Work-Family Spillover, Division of Labor, and Relationship Satisfaction

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Science in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Felisha Lotspeich Younkin

Graduate Program in Human Development and Family Science

The Ohio State University

2010

Committee:

Dr. Suzanne Bartle-Haring, Advisor

Dr. Sarah Schoppe-Sullivan

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Abstract

The purpose of the following study is to examine the relationships among work-to-family and family-to-work spillover, division of labor, and relationship satisfaction in a sample of married dual earner couples, in which both members are working more than 30 hours per week. Although literature would suggest that relationship satisfaction suffers when work to family spillover is high, it fails to provide a systemic view of these issues. The current study used dyadic data analyses in order to understand how husbands' work to family spillover affected wives' relationship satisfaction and vice versa. Using AMOS 18 with observed variables and maximum likelihood estimation, we tested our model. The model produced a moderate fit with a X² (18)=35.42, NFI=.814, IFI=.899, CFI=.860, and RMSEA=.098. Analysis of the model shows that father's work-to-family spillover negatively affects relationship satisfaction. We found a negative relationship between mother's division of labor and her relationship satisfaction, and a negative relationship between father's division of labor and mother's relationship satisfaction. Results suggest that factors affecting division of labor are more important predicting relationship satisfaction than work-to-family or family-to-work spillover.

Dedication

This document is dedicated to my husband who encourages me every day. It is also dedicated to my mom and dad in appreciation of their love and dedication to me.

Acknowledgments

I would like to extend sincere gratitude to the following individuals:

Dr. Suzanne Bartle-Haring for her patience and dedication to me as a student and beginning researcher, for her flexibility, and for her openness to give me the opportunity to explore my interests.

Dr. Sarah Schoppe-Sullivan for her guidance, encouragement and help with the revisions of this document.

Dr. Randall Day and the researchers at Brigham Young University for collecting the data for the Flourishing Family Research Project.

The families who participated in the Flourishing Family Research Project.

Vita

May 2003	Cincinnati Christian High School
2007	B.A. International Studies, Miami
	University
2010	M.S. Human Development and Family
	Science, The Ohio State University
2008 to 2009	Graduate Teaching Associate, Department
	of Human Development and Family
	Science, The Ohio State University
2009 to present	Graduate Research Associate, Department
	of Human Development and Family
	Science, The Ohio State University

Fields of Study

Major Field: Human Development and Family Science

Couple and Family Therapy

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Work-Family Spillover, Division of Labor, and Relationship Satisfaction

Background

Given a systemic perspective in individual and family development, the intersection of the work system and family becomes an important factor in family life. Work institutions and families are the two most central institutions in peoples' lives (Mortimer, Lorence, and Kumka, 1986). Having two incomes is almost essential to be economically viable in society (Haddock et al., 2006). Since the topic is relevant to most people, it is important to understand the interactions between the institutions and how they affect individuals, couples, and families.

Workplace Characteristics

This intersection is complex with several competing facets. One of the facets in the work-family domain is the presence of mothers in the workforce. In 1970, for example, 41% of all married women over age 16 were in the workforce compared with 61% in 2000 (US Census Bureau, 2001). Now, more than 60% of two-parent families with children are dual-earner families (Office for National Statistics, 2000). In fact, according to the US Census calculations, dual-earner families now outnumber male breadwinner/female homemaker families nearly three-to-one. Also, there is a high percentage of working mothers with young children. Sixty-three percent of all married mothers with children under age 6 are employed outside the home (Haddock et al., 2006).

Another major facet is that employers have not responded appropriately to these demographic changes. Present-day workplace norms and practices are still modeled after

the norms and practices of the industrial revolution in which work in the labor force became separate from work at home. Assumptions that go along with these norms include an idea of the ideal worker: one who is white and male and who has a female partner who is either not employed or brings in a secondary income. This female partner is the main caregiver for the children and the elderly in the family and also the main housekeeper. These pervasive ideals continue to add constraints on families that are trying to successfully balance work and family (Haddock et al., 2006).

We know from research that work conditions contribute to variations in individual well-being over time (Eby et al., 2005). There is research evidence to suggest that work-family balance is related to workers' quality of life. Greenhaus et al. (2003) proposes a definition of work-family balance as the extent to which an individual is satisfied with his/her work and family roles, and they base satisfaction on three aspects of work-family balance: time balance, involvement balance, and satisfaction balance. The goal of their study was to consider the relationship between work-family balance and quality of life in a sample of public accounting professionals. They found that work-family balance was related to quality of life and that people who were more engaged or satisfied with family than work had a higher quality of life, and people who were more engaged or satisfied with work than family had a lower quality of life.

We also know that workplace conditions such as low complexity and control over work, numerous or high workplace pressures, and lack of flexibility are associated with employee depressive symptoms (Paterniti et al., 2002). Women with a low education who stay in low-skilled jobs are less satisfied with work and life in general than women with higher education and the chance to move upwards in their careers (Johansson,

Huang, & Lindfors, 2007). Melchior et al. (2007) found that work stress preceded anxiety and depression in a sample of previously healthy young workers. Another study found that work flexibility is associated with increased work satisfaction and family wellbeing (Clark, 2001).

Employers are starting to accommodate employees' needs to integrate work and family roles. Examples of changes in the workforce include employers offering flextime and telecommuting. The goal is to give employees more flexibility and control over their schedules (Lee, MacDermid, & Buck, 2000). While these changes can positively impact employees' lives, there are some drawbacks to the changes and reasons to continue research in this area. One of the consequences of increasing flexibility in workers' schedules is that it blurs the boundaries between work and family, making the task of work-family balance increasingly complex.

Worker Characteristics

Although members of couples may be working more hours, most of them still have family responsibilities. One study showed that 85% of employees report having some daily family responsibility (Bond et al., 1998). In a study using a grounded theory method, researchers found that the central concerns of dual-earner couples with preschool children were to promote the health, fulfillment, and happiness of each family member and to have a healthy, fulfilling, and happy family life (Hall and Callery, 2003). The ability to effectively balance work and family is so important to employees and their families that some researchers have done research to find out how people manage it successfully. In a study by Haddock et al. (2006), researchers interviewed 47 couples who said that they do balance work and family well. The main strategies that the couples

said that they used are flexible work scheduling, non-traditional work hours, job autonomy, supportive supervisors, colleagues, and supervisees, and firm boundaries around work.

