in Science and Engineering Conference, Ames, IA.

Ganz, M. (2010). *Leading change: Leadership, organization, and social movements.* Harvard Business Press.

Gardner, S. K. (2008). “What's too much and what's too little?”: The process of becoming an independent researcher in doctoral education. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *79*(3), 326–350. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2008.11772101

Gardner, S. K. (2012). “I couldn’t wait to leave the toxic environment”: A mixed methods study of women faculty satisfaction and departure from one research institution. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, *5*(1), 71–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2008.11772101

Gardner, S. K. (2013a). Cumulative negativity: Reasons for women faculty departure from one research institution. *Journal of Higher Education Management*, *28*(1), 148–165.

Gardner, S. K. (2013b). Women faculty departures from a striving institution: Between a rock and a hard place. *The Review of Higher Education, 36*(3), 349–370. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2013.0025

Gardner, S.K. & McNerney, A. (2018). Partner accommodations in the hinterlands: A strategic imperative for faculty retention. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 45–52). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Gardner, S.K. & Ward. K. (2018). Investing in department chairs. *Change Magazine, 50*(2), 58–62. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2018.1483181

Garry, A. (2012). Who is included? Intersectionality, metaphors, and the multiplicity of gender. *Hypatia, 26*(4), 826–850. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2011.01194.x

Gasman, M. (2016, September 20). The five things no one will tell you about why colleges don't hire more faculty of color. *The Hechinger Report.* https://hechingerreport.org/five–things–no–one–will–tell–colleges–dont–hire–faculty–color/

Gasman, M., Kim, J., & Nguyen, T. H. (2011). Effectively recruiting faculty of color at highly selective institutions: A school of education case study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 4*(4), 212–222. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0025130

Gaston Gayles, J., & Smith, K. N. (2018). Advancing theoretical frameworks for intersectional research on women in STEM. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, *2018*(179), 27–43. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.20274

Gewin, V. (2020). The career cost of COVID–19 to female researchers, and how science should respond. *Nature*, *583*(7818), 867–869. https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-02183-x

Gelfand, M. J., Major, V. S., Raver, J. L., Nishii, L. H., & O'Brien, K. (2006). Negotiating relationally: The dynamics of the relational self in negotiations. *Academy of Management Review, 31*(2), 427–451. https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2006.20208689

Gerring, J. (2004). What is a case study and what is it good for? T*he American Political Science Review, 98*(2), 341–354. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182

Gerson, K. (2010). Falling back on Plan B: The children of the gender revolution face uncharted territory. In B. Risman (Ed.), *Families as They Really Are* (pp. 379–392). Norton.

Gianino, M. (2008). Adaptation and transformation: The transition to adoptive parenthood for gay male couples. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *4*(2), 205–243.

Gibbs Jr, K. D., Basson, J., Xierali, I. M., & Broniatowski, D. A. (2016). Decoupling of the minority PhD talent pool and assistant professor hiring in medical school basic science departments in the US. *Elife, 5*, e21393. https://doi.org/10.1080/15504280802096872

Gibson, M. A., Meem, D. T., & Alexander, J. (2013). *Finding out: An introduction to LGBT studies*. Sage.

Gibson, M., & Meem, D. T. (Eds.) (2011). *Lesbian academic couples.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203729113

Giddens, A. (1992*). The transformation of intimacy*. Stanford University Press.

Gilbert, L. A. (1985). *Men in dual–career families: Current realities and future prospects*. Psychology Press.

Girod, S., Gilmartin, S. K., Valantine, H., & Schiebinger, L. (2011). Academic couples: Implications for medical school faculty recruitment and retention. *Journal of the American College of Surgeons*, *212*(3), 310–319. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jamcollsurg.2010.11.005

Glaser, B., (1998). *Doing grounded theory: Issues and discussion.* SociologyPress.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (2017). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203793206

Goetz, J. P., & LeCompte, M. D. (1984). *Assessing ethnographic design. Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research.* Academic Press.

Goldberg, A. E., & Sayer, A. (2006). Lesbian couples' relationship quality across the transition to parenthood. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *68*(1), 87–100. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2006.00235.x

Goldberg, A. E., Smith, J. Z., & Perry-Jenkins, M. (2012). The division of labor in lesbian, gay, and heterosexual new adoptive parents. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 74*(4), 812–828.

Goldberg, D., & Sakai, A. K. (1993). Career options for dual–career couples: results of an ESA survey on soft money research positions and shared positions. *Bulletin of the Ecological Society of America*, *74*, 146–152. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2012.00992.x

Gonzales, L. D. (2013). Faculty sensemaking and mission creep: Interrogating institutionalized ways of knowing and doing legitimacy. *The Review of Higher Education*, *36*(2), 179–209. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2013.0000

Gonzales, L. D. (2015). Faculty agency in striving university contexts: mundane yet powerful acts of agency. *British Educational Research Journal*, *41*(2), 303–323. https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3140

Gonzales, L. & Griffin, K.A. (2020). *Supporting faculty during & after COVID–19: Don't let go of equity.* ASPIRE Alliance.

Gonzales, L. D., & Rincones, R. (2012). Interdisciplinary scholars: Negotiating legitimacy at the core and from the margins. *Journal of Further and Higher Education, 36*(4), 495–518. https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2011.643772

Gonzales, L. D., Murakami, E., & Núñez, A. M. (2013). Latina faculty in the labyrinth: Constructing and contesting legitimacy in Hispanic Serving Institutions. *Educational Foundations*, *27*(1), 65–89

Gonzales, L. D., & Terosky, A. L. (2018). Colleagueship in different types of post–secondary institutions: a lever for faculty vitality. *Studies in Higher Education*, *43*(8), 1378–1391. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2016.1255938

Gould, J. (2020, November 25). The career costs of COVID–19: How the postdocs and PhD students are paying the price. *Nature*. https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586–020–03108–4 https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-03108-4

Gorman–Murray, A. (2006). Gay and lesbian couples at home: identity work in domestic space. *Home Cultures*, *3*(2), 145–167. https://doi.org/10.2752/174063106778053200

Govaerts, K., & Dixon, D. N. (1988). Until careers do us part: Vocational and marital satisfaction in the dual–career commuter marriage. *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling, 11*(4), 265–281. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00117685

Grady, M.P. (1998). *Qualitative and action research: A practitioner handbook.* Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.

Green, A. E., Hogarth, T., & Shackleton, R. E. (1999). Longer distance commuting as a substitute for migration in Britain: a review of trends, issues and implications. *International Journal of Population Geography, 5*(1), 49–67. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1220(199901/02)5:1<49::AID-IJPG124>3.0.CO;2-O

Greenhaus, J. H., Collins, K. M., Singh, R., & Parasuraman, S. (1997). Work and family influences on departure from public accounting. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *50*(2), 249–270. https://doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1996.1578

Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Collins, K. M. (2001). Career involvement and family involvement as moderators of relationships between work–family conflict and withdrawal from a profession. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *6*(2), 91–100. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.6.2.91

Griffin, K.A. (2020). Looking beyond the pipeline: Institutional barriers, strategies, and benefits to increasing the representation of women and men of color in the professoriate. In L. Perna (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (vol. 35). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-31365-4_4.

Griffin, K. A., Bennett, J. C., & Harris, J. (2013). Marginalizing merit?: Gender differences in Black faculty D/discourses on tenure, advancement, and professional success. *The Review of Higher Education*, *36*(4), 489–512. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2013.0040

Griffin, K. A., & Muñiz, M. M. (2011). The strategies and struggles of graduate diversity officers in the recruitment of doctoral students of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *44*(1), 57–76. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.540961

Griffin, K. A., Pifer, M. J., Humphrey, J. R., & Hazelwood, A. M. (2011). (Re) defining departure: Exploring Black professors' experiences with and responses to racism and racial climate. *American Journal of Education*, *117*(4), 495–526. https://doi.org/10.1086/660756

Grzywacz, J. G., Almeida, D. M., & McDonald, D. A. (2002). Work–family spillover and daily reports of work and family stress in the adult labor force. *Family Relations*, *51*(1), 28–36. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2002.00028.x

Gudmunson, C. G., Beutler, I. F., Israelsen, C. L., McCoy, J. K., & Hill, E. J. (2007). Linking financial strain to marital instability: Examining the roles of emotional distress and marital interaction. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *28*(3), 357–376. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-007-9074-7

Guinier, L. (2015). *The tyranny of the meritocracy: Democratizing higher education in America*. Beacon Press.

