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Bargaining Behind the Scenes: Spousal Negotiation, Labor, and Work–Family Burnout

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This study focuses on the negotiation process that partners in a couple engage in behind the scenes to negotiate whose career will take precedence in the household and the resulting effort and burnout that individuals experience at work and at home. The author finds that gender moderates the relationship between competitive negotiation tactics and an individual's career responsibilities. Gender also moderates the relationship between both competitive and cooperative negotiation tactics and the emotional work conducted by one's spouse or partner. The author also observes a moderating effect of gender between emotional and career effort and burnout—both from one's job and from one's relationship. Results suggest that men and women react differently to negotiation tactics used within a couple and tend to be affected by gendered norms regarding the work and family domains.

Keywords: *bargaining; work–family; burnout; spousal spillover*

Marriage is often said to be the process of moving from "me" to "we." This transition is especially poignant in dual-career couples because of the joint participation in outside work. Every day, individuals in dual career couples must make decisions together about their work and family lives: Promotions are accepted or declined when couples decide whether a job is worth keeping, work hours are increased or decreased depending on what a couple needs or wants, emotional support is given and received in response to the decisions that are made

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about work. This fact notwithstanding, the current work and family research tends to focus very little attention on how decisions made within couples can affect outcomes at work and at home. Though the ways in which strains spills over from work to family (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989; Piotrkowski, 1979) or from husband to wife (Takeuchi, Yun, & Tesluk, 2002; Westman, Vinokur, Hamilton, & Roziner, 2004) are undoubtedly important aspects of the work–family landscape, there are other aspects that have been overlooked.

Recent reports on the gender wage gap have suggested that young, unmarried women do not suffer the same wage differentials as married women do (Luscombe, 2010; Wolgemuth, 2010), but married men enjoy wage premiums (Chiodo & Owyang, 2002), suggesting that marriage precipitates some sort of gendered difference in workplace outcomes and employment trajectory. Marriage often precipitates adherence to—or at least recognition of—gendered norms in relationships (e.g., South & Spitze, 1994; Stafford, Backman, & Dibona, 1977), suggesting that women's careers may be set aside for the good of the family when they enter into relationships with men who also have careers (i.e., become a dual-career couple). Because to get ahead in the workplace women need to put in the discretionary time needed to achieve success, the decisions that partners make about the investments they will make in their careers are central to the study of gender differences in employment outcomes.

How are decisions made about the effort one will invest into one's career? Presumably men and women do not just magically fall into gendered roles—and the research on household labor suggests that a bargaining process occurs at the relationship level (Bittman, England, Folbre, Sayer, & Matheson, 2003; Brines, 1994). This "second stage" negotiation occurs over the division of household labor (Bowles & McGinn, 2008b), resulting in decisions about who will do what around the home. I adapt this conceptualization to propose that a similar type of bargaining also occurs between partners regarding the division of the career role. When partners are faced with divergent or conflicting interests regarding their career ambitions, they must negotiate the degree to which each partner's career will be valued in the household and how much effort each will devote to his or her career.

Indeed, to experience work outcomes commensurate with the top men in industry, women must prioritize their careers and put in the extra work hours to prove their commitment to their careers. The intracouple negotiation of the career role might also explain the differential working hours that men and women report and the types of jobs that men and women take, as well as the amount of time that men and women devote to household labor (e.g., Hersch & Stratton, 1994). A lot of questions about the bargaining process itself emerge from this line of inquiry: If women use self-focused negotiation tactics, are they more likely to invest more time and energy into their careers? Alternatively, if they put their spouse's career and support needs above their own, will they suffer career-hindering outcomes? In addition, though outcomes such as income and gender segregation of the workplace are critically important to the trajectory of research on women and work, less is known about more proximal outcomes such as stress and burnout. The current research thus also examines whether men and women experience different precursors to job and relationship stress stemming from the career negotiation process.

Negotiation Tactics to Determine Career Primacy

Role negotiation is "when two consciously interact with the express purpose of altering the other's expectations about how a role should be enacted and evaluated" (Miller & Jablin, 1996: 296). Couples must learn to negotiate the demands of the household and develop a system for negotiating the responsibility for certain household tasks (Bartley, Blanton, & Gilliard, 2005). For instance, Hochschild (1989) reported that among her sample of 50 couples, 48% of the women were actively trying to change the division of household labor roles using either passive (e.g., faking illness) or active (e.g., asking for specific help) negotiation tactics. Household labor roles, however, are not the only roles that couples must negotiate. The couple must also consider other important issues regarding the career roles in the family: For whose career will the couple relocate? Whose career will take precedence in the household? Will partners take turns, such that career investment will be expected to vary over time? Might both partners strive for equality in their career roles?

Intracouple bargaining has been mentioned by researchers in various literatures for decades as an issue of importance. However, rarely have researchers attempted to analyze this process either empirically or conceptually. Most of the literature that mentions bargaining among intimate partners does so from one of two perspectives: an economics or a counseling perspective. The economics perspective of intracouple bargaining essentially began with Blood and Wolfe's (1960) seminal article on relative resources in relationships. Within this literature, bargaining is almost exclusively assumed rather than observed. For instance, Bittman and colleagues (2003) proposed that bargaining occurred between partners, leading to differential outcomes in housework responsibilities, but they did not assess whether or how this bargaining occurred. Rather, they assumed the division of household labor was a proxy for the ways in which couples negotiated. This proxy assumption is quite common among sociology and economics researchers (e.g., Abraham, Auspurg, & Hinz, 2010; Cooke, 2006; Echevarria & Merlo, 1999; Parkman, 2004), and although it is a reasonable explanation for the findings these researchers observe, it does not tell us much, if anything, about the process of negotiation or the tactics couples use to make career and household decisions.

The second perspective, common to counseling psychology, discusses negotiation as a tactic to be used by couples who are encountering marital distress. For instance, Weiss, Birchler, and Vincent (1974) introduced couples' negotiation training by counselors but did little to empirically or conceptually describe how couples actually bargain and make decisions about their work and family roles. Couples' negotiation is often brought up as a tool for clinical psychologists to help at-risk couples (e.g., Courtright, Millar, Rogers, & Bagarozzi, 1990; Sinclair & Monk, 2004; Tsoi-Hoshmand, 1975) rather than as a common occurrence between partners over important roles within the family.

These two perspectives encompass the vast majority of the extant literature that mentions bargaining or negotiation between intimate partners. However, there are a few articles that have included methodologies providing an inspirational basis for the current work. Mannino and Deutsch (2007) proposed the trait of assertiveness as an important precursor for whether

women attempt to elicit change in their relationships. The authors used a longitudinal interview approach to determine whether the tendency to confront or avoid conflict with their partner led to more or less change in the caregiving roles in the relationship. This study demonstrated that women do attempt to elicit change in their relationships via negotiation, though it did not consider tactics other than assertiveness and avoidance, nor topics other than household labor or caregiving.

Klein, Izquierdo, and Bradbury (2007) also used a qualitative approach to examine the ways in which couples communicate about their household roles. They provided evidence that these types of discussions and interactions occur, though the study itself gave little insight into the bargaining tactics that couples might use, nor did they consider roles other than household roles. Finally, Heyman, Hunt-Martorano, Malik, and Slep (2009) examined what prompted couples' negotiation for men and for women. The authors concluded that men wanted sex and women wanted support and involvement, but they were not able to determine how couples went about negotiating for those desired outcomes. Again, discussions of the work role were noticeably absent.

A review of the extant literature on couples and how they negotiate thus demonstrates the need to study the tactics that men and women use to negotiate work and family support roles and the outcomes that might be experienced as a result. Though more recent research has begun to address this issue, rarely do we see the role of work discussed, and rarely do we see quantitative methods employed. Using the extant research across multiple literatures as a starting point, I build on the foundation of both economic-based models of household bargaining and organizational theories of negotiation to investigate how partners negotiate their work roles and the resulting outcomes they might experience.