We have seen an increase in the number of women who want to have both a healthy family life and a fulfilling career (Haddock et al., 2006). Women experience more conflict between work and family roles (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992: Hammer, Allen, & Grisby, 1997). One reason is that even when women are employed, they are primarily responsible for the home and the family (Noor, 2003). In one study, researchers found that employed women shoulder 80% of the household chores and child care responsibilities (Williams, 2000). Friedman and Greenhaus (2000), in their study of 860 business professionals, found that employed mothers spent more than three times the number of hours per week on childcare activities than the men did. Also, women's workfamily composition changes more often than men's. Reasons that women have more diverse career patterns include childbearing and switching between part-time and fulltime work (Johansson, Huang, & Lindfors, 2007). Women often experience cognitive dissonance because of the notion of "intensive mothering" that is prevalent in our society and the idea that mothers are the ideal caregivers of children, making all other caregivers poor substitutes. Along with that is women's increasing desire to have successful careers. With the two competing pressures, women are forced to learn to balance the two extremes of intensive mothering and pursuing individual goals.

The fathering role is in a period of transition involving more family interaction and responsibility; thus men also struggle with balancing work and family. Part of the reason for their struggle, however, is that their attempt to balance work and family is not

as expected as it is for women. Men perceived less control over their schedules than women in a study by Haddock et al. (2006). One of the reasons for this could be that women are considered by society to be the primary caretakers of children and the elderly so employers expect that they will have to build their work schedule around family responsibilities.

Couples report that one of the important aspects that helps them balance work and family is a supportive workplace. Many employers hesitate to offer family-friendly perks in the workplace because of the expense, but workers claim that flexible work scheduling is the most helpful aspect of a workplace, and this is not an expensive perk (Haddock et al., 2006). In fact, providing flexibility to employees often increases their productivity, which will boost profits for employers (Levin-Epstein, 2007). In general, being supportive to employees will result in employees who are loyal to the company. An example of this is from an interview with a male and a female from Haddock et al.'s study on effective work-family balance strategies:

M: But I think that my work realizes that if they let me leave for an hour during the day, so I can watch the kids swim at school, that I am more productive when I come back.

F: I have always been a very committed employee, and yet because my company cares about my personal life, it makes me even more committed to them. I think that is one of the best things a company can do for their employees (Haddock et al., 2006, p. 222).

Even the professors and researchers who conduct research on work-family conflict struggle to balance work and family. In *Parenting and Professing* by Rachel Hile Bassett (2005), she included 24 first-person-narratives about the challenges of combining motherhood and an academic career. The professors who contribute to the book claim that the attitudes of male and female colleagues are their biggest obstacle to

their success in balancing work and family. One mother tells of how, when her water broke, she went to check on her lab to make sure that everything was okay before going to the hospital to have her baby. One pregnant professor talks about hiding her pregnancy in a high-powered lab. Another professor talks about how academic celebrations usually take place at night at bars, not in the middle of the day at Chuck E. Cheese where children would be welcome. There is a section in the book on the possibilities of integrating motherhood into a successful academic career. The main recommended strategy to achieve this is to stop putting career and parenthood in competition with one another.

Literature Review

Concepts and Theories

Edwards and Rothbard (2000) define family as, "persons related by biological ties, marriage, social custom, or adoption" and work as, "instrumental activity intended to provide goods and services to support life." Members contribute to families just as employees contribute to their companies/workplaces, but the purpose of the contributions is to maintain and enhance the family. Work variables include the effects of the workplace like schedule flexibility and job stress, and family demands include marital conflict, housework, childcare, and the number and ages of children (Kelloway, Gottlieb, and Barham, 1999).

Most theories related to work-family conflict are based in symbolic interactionism, which states that people obtain their sense of self from their social experiences as social processes influence their thoughts and behaviors. As people interact with one another, they negotiate their actions, definitions, and plans for future

Another aspect of the theory is that people form their behavior around objects, to which they also associate meaning. Society provides people with common symbolic structures, but people still have the freedom to negotiate and adjust their behavior. The theory is useful with respect to work-family conflict because it allows us to use the concepts of roles, role strain, role conflict, identity and identity hierarchies for people who are members of the workforce and simultaneously members of families (Hall & Callery, 2003; LaRossa & Reitzes, 1993).

One important concept in the work-family conflict literature is the concept of roles. Kahn et al. (1964) helped build the foundation of work-family research with his theory of *role conflict*, which he defined as, "simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other (Kahn et al., 1964)." Based on symbolic interactionism, Kahn et al. proposed that role conflict would be more severe the more salient the roles were to individuals' identities. Kahn et al. also provided this definition for work-family conflict: "a form of interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect (Kahn et al., 1964)."

Goode introduced the concept of *role strain* in 1960. He believed that roles are the units of social structure. Each person takes part in fulfilling many different roles, and each role has several obligations, which are sometimes contradictory. With contradictory obligations, a person may experience role strain. Individuals seek to reduce role strain by allocating their energy and skills (Goode, 1960).

Edwards and Rothbard (2000) introduced concepts that they consider to be building blocks of theories in the field of work-family research. The constructs that they explored included: spillover, compensation, segmentation, resource drain, congruence, and work-family conflict.

Edwards and Rothbard (2000) define spillover as the effects of work and family on one another that make the two domains similar. An example of this could be when a person's mood at work affects his/her mood at home. Similarly, values at home can affect values at work and vice versa. Another term that describes the spillover is extension. The concept of congruence is similar to spillover, but instead of attributing the similarities of work and family to each other, it is when work and family are related or similar because of a third variable. An example of this is when a person has a negative attitude that negatively affects both his/her work and family satisfaction.

Compensation is when a person seeks to offset a negative aspect of his/her life with a more satisfying aspect. There are two types of compensation—supplemental and reactive. Supplemental is when a person who is not satisfied with one aspect of his/her life seeks satisfaction in another domain. In the work-family domain, an example of this would be when a person who does not have autonomy in the workplace tries to gain autonomy at home. Reactive compensation is when a person decreases time in a dissatisfying aspect of his/her life to spend more time in a more satisfying part of life. An example of this is when a person throws him/herself into work to avoid the negative aspects of his/her family.