Gupta, S. (2007). Autonomy, dependence, or display? The relationship between married women's earnings and housework. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 69*(2), 399–417. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2007.00373.x

Hagedorn, L. S. (2000). Conceptualizing faculty job satisfaction: Components, theories, and outcomes. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, 2000(105), 5–20. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.10501

Hagedorn, L. S., & Sax, L. (2003). Marriage, children, and aging parents: The role of family–related factors in faculty job satisfaction. *The Journal of Faculty Development*, *19*(2), 65–76.

Harryson, L., Novo, M., & Hammarström, A. (2012). Is gender inequality in the domestic sphere associated with psychological distress among women and men? Results from the Northern Swedish Cohort. *J Epidemiol Community Health*, *66*(3), 271–276. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2010.109231

Hart, J. (2011). Non–tenure track women faculty: Opening the door. *Journal of the Professoriate*, *4*(1), 96–124,

Harper, E. P., Baldwin, R. G., Gansneder, B. G., & Chronister, J. L. (2001). Full-time women faculty off the tenure track: Profile and practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, *24*(3), 237-257.

Harter, M. (2011). Dual career administrators. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/advice/2012/07/27/getting-dual-career-academics-good-start-essay

Harvey, M. G. (1995). The impact of dual–career families on international relocations. *Human Resource Management Review, 5*(3), 223–244. https://doi.org/10.1016/1053-4822(95)90003-9

Harvey, M. G. (1997). Dual–career expatriates: Expectations, adjustment and satisfaction with international relocation. *Journal of International Business Studies, 28*(3), 627–658. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.jibs.8490114

Harvey, M., Buckley, M. R., Novicevic, M. M., & Wiese, D. (1999). Mentoring dual–career expatriates: A sense–making and sense–giving social support process. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *10*(5), 808–827. https://doi.org/10.1080/095851999340161

Heilman, M. E. (2001). Description and prescription: How gender stereotypes prevent women's ascent up the organizational ladder. *Journal of Social Issues*, *57*(4), 657–674. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00234

Hekman, S. (1995). 'Subjects and Agents: The Question for Feminism. In J. Gardiner (Ed.), *Provoking Agents: Gender and Agency in Theory and Practice* (pp. 194–207). University of Illinois Press.

Hernandez, M., Avery, D. R., Volpone, S. D., & Kaiser, C. R. (2019). Bargaining while Black: The role of race in salary negotiations. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *104*(4), 581–592. https://doi.org/10.1037/apl0000363

Hertz, R. (1986). *More equal than others: Women and men in dual–career marriages*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520342187

Higgins, C. A., & Duxbury, L. E. (1992). Work—family conflict: A comparison of dual-career and traditional-career men. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *13*(4), 389–411. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.4030130407

Higgins, C. A., Duxbury, L. E., & Irving, R. H. (1992). Work–family conflict in the dual–career family. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *51*(1), 51–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/0749-5978(92)90004-Q

Hochschild, A. (1989). *The second shift: Working parents and the revolution at home*. Viking.

Holahan, C. K., & Gilbert, L. A. (1979). Conflict between major life roles: Women and men in dual career couples. *Human Relations*, *32*(6), 451–467. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872677903200602

Holmes, M. A. (2012). Working together. *Nature*, *489*, 8–9. https://doi.org/10.1038/nj7415-327a

Hornig, L. S. (1997). Academic couples: the view from the administration. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices*. Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Horton, H. W. (2000). Perspectives on the current status of the racial climate relative to students, staff, and faculty of color at predominantly White colleges/universities in America. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 33*(3), 35–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/1066568000330306

Huffman, A. H., King, E. B., & Goldberg, A. E. (2014). Valuing lesbian and gay parenting in the workplace. In M.A. Paludi (Ed.), *Women, Work, and Family: How Companies Thrive with a 21st–Century Multicultural Workforce* (pp. 173–190). Praeger.

Hughes, A. K., Horner, P. S., & Ortiz, D. V. (2012). Being the diversity hire: Negotiating identity in an academic job search. *Journal of Social Work Education*, *48*(3), 595–612. https://doi.org/10.5175/JSWE.2012.201000101

Hunter, L. A., & Leahey, E. (2010). Parenting and research productivity: New evidence and methods. *Social Studies of Science*, *40*(3), 433–451. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306312709358472

Hurlburt, S., & McGarrah, M. (2016a). *Cost savings or cost shifting? The relationship between part–time contingent faculty and institutional spending*. Delta Cost Project at American Institutes for Research.

Hurlburt, S., & McGarrah, M. (2016b). *The shifting academic workforce: Where are the contingent faculty*. Delta Cost Project at American Institutes for Research.

Isaac, K. D. (2018). *Dual–career couples: A coup or to cope in academia* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Columbus State University.

Ishizuka, P. (2019). Social class, gender, and contemporary parenting standards in the United States: Evidence from a national survey experiment. *Social Forces*, *98*(1), 31–58. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soy107

Jackson, A. P., Brown, R. P., & Patterson–Stewart, K. E. (2000). African Americans in dual–career commuter marriages: An investigation of their experiences. *The Family Journal, 8*(1), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480700081005

Jacobs, J. A., & Winslow, S. E. (2004). Overworked faculty: Job stresses and family demands. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *596*(1), 104–129. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716204268185

Jaeger, A. J., & Eagan, M. K. (2011). Examining retention and contingent faculty use in a state system of public higher education. *Educational Policy*, *25*(3), 507–537. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904810361723

Jarrett, M. (2017, April 24). The 4 types of organizational politics. *Harvard Business Review.* https://hbr.org/2017/04/the-4-types-of-organizational-politics

Jaschik, S. (2010). Doing “dual career” right. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2010/09/01/doing-dual-career-right

Jaschik, S. (2012). Dual career cautionary tale. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2012/07/30/court-ruling-points-tough-issues-dual-career-couples

Johnsrud, L. K., & Rosser, V. J. (2002). Faculty members' morale and their intention to leave: A multilevel explanation. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *73*(4), 518–542. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2002.11777162

Jöns, H. (2011). Transnational academic mobility and gender. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *9*(2), 183–209. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2011.577199

Jorgenson, J. (2016). Performing the ‘Two–Body Problem’: An analysis of academic couples’ career sensemaking as revealed through joint storytelling. *Journal of Family Communication*, *16*(4), 403–418. https://doi.org/10.1080/15267431.2016.1215985

Jurlaquova, Z., Kmec, J. A., & Byington, T. (2015). The impacts of marriage on perceived academic career success: Differences by gender and discipline*. International Journal of Gender, Science and Technology, 7*(3), 369–392.

Kachchaf, R., Ko, L., Hodari, A., & Ong, M. (2015). Career–life balance for women of color: Experiences in science and engineering academia. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 8*(3), 175–191. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039068

Katz–Wise, S. L., Priess, H. A., & Hyde, J. S. (2010). Gender–role attitudes and behavior across the transition to parenthood. *Developmental Psychology*, *46*(1), 18–28. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0017820

Kaunas, C.L., Tomaszewski, L., & Yennello, S.J. (2018). Transitioning from "Two–body Problem" to "Dual Career Opportunity": A long and arduous journey. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 52–65). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Kelly, B. T., & Fetridge, J. S. (2012). The role of students in the experience of women faculty on the tenure track. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, *5*(1), 22–45. https://doi.org/10.1515/1940-7890.1095

Kelly, B. T., & McCann, K. (2013). Women faculty of color: Success stories from the margins. *Journal of the International Association for the Study of the Global Achievement Gap, 1*(Fall, 2013), 29–44.

Kelly, B. T., & McCann, K., (2019). Women faculty on the tenure track: The compounding role of being the breadwinner. *Journal of the Professoriate, 10*(1), 74–109.

Kelly, B. T., & Winkle–Wagner, R. (2017). Finding a voice in predominantly White institutions: A longitudinal study of Black women faculty members' journeys toward tenure. *Teachers College Record, 119*(6), 1–36.

Kelly, B. T., McCann, K., & Porter, K. (2018). White women's faculty socialization: Persisting within and against a gendered tenure system. *The Review of Higher Education*, *41*(4), 523–547. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2018.0024

Kezar, A. (2001). Understanding and facilitating organizational change in the 21st century: Recent research and conceptualizations. *ASHE–ERIC Higher Education Report, 28*(4). Jossey–Bass.