Dual Concern Theory and Relational Accommodation

A key contribution of this study is to demonstrate that paradigms discussed in the organizational negotiation literature actually do apply within the intimate confines of committed partnerships. A central theory in the organizational negotiation literature is dual concern theory (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986). This theory suggests that negotiators are often faced with two dueling concerns—to defend their own interests and to foster cooperative agreement (De Dreu, Weingart, & Kwon, 2000; Pruitt & Rubin, 1986)—and that individuals vary on the continua of self-concern and other-concern. When negotiators express self-concern, they put their own interests first, which results in a fixed-sum (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986), competitive approach. When negotiators express other-concern, however, they tend to utilize cooperative behaviors (Pruitt & Lewis, 1975).

Though some research suggests that other-concern tends to predominate when negotiators are well acquainted (Fry, Firestone, & Williams, 1983), negotiators are known to fluctuate between cooperative and competitive tactics throughout a negotiation (Olekalns & Smith, 2003; Olekalns, Smith, & Walsh, 1996). Indeed, despite the fact that some people tend to be more likely to negotiate competitively or cooperatively (De Dreu & Boles, 1998; De Dreu et al., 2000; Olekalns & Smith, 1999), in most negotiation situations parties have mixed motives (i.e., they have concern for both themselves and the other negotiator; Fisher &

Ury, 1981). Thus, it follows that partners in couples are likely to employ both cooperative (other-focused) and competitive (self-focused) tactics within the same negotiation.[1] With that said, not all tactics are created equal. Is one of these approaches likely to be more effective in career role negotiation than the other? Might the effectiveness of a cooperative or competitive tactic differ by gender?

Apart from dual concern theory, the organizational negotiation literature also draws heavily from the economics literature. Game theoretic models of negotiation often assume that one is most interested in optimizing one's economic outcomes. Interestingly, this is where the organizational and family bargaining literatures are most similar. In 1960, Blood and Wolfe conceptualized resource bargaining theory regarding familial power, and G. S. Becker's (1981) human capital theory of the family built on this foundation. Their premises relied on the idea that the partner with the most earning power and the most external alternatives for his or her skills and resources also exercises the most bargaining power in the relationship. For instance, because women have reduced earning power, they are more likely to be responsible for the unpaid tasks of the home. They are more likely to fulfill these responsibilities (e.g., to lose a negotiation seeking to alleviate some of the burden of the household chores) because their household skills are nontransferable to other relationships (G. S. Becker, 1985). Although this premise is good in theory, recent research has suggested that this resource exchange view of household bargaining may simplify a much more complex interaction (Bittman et al., 2003). Ignoring the unique relational context and the gendered norms inherent in that context obscures the realities of family bargaining.

Recent research seeks to expand the economic perspective to suggest that couples may forfeit economic outcomes in exchange for relational outcomes in a phenomenon called relational accommodation (Curhan, Neale, Ross, & Rosencranz-Engelmann, 2008). In relational accommodation, one forgoes one's best economic interests (concern for self) in favor of relationship-oriented interests (concern for the dyad itself). Gelfand, Major, Raver, Nishii, and O'Brien (2006) described this relational view of negotiation, pointing out that prior negotiation theories have not adequately addressed the relational dynamics inherent in some negotiations. In many situations, individuals view negotiation as a chance to enhance and strengthen relationships (Gelfand et al., 2006) and are concerned with how the negotiation might affect the long-term relationship (Greenhalgh & Gilkey, 1993). The goal to increase relational capital (e.g., mutual liking, trust, etc.) and maintain the relationship may overwhelm the desire to obtain optimal economic outcomes (Valley, Neale, & Mannix, 1995). In addition, Gelfand and her colleagues note that relational accommodation has a gendered component, as relational accommodation is likely to be more salient for women than for men.

The aforementioned approaches to bargaining—dual concern theory and relational accommodation—when applied within couples will also be affected by the gendered context of the heterosexual relationship. Each heterosexual committed relationship requires a man and a woman to participate, and individuals often partake in "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in which they re-create gendered roles and adhere to gendered expectations. The concept that gender is constructed within relationships (Coltrane, 2000) is critical to understanding how couples negotiate roles and responsibilities within their household. For instance—the complexity of gender is thought to explain why women with

more earning power than their spouses tend to also do more housework than their spouses (Bittman et al., 2003). Couples do not always act as "rationally" as the economic perspective of family bargaining would suggest; rather, they internalize gendered norms and re-create their family dynamics to meet these normative expectations (Brines, 1994). In fact, marriage is often seen as an exacerbator of gender norms as gendered symbolic displays become commonplace (e.g., South & Spitze, 1994). These gendered norms within the relational context can affect the approaches the partners within couples use to define their work roles, which I discuss further below.

Work-Based Outcomes of Negotiation: Career Effort

As mentioned above, dual concern theory's concepts of self- and other-concern correspond roughly to the concepts of competition and cooperation, respectively. These have been described as occurring along gender lines, such that men are more competitive and women more cooperative (e.g., Walters, Stuhlmacher, & Meyer, 1998). Social role theory suggests that gender norms, or stereotypes, often pertain to communal and agentic attributes (see Bakan, 1966; Eagly, 1987). Men are expected to be more agentic, which subsumes qualities such as aggression and competitiveness, whereas women are expected to be more communal, which refers to nurturing and cooperativeness (Eagly, 1987). This expectation, combined with relational accommodation, suggests that women will be more likely to utilize cooperative tactics and to experience more gender-role-congruent outcomes from the use of those tactics. Indeed, in negotiations, women who are assertive and initiate negotiations (i.e., behaviors that buck stereotypes of women) are often penalized (Bowles, Babcock, & Lai, 2007). Alternatively, men are likely to utilize more competitive tactics (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2007) and to experience more "masculine" outcomes from the use of those tactics.

What is meant by "gender role congruent" and "masculine" outcomes? Although social role theory suggests that men and women will enact different negotiation behaviors based on stereotypical expectations of communality and agency, the theory of separate spheres delineates the distinctions between paid, external labor and household labor (Acker, 1990; Kanter, 1977). These spheres are not just separate but also gendered: The "work" sphere subsumes production, pay, and masculinity (Martin & Collinson, 1998), whereas the "home" sphere subsumes nurturing, care, and femininity (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005). The ideal worker standard (Acker, 1990; Bailyn, 1993) establishes that truly dedicated employees must make their jobs their life, eschewing those tasks assigned to the home role to dedicate themselves to their work role (Ely & Meyerson, 2000), which is the more stereotypically masculine role.

The central conjecture in this article is that career roles will be negotiated within a dual-career couple, leading to a couple-specific division of career effort. The division of the career role within any couple could range from the woman holding 100% of the paid work role (i.e., if she were the sole breadwinner) to the woman holding 0% of the role (i.e., if she were a stay-at-home spouse). If a partner proclaims that he or she is responsible for the majority of the career role in the household, this implies the investment of time, energy, and attention to the role. Indeed, the emphasis one puts on one's career role predicts whether one will work long hours, can move for one's job, can take certain promotion offers, and/or will

go "above and beyond" for one's workplace (Bailyn, 1993; Blair-Loy, 2003). On the other hand, a couple that sees the career role as split equally in terms of overall effort and investment, regardless of actual hours worked, suggests quite a different household dynamic.