Segmentation is when the two domains of work and family do not affect one another. This division of work and family was once considered natural since work and

family have different functions, but researchers have challenged this idea, particular because of the recent changes in the workforce and society. During the Industrial Revolution, work and family spheres were separated, but the information age caused the two spheres to merge. Technology has been especially influential in making the boundary between work and family more permeable.

Another term for segmentation is compartmentalization since researchers first used the term to describe the way that people would suppress thoughts about work when they were at home and vice versa, possibly to deal with the stress of the two domains.

Resource drain is when one domain, either the work or family domain, depletes the resources that a person has so that there are not enough resources for the other domain, and work-family conflict happens when the demands of work and family are incompatible so that meeting demands in one area makes it difficult to meet demands in another area.

The directionality of work-family conflict is an important aspect of theoretical information in the work-family field. Researchers distinguish between work-interfering-with-family (WIF) and family-interfering-with-work (FIW) (Kelloway, Gottlieb, & Barham, 1999).

One other rare but important theoretical lens of work-family research is Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (EST). The theory states that the environment in which a person develops is a set of layers that are nested within each other. From the innermost layer to the outermost layer, the layers of the environment are as follows: *microsystem*, *mesosystem*, *exosystem*, *macrosystem*, and *chronosystem*. Microsystem describes the innermost layer of a person's environment and includes

immediate settings such as person's family, school, peer group, and workplace. The miscrosystem, in general, is made up of aspects of a person's life that affect him/her directly. The mesosystem is a slightly different aspect of EST because it is not just the aspects of a person's environment, but it is defined as the linkages between the immediate settings of a person's development. One example is the relation between a person's family and their school. The exosystem includes environments which a person has limited access to but still affect his/her development. When we consider a child's environment, the exosystem refers to aspects of the parents' lives such as their work and their social life. The macrosystem determines general patterns in the other systems because it is the overarching characteristics of a person's culture including the customs of their country, the belief systems to which they are exposed, and the material resources they have access to. Finally, the chronosystem introduces the time dimension to EST. It includes changes over time in an individual's life and changes that occur over time in their environment. Changes in the individual's life would be puberty, for example, whereas changes in their environment could include such things as changes in their family structure or changes in the government in their country (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, pp. 39-40).

One particularly important part of the microsystem in today's society is the workplace. Bronfenbrenner labeled the changes occurring in society as the "new demography" since there is an increase in the number of single parents and the number of mothers in the labor force (Bronfenbrenner, 1986, p. 724). Before 1960, research on work and family was not based on systems thinking. Bronfenbrenner pointed out that studies focused on the child's behavior only and they were conceptualized in a way that

pointed out the child's "social address", which means that researchers labeled the children's environment according to their SES or whether they lived in a one or twoparent home, for example. Environmental descriptions were value-laden as researchers described bad conditions and "normal" or good conditions in which children develop. Also, in research, the domains of work and family were considered separate domains with no researchers considering how one could influence the other. From the 1930s to the 1950s, studies focused on the assumed negative effects of maternal employment on children (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982, p. 43-43). It wasn't until Maccoby (1958) critiqued the work in the field, pointing out methodological errors, that the work started to become more systemic. Maccoby pointed out that we are unable to make a statement saying that maternal employment is "good" or "bad" because there is no single best way to organize family life. She suggested that the outcome for children depends on many other factors than maternal employment, bringing in the idea of context when considering work-family issues (Maccoby, 1958, p. 172). Some examples of factors related to the influence of work and family are the child's age and sex, the family's position in society, the nature of the work, and the parent's perception of the work.

Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) help us understand the conflict between work and family roles as they examine some of the sources of the conflict. This article is important for giving us a sense of the nature of the context of work-family issues. In this review of the literature of work-family role conflict, the researchers limit the studies to ones that directly assess work-family conflict and present empirical data. The authors consider work-family conflict to be interrole conflict in which the role pressures from the two domains of work and family are incompatible or participation in one role makes

participating in the other role more difficult (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). This article points out some of the interactions between the microsystem and the exosystem from EST. The authors explain that there are three types of conflict within work-family conflict: time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based. Time-based strain is when the amount of time required for one role impedes on another role. Strain-based is when stress from one role affects performance in another role, and behavior-based conflict is when the behavior required by one role makes another role more difficult.

Time-based strain happens because when individuals devote time to one activity whether it is work or family related, they take away time from another activity. Other concepts related to this idea are excessive work time and schedule conflict that Pleck et al. (1980) proposed. Time that one must dedicate to one role (work or family) can make it difficult to fulfill time requirements for the other role. Time pressure related to one role may make it physically impossible to fulfill role obligations of the other role and/or time pressure may produce preoccupation in one role that interferes with the person's attempt to fulfill other role requirements. Work-family conflict, for example, is positively related to the number of hours worked per week, the amount and frequency of overtime, the presence of shiftwork, and the inflexibility of the work schedule. One example of this is in a study by Herman and Gyllstron (1977) in which they found that university professional staff members experienced more work-family tension than university faculty members because although the faculty members worked more hours than the staff members, they had more control over their schedules than the staff members, which decreased the work-family conflict.

Greenhaus and Buetell go on to say that in general, the more time that a person's family role requires him/her to give, the greater the work-family conflict. Therefore, as we would expect, married people have more work-family conflict than unmarried people, parents experience more work-family conflict than non-parents, and parents of young children have more work-family conflict than parents of older children. Strain produced in one role can increase the difficulty of fulfilling responsibilities in the other role, and the behavior required for one role may make the other role more difficult as well. Strain from work stressors can produce tension, anxiety, fatigue, and depression among other symptoms. Researchers have also noted that ambiguity in the work role can add to work-family conflict. One example of this is that men in managerial positions are often required to emphasize behaviors such as self-reliance and aggressiveness, and then with their families, they are to exhibit behaviors that are warm and nurturing (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

An example of the strain-based conflict is when work stressors produce anxiety or fatigue in an individual, which affects how the individual relates to his family. There are several sources of strain-based conflict. Among them are long, inflexible hours, overtime, and extensive travel. Researchers have pointed out that ambiguity in the work role is one source of stress for individuals (Jones & Butler, 1980). Jackson and Maslach (1982) point to burnout as being positively related to work-family conflict, and Kanter (1977) introduces the term "interaction fatigue"—the idea that individuals, because of the interaction that they have at work with co-workers, are more likely to withdraw from their family members when they are home. Strain-based conflict can also come from family stressors. For example, husband-wife disagreement about family roles or

dissimilarity in attitudes towards the wife's employment can cause tension within the family.