Kezar, A. (2012). *Embracing non–tenure track faculty: Changing campuses for the new faculty majority*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203828434

Kezar, A. (2013). Departmental cultures and non–tenure–track faculty: Willingness, capacity, and opportunity to perform at four–year institutions. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *84*(2), 153–188. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2013.0011

Kezar, A., & Eckel, P. D. (2002). The effect of institutional culture on change strategies in higher education: Universal principles or culturally responsive concepts? *The Journal of Higher Education*, *73*(4), 435–460. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2002.0038

Kezar, A., DePaola, T., & Scott, D. T. (2019). *The gig academy: Mapping labor in the neoliberal university*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kezar, A., & Sam, C. (2010). Understanding the New Majority of Non–Tenure–Track Faculty in Higher Education—Demographics, Experiences, and Plans of Action. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *36*(4), 1–133. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.v36:4

Kezar, A., & Sam, C. (2013). Institutionalizing equitable policies and practices for contingent faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *84*(1), 56–87. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2013.0002

Kibel, L. S. (2013). Beyond the “Two–Body” problem: Recruitment with dual–career couples support. *New England Journal of Higher Education*. Retrieved from https://manchester.idm.oclc.org/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/1720060580?accountid=12253%0Ahttp://man–

fe.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/openurl/44MAN/44MAN_services_page?url_ver=Z39.88–2004&rft_val_fmt=journal&genre=unknown&sid=ProQ:ProQ%3Aeduca

Kim, D., Wolf–Wendel, L., & Twombly, S. (2011). International faculty: Experiences of academic life and productivity in US universities. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *82*(6), 720–747. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2011.0038

Kim, J. (2017). Do dual–career academics give each other good career advice? *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/blogs/technology-and-learning/do-dual-career-academics-give-each-other-good-career-advice

Kim, J. (2018). When your spouse's academic career zooms. *Inside Higher Ed*. https://www.insidehighered.com/blogs/technology-and-learning/when-your-spouses-academic-career-zooms

Kim, J., Ingersoll–Dayton, B., & Kwak, M. (2013). Balancing eldercare and employment: The role of work interruptions and supportive employers. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, *32*(3), 347–369. https://doi.org/10.1177/0733464811423647

King, M. M., & Frederickson, M. (2020). The pandemic penalty: The gendered effects of COVID–19 on scientific productivity. https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/8hp7m/ https://doi.org/10.1177/0733464811423647

Kinnunen, U., Feldt, T., Geurts, S., & Pulkkinen, L. (2006). Types of work-family interface: Well-being correlates of negative and positive spillover between work and family. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, *47*(2), 149–162. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2006.00502.x

Kiyama, J. M., Lee, J. J., & Rhoades, G. (2012). A critical agency network model for building an integrated outreach program. *The Journal of Higher Education, 83*(2), 276–303. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2012.0009

Kmec, J. A., Byington, T., & Lan, Y. (2015). *A multi–university study of partner accommodation: Final report*. Washington State University.

Knobloch–Westerwick, S., Glynn, C. J., & Huge, M. (2013). The Matilda effect in science communication: an experiment on gender bias in publication quality perceptions and collaboration interest. *Science Communication, 35*(5), 603–625. https://doi.org/10.1177/1075547012472684

Korabik, K. (2015). The intersection of gender and work–family guilt. In M. J. Mills (Ed.), *Gender and the work–family experience* (pp. 141– 157). Springer International. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-08891-4_8

Konrad, A. M., & Mangel, R. (2000). The impact of work-life programs on firm productivity. *Strategic Management Journal*, *21*(12), 1225–1237. https://doi.org/10.1002/1097-0266(200012)21:12<1225::AID-SMJ135>3.0.CO;2-3

Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1999). Bridging the work–family policy and productivity gap: A literature review. *Community, Work & Family*, *2*(1), 7–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/13668809908414247

Krukowski, R. A., Jagsi, R., & Cardel, M. I. (2020). Academic productivity differences by gender and child age in science, technology, Engineering, Mathematics, and Medicine Faculty During the COVID–19 Pandemic. *Journal of Women's Health, 30*(3). https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.2020.8710

Kulis, S., & Sicotte, D. (2002). Women scientists in academia: Geographically constrained to big cities, college clusters, or the coasts? *Research in Higher Education*, *43*(1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1013097716317

Kulis, S., Shaw, H., & Chong, Y. (2000). External labor markets and the distribution of black scientists and engineers in academia. *Journal of Higher Education, 71*(2), 187–222. https://doi.org/10.2307/2649248

Kurdek, L. A. (1993). The allocation of household labor in gay, lesbian, and heterosexual married couples. *Journal of Social Issues*, *49*(3), 127–139. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1993.tb01172.x

Kurdek, L. A. (2004). Are gay and lesbian cohabitating couples really different from heterosexual married couples? *Journal of Marriage and Family, 66*(4), 880–900. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0022-2445.2004.00060.x

Kurdek, L. A. (2007). The allocation of household labor by partners in gay and lesbian couples. *Journal of Family Issues*, *28*(1), 132–148. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X06292019

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing.* Sage.

LaSala, M. C., Jenkins, D. A., Wheeler, D. P., & Fredriksen–Goldsen, K. I. (2008). LGBT faculty, research, and researchers: Risks and rewards. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services*, *20*(3), 253–267.

Lauer, S. R., & Yodanis, C. (2011). Individualized marriage and the integration of resources. Journal of Marriage and Family, 73(3), 669–683. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00836.x

Laursen, S., & Austin, A. E. (2020). *Building gender equity in the academy: Institutional strategies for change*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Laursen, S. L., Austin, A. E., Soto, M., & Martinez, D. (2015). ADVANCing the agenda for gender equity. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning, 47*(4), 16–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/00091383.2015.1053767

Lawrence, J. H., Celis, S., Kim, H. S., Lipson, S. K., & Tong, X. (2014). To stay or not to stay: retention of Asian international faculty in STEM fields. *Higher Education*, *67*(5), 511–531. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-013-9658-0

Layne, P., Creamer, E., Hyer, P., & Eckel, C. (2005). *Developing and implementing guidelines for dual career hires*. Paper presented at the ASEE Annual Conference and Exposition, Conference Proceedings.

Lee, J. J. (2004). Comparing institutional relationships with academic departments: A study of five academic fields. *Research in Higher Education, 45*, 603–624. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000040265.86668.1a

Leemann, R. J. (2010). Institutionalisation of transnational mobility in academia and the ideal type of academic entrepreneur. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *31*(5), 605–625. https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2010.516942

Leslie, S. J., Cimpian, A., Meyer, M., & Freeland, E. (2015). Expectations of brilliance underlie gender distributions across academic disciplines. *Science, 347*(6219), 262–265. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1261375

Lester, J. (2015). Cultures of work–life balance in higher education: A case of fragmentation. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *8*(3), 139–156. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039377

Lester, J., & Sallee, M. (2009). *Establishing the family–friendly campus: Models for effective practice*. Stylus.

Lester, J., & Sallee, M. W. (2017). Troubling gender norms and the ideal worker in academic life. In P.L. Eddy, K. Ward, & T. Khwaja (Eds.), *Critical Approaches to Women and Gender in Higher Education* (pp. 115–138), Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59285-9_6

Leung, T., Siu, O., & Spector, P. E. (2000). Faculty stressors, job satisfaction, and psychological distress among university teachers in Hong Kong: The role of locus of control. *International Journal of Stress Management, 7*(2), 121–138. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1009584202196

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage. https://doi.org/10.1016/0147-1767(85)90062-8

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp 97–128). Sage.

Livingston, B. A. (2014). Bargaining behind the scenes: Spousal negotiation, labor, and work–family burnout. *Journal of Management*, *40*(4), 949–977. https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206311428355

Lindemann, D. J. (2017). Commuter spouses and the changing American family. *Contexts, 16*(4), 26–31. https://doi.org/10.1177/1536504217742388

Lo Iacono, V., Symonds, P., & Brown, D. H. (2016). Skype as a tool for qualitative research interviews. *Sociological Research Online, 21*(2), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.3952

Loeb, J. W. (1997). Programs for academic partners: How well can they work? In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 270–298). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Lowenstein, S. R., Fernandez, G., & Crane, L. A. (2007). Medical school faculty discontent: prevalence and predictors of intent to leave academic careers. *BMC Medical Education, 7*(1), 37. https://doi.org/10.1186/1472-6920-7-37

Lundquist, J. H., Misra, J., & O'Meara, K. (2012). Parental leave usage by fathers and mothers at an American university. *Fathering*, *10*(3), 337–363. https://doi.org/10.3149/fth.1003.337

Lyssens-Danneboom, V., & Mortelmans, D. (2014). Living apart together and money: New partnerships, traditional gender roles. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 76*(5), 949–966. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12136

Magnuson, S. & Norem, K. (1999). Challenges for higher education couples in commuter marriages: Insights for couples and counselors who work with them. *The Family Journal*, *7*(2), 125–134. https://doi.org/10.1177/1066480799072005

Magolda, P. M. (1999). Using ethnographic fieldwork and case studies to guide student affairs practice. *Journal of College Student Development, 40*(1), 10–21.

