Daily decision-making at the work-family interface.
A couple-level study.

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ABSTRACT

Daily decision-making at the work-family interface. A couple-level study.

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This qualitative study uses a grounded theory approach to examine work-family decision-making at the couple-level. It focuses on answering two questions: (1) How do couples develop and enact work-family routines and make non-routine decisions? And, (2) What is the role of identity construal in the way couples carry out their daily work-family responsibilities? By focusing on daily (or micro-role) experiences, I learned that daily work-family decisions are indeed made at the couple-level and that there are three types of daily work-family decisions, including decisions about work-family routines, decisions about immediate, unanticipated changes to routines and decisions about anticipated, scheduled events. Anchoring decisions made by couples over time create the context for decision-making for all three types of daily decisions. In terms of how couples make daily decisions at the work-family interface, I found that they consider multiple cues, including situational cues from their work and family contexts, activities cues, cues from their routines, cues from their relationships with one another, and cues related to family and parenting role expectations, but that the cues to which they attend and the processes for making sense of them varies by the type of decision and the type of couple making the decision. Overall, my analysis of daily decisions revealed that these decisions are made in a manner consistent with a logic of appropriateness, which involves situational recognition and enactment of appropriate behavioral rules. These rules emanate from family role construals. Couples can be classified according to differences in their family role construals and each couple type uses different appropriateness rules, and thus tends to favour different choices for both anchoring and daily decisions. From a practical perspective, the results of this study have implications for couples looking for better strategies to meet their work and family responsibilities and for supervisors looking for better ways to support employees' efforts in carrying out their various roles. Theoretically, this research complements past work-family research, which has predominately focused on individual-level models and the negative aspects of combining personal roles with

paid work. Also, it extends applications of identity theory in work-family science by broadening our understanding about the role of identity construals in work-family decisions.

Key Words: *work-family interface, dual-earner couples, decision-making, identity*

RÉSUMÉ

Prise de décision quotidienne liée aux rapports entre le travail et la famille. Une étude au niveau du couple.

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La présente étude qualitative fait appel à la théorie ancrée pour examiner la prise de décision travail-famille au niveau du couple. Elle vise à répondre à deux questions : (1) Comment les couples établissent-ils et appliquent-ils des routines travail-famille et comment prennent-ils des décisions ponctuelles? Et, (2) Quel rôle la définition de l'identité joue-t-elle dans la façon avec laquelle les couples assument tous les jours leurs responsabilités professionnelles et familiales? En me concentrant sur des expériences quotidiennes (ou « micro-rôle »), j'ai appris que les décisions travail-famille quotidiennes sont en effet prises au niveau du couple et qu'il y a trois types de décisions travail-famille quotidiennes, c'est-à-dire des décisions au sujet des routines travail-famille, des décisions au sujet de changements immédiats, inattendus aux routines et des décisions au sujet d'événements prévus, attendus. Les décisions d'ancrage créent le contexte qui permettra de prendre de telles décisions quotidiennes. En ce qui a trait à la façon dont les couples prennent des décisions quotidiennes liées aux rapports entre le travail et la famille, j'ai constaté qu'ils considèrent de multiples indicateurs, y compris des indicateurs contextuels liés à leur travail et à leur famille, à leurs activités, leurs routines, leurs relations l'un avec l'autre et des indicateurs reliés aux attentes du rôle de la famille et des parents, mais que les indicateurs dont ils tiennent compte et les procédés pour les comprendre varient selon le type de décision et le type de couple qui prend la décision. De manière générale, mon analyse des décisions quotidiennes a révélé que de telles décisions sont prises conformément à une logique en matière de pertinence, qui implique la reconnaissance de la situation et l'adoption de règles de comportement approprié. De telles règles émanent des conceptions du rôle de la famille. Les couples peuvent être classés selon des différences dans leurs conceptions du rôle de la famille et chaque type de couple se sert de différentes règles de pertinence, et donc tend à favoriser différents choix pour l'ancrage et les décisions quotidiennes. D'un point de vue pratique, les résultats de cette étude ont des implications pour les couples à la recherche de meilleures

stratégies en vue de s'acquitter de leurs responsabilités de travail et familiales, ainsi que pour les superviseurs qui recherchent de meilleures façons de soutenir les efforts que les employés déploient pour assumer ces différents rôles. Au point de vue théorique, cette recherche contribue à la recherche travail-famille antérieure, qui a surtout porté sur les modèles individuels et les aspects négatifs de la mixité des rôles personnels avec le travail payé. Aussi, elle permet des applications de la théorie de l'identité dans la recherche sur l'interface travail-famille en élargissant notre compréhension du rôle des conceptions de l'identité dans les décisions travail-famille.