Behavior-based conflict happens when a person is required to act in one way at work and another way at home, and the two behaviors are incompatible. A common example of behavior-based conflict is that of males in managerial positions. When a male is in a position at work that requires him to be aggressive and objective, it could be difficult for him to be warm and emotionally vulnerable with his family.

Division of Labor is one of the factors related to work-family spillover since a couples' division of household tasks is related to the way that they balance work and family responsibilities. One study about the division of labor is about husband and wives' satisfaction with division of labor (Benin & Agostinelli, 1988). Results of this study show that husbands were more satisfied with an equitable division of labor, whereas women were happier if their husband's shared in the more traditional tasks. Despite interesting studies about which form of division of labor is most satisfying for couples, there are no studies that include the effects of work-family spillover and division of labor on relationship satisfaction.

Longitudinal Research

One limitation of much of the work-family research is that it is based on cross-sectional data. Therefore, Kelloway, Gottlieb, and Barham's (1999) longitudinal study is unique. They investigate the thesis that stress and increased absenteeism are outcomes of work-family conflict. This suggests that work-family conflict could be an outcome of the strain.

Kelloway et al.'s (1999) study was longitudinal with data from a two-wave panel survey of employees. Their sample included 236 employees with a median annual income between \$30,000 and \$40,000 and a median household income between \$60,000 and \$70,000. Measures included a 22-item measure of work and family conflict, a 10-item measure of stress symptomatology, and a 4-item measure of turnover intentions. The researchers surveyed their subjects at Time 1 and then 6 months later a Time 2. They considered the directionality of work-family conflict by looking at the differences between WIF and FIW. They also considered the differences between time and strain-based conflicts. Based on these factors, they created a four-fold classification that includes time-based WIF, strain-based WIF, time-based FIW, and strain-based FIW.

Results suggested the importance of distinguishing between WIF and FIW and between strain-based and time-based conflict. For example, they found that only strain-based FIW was a precursor to perceived stress and turnover intent. Also, instead of WIF predicting stress reactions, their results suggested that WIF may result from stress reactions. The researchers stated that most work-family research has focused on WIF, but the results of their study suggested that FIW may be a better predictor of strain. One of the reasons may be that family is less-structured and less constrained than work. For example, there are sanctions associated with allowing family demands to interfere with work, and it is well-known that employers expect employees to keep their family lives out of the workplace. In contrast, family events can frequently be rescheduled with little or no immediate consequences, and there are few sanctions for thinking about work at home—in fact, many people talk about their work at home.

Research on Women

Several studies considered the effects of work-family conflict on women, specifically mothers. One study suggested that working mothers may experience guilt resulting from the attempt to follow the traditional model of intensive mothering (Guendouzi, 2006; Elvin-Nowak, 1999). Another study focused on the health of women after giving birth and then returning to work. They found that women who experienced high levels of work interference with family had lower mental health scores. They also found that social support in the workplace was associated with better physical health (Grice et al., 2007). Research shows that multiple workplace stressors, particularly a non-flexible work environment and higher pressure, are associated with higher levels of depressive symptoms (Goodman & Crouter, 2009). One qualitative study considered the dual responsibilities of working mothers. Researchers found that the women in this study who had decided to stay home with their children even though they were highly educated experienced a complex range of emotions. Many of them had chosen to leave the workplace because of the stress they experienced from the role conflict caused by working and taking care of their children (Rubin, 2007).

Research on Men

There is little research about men in their efforts to balance work and family responsibilities. The little research that has been done on this topic suggests that there is a relationship between men's gender role orientation and overall work-family conflict. For traditional men, it is more acceptable for work to interfere with family than for family to interfere with work. This finding suggests that men's roles at work and within a family are complementary rather than contradictory. Results from the same study,

however, show a negative relationship between men's work-family conflict and life satisfaction (Donald & Linington, 2008). We also know from research that when men experience conflicts between their work and family roles, they create pressure in the workplace for reform. For example, fathers initiate a significant proportion of the grievances related to denial of parental leave that workplaces are required to grant employees through the 1993 Family and Medical Leave Act (Pleck, 1999).

Studies Using Dyadic Data

Most people want to be in satisfying relationships, and we know that relationship satisfaction affects life satisfaction in that romantic relationships tend to increase peoples' overall well-being and life satisfaction (Waite & Gallagher, 2000; Wilson & Oswald, 2005). Relationships do not only affect couples, however. We also know that children growing up in homes with parents who are satisfied with their relationships have better outcomes than those growing up in home with parents whose relationships are in distress (Cordova, Warren, & Gee, 2001; El-Sheikh & Staton, 2004). Since couples' relationship satisfaction is so important to the family unit, it is useful to study the factors that influence it. One of the factors of relationship satisfaction is work-to-family spillover. Despite the importance of this topic, there is a very small amount of research that has used dyadic data to understand the relationship between work-family spillover and relationship satisfaction.

In one of the few studies using dyadic data, Lavee and Ben-Ari (2007) examine the association between work-related stress and the affective states and dyadic closeness of the spouses in the study. The data is daily diary data from 169 Israeli dual-earner couples, and the results indicate that work stress has no direct effect on dyadic closeness,

but it is mediated by spouses' negative mood. Researchers found evidence for spillover of stress from work to mood at home, and they found greater distance between the couples on stressful days. They suggest that this may be a distance regulation strategy used to protect the couples' relationships.