Magolda, P. M. (2000). The campus tour: Ritual and community in higher education. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 31*(1), 24–46. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2000.31.1.24

Malisch, J. L., Harris, B. N., Sherrer, S. M., Lewis, K. A., Shepherd, S. L., McCarthy, P. C., ... & Deitloff, J. (2020). Opinion: In the wake of COVID–19, academia needs new solutions to ensure gender equity. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 117*(27), 15378–15381. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2010636117

Marshall, V. W. (2005). Agency, events, and structure at the end of the life course. *Advances in Life Course Research, 10*, 57–91. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1040-2608(05)10002-1

Mason, M. A., Wolfinger, N. H., & Goulden, M. (2013). *Do babies matter? Gender and family in the ivory tower*. Rutgers University Press. https://doi.org/10.36019/9780813560823

Masterson, C. R., & Hoobler, J. M. (2015). Care and career: A family identity-based typology of dual-earner couples. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *36*(1), 75–93. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.1945

Matias, M., Ferreira, T., Vieira, J., Cadima, J., Leal, T., & Mena Matos, P. (2017). Workplace family support, parental satisfaction, and work–family conflict: Individual and crossover effects among dual-earner couples. *Applied Psychology*, *66*(4), 628–652. https://doi.org/10.1111/apps.12103

Matthews, R. A., Del Priore, R. E., Acitelli, L. K., & Barnes–Farrell, J. L. (2006). Work–to–relationship conflict: crossover effects in dual–earner couples. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *11*(3), 228–240. https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.11.3.228

Matthews, S. H. (2005). Crafting qualitative research articles on marriages and families. *Journal of Marriage and Family, 67*(4), 799–808. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3737.2005.00176.x

Matzek, A. E., Gudmunson, C. G., & Danes, S. M. (2010). Spousal capital as a resource for couples starting a business. *Family Relations*, *59*(1), 60–73. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2009.00586.x

Mauno, S., & Kinnunen, U. (1999). The effects of job stressors on marital satisfaction in Finnish dual-earner couples. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *20*(6), 879–895. https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1379(199911)20:6<879::AID-JOB982>3.0.CO;2-2

Mayer, S. J., & Rathmann, J. M. (2018). How does research productivity relate to gender? Analyzing gender differences for multiple publication dimensions. *Scientometrics, 117*(3), 1663–1693. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11192-018-2933-1

Mayhew, M. J., & Grunwald, H. E. (2006). Factors contributing to faculty incorporation of diversity–related course content. *The Journal of Higher Education, 77*(1), 148–168. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2006.0005

McCluskey, J., Byington, T., Cowan, B., & Kmec, J. (n.d.). *The Two–Body problem: An evaluation of university partner accommodation policies with implications for recruitment, retention , and promotion of STEM women*. Washington State University.

McCoy, S. K., Newell, E. E., & Gardner, S. K. (2013). Seeking balance: The importance of environmental conditions in men and women faculty's well–being. *Innovative Higher Education, 38*(4), 309–322. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs10755-012-9242-z

McDonald, K., de Leon Siantz, M.L., Jamison–McClung, D., Bisson, L., Assadian, L.L., Singh, B., Stanton, M., & Mora, M.T. (2018). Interview: Dual career hiring and other NSF ADVANCE initiatives at the University of California Davis to increase the representation of Latinas and other women in STEM. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 115–128). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

McElwain, A.K., Korabik, K., & Rosin, H.H. (2005). An examination of gender differences in work–family conflict. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science,* 37(4), 283–298. https://doi.apa.org/doiLanding?doi=10.1037%2Fh0087263

McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji, A.R. (Eds.) (2018). *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices*. Information Age Publishing, Inc.

McNeil, L., & Sher, M. (1999). The dual–career–couple problem. *Physics Today*, *52*(7), 32–37. https://doi.org/10.1063/1.882719

Mennino, S. F., Rubin, B. A., & Brayfield, A. (2005). Home–to–job and job–to–home spillover: The impact of company policies and workplace culture. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *46*(1), 107–135. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.2005.00006.x

Merriam, S. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education* (Second Ed.). Jossey–Bass.

Miano, P., Salerno, A., Merenda, A., & Ciulla, A. (2015). Whose turn is it? Problems of reconciling family and work in dual–career couples. *The International Journal of Humanities & Social Studies, 3*(6), 147–153.

Mikitka, K. F. (1984). Job–sharing couples in academia: Administrative policies and practices. *The Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, & Counselors*, *47*(3), 21–27.

Mikitka, K. F., & Koblinsky, S. A. (1985). Job–sharing couples in academia : career and family lifestyles. *Home Economics Research Journal*, *14*(2), 195–207. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077727X8501400203

Miller, J. E., & Hollenshead, C. (2005). Gender, family, and flexibility–why they're important in the academic workplace. *Change, 37*(6), 58.

Milner IV, H. R. (2007). Race, culture, and researcher positionality: Working through dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, *36*(7), 388–400. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X07309471

Minnotte, K. L., Minnotte, M. C., & Bonstrom, J. (2015). Work–family conflicts and marital satisfaction among US workers: Does stress amplification matter? *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *36*(1), 21–33. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-014-9420-5

Minnotte, K. L., Minnotte, M. C., & Thompson, K. (2016). The life satisfaction of dual–earner mothers and fathers: Does flexible scheduling matter? *Journal of Happiness Studies*, *17*(6), 2365–2388. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10902-015-9698-5

Minnotte, K. L., Pedersen, D., & Mannon, S. E. (2010). The emotional terrain of parenting and marriage: Emotion work and marital satisfaction. *The Social Science Journal, 47*(4), 747–761. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2010.07.011

Misra, J., Lundquist, J. H., & Templer, A. (2012, June). Gender, work time, and care Responsibilities Among Faculty. *Sociological Forum*, 27(2), 300–323. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2012.01319.x

Mitchneck, B. (2018). Perspectives from an NSF ADVANCE program director. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 3–6). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Moguérou, P. (2004). *A double gender–family inequality phenomenon in the international mobility of young researchers*. Research Institute on Education: Bourgogne, France. Retrieved from http://econpapers.repec.org/scripts/redir.pf?u=http%3A%2F%2F128.118.178.162%2Feps%2Fit%2Fpapers%2F0403%2F0403003.pdf;h=repec:wpa:wuwpit:0403003

Montaudon–Tomas, C. M., Pinto–López, I. N., Yañez–Moneda, A. L., & Amsler, A. The effects of remote work on family relationships: Examples from academia. (2020). In *Future of*

Work, Work–Family Satisfaction, and Employee Well–Being in the Fourth Industrial Revolution (pp. 30–52). IGI Global. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-7998-3347-5.ch003

Mora, M.T., Qubbaj, A.R., & Rodriguez, H. (2018). ADVANCING Latinas and other women in STEM through dual career hiring and other policy/climate initiatives at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 97–114). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Morrison, J. D. (2008). Faculty Governance and Nontenure–Track Appointments. *New Directions for Higher Education*, *143*, 21–27. https://doi.org/10.1002/he.309

Morse, J. M. (1994). Emerging from the data: The cognitive processes of analysis in qualitative inquiry. In J.M. Morse (Ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 23–43), Sage.

Morton, S. (2018). Understanding gendered negotiations in the academic dual–career hiring process. *Sociological Perspectives*, *61*(5), 748–765. https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121418766896

Morton, S., & Kmec, J. A. (2017). Risk–taking in the academic dual–hiring process: how risk shapes later work experiences. *Journal of Risk Research*, *21*(12), 1517–1532. https://doi.org/10.1080/13669877.2017.1313761

Museus, S. D., & Griffin, K. A. (2011). Mapping the margins in higher education: On the promise of intersectionality frameworks in research and discourse. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, *2011*(151), 5–13. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.395

Musick, K., Meier, A., & Flood, S. (2016). How parents fare: Mothers' and fathers' subjective well–being in time with children. *American Sociological Review*, *81*(5), 1069–1095. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416663917

Myers, K. R., Tham, W. Y., Yin, Y., Cohodes, N., Thursby, J. G., Thursby, M. C., ... & Wang, D. (2020). Unequal effects of the COVID–19 pandemic on scientists. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *4*(9), 880–883.

Nash, J. C. (2008). Re–thinking intersectionality. *Feminist Review, 89*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2008.4

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2021). *Impact of COVID–19 on the Careers of Women in Academic Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine.* The National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/26061.