Whether individuals use self- or other-focused negotiation tactics with their partner will result in either a more "masculine" (i.e., increased work effort) or "feminine" (i.e., reduced work effort) division of the career role. Because other-focused, cooperative negotiation tactics are associated with women and self-focused, competitive tactics with men (Eagly, 1987), attempts to be congruent with prescriptive stereotypes about "appropriate behavior" for male and female roles (Eagly & Diekman, 2005) will likely result in outcomes that are also consistent with gender stereotypes. For instance, role congruity theory (Eagly & Diekman, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 2002) suggests that successful individuals enact gender-stereotyped traits that are congruent with the role requirements. Thus, men's use of gender-role-stereotype congruent negotiation tactics (i.e., competitive tactics) should be more likely to result in a higher proportion of the career effort within the household, which is a more masculine outcome, whereas women's use of cooperative tactics should be negatively related to the proportion of the career effort they assume within the household.

Alternatively, men and women who enact stereotype-inconsistent behaviors may suffer from backlash. Rudman (1998) introduced the idea that women who act in a non-stereotype-consistent manner will encounter a ratings backlash for violating feminine norms. Since then, Rudman and Glick (2001) and numerous articles by Heilman and her colleagues (e.g., Heilman & Chen, 2005; Heilman, Wallen, Fuchs, & Tamkins, 2004) have demonstrated how women who enact masculine behaviors or succeed at masculine jobs or tasks will be personally derogated for these behaviors. Rudman and Glick found similar results for men who enacted feminine behaviors. This framework suggests that when men enact cooperative negotiation behaviors that run contrary to gendered expectations, they may receive outcomes that are even less stereotypically masculine than women who enact these behaviors because men enacting cooperative tactics are perceived as violating gendered norms of agency and competitiveness and are thus "penalized" for these behaviors by receiving a "less masculine" division of the career role.

On the other hand, women who enact stereotype-inconsistent competitive negotiation tactics with their spouses may also encounter a backlash effect, but it will likely not be as strong as that experienced by men. The reason for the difference lies in the "doing gender" approach. The "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) approach suggests that partners often reproduce traditional gendered norms, such that women who enact a masculine-typed norm in one way within their relationship will reproduce feminine norms in other parts of the relationships to restore a balance of gendered expectations (Bittman et al., 2003). Thus far, this effect has been observed only by women who seek to protect the masculinity of their male partners. In other words, if a woman acts competitively, the competing expectations of backlash from norm violation and "doing gender" should result in a weaker effect for women than for men.

Hypothesis 1: The relationship between competitive negotiation tactics and career or paid work effort will be moderated by gender such that the relationship will more strongly positive for men than for women.

Hypothesis 2: The relationship between cooperative negotiation tactics and career or paid work effort will be moderated by gender such that the relationship will be more strongly negative for men than for women.

Relationship-Based Outcomes of Negotiation: Emotion Work

It is not only the division of paid labor within a household that will be affected by negotiations over the career role; emotional labor between partners is also likely to be affected. Hochschild (1983) describes emotional labor as the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display, suggesting that one must engage in active work to achieve an emotional display that fulfills a need. Although most conceptualizations of emotional labor have been concerned with organizationally required displays (e.g., Grandey, 2000), emotional labor is a critical activity within families and between partners (DeVault, 1991; Seery & Crowley, 2000). Indeed, Hochschild (1983) claimed that emotion management is an ongoing activity in all settings.

Erickson (1993) first conceptualized emotional labor as emotion work conducted by partners in a couple. Specifically, she noted that though it is rarely recognized as such, providing emotional support is more than just "normal" marital intimacy—rather, it involves a concerted effort. Emotion work involves activities including comforting a spouse, encouraging him or her, and providing support, and it is also gendered (Erickson, 2005), just like other forms of household labor. Emotional support activities are seen as related to communality (Eagly, 1987) and thus are more strongly associated with women than with men.

In a negotiation, though partners might be negotiating for specific outcomes (such as the division of career effort), they might also experience other outcomes as a result. I propose that the amount of emotion work that one's partner partakes in is likely one of these "unintended consequences." When women negotiate competitively with their spouses, their partners are less likely to invest effort in emotion work than the partners of competitive men because of the aforementioned backlash effect (Rudman, 1998). Specifically, when women utilize competitive negotiation tactics, they are enacting gender-incongruent behaviors and can expect to encounter a social penalty for their behavior to correct for the behavior and restore a gendered balance to the relationship (Coltrane, 2000). The tendency toward penalizing gender-incongruent behavior and the fact that couples routinely reproduce gendered norms suggest that a correction of sorts can be expected to occur if women act competitively. Their partners might reduce the effort they put into emotion work as a result. Alternatively, because men who enact competitive behaviors are not bucking a gendered norm, they may not experience any emotional-support-related penalty from their spouse for this behavior. In essence, negotiating competitively is expected from men and thus will not affect the emotion work of their partners.

The opposite effect might be expected for cooperative negotiation tactics. Cooperative tactics are congruent with feminine norms of communality and niceness—and this combined with the gendered norms within couples suggests that women will be interpersonally rewarded for reproducing the expected behaviors. Men, on the other hand, might expect to receive interpersonal backlash in terms of less spousal emotional support for using cooperative negotiation tactics. Although this backlash may not result in a wife *not* partaking

in emotion work on behalf of her partner (after all, giving emotional support is a gendered norm for women itself), it may not have nearly as much impact on her willingness as when a woman enacts cooperative (i.e., gender-typical) negotiation behaviors.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between competitive negotiation tactics and the perceived emotional support from one's partner will be moderated by gender such that the relationship will be more strongly negative for women than for men.

Hypothesis 4: The relationship between cooperative negotiation tactics and the perceived emotional support from one's partner will be moderated by gender such that the relationship will be more strongly positive for women than for men.

Work-Based Outcomes of Career Negotiation: Job Burnout

Though much of the research on gender differences in job outcomes revolves around wages, gender differences in the experience of stress are also important to consider (Erickson & Ritter, 2001; Maslach & Jackson, 1984). Job burnout denotes a state of emotional exhaustion that is associated with working intensely and intimately with others at work over a sustained period of time (Maslach, 1976). The tripartite model of burnout (Maslach, 1982) encompasses depersonalization, diminished personal accomplishment, and emotional exhaustion, of which emotional exhaustion is most closely parallel to traditional stress-related outcomes such as fatigue and anxiety (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001) and best encompasses the core meaning of burnout (Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003). This conceptualization of burnout also predicts both performance (Wright & Bonett, 1997) and turnover (Lee & Ashforth, 1996), making it a critical outcome to consider in organizational research.

I expect that both emotional and paid labor will increase job burnout. According to conservation of resources theory (Hobfoll, 1989), people have limited resources to employ in their lives, and the loss of resources causes stress and burnout. Time is a valued resource; when job demands require more of one's time and attention, burnout is likely to increase (Demerouti et al., 2001).

Although I expect that the effort one invests in one's career will be positively associated with job burnout, the strength of this effect might vary by gender. The relationship between the proportion of the career effort men are responsible for in the household and the amount of burnout from their job they experience will be more strongly positive than for women. The concept of "doing gender" (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in relationships suggests that men who do not fulfill the traditional breadwinning role (i.e., they are a part of dual-career couples) might feel increased pressure at work to succeed to bolster their masculinity. Men's masculine identities can be threatened when they are a part of dual-career couples (Hunt & Hunt, 1987), which could lead them to pay increased attention to their work role and thus experience increased burnout. When one combines the increased economic pressures inherent in being a primary earner or worker in a household with the increased salience of the work role for men (as compared to women; Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004), expecting a stronger relationship between effort and burnout for men than for women is plausible.

Alternatively, though the more "masculine-typed" work role may be less comfortable for women, evidence suggests that women are increasingly more comfortable enacting masculine traits and behaviors than men are enacting more feminine traits and behaviors (Twenge, 1997). Thus, though indeed enacting non-gender-typed behaviors could be more stressful than enacting gender-typed behaviors, it is more likely that men will experience greater burnout from their work effort given the confluence of stressors introduced above.