The little research that has been conducted shows that individuals' values form their personal and family trajectories. Individuals would like to pursue personal autonomy and development while remaining attached to their families and promoting their family development. The challenge is to balance both of these goals. When the trajectories are in conflict with one another, the individual feels off-balance which can place the individual's health in jeopardy. In a family with children, each child also has a personal trajectory even though they may be too young to decide what their personal path is. In that case, the child's parents decide what his/her goals will be. In addition to individual goals, families have goals. Common goals include health, fun, safety, productivity, achievement of potential and financial solvency. The interaction of couples' values determines the family trajectories. Families feel that their family trajectory is progressing when their personal and family trajectories are in balance (Hall & Callery, 2003).

Matthews, Conger, and Wickrama (1996)'s dyadic study focused on the effect of work-family conflict on marital quality and the mediating processes. Their sample included 337 couples in a longitudinal study. They used 3rd (1991) and 4th (1992) waves of the Iowa Youth and Families Project for their data, and their methods included husband and wife self-reports and observations of marital hostility, warmth and support, marital quality, and marital stability. They found that work-family conflict from either

the husband or the wife's job is positively related to psychological distress of both partners. They found that psychological distress increases hostility and decreases warmth and supportiveness in marital interaction, which influences the husband and wife's perceptions of marital quality and stability.

Another study by Davis, Crouter, and McHale (2006) considers the effect of shift work on parent-adolescent relationships and showed that nonstandard shift work can negatively affect families. The difference in this study is that the effect of mothers' shift work is different from the effect of father's shift work. For this study, researchers used a sample of 376 families with dual-earner couples and two children (with the oldest child being the target child). The authors chose to examine shift work because in over half of dual-earner couples, one of the spouses has a nonstandard work schedule, meaning that they work hours other than 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. and could work weekends. The researchers wanted to better understand how parents' employment affects the way that mothers and fathers interact with their children, even as adolescents. Davis, Crouter, and McHale found no significant difference between the amount of time that parents who work nonstandard hours spent with their children and the amount of time that parents who work standard hours spend with their children. This could be because they looked at adolescents instead of young children. Adolescents are more independent and spend more and more time away from home as they get older so the parent's work schedule interferes less with the quantity of time that the parent and adolescent spend together. They were also surprised to find that adolescents with shift working mothers reported more relationship intimacy than adolescents of mothers who worked standard hours. They suggest that mothers who work nonstandard hours could work harder to compensate for their absence from the adolescents by spending more time listening to them and encouraging them when they are home. On the other hand, they found that when fathers worked nonstandard hours, they knew less about the daily activities of their adolescent than when fathers worked standard hours. They suggest that this is because fathers do not try to compensate for the absence from the home as much as mothers do and/or because adolescents are more willing to tell their mothers about their daily activities than they are to tell their fathers regardless of the parents' work schedules.

Research Objectives and Contribution

With a few exceptions (Lavee & Ben-Ari, 2007; Matthews, Conger, & Wickrama, 1996), much of the research in the area of work family balance has focused on mothers who work, or fathers who work, but rarely on the couple and the impact of work- family issues from both members' perspective on relationship satisfaction from a dyadic perspective. However, we know from research that there is a relationship between partners' levels of satisfaction. When husbands are satisfied, wives tend to be satisfied and vice versa. Therefore, when research is conducted that does not include the other spouse, then any statistical model proposed will be misspecified because it does not include the other partner's satisfaction (Kenny, Kashy & Cook, 2006). In the current study we use data from both members of dual earner, full- time employed couples to explore how work-family balance and satisfaction with the division of labor in the household impacts relationship satisfaction. We use dyadic analysis maintaining the dyad as the unit of analysis so that the model proposed is more appropriately specified. The model includes the impact of one partner's satisfaction on the other's.

Methods

Sample

The data for the current project came from the *Flourishing Families Project* (*FFP*). We had several selection criteria to create the sample used for this project. First, we selected only two parent families, since our interest was in dual earner couples. Second, we selected only those who worked 30 hours or more. In this way we selected dual earner couples who were both working full time. This reduced the full FFP sample of 500 families to 102 two parent, dual earner, full-time employed families.

Participants were 102 dual-earner couples with mothers between the ages of 27 and 59 (M=43.5 years; SD=6.26). Fathers were between the ages of 27 and 59 (M=45.3; SD=6.98). The sample was highly educated. Almost all (92.2%) of participants in the sample had some college education, with 33% having a Bachelor's degree, and 24.5% having a Master's Degree. Based on the father's report, the participants' combined monthly income ranged from \$500 to \$100000 (M=\$6910.08; SD=11470.12). The number of hours that fathers worked during a week ranged from 30 to 76 hours (M=40.06; SD=7.89), and the number of hours that mothers worked during a week ranged from 30 to 65 hours (M=40.06; SD=7.13). Also in our sample, the participants had between one and four children. The majority (51.9%) of the couples had two children. The percentage of couples with one child was 18.5%, 20.4% had 3 children, and 8.3% had four children.

Procedures

FFP researchers selected participant families from a large northwestern city and interviewed them during the first eight months of 2007. The total number of families that

participated in the study was 500. Families were eligible for the study if they had a child between the ages of 10 and 14.

Researchers recruited families mainly through a purchased national telephone survey database (Polk Directories/InfoUSA), and used a multi-stage recruitment protocol for the families including a letter of introduction. Next the interviewers made home visits and phone calls to the eligible families to confirm eligibility and willingness to participate in the study. Once the interviewers established eligibility and consent, they made appointments with the families to come to their home to conduct assessment interviews. Another recruitment strategy that the researchers used was the family referral method. After conducting the home interviews, interviewers asked the families to list two other families in the area that fit the eligibility requirements. Because the main recruitment strategy was the national telephone survey database, which was generated using telephone, magazine, and internet subscription reports, families of color and lower socio-economic status are under-represented in the sample.

To collect data, trained interviewers conducted one-hour video interviews with participants. Participants also completed one-and-one-half hour self-administered questionnaires. All data in the present study were drawn from the self-administered questionnaires, which were collected from the mothers and fathers in the study.