National Science Foundation (2019). *Women, minorities, and persons with disabilities in science and engineering.* Available from https://ncses.nsf.gov/pubs/nsf19304/digest

Near, J. P., & Sorcinelli, M. D. (1986). Work and life away from work: Predictors of faculty satisfaction. *Research in Higher Education, 25*(4), 377–394. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00992133

Nehls, K., Smith, B. D., & Schneider, H. A. (2015). Video–conferencing interviews in qualitative research. In S. Hai–Jew (Ed.), *Enhancing qualitative and mixed methods research with technology* (pp. 140–157). IGI Global. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-4666-6493-7.ch006

Nelson, M., & Crooks, D. L. (1994). Dual anthropology career couples: Different strategies and different success rates. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, *5*(1), 59–64. https://doi.org/10.1525/ap3a.1994.5.1.59

Neumann, A. (2006). Professing passion: Emotion in the scholarship of professors at research universities. *American Educational Research Journal, 43*(3), 381–424. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312043003381

Neumann, A., Terosky, A.L., & Schell, J., (2006). Agents of learning: Strategies for assuming agency, for learning, in tenured faculty careers. In S. Bracken, J. Allen, & D. Dean (Eds.), *The balancing act: Gendered perspectives in faculty roles and work lives* (pp. 91–120). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

Ng, E. S.W., & Burke, R. J. (2005). Person–organization fit and the war for talent: Does diversity management make a difference? *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 16*(7), 1195–1210. https://doi.org/10.1080/09585190500144038

Niehaus, E., & O'Meara, K. (2015). Invisible but essential: The role of professional networks in promoting faculty agency in career advancement. *Innovative Higher Education*, *40*(2), 159–171. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10755-014-9302-7

Nomaguchi, K., & Milkie, M. A. (2020). Parenthood and well-being: A decade in review. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *82*(1), 198–223. https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12646

O'Connor, K. M., & Arnold, J. A. (2011). Sabotaging the deal: The way relational concerns undermine negotiators. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *47*(6), 1167–1172. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2011.04.004

Offer, S. (2014, December). The costs of thinking about work and family: Mental labor, work–family spillover, and gender inequality among parents in dual-earner families. *Sociological Forum*, 29(4), 916–936. https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12126

Oleschuk, M. (2020). Gender equity considerations for tenure and promotion during COVID–19. *Canadian Review of Sociology, 57*(3), 502–515. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12295

Olsen, D., Maple, S. A., & Stage, F. K. (1995). Women and minority faculty job satisfaction: Professional role interests, professional satisfactions, and institutional fit. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *66*(3), 267–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.1995.11774780

O'Meara, K. (2015a). A career with a view: Agentic perspectives of women faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *86*(3), 331–359. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2015.11777367

O'Meara, K. (2015b). *Flexible workplace agreements: Enabling higher education's strategic advantage.* TIAA. https://www.tiaainstitute.org/publication/flexible-workplace-agreements

O'Meara, K. (2020, November). *Leveraging, checking, and structuring faculty discretion to advance full participation* [Conference presentation abstract]. Annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, New Orleans, LA. https://convention2.allacademic.com/one/ashe/ashe20/index.php?cmd=Online+Program+View+Session&selected_session_id=1684677&PHPSESSID=2j0s0ah67nrdg4sue9jlepbn7v

O'Meara, K., Bennett, J.C., & Neihaus, E. (2016). Left unsaid: The role of work expectations and psychological contracts in faculty careers and departure. *The Review of Higher Education*, *39*(2), 269–297. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2016.0007

O'Meara, K., Campbell, C. (2011). Faculty sense of agency in decisions about work and family. *The Review of Higher Education*, *34*(3), 447–476. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2011.0000

O'Meara, K., Culpepper, D., Mira, J., & Jaeger, A.J. (2021). *Equity–minded faculty workloads: What we can and should do now.* American Council on Education. https://www.acenet.edu/Documents/Equity–Minded–Faculty–Workloads.pdf

O'Meara, K., Culpepper, D., & Templeton, L. L. (2020). Nudging toward diversity: Applying behavioral design to faculty hiring. *Review of Educational Research*, *90*(3), 311–348. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654320914742

O'Meara, K., Lounder, A., & Campbell, C. M. (2014). To heaven or hell: Sensemaking about why faculty leave. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *85*(5), 603–632. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2014.11777342

O'Meara, K., Sayer, L., Nyunt, G., & Lennartz, C. (2020). Stressed, interrupted, and under–estimated: Experiences of women and URM faculty during one workday. *Journal of the Professoriate*, *11*(1).

O'Meara, K., Templeton, L., & Nyunt, G. (2018). Earning professional legitimacy: challenges faced by women, under–represented minority and non–tenure track faculty. *Teachers College Record*, *120*(12), 1–38.

O'Meara, K., Terosky, A.L., & Campbell, C. (2011). *Living Agency in the Academy: A Conceptual Framework for Research and Action*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Charlotte, NC.

O'Meara, K., Terosky, A. L., & Neumann, A. (2008). Faculty careers and work lives: A professional growth perspective. *ASHE Higher Education Report, 34*(3), 1–221. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.v34:3

Omori, M., & Smith, D. T. (2009). The impact of occupational status on household chore hours among dual earner couples. Sociation Today, 7(1).

Ong, M., Wright, C., Espinosa, L., & Orfield, G. (2011). Inside the double bind: A synthesis of empirical research on undergraduate and graduate women of color in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. *Harvard Educational Review, 81*(2), 172–209. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.81.2.t022245n7x4752v2

Orbuch, T. L., & Eyster, S. L. (1997). Division of household labor among Black couples and White couples. *Social Forces, 76*(1), 301–332. https://doi.org/10.2307/2580327

Ouellette, J. (2007). Scientists in love: When two worlds collide. *Nature*, *445*(7129), 700–702. https://doi.org/10.1038/445700a

Özbilgin, M. F., Beauregard, T. A., Tatli, A., & Bell, M. P. (2011). Work–life, diversity and intersectionality: a critical review and research agenda. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, *13*(2), 177–198. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2370.2010.00291.x

Panozzo, D. (2015). Child care responsibility in gay male–parented families: Predictive and correlative factors. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies*, *11*(3), 248–277. https://doi.org/10.1080/1550428X.2014.947461

Patridge, E. V., Barthelemy, R. S., & Rankin, S. R. (2014). Factors impacting the academic climate for LGBQ STEM faculty. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, *20*(1), 75–98. https://doi.org/10.1615/JWomenMinorScienEng.2014007429

Patton, M. Q. (1999). Enhancing the quality and credibility of qualitative analysis. *HRS: Health Services Research, 35*(5), 1189–1208.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Sage.

Paulin, M., Lachance–Grzela, M., & McGee, S. (2017). Bringing work home or bringing family to work: personal and relational consequences for working parents. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *38*(4), 463–476. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-017-9524-9

Pedulla, D. S., & Thébaud, S. (2015). Can we finish the revolution? Gender, work–family ideals, and institutional constraint. *American Sociological Review*, *80*(1), 116–139. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414564008

Percheski, C. (2008). Opting Out? Cohort Differences in professional women's employment rates from 1960 to 2005. *American Sociological Review, 73*(3), 497–517. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300307

Perkins, L. M. (1997). For the good of the race: Married African–American academics – a historical perspective. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 80–105). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Perna, L. W. (2001). The relationship between family responsibilities and employment status among college and university faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *72*(5), 584–611. https://doi.org/10.2307/2672882

Perna, L. W. (2005). Sex differences in faculty tenure and promotion: The contribution of family ties. *Research in Higher Education*, *46*(3), 277–307. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-004-1641-2

Pietromonaco, P. R., & Overall, N. C. (2020). Applying relationship science to evaluate how the COVID–19 pandemic may impact couples' relationships. *American Psychologist.* Advance online publication. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/amp0000714

Pifer, M. J. (2011). Intersectionality in context: A mixed-methods approach to researching the faculty experience. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, *2011*(151), 27–44. https://doi.org/10.1002/ir.397

Pingree, S., Butler, M., Paisley, W., & Hawkins, R. (1978). Anti–nepotism's ghost: Attitudes of administrators toward hiring professional couples. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *3*(1), 22–29. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-6402.1978.tb00522.x

Pinheiro, D. L., & Melkers, J. E. (2011, September). *The need to look elsewhere: The push and pull of underrepresented minority faculty professional networks*. Paper presented at Atlanta Conference on Science and Innovation Policy, Atlanta, GA.