Hypothesis 5: The relationship between proportion of career effort and job burnout will be moderated by gender such that it will be stronger for men than for women.

But the effect of paid labor on burnout is not likely confined to the career role. I expect that the emotion work from one's partner could suppress job burnout. Conservation of resources theory (Hobfoll, 1988, 1989) states that people are motivated to maintain their resources—tangible and otherwise—and prevent the loss of resources. Because social support has been conceptualized as a resource (Halbesleben, 2006) and resources reduce job stress (Halbesleben, Zellars, Carlson, Perrewé, & Rotondo, 2010), it follows that when individuals perceive that they have received emotional support from their partner, they will also perceive increased resources and thus experience reduced job stress (Bernas & Major, 2000).

However, this buffering effect of spousal support is likely to be stronger for men than for women. When men receive emotional support from their partners, it will serve as an important buffer for the burnout from the more masculine work sphere (Kanter, 1977). Schwarzer and Gutiérrez-Doña (2005) found that spousal support decreased depression for men but not for women, suggesting that men receive stronger benefits from spousal support than women do. This could be because wives are expected to provide emotional support as part of relationship gender norms and men thus expect such support from their wives. The more that women fulfill these expectations for their husbands, the less job burnout those men will experience. Though a husband's emotional support for his wife will likely also reduce her job burnout by providing her with increased resources, the effect is not expected to be as strong because of men's increased sensitivity to emotional support.

Hypothesis 6: The relationship between emotional support from one's partner and job burnout will be moderated by gender such that it will be more strongly negative for men than for women.

Home-Based Outcomes of Career Negotiation: Relationship Burnout

Stress and burnout are not exclusive to the work domain; burnout also occurs within one's relationships. Relationship burnout refers to a state of emotional exhaustion associated with working intensely and intimately with a partner (Erickson, 1993). It is identified by Hochschild (1983) as a potential consequence of lack of emotional support within a relationship. I expect that emotion work within a couple and paid labor at work will both affect relationship burnout. I also expect to observe moderating relationships with gender, similar to those predicted with job burnout.

The literature on spillover (Barnett, 1994; Bolger et al., 1989; Doby & Caplan, 1995) and the literature on work interfering with family conflict have as their premise the idea that what

happens at work can spill over into one's family life, especially via time constraints (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Thus, if one is spending many hours away from home, at work (or investing a disproportionate amount of effort into the career role), it is inevitable that the relationship will suffer. Individuals have limited resources (Hobfoll, 1989), so when one's resources are predominately spent in one domain (i.e., work), one is likely to not invest the needed resources into the other domain, leading to stressful interactions with one's spouse over the unmet home demands (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

As with job burnout, I expect that the relationship between labor and relationship burnout will differ between men and women. Once again, my expectations are grounded in both social role theory and conservation of resources theory. Research on gender stereotypes (e.g., Eagly, 1987) and the separate spheres paradigm (Kanter, 1977) suggests that the work realm is more strongly associated with men. When men and women devote increased time to the work sphere, they deplete time resources that could otherwise be spent at home. However, this might be even more salient for women who invest more into their career. When women invest their time more fervently in their work, they may experience a sense of dissonance or guilt because they are not investing time in their home or relationship, the more gender salient domain (e.g., Livingston & Judge, 2008). Thus, though career effort is likely to spill over and affect the relationship domain for both men and women, women are likely to experience a stronger relationship between the two.

Hypothesis 7: The relationship between career effort and relationship burnout will be moderated by gender such that it will be more strongly positive for women than for men.

Finally, just as with job burnout, men should experience a stronger relationship between emotion work from one's partner and relationship burnout than women. When wives perform emotion work to support their husbands, I suspect that men will experience reduced job stress—but it is possible that they will also experience reduced relationship stress. As mentioned previously, spousal support seems to be more strongly related to men's well-being than to women's (Schwarzer & Gutiérrez-Doña, 2005). The home or relationship is seen as a woman's domain, and providing emotional support for one's spouse falls soundly within the appropriate responsibilities for women (e.g., Eagly, 1987). When women provide more of this support for their male spouses, they confirm the traditionally gendered spheres (Kanter, 1977), potentially providing a more comfortable delineation of duties within the home. This division of roles might then alleviate the stress that a man feels from his marriage. Though the emotional work performed by husbands might also reduce the relationship burnout felt by women, women will still be responsible for their share of the emotional work (which is often disproportionately more than the men's share; Cutrona, 1996). This means that however much emotion work a woman's husband performs, this will still not alleviate the need for her to conduct her own emotional labor. For a man, on the other hand, when a wife shoulders the emotional support burden in the household, he may feel comfort in the division of the gendered household roles (e.g., Bittman et al., 2003).

Hypothesis 8: The relationship between emotional support from one's partner and relationship burnout will be moderated by gender such that it will be more strongly negative for men than for women.

Figure 1
Hypothesized Relationships Among Study Variables

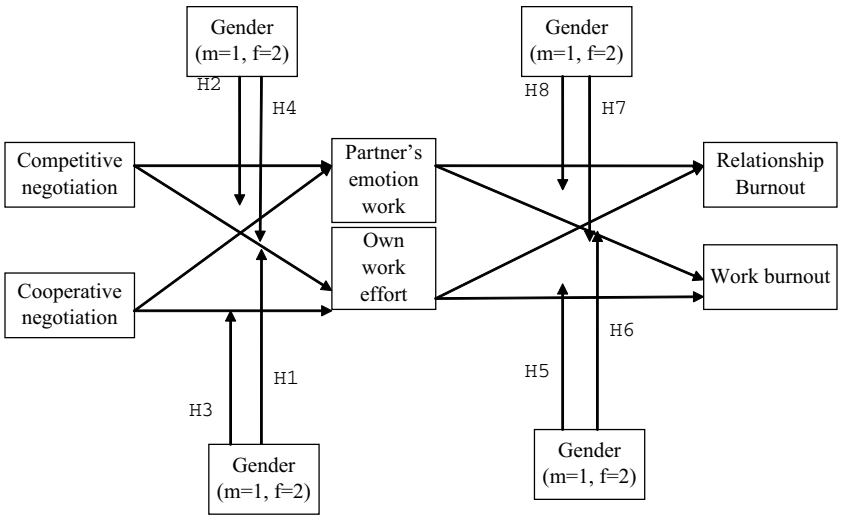


Figure 1 summarizes the relationships I investigate in this study.

Method

Sample

Participants were recruited from working undergraduate students at a southeastern university and by using contacts from independent data collectors (e.g., research assistants contacted working individuals of varying ages to complete the study). I purposively sampled for age and length of time in relationship to improve generalizability. Participants were invited to complete the study if they were in a committed, cohabiting relationship (e.g., marriage) and if each partner either worked or was in school.

Individuals participated in three surveys over a period of one month. In total, 129 women completed the Time 1 survey, 93 completed Time 2, and 74 completed all three surveys, for an attrition rate of 43%. In addition, 96 men completed the Time 1 survey, 56 completed Time 2, and 49 completed Time 3, for an attrition rate of 49%. The only significant difference between the attrition group and the group that completed all surveys was that, among women, the leavers worked longer hours (42 vs. 32 per week) and were enrolled in less hours of classes (5.4 vs. 7.9 per week). For men, younger individuals were more likely to leave (29 vs. 34 years of age). There were no significant differences on the critical study variables.