Mots clés : *rapports entre le travail et la famille, couples à deux revenus, prise de décision, identité*

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

What is it like being a dual-income couple?

It's just go, go, go, go (Caleb, Senior Consultant).

From the minute we get up, we've got to get his diaper changed, get him fed, get him changed, get him out the door, then we go to work, and then come home and pick him up and it's the same thing. Getting him fed, bathed, back to bed. So it's not until after he's asleep that we have a few minutes… I think especially Monday to Friday just zips by, and then the weekend we just have so many errands to do, the things that we can't get done - the shopping and stuff like that - is happening on the weekend, so, kind of a non-stop…(Janet, Senior Internal Auditor).

I guess when we go off-schedule it makes it a little tougher, like if she has to go out of town for work or something like that, it makes things a little more accelerated, so it's just more juggling things that are kind of not routine (Caleb).

Janet and Caleb (couple 331 in this study) are a couple who share the same training in accounting and much of the labor at home caring for their young son. They express that their days are busy with routine work and family activities, which leaves them with little down time. Moreover, there are times when their tight routine is accelerated and one spouse has to juggle all those activities alone because the other member is away for work. How did that busy routine come about? Are there alternative routines that could make it feel less "go, go, go?" Do other couples have the same routines? How do other couples manage non-routine work so that activities at home are not accelerated, or is that acceleration and division of labor a forgone conclusion? The purpose of this study is to explore these issues.

To date, work-family research has focused almost exclusively on individual experiences and has focused primarily on the negative aspects of combining work and family responsibilities (see Byron, 2005; Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert 2007; and Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005 for reviews). Most of these studies have used cross-sectional, correlational designs (89%; Casper et al., 2007). From this, most of what we know about work-family experiences is how work factors and demographic characteristics of individuals correspond to individuals' average (negative) experiences (Casper et al., 2007). For example, many studies have found that work variables are better predictors of work-to-family conflict and family variables better predict family-to-work conflict (see, for example, meta-

analyses by Byron, 2005; Eby et al., 2005; Michel, Clark, & Jaramillo, 2011). Beyond the conflict paradigm, a smaller number of studies have looked at positive synergies between work and family (see Crain & Hammer, 2013; Michel et al., 2011; McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2010 for reviews). Generally, work-family positive spillover and enrichment studies have also been individual level and cross-sectional. As with conflict models, there is some support for domain-specificity models (McNall et al., 2010), but there is also evidence that some work and family variables are equally related to work-to-family enrichment and family-to-work enrichment (Crain & Hammer, 2013). Beyond conflict and enrichment, there has been a recent trend in work-family research concerned with work-life balance (Direnzo, Greenhaus, & Weer, 2015; Greenhaus & Allen, 2011; Valcour, 2007) as a discriminant construct with unique relationships to key antecedents and outcomes at the work-family interface (Carlson, Grzywacs, & Zivnuska, 2009).

Overall, work-family research has been about predicting conflict and, to a lesser extent, enrichment and balance, as well as the outcomes associated with these negative and positive experiences. What is less well reflected in this literature is how people are active agents in managing the work-family interface (e.g., Basuil & Casper, 2012; Kossek & Lautsch, 2008; Sturges, 2012). Some notable exceptions include studies about work-family boundaries that have shown that individuals play an active role in creating and maintaining varying levels of separation between work and home domains (e.g., Hall & Richter, 1988; Kossek, Noe, & Demarr, 1999; Kossek, Ruderman, Braddy, & Hannum, 2012; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2009; Trefalt, 2013; Nippert-Eng, 1996) and some studies of work decisions (e.g., moving for work, taking a promotion or starting a business), which have shown that decision makers often take into account how these changes at work will influence their family roles and responsibilities (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2012; Loscoco, 1997; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010a; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). There are also small number of studies that have looked at the decisions and strategies men and women make to manage the work-family interface. Gender is a dominant theme in these studies. Overall, studies about work-family strategies have shown that women tend to restructure work and reduce work activities to accommodate family more so than men (Becker & Moen, 1999; Karambayya & Reilly 1992; Singley & Hynes, 2005) and take on more of the household and childcare responsibilities than men do (e.g., Craig & Powell, 2011; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Presser, 1994; Wiesmann, Boeije, van Doorne-Huiskes, & den Dulk, 2008). Recent applications of identity theories have suggested

that differences in the way men and women construe work and family roles may explain the differences in their decisions and strategies for managing these roles (e.g., Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Greenhaus, Peng, & Allen, 2012; Masterson & Hoobler, 2015).