Instruments

Income and Number of Hours Worked

The question that we based our Income variable on was the following: What is your present monthly income after taxes combined with that of your partner? We could have used questions that assessed the income of each partner, but we decided that the

combined income of the couple was the aspect that was needed for this study. The mothers and fathers both reported on this measure, but we used the father's report of income for the present study because his report of income had a higher variability than the mother's report. In our data, there was a large variance in income, and it was not normally distributed. Therefore, we used the natural log (Ln) of income in the model.

The question that we used for the Number of Hours Worked variable was the following: *If you are working now, how many hours/week do you work on average?* ____ (*hrs*). In this case, the mother and father's number of hours worked are assessed independently.

Division of Labor

To understand how families divide housework and to better help us understand how families balance work and family, the FFP included an assessment of the couple's division of labor in parenting and household tasks using the Division of Labor Scale, which was adapted from Strazdins and Broom, 2004). Seven items were taken from the Strazdins and Broom (2004) scale, and 11 other items were added to measure other aspects of division of labor. Therefore, participants answered 19 questions for this scale with one of the following responses: 0 (We don't do this), 1 (My partner always does this), 3 (We do this equally), 5 (I always do this). Therefore, the higher the score, the more of the work that the participant perceived him/herself to be doing in the family/home.

The categories of questions were the following household/family tasks: cooking and menu planning, cleaning up after meals, grocery shopping, laundry, vacuuming (dusting, tidying up the house), cleaning bathrooms, making bed, household repairs,

shopping for children's clothes, getting children to extracurricular activities, getting children to sports events, teaching children values, teaching children cooking, teaching children to manage money, teaching children physical skills (Such as to ride a bike, throw or dribble a ball, change a tire, mow the lawn, or mechanical skills), teaching and helping children with self care (such as brushing teeth or dressing), looking after children if sick, helping children with homework, and making doctor's/dentist's appointment and getting children to them. Cronbach's alpha reliability for the measure was found to be .73 (Strazdins & Broom, 2004), and it was found to be .77 for mothers and .78 for fathers in the FFP.

Work-to-Family/Family-to-Work Spillover

One of the main dimensions of interest for this research project is that of work-family balance. In the FFP, the survey consisted of 4 items that measure negative work-to-family spillover and 4 items that consisted of negative family-to-work spillover, which were our measures of family-to-work spillover. Participants answered these questions on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (all the time), which means that higher scores on this measure indicate greater levels of negative spillover. The questions from the instrument are listed in Appendix A.

The For the work-to-family spillover questions, Conbach's alpha reliability was found to be .83, and for the family-to-work spillover questions, Cronbach's alpha reliability was found to be .80 (Gryzwacz & Marks, 2000). Within the FFP, Cronabch's alpha reliability was found to be .84 for P1 and .77 for P2 for work-to-family and .80 for MOTHERS and .68 for P2 for family-to-work.

Current Relationship Satisfaction

To measure relationship satisfaction, the FFP survey included a modified version of the Norton Quality Marriage Scale (Norton, 1983). Both mothers and fathers reported on this measure. Participants answered questions on the survey on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (stongly disagree) to 6 (very strongly agree). Higher scores indicated perceived higher marital quality. In addition to answering these questions, respondents recorded the degree of happiness in their relationship, and their answers were based on a 10-point Likert scale from 1 (very unhappy) to 10 (perfectly happy). We only used the modified version of the Norton Scale so we excluded the question that was in the original study with the range from 1-10 about happiness in the relationship.

Cronbach's alpha reliability was found to be .95 for the Norton Quality Marriage Scale and the happiness in the relationship scale combined (Berg et al., 2001). FFP's reliability tests for the sample indicated a Cronbach's alpha reliability of .94 for mothers and .95 for fathers.

Data Analysis

In order to test our ideas about how family and work stressors impact relationship satisfaction, we used the model that can be seen in Figure 1. We tested the model using structural equation modeling (AMOS 18) with observed variables. This was, in essence, a traditional path analysis. However, with SEM the equations are solved simultaneously rather than in a series.

In the model, we controlled for number of hours worked and income (to the far left of the figure). We then have satisfaction with household division of labor causing work to family, and family to work spillover, with cross over effects between husband and wife. That is, if husband is satisfied with the division of labor he may not show a problem with work to family or family to work spillover, however, if wife is not satisfied with division of labor in the household this may impact the husbands' family to work or work to family spillover. The spillover variables are then set to cause relationship satisfaction with cross effects again modeled.

Along with the SEM analysis we provided the descriptive statistics of the instruments used and a correlation table of all the variables of interest to provide the direct and simple linear relationships among the variables of interest.

Results

We compared our sample to the rest of the sample that was excluded from our study, and we found significant differences in some areas. We found that our sample had a higher percentage of participants with graduate work (35.2% with graduate work in our sample compared with 20.6% of those excluded). We had fewer African Americans (10.2% compared with 14.3% of those excluded), more Hispanics (3.7% compared with 2.0% of those excluded), and more Asian Americans (4.6% compared with 3.1% excluded). We also had more multi-ethnic families (8.3% compared with 2% of those families excluded). Between the two groups, there were significant differences in the number of hours that the wives worked (M=40.2 in our sample and M=27.2 in those excluded) and in both partners' division of labor scores. For the father's division of labor, our sample mean was 2.75, and the sample mean for those excluded was 2.53. The mother's division of labor score had a mean of .33 for our sample and a mean of .36 for those excluded from the sample.