The average age of women in the sample was 29.9 years and of men was 32.2 years. Men were more likely to be married than were women (75% vs. 66%), but since marital status did not materially affect any results, it was not included in the analyses. Both men and women had one child on average, and men worked more hours and made more money than women did (43 vs. 35 hours; $59,100 vs. $36,500). Women were in their relationships longer than were men (9.9 years vs. 8.9 years). Both the men and women were predominately white or Caucasian (84.0% and 86.5%, respectively). Many different occupations and industries were represented in the sample. A plurality of respondents was in education (20%) or sales/insurance (17%), with 9% in both health/medicine and financial services, 5% in both IT and construction, and 3% in each of three industries: media, hospitality/travel, and law. The remainder reported somewhat idiosyncratic occupations such as jobs in the military, sports, or music.

Procedure

Participants completed three surveys at three separate time points—Survey 1 at Time 1, Survey 2 at Time 2, and Survey 3 at Time 3. Each time point was separated by 2 weeks to decrease the effect of same-source bias. Survey 1 contained demographic information and measures of negotiation tactics, Survey 2 collected emotional labor and paid labor information, and Survey 3 collected data on relationship and job burnout. Individuals had the option of utilizing a confidential and unique ID number if they were uncomfortable using their names on the surveys, and they had the option of completing online or paper versions of the surveys.

Measures

Negotiation tactics. To assess negotiation tactics, I used a measure derived from De Dreu and Boles's (1998) scale. De Dreu and Boles created a list of negotiation heuristics to assess how individuals prepared for negotiations that encompassed both cooperative and competitive shortcuts. I adapted this scale to refer to retrospective accounts of negotiation tactics used by individuals in their relationships. The questions were prefaced by the following guidelines: "Please describe the extent to which you utilized any of the following types of tactics while you were first negotiating work roles, for instance, whose job would be primary, with your spouse/partner."

The eight-item competitive negotiation tactics scale included items such as "Did you feel that your partner's loss was your gain," "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and "Winner take all." Coefficient alpha for this scale is .84. For the eight-item cooperative negotiation scale, items included "Share and share alike," "Were willing to compromise," and "Played fair." Coefficient alpha for this scale is .87.

Descriptive and control variables. Via the Time 1 survey, I collected demographic data concerning gender, marital status, length of relationship, number of children, age, prosocial orientation, and education.

Work effort. On the Time 2 survey, I asked participants what proportion of the paid work in the household they were responsible for. Responses could range from 0% (e.g., the respondent does not participate in paid work) to 100% (e.g., the respondent is the sole wage earner).

Emotion work. On the Time 2 survey, to assess the effort toward emotional support that a person has negotiated from his or her partner, I used Erickson's (1993) "husband's emotion work" scale, reworded to refer to either female or male partners. The scale includes items assessing how often a partner "Confides their innermost thoughts and feelings," "Offers me encouragement," and "Acts affectionately toward me," among others. The 15-item scale has a coefficient alpha of .84.

Job burnout. I assess emotional exhaustion at Time 3 using the nine-item emotional exhaustion scale of the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach, Jackson, & Leiter, 1996). Sample items include "I feel emotionally drained from my work" and "I feel burned out from my work." Coefficient alpha for this scale is .95.

Relationship burnout. To assess relationship burnout, at Time 3 I used Erickson's (1993) 12-item marital burnout scale. Sample items include "I feel burned out from my relationship" and "My relationship energizes me" (reverse coded). Coefficient alpha for this scale is .94.

Results

Before analyzing the study data, I first investigated basic information about how individuals negotiated these roles with their partners. I asked each participant when he or she negotiated with his or her partner about their work roles. Of the respondents, 44% noted that they negotiated these roles for the first time prior to cohabitation or marriage, 44% indicated that they negotiated these roles after cohabitation or marriage, and the remaining 12% either left this question blank or were not sure. In addition, 81% of respondents admitted to at least some renegotiation of their work roles, with 50% stating that they renegotiated "quite a bit" or "often." In terms of "subjective" career role allocation, 38% of respondents believed that they and their partners' careers were equal in primacy, with 29% perceiving their partner's job as more important and 33% perceiving their careers as more important.

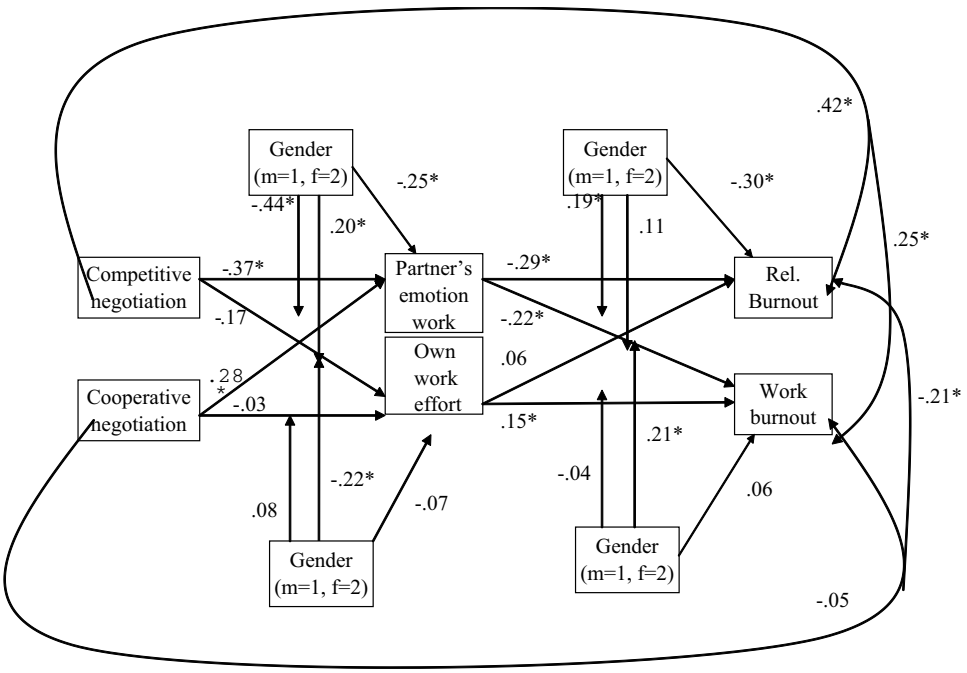
Intercorrelations among the study variables are provided in Table 1. Data were analyzed using LISREL 8.80 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 2006). Standardized interactions (interactions calculated from standardized variables) were utilized to test moderation as relatively low degrees of freedom precluded the use of latent variable interactions or a true structural equation model with a measurement model component.[2] In LISREL, all of the relationships required by Edwards and Lambert's (2007) moderated path analysis method were included in the model simultaneously. Means, standard deviations, and correlations are presented in Table 1, and a complete path model with all paths is presented in Figure 2.

Table 1
Intercorrelations Among Study Variables

	M	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Length with partner[a]	9.31	8.66	—											
Age[a]	30.88	10.45	.81**	—										
Gender[b]	1.58	0.50	−.06	−.11	—									
Education[a]	3.64	1.07	.13*	.24**	.05	—								
Income	46741	39445	.46**	.57**	−.29**	.37**	—							
Hours enrolled	6.98	5.47	−.46**	−.53**	.03	−.48**	−.43**	—						
Competitive work negotiation	1.72	0.86	−.11	−.25**	−.10	−.17*	−.11	.17*	(.84)					
Cooperative work negotiation	5.40	1.29	−.03	−.00	.06	−.01	.02	.03	−.07	(.87)				
Career effort	51.33	33.3	.08	.06	−.15	.10	.25**	−.15	−.04	.08	—			
Emotional support from partner	5.42	0.96	−.06	.01	−.11	−.09	−.02	.09	−.00	.29**	−.07	(.84)		
Relationship burnout	1.93	0.81	−.09	−.17	.01	−.06	−.07	.16	.22*	−.35**	.14	.47**	(.95)	
Job burnout	3.30	1.36	−.02	−.09	.12	.04	−.10	.01	.22*	−.02	.23*	−.22*	.33**	(.94)

Note: Reliabilities are on the diagonal.
[a]Descriptive variables not included in Figure 2.
[b]Gender coded as 2 = *female*, 1 = *male*.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

Figure 2
Structural Equation Model (using standardized interaction coefficients in LISREL)



*$p < .05$.