This study goes beyond the individual level of analysis to examine work-family decisions and routines at the level of the couple. Though few in number, studies that consider couples have revealed how the lived experience at the work-family interface can depend on the couple context, something that is not captured by individual-level studies. For example, partners experience each other's job stress and engagement through the process of crossover (how one person's negative and positive experiences are transmitted to another person causing like experiences; Bakker, Westman, & van Emmerik, 2009). Work-family boundaries are negotiated with, and sometimes maintained by, one's spouse or other family members (Kreiner, et al., 2009). One spouse's use of family-friendly organizational policies affects whether or not the other spouse uses such policies (Singley & Hynes, 2005). This study expands on the important question of how couples coordinate and manage their work and family roles.

More specifically, this study is about the day-to-day decisions that married men and women make at the work-family interface, some of which are routine, daily aspects of dual-earner parenting, whereas others may occur with less frequency. Although intuitively we know that every day is different, and daily (micro) transitions between roles have been discussed theoretically (Ashforth, 2001), the daily dynamics of the work-family interface have gotten little attention. There is some evidence regarding how work-family experiences change from one day to the next (e.g., Butler, Grzywacz, Bass, & Linney, 2005; Ilies et al., 2007; Medved, 2004; Williams, Suls, Alliger, Learner, & Wan, 1991), but very little of this research has been done at the couple level (see exceptions in the crossover literature, e.g., Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989). This study focuses on how couples manage their roles day-to-day because these 'micro' decisions happen where work and family intersect. Macro or anchoring decisions, such as taking a promotion or quitting a job, can be more easily framed as a work decision or a family decision (as Powell & Greenhaus, 2012 suggest) but daily routines and decisions usually involve the consideration and coordination of both work and family roles at the same time. Through exploratory interviews with dual-income couples with young children, this study explores how couples develop and enact their work-family routines and how they make decisions when non-routine situations arise. It also delves deeper into the role that identity plays in daily

decisions at the work-family interface because past research has shown that identities are related to role investments and work-family decisions (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Greenhaus et al., 2012; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Masterson & Hoobler, 2015).

This study contributes to the work-family literature in several important ways, including 1) articulating some of the ways that day-to-day work-family decisions happen at the level of the couple 2) examining work-family routines and noting the importance of routines in other work-family decisions 3) applying the logic of appropriateness at the couple-level 4) expanding on an existing work-family decision framework (i.e., as articulated by Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014) to include more types of micro ('daily') work-family decisions and articulating the (heuristic) decision process for each decision type 4) extending the application of identity theory in work-family science to broaden our understanding about couples' role construals and how construals relate the development of routines and daily work-family decision-making (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015).

The findings offer a better understanding of the daily dynamics of decisions made by couples affecting both work and family and have practical implications for individuals and organizations. For example, evidence suggests that long work hours and work pressure can take a toll on individuals both physically and mentally (e.g., Byron, 2005; Duxbury & Higgins, 2003) particularly when there is a mismatch between one's ideal and actual work-family experiences (Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Moen & Yu, 2000). For individuals and couples, the findings of this study could serve as a resource for understanding which decisions are possible within certain situational constraints and how to better align decisions with their values, preferences and identities. For organizations, there are also high costs associated with these day-to-day work-family decisions and the potentially negative outcomes associated with them. Duxbury and Higgins (2003) estimate that billions of dollars are lost every year due to absence related to role overload, caregiver strain, work-to-family conflict and family-to-work conflict. On the other hand, work-family policies and supports are related to job satisfaction, organizational commitment and reduced intentions to turnover (Allen, 2001; Baltes, Briggs, Huff, Wright, & Neuman, 1999). Given the different categories of daily work-family decisions, organizations could assess whether the policies they offer provide solutions for a sufficiently large variety of decision situations. Further, past research has shown that supervisor work-family supportiveness and informal accommodations provided to employees may have a greater influence on

employees' decisions and outcomes than actual policies (Behson, 2005; Butts, Casper, & Yang, 2013; Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011). By providing supervisors with a better understanding of the daily dynamics of employees' experiences, organizations can help supervisors to better support employees' efforts to satisfactorily manage work and home on a daily basis.