Pinho, P. D. S., & Araújo, T. M. D. (2012). Association between housework overload and common mental disorders in women. *Revista Brasileira de Epidemiologia*, *15*, 560–572. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1415-790X2012000300010

Polak, L., & Green, J. (2016). Using joint interviews to add analytic value. *Qualitative Health Research, 26*(12), 1638–1648. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732315580103

Pope, W. (1975). Durkheim as a Functionalist. *Sociological Quarterly*, *16*(3), 361–379. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1533-8525.1975.tb00954.x

Posselt, J. R. (2014). Toward inclusive excellence in graduate education: Constructing merit and diversity in PhD admissions. *American Journal of Education, 120*(4), 481–514. https://doi.org/10.1086/676910

Posselt, J. R. (2016). *Inside graduate admissions*. Harvard University Press. https://doi.org/10.4159/9780674915640

Posselt, J. R. (2018). Trust networks: A new perspective on pedigree and the ambiguities of admissions. *The Review of Higher Education*, *41*(4), 497–521. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2018.0023

Posselt, J., Hernandez, T. E., Villarreal, C. D., Rodgers, A. J., & Irwin, L. N. (2020). Evaluation and decision making in higher education: Toward equitable repertoires of faculty

practice. In L. Perna (Ed.) *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research, 35*, (pp. 1–63). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11743-6_8-1

Promin, C. (2011). *Assisting the accompanying partner: A dramaturgical explanatory study of dual career couples offices* (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Purdie–Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate–group identities. *Sex Roles, 59*(5–6), 377–391. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9424-4

Putnam, C. W., DiMarco, J., & Cairns, C. B. (2018). Recruitment of dual–career academic medicine couples. *Academic Medicine*, *93*(11), 1604–1606. https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0000000000002084

Raabe, P. H. (1997). Work–family policies for faculty: How "career–and family–friendly" is academe? In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 208–225). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Ramirez, E. (2013). Examining Latinos/as' graduate school choice process: An intersectionality perspective. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *12*(1), 23–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192712452147

Reczek, C. (2014). Conducting a multi–family member interview study. *Family Process*, *53*(2), 318–335.

Reddick, R. J., Rochlen, A. B., Grasso, J. R., Reilly, E. D., & Spikes, D. D. (2012). Academic fathers pursuing tenure: A qualitative study of work–family conflict, coping strategies, and departmental culture. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, *13*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023206

Reid, P. T., & Comas–Diaz, L. (1990). Gender and ethnicity: Perspectives on dual status. *Sex Roles*, *22*(7–8), 397–408. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00288160

Rhoades, G. (2017). Bread and roses, and quality too? A new faculty majority negotiating the new academy. *The Journal of Higher Education, 88*(5), 645–671. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2016.1257310

Rhoades, G., Kiyama, J. M., McCormick, R., & Quiroz, M. (2008). Local cosmopolitans and cosmopolitan locals: New models of professionals in the academy. *The Review of Higher Education, 31*(2), 209–235. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2007.0079

Rhoten, D., & Pfirman, S. (2007). Women in interdisciplinary science: Exploring preferences and consequences. *Research Policy, 36*(1), 56–75. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.respol.2006.08.001

Rideau, R. (2019). "We're just not acknowledged": An examination of the identity taxation of full-time non-tenure-track Women of Color faculty members. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education.* Advance online presentation. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000139

Ridgeway, C. L. (2011). *Framed by gender: How gender inequality persists in the modern world*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199755776.001.0001

Ridgeway, C. L., & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: a theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender and Society*, *18*(4), 510–531. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243204265269

Ridgeway, C. L., & Kricheli–Katz, T. (2013). Intersecting cultural beliefs in social relations: Gender, race, and class binds and freedoms. *Gender and Society*, *27*(3), 294–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243213479445

Rivera, L. A. (2017). When two bodies are (not) a problem: Gender and relationship status discrimination in academic hiring. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(6), 1111–1138. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122417739294

Roehling, P. V., Jarvis, L. H., & Swope, H. E. (2005). Variations in negative work–family spillover among White, Black, and Hispanic American men and women: does ethnicity matter? *Journal of Family Issues*, *26*(6), 840–865. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X05277552

Rogers, B. (2020, August 26). Not in the Same Boat: Career Progression in the Pandemic. *QualtricsBlog*. https://www.qualtrics.com/blog/inequitable–effects–of–pandemic–on–careers/

Rosenfeld, R. A., & Jones, J. A. (1987). Patterns and effects of geographic mobility for academic women and men. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *58*(5), 493–515. https://doi.org/10.2307/1981784

Ross, J. A., & Gray, P. (2006). Transformational leadership and teacher commitment to organizational values: The mediating effects of collective teacher efficacy. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 17*(2), 179–199. https://doi.org/10.1080/09243450600565795

Rosser, S. V. (2004a). *The science glass ceiling: Academic women scientists and the struggle to succeed*. Routledge.

Rosser, S. V. (2012). Dual career challenges. *Inside Higher Ed*.

Rosser, V. J. (2004b). Faculty members' intentions to leave: A national study on their worklife and satisfaction. *Research in Higher Education*, *45*(3), 285–309. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000019591.74425.f1

Rudman, L. A., & Glick, P. (2001). Prescriptive gender stereotypes and backlash toward agentic women. *Journal of Social Issues, 57*(4), 743–762. https://doi.org/10.1111/0022-4537.00239

Rusconi, A. (2002). *"What can universities do?" Dual–career policies at American universities*. Die Junge Akademie.

Sabharwal, M., & Corley, E. A. (2009). Faculty job satisfaction across gender and discipline. *The Social Science Journal, 46*(3), 539–556. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.soscij.2009.04.015

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Sallee, M. W. (2012). The ideal worker or the ideal father: Organizational structures and culture in the gendered university. *Research in Higher Education*, *53*(7), 782–802. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-012-9256-5

Sallee, M. W. (2013). Gender norms and institutional culture: The family–friendly versus the father–friendly university. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *84*(3), 363–396. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2013.0017

Sallee, M.W. (2019). Difficult decisions: Commuting for the academic career. *Teachers College Record, 121*(10). https://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=22764

Sallee, M. W., & Lewis, D. V. (2020). Hyper–separation as a tool for work/life balance: Commuting in academia. *Journal of Public Affairs Education*, *26*(4), 484–505. https://doi.org/10.1080/15236803.2020.1759321

Sallee, M. W., & Hart, J. (2015). Cultural navigators: international faculty fathers in the U.S. research university. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *8*(3), 192–211. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039042

Sallee, M. W., Ward, K., & Wolf–Wendel, L. (2016). Can anyone have it all? Gendered wiews on parenting and academic careers. *Innovative Higher Education*, *41*(3), 187–202. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10755-015-9345-4

Sanchez, L., & Thomson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers: Parenthood, gender, and the division of labor. *Gender & Society, 11*(6), 747–772. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124397011006003

Sarsons, H. (2017). Recognition for group work: Gender differences in academia. *American Economic Review*, *107*(5), 141–45. https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.p20171126

Saunders, B., Sim, J., Kingstone, T., Baker, S., Waterfield, J., Bartlam, B., ... & Jinks, C. (2018). Saturation in qualitative research: exploring its conceptualization and operationalization. *Quality & Quantity*, *52*(4), 1893–1907. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-017-0574-8

Sawyer, K. B., Thoroughgood, C., & Ladge, J. (2017). Invisible families, invisible conflicts: Examining the added layer of work–family conflict for employees with LGB families. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *103*(A), 23–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.08.004

Sayer, L. C., Bianchi, S. M., & Robinson, J. P. (2004). Are parents investing less in children? Trends in mothers' and fathers' time with children. *American Journal of Sociology*, *110*(1), 1–43. https://doi.org/10.1086/386270

Sax, L. J., Zimmerman, H. B., Blaney, J. M., Toven–Lindsey, B., & Lehman, K. (2017). Diversifying undergraduate computer science: The role of department chairs in promoting gender and racial diversity. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and*

Engineering, *23*(2), 101–119. https://doi.org/10.1615/JWomenMinorScienEng.2017017221

Schaer, M., Dahinden, J., & Toader, A. (2017). Transnational mobility among early–career academics: gendered aspects of negotiations and arrangements within heterosexual couples. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *43*(8), 1292–1307. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2017.1300254

Shafer, K., Scheibling, C., & Milkie, M. A. (2020). The division of domestic labor before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in Canada: Stagnation versus shifts in fathers' contributions. *Canadian Review of Sociology, 57*(4), 523–549. https://doi.org/10.1111/cars.12315

Schiebinger, L., Henderson, A. D., & Gilmartin, S. K. (2008). *Dual–Career academic couples: What universities need to know*. Clayman Institute for Gender Research.

Schmid, L., Wörn, J., Hank, K., Sawatzki, B., & Walper, S. (2020). Changes in employment and relationship satisfaction in times of the COVID–19 pandemic: Evidence from the German family Panel. *European Societies*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2020.1836385

Schulz, N., Schulz, K. H., & Crow, M. L. (1997). A survey of dual career hiring into engineering faculty positions. *Journal of Engineering Education*, *86*(4), 333–339. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2168-9830.1997.tb00306.x

Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 118–137). Sage.