The model hypothesized in Figure 1 did not fit the data well, $\chi^2(df = 19) = 82.20$, comparative fit index (CFI) = .83, standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .07. However, as suggested by modification indices (and the Edwards & Lambert, 2007, moderated path analysis approach), I next specified a partial mediation model (see final model in Figure 2). The fit statistics for this revised model indicated that it fit better than the proposed model, $\chi^2(df = 6) = 27.10$, CFI = .94, SRMR = .031. The chi-square difference test was significant, χ^2 difference$(df = 13) = 45.10$, $p < .05$, suggesting the revised model was a significantly better fit than the proposed model. Thus, this model was used to test the study hypotheses. To further corroborate the causal ordering of my model (beyond the temporal precedence of the measures), I ran two alternative models with different causal structures: one in which work and emotional effort predicted negotiation tactics and one in which burnout predicted work and emotional effort. Both models were significantly worse fits than the selected model in Figure 2, supporting the hypothesized causal structure.[3]

Squared multiple correlations indicated that 49% of the variance in relational burnout, 19% of the variance in work burnout, 40% of the variance in partner's emotion work, and 10% of the variance in paid work effort were explained by the model. In Table 1, I include

Table 2
Complete Structural Equation Modeling Coefficients

	Work Effort		Partner's Emotion Work		Job Burnout		Relationship Burnout	
	γ	*SE*	γ	*SE*	γ	*SE*	γ	*SE*
Age	–.15	.12	.23*	.10	.02	.12	.30**	.10
Hours enrolled	–.03	.11	.16*	.09	.10	.11	.14	.09
Income	.25*	.12	–.04	.10	–.01	.11	.05	.09
Gender	–.07	.10	–.25**	.08	.06	.11	–.30**	.08
Competitive negotiation	–.17	.11	–.37**	.09	.25*	.12	.42**	.10
Cooperative negotiation	–.03	.10	.28**	.08	–.05	.10	–.21**	.08
Comp × gender	–.22*	.12	–.44**	.10	–.06	.13	.09	.10
Coop × gender	.08	.09	.20**	.08	.17*	.10	.02	.08
Emotion work					–.22*	.11	–.29**	.09
Work effort					.15*	.09	.06	.07
Emotion work × gender					.21*	.10	.19*	.08
Work effort × gender					–.04	.10	.11	.08

Note: Length with partner and education were removed from the model to preserve degrees of freedom. When included, neither significantly affected the directionality of the results observed. Variables were standardized before interactions were computed. Fit statistics: $\chi^2(df = 6) = 27.10$, CFI = .94, SRMR = .03, GFI = .97.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

five descriptive variables collected at Time 1 to illustrate their intercorrelations with the study variables. Three of these descriptive variables were included as controls in the path model. The coefficients for these control variables are included in Table 2, though the variables are not included in the visual representation of the model presented in Figure 2.

As shown in Figure 2, many of my hypotheses were supported. The interaction coefficient between competitive negotiation and gender on paid work effort was significant ($\lambda = -.22$, $p < .05$), which supports Hypothesis 1. However, the interaction coefficient between gender and cooperative negotiation on paid work effort was not significant ($\lambda = .08$, $p > .05$), which does not support Hypothesis 2. The interaction supporting Hypothesis 1 is presented in Figure 3. As female negotiators became more competitive, they tended to end up being responsible for a lower proportion of the career effort in the household. Alternatively, as male negotiators became more competitive, they tended to end up being responsible for a slightly higher proportion of the work effort (though the relationship between competitive negotiation tactics and proportion of paid work effort is only slightly positive for men and is very strongly negative for women).

Hypothesis 3 was also supported, as the interaction coefficient between gender and competitive negotiation on perceived emotion work by one's partner was significant ($\lambda = -.44$, $p < .05$). As Figure 4 demonstrates, as female negotiators became more competitive, they tended to report decreased emotional support from their husbands or partners. Alternatively, the competitiveness of men's negotiations had very little effect on the amount of support they reported receiving from their wives.

Figure 3
Interaction Between Competition and Gender on Work Effort

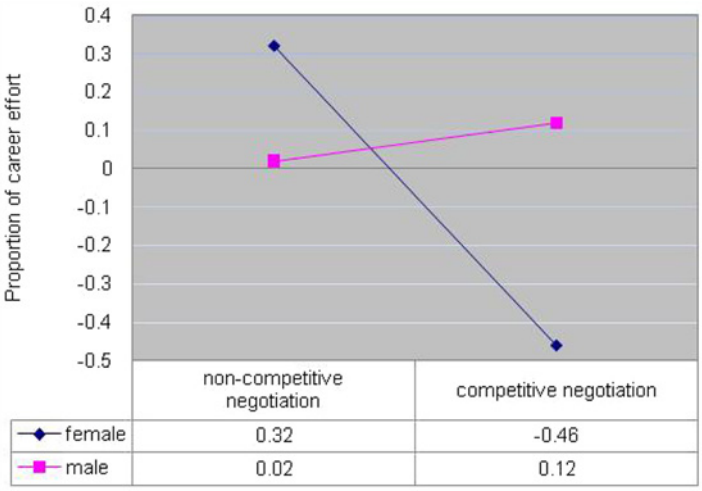
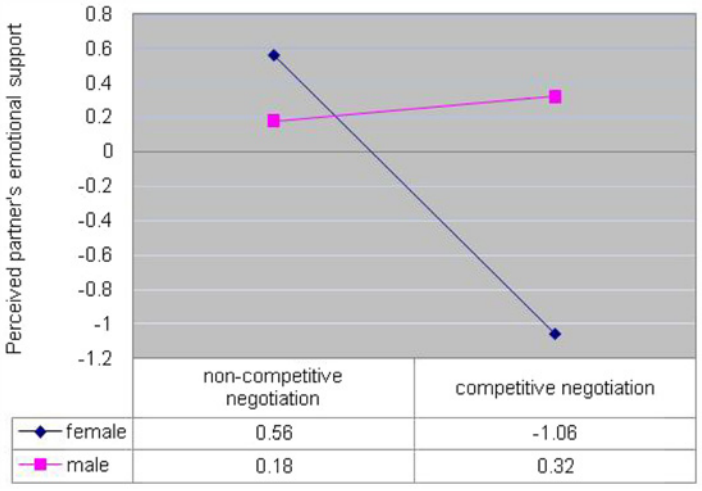
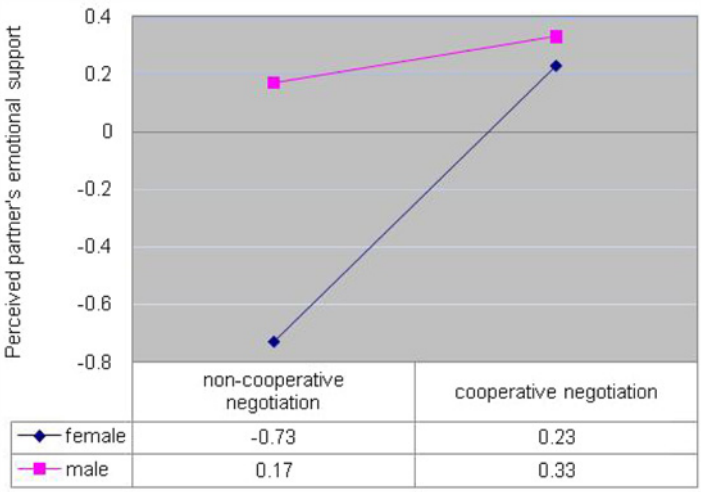


Figure 4
Interaction Between Competition and Gender on Emotional Support From Partner



Hypothesis 4 was also supported ($\lambda = .20$, $p < .05$). As demonstrated in Figure 5, there was a much stronger positive relationship between the use of cooperative negotiation tactics and emotional support from one's partner for women than for men.