This qualitative study used a grounded theory approach to answer two guiding research questions. First, how do couples develop and enact work-family routines and make non-routine decisions? Second, what is the role of identity construal in the way couples carry out their work-family responsibilities? I focus on decision-making processes of dual-earner couples with dependent children because this is the life stage when work-family decisions in couples are most interdependent. In order to provide an overview of the theoretical and empirical foundations of this study, I review two lines of literature. First, I summarize three general research perspectives on decision-making, including rational, role-based and interpersonal approaches. Second, I review relevant research on work-family decision-making including studies on career management, strategies for achieving 'balance', divisions of routine household labor, communication about routines, coping with work-family conflict, and the role of identity in work-family experiences.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The Science of Decision-Making

There are several perspectives from which to view the process of decision-making, including rational, role-based and interpersonal approaches. These perspectives are considered complementary and have some common features. First, all models of decision-making note the importance of the context or situation in which the decision is made (March, 1994), though the approaches vary in the extent to which the situation or context is a central feature in decision-making. Second, all decision theories assume that decision makers base their decisions on a limited set of decision cues and that these cues must be combined in some way to make a decision (Ilgen, Major, Hollenbeck, & Sego, 1995). A decision cue is any factor or signal that has an influence in the decision-making process (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). In this study, I broadly define a 'decision' as a choice, a choice that may be arrived at deliberatively or nonconsciously, explicitly or implicitly (Wiesmann et al., 2008). As explained below, both rational and role-based decision theories see decision-making as a mainly cognitive process, however interpersonal approaches to studying decision-making note the social and relational nature of decisions. I have adapted the definition of work-family decision-making offered by Poelmans, Greenhaus, and Stepanova (2013) to reflect the social nature of decision-making and the couple-level perspective of this study. Work-family decision-making is defined here as the cognitive and social process of making a choice when the decision-making unit "is confronted with a dilemma regarding how to dedicate or distribute time, energy and resources to the domains of work, family or personal life" (cf. Poelmans et al., 2013, p. 139-140).

Rational decision-making. The classic approach to decision-making in organizational science is the rational model. The rational approach views decision-making as a utility maximizing process, in which the costs and benefits of all alternative choices are considered within the constraints of the situation (March, 1994; Staw, 1980). This decision approach underscores the role of cognitive deliberation and goal-oriented choice in maximizing benefits to the work-family system (Poelmans et al., 2013). While economic utility theory emphasizes financial considerations in decision-making (Staw, 1980), rationality can be understood as an instrumental process of weighing and considering a whole host of resources and demands within the structures of the work-family system (ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012; Voydanoff, 2005).

The rational approach to decision-making must also account for the fact that while people are generally rational beings, they are also cognitive misers (Weber, Kopelman, & Messick, 2004) and biased thinkers (Bazerman, 1998; Staw, 1980). Decision makers exhibit what March (1994) calls 'bounded rationality'. For example, rather than maximizing, decision makers often scan a few options and select a choice that is adequate (satisfice) instead of weighing all possible alternatives and selecting the absolute best (March, 1994). Decisions may also be guided by habits and approaches taken in similar decision situations (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1984; Staw, 1980) and are subject to a gamut of other cognitive and social biases (Bazerman, 1998). While the rational model emphasizes cognition and deliberation, the level of consciousness in processing a decision actually varies from deliberative and exhaustive to unaware and automatic (Poelmans et al., 2013; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1984; Weber et al., 2004). Overall, rational models see decision-making as a process involving the consideration of alternative choices and the (boundedly rational) selection of the best option. The focus of rational models is the cognitive process of decision-making taken by individuals. Rationality best describes decision-making in situations where the economic aspects of the decision are salient, but the social aspects are not, and in contexts that call for a calculating, deliberative approach (Weber et al., 2004).

Role-based decision-making. A complementary viewpoint is to look at decisions as role-based enactments in which individuals consider the norms and rules they should follow in a given decision situation based on the social role(s) they are fulfilling in that situation (March, 1994). This role-based approach, called the 'logic of appropriateness', sees decision-making as a role-participation process guided by situational recognition and the enactment of social identities (March, 1994; Powell & Greenhaus, 2012). This approach aligns with the symbolic interactionism perspective in identity theory. Identity theory is "focused on the match between the individual meanings of occupying a particular role and the behaviors that a person enacts in that role while interacting with others" (Stets & Burke, 2000, p.227). Role identities stem from social roles and each role has values, beliefs, norms, goals, interaction styles and timelines associated with it (Ashforth, 2001). From a symbolic interactionism standpoint, it is also understood that the content of role identities emerges in part from social interactions with others (Ashforth, 2001; Burke & Stets, 2009; Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). These social interactions happen within a framework of the social roles that each person is enacting, including the symbolic use of language in interactions to define the self, one's roles and the roles of others (Burke & Stets,