Seawright, J., & Gerring, J. (2008). Case selection techniques in case study research: A menu of qualitative and quantitative options. *Political Research Quarterly, 61*(2), 294–308. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912907313077

Seifert, T. A., & Umbach, P. D. (2008). The effects of faculty demographic characteristics and disciplinary context on dimensions of job satisfaction. *Research in Higher education, 49*(4), 357–381. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-007-9084-1

Seitz, S. (2016). Pixilated partnerships, overcoming obstacles in qualitative interviews via Skype: A research note. *Qualitative Research, 16*(2), 229–235. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794115577011

Sensoy, Ö., & DiAngelo, R. (2017). "We Are All for Diversity, but...": How faculty hiring committees reproduce whiteness and practical suggestions for how they can change. *Harvard Educational Review*, *87*(4), 557–580. https://doi.org/10.17763/1943-5045-87.4.557

Settles, I. H., Buchanan, N. T., & Dotson, K. (2018). Scrutinized but not recognized:(In) visibility and hypervisibility experiences of faculty of color. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 113, 62*–74. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2018.06.003

Shahnasarian, M. (1991). Job relocation and the trailing spouse. *Journal of Career Development, 17*(3), 179–184. https://doi.org/10.1177/089484539101700303

Shauman, K. A., & Xie, Y. (1996). Geographic mobility of scientists: Sex differences and family constraints. *Demography*, *33*(4), 455–468. https://doi.org/10.2307/2061780

Shaw, S. M., Bothwell, M., Furman, K., Gaines, L., John, D., Lopez, C., ... & Warner, R. L. (2019). Advancing women in STEM: institutional transformation. *The Lancet, 393*(10171), e17–e18. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(19)30206-5

Shechory, M., & Ziv, R. (2007). Relationships between gender role attitudes, role division, and perception of equity among heterosexual, gay and lesbian couples. *Sex Roles*, *56*(9–10), 629–638. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9207-3

Shelton, B. A., & John, D. (1996). The division of household labor. *Annual Review of Sociology, 22*(1), 299–322. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.22.1.299

Sheltzer, J. M., & Smith, J. C. (2014). Elite male faculty in the life sciences employ fewer women. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *111*(28), 10107–10112. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1403334111

Shoben, E. (1997). From antinepotism rules to programs for partners. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 226–247). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Siegel, D. J., Barrett, T. G., & Smith, T. H. (2015). To stay or to go: A comparison of factors influential in the decisions of African American faculty to remain at two elite Southern research universities. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *84*(4), 593–607. https://doi.org/10.7709/jnegroeducation.84.4.0593

Silberstein, L. R. (2014). *Dual–career marriage: A system in transition*. Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315807447

Sonnert, G. & Holton, G. (1995). *Who succeeds in science? The gender dimension*. Rutgers University Press.

Sotirin, P., & Goltz, S. M. (2019). Academic Dual Career as a Lifeworld Orientation: A Phenomenological Inquiry. *The Review of Higher Education*, *42*(3), 1207–1232. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0034

Squazzoni, F., Bravo, G., Grimaldo, F., Garcıa–Costa, D., Farjam, M., & Mehmani, B. (2020). No tickets for women in the COVID–19 race? A study on manuscript submissions and reviews in 2347 Elsevier journals during the pandemic. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3712813

Stephan, P. E., & Kassis, M. M. (1997). The history of women and couples in academe. In M. Ferber & J. W. Loeb (Eds.), *Academic couples: Problems and practices* (pp. 44–79). Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois.

Stephens, N. M., & Levine, C. S. (2011). Opting out or denying discrimination? How the framework of free choice in American society influences perceptions of gender inequality. *Psychological Science*, *22*(10), 1231–1236. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611417260

Stertz, A. M., Grether, T., & Wiese, B. S. (2017). Gender–role attitudes and parental work decisions after childbirth: A longitudinal dyadic perspective with dual–earner couples. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *101*, 104–118. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2017.05.005

Stevens, M. (2008). *Creating a class: College admissions and the education of elites*. Harvard University Press.

Stone, P., & Hernandez, L. A. (2013). The all-or-nothing workplace: Flexibility stigma and “opting out” among professional-managerial women. *Journal of Social Issues,* 69(2), 235–256. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12013

Storage, D., Horne, Z., Cimpian, A., & Leslie, S. J. (2016). The frequency of “brilliant” and “genius” in teaching evaluations predicts the representation of women and African Americans across fields. *PloS one, 11*(3), e0150194. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0150194

Sturm, S. (2006). The architecture of inclusion: Advancing workplace equity in higher education. *Harvard Women’s Law Journal 29*, 247–344.

Sulé, V. T. (2011). Restructuring the master's tools: Black female and Latina faculty navigating and contributing in classrooms through oppositional positions. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *44*(2), 169–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.559415

Sullivan, M. (1996). Rozzie and Harriet? Gender and family patterns of lesbian coparents. *Gender & Society, 10*(6), 747–767. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124396010006005

Sweet, S. & Moen, P. (2004). Coworking as a career strategy: Implications for the work and family lives of university Employees. *Innovative Higher Education*, *28*(4), 254–273. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:IHIE.0000018909.62967.b5

Taylor, R. J., Brown, E., Chatters, L. M., & Lincoln, K. D. (2012). Extended family support and relationship satisfaction among married, cohabiting, and romantically involved African Americans and Black Caribbeans. *Journal of African American Studies*, *16*(3), 373–389. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12111-011-9205-y

Terosky, A. L., O'Meara, K., & Campbell, C. M. (2014). Enabling possibility: Women associate professors' sense of agency in career advancement. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(1), 58–76. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035775

Thomas, J. M. (2018). Diversity regimes and racial inequality: A case study of diversity university. *Social Currents*, *5*(2), 140–156. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496517725335

Tierney, W. G., & Sallee, M. W. (2008). Do organizational structures and strategies increase faculty diversity: A cultural analysis. *American Academic*, *4*(1), 159–184.

Toader, A., & Dahinden, J. (2018). Family configurations and arrangements in the transnational mobility of early–career academics: Does gender make twice the difference? *Migration Letters*, *15*(1), 67–84. https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v15i1.339

Toutkoushian, R. K., & Bellas, M. L. (1999). Faculty time allocations and research productivity: Gender, race and family effects. *The Review of Higher Education*, *22*(4), 367–390. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.1999.0014

Trice, A. G. (2004). Mixing it up: International graduate students' social interactions with American students. *Journal of College Student Development*, *45*(6), 671–687. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2004.0074

Trower, C.A. (2002). Can colleges competitively recruit faculty without the prospect of tenure? In R. Chait (Ed.), *The Questions of Tenure*. Harvard University Press.

Tuitt, F. A., Sagaria, M. A. D., & Turner, C. S. V. (2007). Signals and strategies in hiring faculty of color. In J.C. Smart (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Vol. 22) (pp. 497–535). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5666-6_10

Turner, C. S. V. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality. *Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 74–93. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2002.11777131

Turner, C. S. V., González, J. C., & Wong, K. W. (2011). Faculty women of color: The critical nexus of race and gender. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 4*(4), 199–211. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0024630

Turner, C. S. V., González, J. C., & Wood, J. L. (2008). Faculty of color in academe: What 20 years of literature tells us. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *1*(3), 139–168. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0012837

Twale, D. J., & De Luca, B. M. (2008). *Faculty incivility: The rise of the academic bully culture and what to do about it*. John Wiley & Sons.

Twale, D. J., & Shannon, D. M. (1996). Gender differences among faculty in campus governance: Nature of involvement, satisfaction, and power. *Initiatives*, *57*(4), 11–19.

Tzanakou, C. (2017). Dual career couples in academia, international mobility and dual career services in Europe. *European Educational Research Journal*, *16*(2–3), 298–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904116683185

Uhlmann, E. L., & Cohen, G. L. (2005). Constructed criteria: Redefining merit to justify discrimination. *Psychological Science, 16*(6), 474–480.