Figure 5
Interaction Between Cooperativeness and Gender on Emotional Support From Partner



The final set of hypotheses examined the effects of labor on burnout and the moderating effect of gender. Hypothesis 5 was not supported ($\lambda = -.04$, $p > 05$). Gender did not interact with proportion of paid work effort to predict job burnout, though I did observe a main effect of proportion of paid work effort on job burnout ($\beta = .15$, $p < .05$).

Hypothesis 6, on the other hand, was supported ($\lambda = .21$, $p < .05$)—the relationship between perceived emotional work by one's partner and job burnout was more strongly negative for men than for women, as depicted in Figure 6. Interestingly, women reported the same level of job burnout regardless of the perceived emotional support from their husbands.

Hypothesis 7 was not supported ($\lambda = .11$, $p > .05$), as gender did not moderate the relationship between proportion of paid work effort and relationship burnout.

Finally, Hypothesis 8 was supported ($\lambda = .19$, $p < .05$) and is presented in Figure 7. The relationship between perceived emotion work by one's partner and relationship burnout is more strongly negative for men than for women (though there is a main effect of gender such that men experience more relationship burnout than women; $\lambda = -.30$, $p < .05$).

Discussion

Bowles and McGinn (2008b) suggested that researchers look to "behind-the-scenes" negotiations within a family to inform future research on organizational negotiation. The current study demonstrates that work-related outcomes are associated with how individuals negotiate with their partners—indicating that the ways in which men and women bargain for career primacy affect the labor they engage in at home and at work and the resulting burnout they experience.

Figure 6
Interaction Between Emotional Support From Partner and Gender on Job Burnout

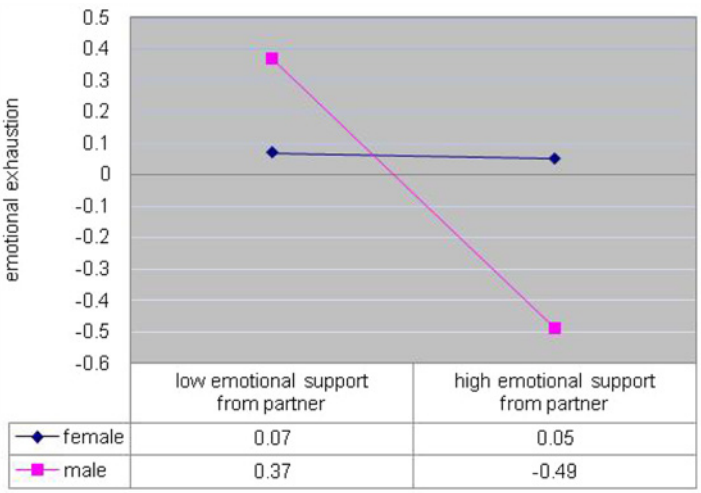
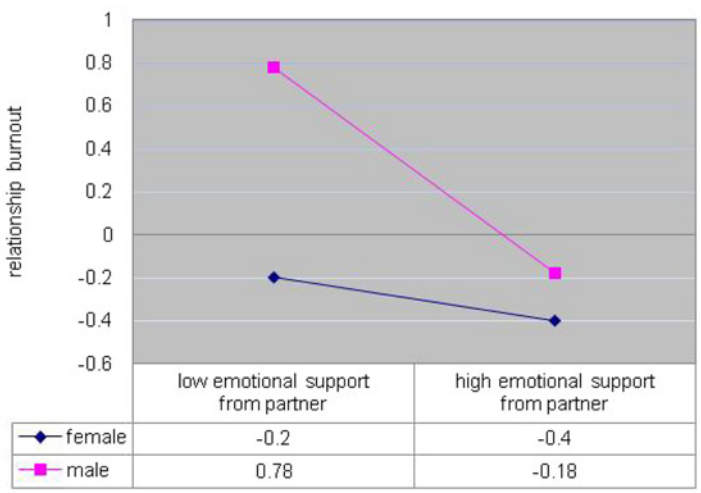


Figure 7
Interaction Between Emotional Support From Partner and Gender on Relationship Burnout



Dual career couples are faced with different decisions than "traditional" couples in which there exists a breadwinner and a homemaker. In dual career households, partners have to decide whose career will take primary precedence in terms of hours worked,

compensation, ambition, and mobility. How couples make these decisions affects work and family outcomes, and these relationships are not consistent across genders. I expected to observe gender differences in the relationships between negotiation and work and family effort and between this effort and stress—and many of my hypotheses were supported. It seems that women and men experience the decision-making process about work and family differently.

For instance, as women in relationships became more competitive in their negotiation tactics, they tended to be responsible for a lower proportion of the career role. They also tended to report lower emotional work conducted by their husbands. This is consistent with Rudman's (1998) research on backlash for women who buck gendered norms and work by Heilman and colleagues (2004; Heilman & Chen, 2005) that confirmed similar social ostracism for women who do not act according to gendered expectations. Competitive negotiation behaviors are not, apparently, appropriately feminine. And when women enact these behaviors, they are "reminded" of the gendered expectations inherent in most marriages by receiving the feminine-typed outcomes of lowered career prioritization and being responsible for a greater proportion of the emotion work in the household, or at least by having their husbands not provide as much emotional work for them.

Indeed, the gender differences in both competition (e.g., Gneezy, Niederle, & Rustichini, 2003; Niederle & Vesterlund, 2008) and negotiation (e.g., Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001; Stuhlmacher & Walters, 1999) suggest that women are less comfortable with competition and perform worse in negotiations. Because of these observed societal norms, it is thus realistic to expect that the combination of competition and negotiation—especially within the "feminine" domain of the relationship—will be met with increased disdain for women than for men.

This gendered explanation may seem overly simplistic—until one examines the results for cooperative negotiation tactics, which fit squarely with gendered expectations of communality (Eagly, 1987). When women enact these gender-consistent behaviors, they are rewarded with their husbands' increased emotional support effort. This suggests that gender atypical behavior may be driving the effects of negotiation within households and more directly confirms the work of family psychologists and sociologists who have described the re-creation of gendered norms within relationships (e.g., Coltrane, 2000).

I also observed gender differences in the effects of emotion work on burnout. My results suggest that emotional work by one's spouse is more important for men than for women. Research has already found that men tend to react more strongly to spousal support than women (in terms of marital well-being; Schwarzer & Gutiérrez-Doña, 2005), and my research suggests that this emotional work conducted by wives also spills over into the work life of men. Women tended to experience the same level of burnout regardless of the amount of emotional work that their husbands performed.

Interestingly, though I expected one's proportion of career effort to affect burnout differently for men and for women, it affected job burnout similarly: The more career effort for which a person is responsible, the more job burnout he or she experiences. Career effort did not affect relationship burnout at all. This supports the assertion that, despite the existence of spillover effects (Barnett, 1994; Bolger et al., 1989; Doby & Caplan, 1995), demands within a domain have even stronger effects than those that cross domains (Voydanoff, 2004).

Limitations

Though my findings supported many of my conjectures, there are boundary conditions to my results. It is important to note that the ideal way to test my hypotheses would have been to utilize a dyadic approach in which both partners in a couple were surveyed about their negotiation tactics. My approach is limited in that effect; because I surveyed only one partner in each couple, I received only self-reports of one's negotiation approach and perceptions of a spouse's emotion work. However, the temporal separation of variables does help to decrease the likelihood of same source bias, and the examination of alternative causal models lends credence to the proposed causal structure.