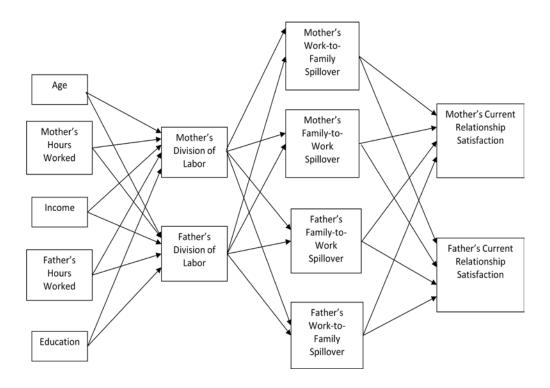
Pearson's Correlations were computed among all variables in the current study and can be found in Table 1. Father's work hours were positively correlated with the father's report of income, meaning that the more hours that the father worked, the higher the couple's total income. Father's division of labor was negatively correlated with mother's division of labor, meaning that the more work that the father perceived himself doing at home, the less work the mother perceived herself doing. Mother's work hours were positively correlated with her work-to-family spillover, meaning that the more hours that the mother worked, the higher her work-to-family spillover. The same is true for the fathers in our sample (the more hours that the fathers worked, the higher their work-tofamily spillover). Mother's division of labor was positively correlated with father's work-to-family spillover, meaning that the more work that the mother perceived herself to do at home, the higher the father's work-to-family spillover. There was a positive correlation between mother's work-to-family spillover and mother's family-to-work spillover, meaning that mothers who had more work-to-family spillover also had more family-to-work spillover. The same is true for fathers. Father's work-to-family spillover was positively correlated with mother's family-to-work spillover, meaning that when father's work interfered with his family responsibilities, the mother's family responsibilities were more likely to interfere with her work. Mother's division of labor had a negative correlation with mother's report of current relations, which is our measure of relationship satisfaction, suggesting that the more work that the mother perceived herself as doing at home, the less satisfied she was with her relationship with her partner. There was a negative correlation between father's work-to-family spillover and mother's report of relationship satisfaction, meaning that the more that the father's work interfered

with his family responsibilities, the less satisfied the mother was with their relationship. The father's current relationship was negatively correlated with the mother's division of labor, suggesting that the more work that the mother perceived herself as doing in the house, the less satisfied the fathers were with their relationships with their partners. The father's current relationship was negatively correlated with mother's work-to-family spillover and mother's family-to-work spillover, meaning that the more that the mother's work interfered with her family responsibilities, the less satisfied the father was with their relationship, and the more that the mother's family interfered with her work, the less satisfied the father was with their relationship. The father's perspective on the current relationship was also negatively correlated with his work-to-family spillover. Finally, the father's and mother's reports of the current relationship were positively correlated, meaning that the higher the father's satisfaction with the relationship, the higher the mother's satisfaction with the relationship and vice versa. There was a strong positive correlation between income and mother's family-to-work spillover, and a strong positive correlation between income and mother's report of current relationship satisfaction.

Model Tests

Using AMOS 18 with observed variables and maximum likelihood estimation, we tested an original model that included all control variables including age, education, income, and hours worked. We see the model in the following figure:

Figure 1: Original Model, Includes All Controls

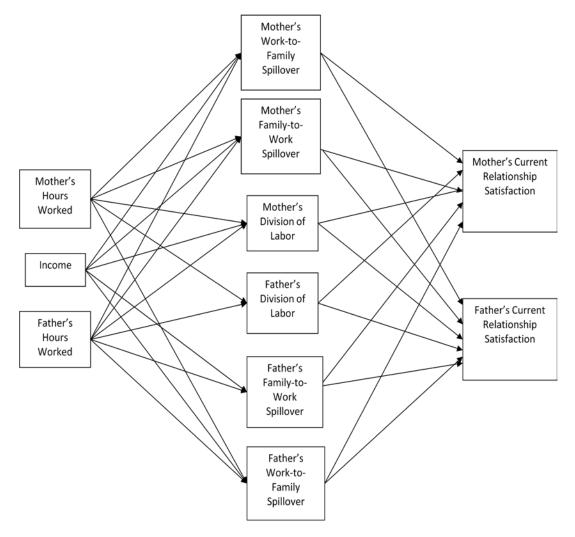


This model produced a mediocre fit to the data with a X^2 (41)=79.83, NFI=.79, IFI=.89, CFI=.86, and RMSEA=.096. The RMSEA provides an estimate of close fit and it has been suggested that an estimate of .05 and below suggests a close fit. The NFI, IFI and CFI are all estimated on a scale from 0 to 1 with estimates close to 1 or above .89 considered as suggesting a good fit. Examining the path estimates and their significance suggested that age and education were not significantly related to division of labor. Income was also not significantly related to division of labor but was related to number of hours worked for the fathers. To control for this, we kept income and hours worked.

Therefore, our trimmed and revised model had income and hours worked as control variables. We also believed that the Work-to-Family and Family-to-Work Spillover variables would mediate between Division of labor and Current Relationship

Satisfaction, but we did not find this to be true. Therefore, rather than having the Work-to-Family and Family-to-Work Spillover variables be mediating variables, we made them into explanatory variables and put them into the same stage in the model path. We see the model in the following figure:

Figure 2: Revised And Trimmed Model



The revised and trimmed model also produced a moderate fit with a X^2 (18)=35.42, NFI=.814, IFI=.899, CFI=.860, and RMSEA=.098. The path estimates, standardized estimates and their p-values can be seen in Table 2.

According to the p-values and their associated AMOS estimates, there is a positive significant relationship between mother's work hours and father's division of labor, which means that when mothers work more hours, the fathers feel that they do more work at home. There is also a positive significant relationship between mother's work hours and her work-to-family spillover. This is an obvious relationship between variables since the mother who works more hours is more likely to have her work life spillover into her family life. The same relationship is true for fathers according to the AMOS output. There is a negative relationship between the mother's division of labor and her current relationship satisfaction, meaning that when the mother perceives that she is doing more around the house, she is less satisfied with her relationship with her partner. Also, there is a negative relationship between the father's division of labor and the mother's relationship satisfaction. This relationship is surprising since it means that when the father perceives that he is doing more work around the house, the mother is less likely to be satisfied with their relationship. There is a negative significant relationship between father's work-family spillover and his current relationship satisfaction, meaning that the more that the father's work spills over into his family life, the less satisfied he is with his relationship with his partner.

Discussion

Prior studies in the literature about work-family spillover focused on its effect on men and women separately and demonstrated that work stress is positively associated with depressive symptoms in employees (Paterniti et al., 2002; Melchior et al., 2007). The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between work-family and family-work spillover and marital satisfaction from a dyadic perspective. This study

provides a unique perspective on work-family and family-work spillover and marital satisfaction because the data is based on the dyad. Most studies only report on the mother and father's relationship satisfaction separately, not examining the interaction between the two.