Vaccaro, A. (2012). Campus microclimates for LGBT faculty, staff, and students: An exploration of the intersections of social identity and campus roles. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *49*(4), 429–446. https://doi.org/10.1515/jsarp-2012-6473

Valentine, G., & Valentine, G. (1999). Doing household research: interviewing couples together and apart. *Area, 31*(1), 67–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4762.1999.tb00172.x

Valian, V. (1999). *Why so slow? The advancement of women*. MIT Press. https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/7235.001.0001

Valien, B. H. (1954). Racial Desegregation of the Public Schools in Southern Illinois. *The Journal of Negro Education, 23*(3), 303–309. https://doi.org/10.2307/2293228

Valien, P. (1956). The status of educational desegregation, 1956: A critical summary. *The Journal of Negro Education, 25*(3), 359–368. https://doi.org/10.2307/2293446

Van Anders, S. M. (2004). Why the academic pipeline leaks: Fewer men than women perceive barriers to becoming professors. *Sex Roles, 51*(9–10), 511–521. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-004-5461-9

Van Bochove, M., & Engbersen, G. (2015). Beyond cosmopolitanism and expat bubbles: challenging dominant representations of knowledge workers and trailing spouses. *Population, Space and Place, 21*(4), 295–309. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.1839

Van der Klis, M., & Mulder, C. H. (2008). Beyond the trailing spouse: The commuter partnership as an alternative to family migration. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 23*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-007-9096-3

Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple inequalities, intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies, 13*(3), 211–228. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506806065753

Vespa, J. (2009). Gender ideology construction: A life course and intersectional approach. *Gender & Society, 23*(3), 363–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243209337507

Vinokur, A. D., Price, R. H., & Caplan, R. D. (1996). Hard times and hurtful partners: How financial strain affects depression and relationship satisfaction of unemployed persons and their spouses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *71*(1), 166–179. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.71.1.166

Viglione, G. (2020). Are women publishing less during the pandemic? Here's what the data say. *Nature*, *581*(7809), 365–366. https://doi.org/10.1038/d41586-020-01294-9

Villablanca, A. C., Beckett, L., Nettiksimmons, J., & Howell, L. P. (2013). Improving knowledge, awareness, and use of flexible career policies through an accelerator intervention at the University of California, Davis, School of Medicine. *Academic medicine: journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, *88*(6), 771–777. https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0b013e31828f8974

Vincent–Lamarre, P., Sugimoto, C., & Larivière, V. (2020). The decline of women's research production during the coronavirus pandemic. *Nature Index, 19*. https://www.natureindex.com/news–blog/decline–women–scientist–research–publishing–production–coronavirus–pandemic

Vohlídalová, M. (2014). Academic mobility in the context of linked lives. *Human Affairs*, *24*(1), 89–102. https://doi.org/10.2478/s13374-014-0208-y

Vohlídalová, M. (2017). Academic couples, parenthood and women's research careers. *European Educational Research Journal*, *16*(2–3), 166–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/1474904116668883

Wachorn, D., & Heckendorf, E. (2020, June 17). We Asked 3000+ Academic How They're Coping With COVID19: This is What We Found. De Gruyter. https://blog.degruyter.com/we–asked–3000–academics–howtheyre–coping–with–covid–19–this–is–what–we–found/

Waltman, J., Bergom, I., Hollenshead, C., Miller, J., & August, L. (2012). Factors contributing to job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among non–tenure–track faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *83*(3), 411–434. https://doi.org/10.1353/jhe.2012.0014

Ward, K., & Wolf–Wendel, L. (2012). *Academic motherhood*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. https://doi.org/10.36019/9780813553214

Wehner, M. R., Li, Y., & Nead, K. T. (2020). Comparison of the proportions of female and male corresponding authors in preprint research repositories before and during the COVID–19 pandemic. *JAMA Network Open*, *3*(9), e2020335–e2020335. https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.20335

Weissman, S. (2020, May 9). Universities are freezing tenure clocks. What will that mean for faculty of color? *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education.*

White-Lewis, D., Culpepper, D., Templeton, L., & Anderson, J. (2020, November). *"No one really knows how the game is played": An ethnographic study of faculty search*

processes. Paper presentation at the Association for the Study of Higher Education Annual Meeting; Virtual Presentation.

Wilcox, W. B., & Dew, J. (2016). The social and cultural predictors of generosity in marriage: Gender egalitarianism, religiosity, and familism. *Journal of Family Issues*, *37*(1), 97–118. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X13513581

Wilkie, J. R., Ferree, M. M., & Ratcliff, K. S. (1998). Gender and fairness: Marital satisfaction in two–earner couples. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60*(3) 577–594. https://doi.org/10.2307/353530

Williams, B. N., & Williams, S. M. (2006). Perceptions of African American male junior daculty on promotion and tenure: Implications for community building and social capital. *Teachers College Record, 108*(2), 287–315. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9620.2006.00649.x

Williams, J. (2001). *Unbending gender: Why family and work conflict and what to do about it*. Oxford University Press.

Williams, J. C. (2005). The glass ceiling and the maternal wall in academia. *New Directions for Higher Education, 2005*(130), 91–105. https://doi.org/10.1002/he.181

Williams, J.C. (2014). *Building a Department in an Era of Tight Budgets: It's Cheaper to Keep Her* [Video]. Tools for Change in STEM. Retrieved from https://toolsforchangeinstem.org/its–cheaper–to–keep–her/

Winslow, S. (2010). Gender inequality and time allocations among academic faculty. *Gender & Society, 24*(6), 769–793. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243210386728

Woitowich, N. C., Jain, S., Arora, V. M., & Joffe, H. (2020). COVID–19 Threatens Progress Toward Gender Equity Within Academic Medicine. *Academic Medicine*. https://doi.org/10.1097/ACM.0000000000003782

Wolf–Wendel, L. E., & Ward, K. (2006). Academic life and motherhood: Variations by institutional type. *Higher Education, 52*(3), 487–521. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-005-0364-4

Wolf–Wendel, L. E., & Ward, K. (2018). Women in academic STEM: Dual career and work–life. In McMahon, M.R., Mora, M.T., Qubbaji A.R. (Eds.), *Advancing women in academic STEM fields through dual career policies and practices* (pp. 7–30). Information Age Publishing, Inc.

Wolf–Wendel, L. E., Twombly, J. S., & Rice, L. (2000). Dual–Career couples: Keeping them together. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *71*(3), 291–321. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2000.11780824

Wolf–Wendel, L. E., Twombly, J. S., & Rice, S. (2003). *The two–body problem: Dual–career couple hiring policies in higher education*. John Hopkins University Press.

Wong, J. S. (2017). Competing desires: How young adult couples negotiate moving for career opportunities. *Gender & Society*, *31*(2), 171–196. https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243217695520

Woolstenhulme, J., Mccluskey, J., Cowan, B., & Byington, T. (2014). *Evaluating the two–body problem: Joint–hire productivity within the university*. Washington State University. http://ses.wsu.edu/wp–content/uploads/2014/09/JaredW.pdf

Woolston, C. (2020, June 2). Junior researchers hit by coronavirus–triggered hiring freezes. *Nature.* https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586–020–01656–3

Xu, Y. J. (2008). Gender disparity in STEM disciplines: A study of faculty attrition and turnover intentions. *Research in Higher Education*, *49*(7), 607–624. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11162-008-9097-4

Yakaboski, T. (2016). Reframing the two–body problem in US STEM departments: Asian Women faculty negotiation of career and family. *Journal of the Professoriate, 8*(2), 63–93.

Yin, R. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (Fifth Ed.). Sage Publications.

Yodanis, C., & Lauer, S. (2014). Is marriage individualized? What couples actually do. *Journal of Family Theory & Review, 6*(2), 184–197. https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12038

Young, K., Anderson, M., & Stewart, S. (2015). Hierarchical microaggressions in higher education. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 8*(1), 61–71. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0038464

Yucel, D. (2017). Work–family balance and marital satisfaction: The mediating effects of mental and physical health. *Society and Mental Health*, *7*(3), 175–195. https://doi.org/10.1177/2156869317713069

Zambrana, R. E. (2018). *Toxic Ivory Towers*. Rutgers University Press.

Zambrana, R. E., Ray, R., Espino, M. M., Castro, C., Douthirt Cohen, B., & Eliason, J. (2015). “Don’t Leave Us Behind” The importance of mentoring for underrepresented minority faculty. *American Educational Research Journal*, *52*(1), 40–72. https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831214563063

Zhang, H., & Kmec, J. A. (2018). Non–normative connections between work and family: The gendered career consequences of being a dual–career academic. *Sociological Perspectives, 61*(5), 766–786. https://doi.org/10.1177/0731121418778534

Zhang, H., Kmec, J. A., & Byington, T. (2019). Gendered career decisions in the academy: Job refusal and job departure intentions among academic dual–career couples. *The Review of Higher Education*, *42*(4), 1723–1754. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0081

Zhou, Y., & Volkwein, J. F. (2004). Examining the influences on faculty departure intentions: A comparison of tenured versus nontenured faculty at research universities using NSOPF–99. *Research in Higher Education, 45*(2), 139–176. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:RIHE.0000015693.38603.4c

Zipp, J. F., & Toth, J. (2002). She said, he said, they said: The impact of spousal presence in survey research. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66*(2), 177–208. https://doi.org/10.1086/340028