In addition, my relatively small Time 3 sample size results in the potential for low power. Thus, it is possible that some of the nonsignificant results reported may be the result of low power and not because a relationship does not exist. With that said, the significant interactions that were observed within this smaller sample might indicate the robustness of those effects.

Practical Implications

Just as organizations often acknowledge the importance of considering the spouse when making relocation offers (Bielby & Bielby, 1992; Brett & Werbel, 1980), organizations would be well served to recognize that career outcomes may be accepted or rejected based on the power dynamic within the household of the employee. In addition, the employee's job stress, in which many organizations are interested, may be affected by situations outside of the organization's control (e.g., one's emotional labor with one's spouse and/or one's negotiation behind the scenes). Recognition of the interplay that exists between work and family, and between husband and wife, could help organizations to better understand the decision-making process of employees as well as to gauge what organizations can do to better accommodate their employees.

Indeed, as evidenced by the lack of family support options employed by many organizations, many companies may overlook the importance of the spousal dynamic in the career decisions of their employees. Research in this area may encourage organizations to be more aware of the holistic nature of their employees, understanding that the career decisions of employees are rarely made in a relationship vacuum. Thus, future research would be well served to investigate how the interactions between partners at home affect the choices that individuals make at work.

In addition, the interactions observed between partners in intimate couples may help inform us on other close relationships that exist within workplaces, including mentor–protégé, advisor–advisee, leader–follower, or coworker–coworker. Dyadic research is important but not often utilized in workplace contexts, as often the dyad is discussed as theoretically important but the interactions between partners in a dyad are not investigated together. Though this study did not use a dyadic design, it does provide further evidence of the importance of such designs. Future research could tell us whether the conceptualizations in the current research regarding gender and negotiation tactics and the experience of burnout can help explain how other types of close dyads interact with and affect one another.

Future Research

The current research builds on the extant work–family literature that describes spillover effects across domains, crossover effects between partners, and how people manage the boundaries that exist between the work and family spheres, and the aforementioned discussion of the findings in this study and the limitations therein suggest further research that will continue to expand on this study. I proffer the beginning of a stream of research that investigates how partners make decisions about work and family and how they differentially experience the consequences of the intracouple negotiation process with the hopes that other researchers will both expand and improve on my findings.

Though it was exploratory in many ways, this study has uncovered some interesting patterns that confirm extant research on gender stereotypes. The assumptions I have made in this article based on gender stereotypes (e.g., concerning which outcomes partners desired in their negotiations with their partners) did not allow me to ascertain with certainty what goals negotiation participants set for themselves. Future research should attempt to discern whether individuals who "lost" their work role negotiations felt more burnout (e.g., they felt their job was going to be stressful and thus tried fervently to negotiate their way out of it, but their spouse "won" the negotiation) than those who "won" their work role negotiations.

The gender-stereotypical assumptions that I made also could be further expounded on by introducing gender role attitudes (e.g., traditionalism vs. egalitarianism; Larsen & Long, 1988) into a study of couple negotiation. Livingston and Judge (2008) found that gender role traditionalism differentially affected how men and women emotionally reacted to work–family conflict, suggesting that gender role attitudes might explain work negotiation tactics above and beyond gender. The decisions that men and women make about their opportunities for career-related relocation also reinforce the possibility of introducing gender role attitudes (Bielby & Bielby, 1992). Future research might consider whether the gender differences observed are less pronounced among people with egalitarian attitudes versus those with traditional attitudes (as found for other constructs by Judge & Livingston, 2008, and Bielby & Bielby, 1992).

Literature on crossover between partners in intimate relationships has demonstrated that partners affect one another's marital satisfaction (Westman et al., 2004), life satisfaction (Demerouti, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005), stress (Westman & Etzion, 2005), and mood (Song, Foo, & Uy, 2008). The current research is limited in its ability to inform this literature because it only examines one partner's outcomes. This means that the current research tells us much more about how an individual perceives his or her negotiation and stress outcomes rather than the "reality" of these constructs in a dyadic, relationship context. However, it does suggest that the crossover literature would be well served to examine how decisions are made within couples and whether the concept of crossover in terms of stress, strain, and mood is too narrow to fully capture how partners in close relationships affect one another's day-to-day lives.

The work–family spillover literature has, for decades, suggested that individuals are affected by more than just the job context, and the current research goes further to demonstrate the role of one's spouse in the decision-making process. Though this is a first step at demonstrating how negotiation at home can affect workplace outcomes, future research should more specifically link the decision making at home to the decision making on the job

via longitudinal examinations of workplace decisions regarding promotions, mobility, special projects, and family leave. The use of diary studies and interviews should be especially pertinent for this purpose. This methodology would also serve to verify the use of negotiation tactics to supplement self-reported data on labor and negotiation tactics.

One of the most exciting new ideas in the work–family literature is the focus on boundaries between work and family. Work–family border theory (Clark, 2000) discusses the ways in which people integrate and segment the boundaries between their work and family domains. The boundaries separating each role can vary in terms of the degree to which the given boundary segments or integrates the role (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). Building on the findings in the current research, in the future studies might investigate whether the idiosyncrasies in an individual's border segmentation or integration will reduce the importance of role negotiation. We know, for instance, that one's desire for segmentation or integration can predict whether organizational work–family policies are welcomed by employees (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005); thus, it follows that the desire for segmentation might affect the ways in which work and family effort predicts burnout and stress. Could this desire trump the effects of gender? Could it exacerbate the effects of traditional gender role attitudes?

Finally, because I was not able to follow couples from the time they began their relationships, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the passage of time affects negotiation patterns and habits. This article assumes that because of the self-reported tendency to renegotiate and the relative ease with which participants reported their common tactics of negotiation with their partners, these are the most relevant to job-related outcomes such as time in paid work and relationship-related outcomes such as emotional work. Indeed, the results suggest as much. But the data are limited in their ability to fully understand the dynamics of the negotiation process. In the future, researchers might consider whether couples adjust their negotiation strategies in response to the outcomes they experience (e.g., a feedback loop) or whether couples have general negotiation tendencies that they persist in over time. For instance, P. E. Becker and Moen (1999) found that men and women adjust their tactics for managing work and family concerns over their life course—and the tactics they use vary based on the ages and stages of their lives.

In sum, the work and family literature has expanded since it began to attract popular attention in the mid-1980s (e.g., Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). The continued examination of the ways in which partners in couples interact and make decisions about their daily lives—and the resulting stress that they experience—will help us to further understand the complexities of the intimate, dyadic relationships that many—if not most—people participate in throughout their lives.

Notes

1. The dual concern model (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986) suggests four different negotiation tactics (based on two intersecting continua): self-focused, other-focused, avoidant, and win-win (simultaneously self- and other-focused). Because of their location at opposite ends of either continuum, I focus only on self- and other-focused negotiation tactics in this exploratory investigation of the role of negotiation on job and relationship outcomes.

2. To further support the results using standardized interactions, I also ran the LISREL model using multiple groups analysis (by gender). Though the lower sample size of the male group reduced the degrees of freedom needed to exclusively use this approach, the coefficient patterns supported the results reported.

3. Chi-square difference tests were not able to be conducted because the alternative models were not nested within the hypothesized models, but comparison of fit statistics supports the choice of the hypothesized causal ordering. The fit statistics for the first alternative model (M → IV → DV) with the same gendered interactions were $\chi^2(df = 6) = 84.20$, CFI = .92, SRMR = .06. The fit statistics for the second alternative causal model (IV → DV → M) were $\chi^2(df = 6) = 41.46$, CFI = .91, SRMR = .04.

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