The theoretical basis for the study was a combination of Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory and Symbolic Interactionism. Ecological Systems Theory explains how work and family are parts of an individual's environment that shape his/her development, and Symbolic Interactionism helps explain the process of role-making and role-taking that happens in couples and is closely related to division of labor. We found more evidence for the impact of division of labor on relationship satisfaction than work-to-family or family-to-work spillover. Therefore, a theoretical basis focused on roles (Symbolic Interactionsim) is more appropriate for this topic of research than one focused on the directionality of the spillover, such as Kellow, Gotllieb, and Barham's (1999) theoretical focus on the directionality of work-family conflict, and their WIF and FIW concepts.

One prior study found that women who experienced high levels of work interference with family had lower mental health scores (Grice, 2007). We found that work-to-family spillover affected relationship satisfaction, but we did not find a relationship between family-to-work spillover and relationship satisfaction. Concerning relationship satisfaction, we found that father's work-to-family spillover negatively affects relationship satisfaction. Another important finding is the relationship between mother's division of labor and her relationship satisfaction because we see that the more

work that the mother perceives herself doing at home, the less satisfied she is in her relationship.

Benin & Agostinelli's (1988) study showed that women were more satisfied when their husband's shared in the traditional tasks in the home. We found, however, that when fathers work more within the home, the mothers were less satisfied with their relationship with their partners. While it seems intuitive that women would be more satisfied with their relationships if some of the pressure of work around the house was taken off of them, this is not the case. One possible explanation for this finding relates to the theory of symbolic interactionism which tells us that people attach meaning to the roles they fulfill in life. Perhaps women attach meaning to their work in the home, and they feel that men are threatening their role when the men feel that they are doing more around the house. Another possible explanation is that men are unhappy with their extra responsibilities at home, and their dissatisfaction affects their wives' relationship satisfaction.

One of the limitations of the study was the small, homogenous sample. Also, the observed variable model that was used only produced a mediocre fit. This could be because of measurement error that could not be controlled with observed variables. For future research, this study could be replicated with a larger, more representative sample.

One of the practical implications of this is in clinical work with dual-earner couples. Clinicians, knowing that marital satisfaction is based more on how couples negotiate roles within the family than about how much their work interferes with their family life, could encourage couples to focus on the work of renegotiating roles in their relationship and less on changing their work situation. Clinicians could also explore

whether or not the women they work with are experiencing a decrease in marital satisfaction when their partners are doing more work around the house and then seek to help them figure out why.

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Appendix A: Tables

4

Table 1. Intercorrelations for all variables including control variables (n = 102)

Variable	Intercorrelations											
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	
1. Present Monthly Income (Father)	1.00											
2. Work Hours (Mother)	08	1.00										
3. Work Hours (Father)	.37**	.80	1.00									
4. Division of Labor (Mother)	07	15	.06	1.00								
5. Division of Labor (Father)	02	.21*	06	44**	1.00							
6. Work-to-Family Spillover (Mother)	16	.24*	05	00	.05	1.00						
7. Work-to-Family Spillover (Father)	.00	01	.20*	.40**	17	.11	1.00					
8. Family-to-Work Spillover (Mother)	24*	14	.09	.16	08	.28**	.25*	1.00				
9. Family-to-Work Spillover (Father)	.11	.08	07	.11	.01	.03	.29**	01	1.00			
10. Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother)	.22*	.04	.09	33**	14	11	20*	14	11	1.00		
11. Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father)	.34**	.05	.11	22*	05	24*	30**	25*	13	.48**	1.00	

Table 2. AMOS estimates, standardized estimates and P	-Values for the Amos Estimate	e revised mod Standard Estimate	del P									
Present Monthly Income to												
Divison of Labor (Mother)	-1.29	1.19	.28									
Division of Labor (Father)	08	.10	.45									
Work Hours (Mother) to												
Divison of Labor (Mother)	18	.11	.11									
Division of Labor (Father)	.23	.10	.03									
Work-to-Family Spillover (Mother)	.02	.01	.02									
Work-to-Family Spillover (Father)	00	.01	.81									
Family-to-Work Spillover (Mother)	01	.01	.08									
Family-to-Work Spillover (Father)	.01	.01	.36									
Work Hours (Father) to												
Divison of Labor (Mother)	.10	.11	.35									
Division of Labor (Father)	08	.10	.45									
Work-to-Family Spillover (Mother)	00	.01	.90									
Work-to-Family Spillover (Father)	.02	.01	.02									
Family-to-Work Spillover (Mother)	.01	.01	.05									
Family-to-Work Spillover (Father)	01	.01	.29									
Division of Labor (Mother) to												
Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother)	06	.01	***									
Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father)	02	.01	.06									

Continued

Table 2. Continued Division of Labor (Father) to .01 *** Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother) -.05 Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father) -.02 .01 .10 Work-to-Family Spillover (Mother) to Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother) -.13 .17 .42 .16 Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father) -.30 .06 Work-to-Family Spillover (Father) to Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother) -.07 .17 .68 -.32 .05 Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father) .16 Family-to-Work Spillover (Mother) to Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother) -.13 .17 .46

-.24

-.10

-.10

.17

.19

.18

.14

.61

.57

Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father)

Current Relationship Satisfaction (Mother)

Current Relationship Satisfaction (Father)

Family-to-Work Spillover (Father) to

^{*}*p* < .05

Table 3. Work-to-Family/Family-to-Work Spillover Instrument

Work-to-Family Spillover Questions

- 1.) Your job reduces the effort you can give to activities at home.
- 2.) Stress at work makes you feel irritable at home.
- 3.) Your job makes you feel too tired to do things that need your attention at home.
- 4.) Job worries or problems distract you when you are at home.

Family-to-Work Spillover Questions

- 1.) Responsibilities at home reduce the effort you can devote to your job.
- 2.) Personal or family worries and problems distract you when you are at work.
- 3.) Activities and chores at home prevent you from getting the sleep you need to do your job well.
- 4.) Stress at home makes you irritable at work.

Table 4. Modified Version of the Norton Quality Marriage Scale (Norton, 1983)

- 1.) We have a good relationship.
- 2.) My relationship with my partner is very stable.
- 3.) Our relationship is strong.
- 4.) My relationship with my partner makes me happy.
- 5.) I really feel like part of a team with my partner.