2009). A role identity is considered negotiated and coordinated through these definitions and interactions (Ashforth, 2001). Stets and Burke (2000) even suggest that role identities only have meaning with reference to counter-roles. For example, the meaning of mother can be understood as it contrasts to father or corresponds to child. Though people take into account these social processes in self-definition, they have a degree of latitude in how they construe their role identities based their own needs, values, ideals, and preferences (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007). Identity construal refers to the identity content stemming from unique, personal, self-in-role interpretations, meanings and expectations for fulfilling a role identity (Sluss & Ashforth, 2007).

Identity theory is concerned with the link between role identity and behavior. With the exception of extremely strong situations, identity construal should guide decisions and behaviors (Ashforth, 2001; Burke & Reitzes, 1981, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2000). Burke and Reitzes (1981; p. 91) express this notion beautifully:

> "Given the opportunity to engage in some activity or some set of activities, a choice must be made. Identities influence the choices made. The activity that results from the choice has meanings that correspond to, reinforce and display the identity meanings of the individual."

Identity theory also accounts for the fact that people have multiple role identities and how these identities relate to one another. According to the theory, people prioritize their identities hierarchically based on the relative importance or centrality each has compared to other identities in their overall self-concept (Thoits, 1991). In the literature, identity centrality has also been called salience (Bagger, Li, & Gutek, 2008), involvement (Karambayya & Reilly 1992), role-priority (Greenhaus & Powell, 2010a) and identification (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2012). Identity centrality also plays a role in behavior and selection of activities because people invest more heavily in the role identities most central to their self-concept (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Lobel, 1991). According to identity theory, this is because the processes of self-consistency and self-verification are strong motives for behavior (Stets & Burke, 2000). Generally, people are motivated to behave is ways consistent with how they construe their role identities, particularly ones important to their self-concept, and want to confirm their view of themselves across situations and in their interactions with others (Stets & Burke, 2000).

The appropriateness framework (role-based decision-making) takes into consideration an individual's multiple role identities, the construal of those identities, as well as the centrality of identities involved in the decision situation (March, 1994). Identity construal is the basis for

decision-making in this model because the rules guiding choice are based on the content of the role identity (meanings) and what behaviors that content prescribes (role expectations) (Greenhaus & Powel, 2012; Masterson & Hoobler, 2015; Powell & Greenhaus, 2012). As such, decision-making according to the logic of appropriateness stems from the question "What does a person like me (identity) do (rules) in a situation like this (recognition)?" (Weber et al., 2004, p. 282). The answer that an individual provides to this question will be based on role expectations from the role identity or identities invoked in the situation and the rules of appropriate behavior derived from those role expectations. Work-family decision situations tend to involve work and/or family role identities, so the decision maker would identify the situation and enact role behaviors consistent with one or both of those role identities when making work-family decisions. The more deeply one identifies with a role and considers it important (identity centrality), the more likely he or she will consider that identity when a decision is being made (Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010; Lobel, 1991). For example, a working father who considers his family role more central to his identity than his work role would likely consider the family role identity in a work decision (Greenhaus & Powell, 2012). Also, the situation may signal a role identity, making it more salient in the decision being considered (Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010). Considering further the family-centric father, his decision may involve a choice between working overtime and attending a special family event (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2003), so both work and family roles would be salient in that decision situation. His choice will depend on how he recognizes the situation, how he construes his roles and which rule is invoked for him. While decision-making in this model is still considered a mainly cognitive endeavor, it is a more intuitive, heuristic approach than the (boundedly) rational approach described above and is likely to vary in the extent to which conscious deliberation takes place (Poelmans et al., 2013; Weber et al., 2004). That is, decision-making is cognitive, but what Weber et al. (2004) calls 'nonconscious' because decision makers are often not aware of the mental processing of the decision. Overall, the role-based perspective sees the process for decision-making as situational recognition followed by role enactments based on rules of appropriate behavior specified by role construals and associated role expectations. While role-based decision-making is distinctly more social than a rational approach, this perspective still views the decision processes as a mostly cognitive endeavor taken on by individuals.

Appropriateness and rationality are considered complimentary processes. Any one decision will likely have rational and subjective aspects (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). March (1994) suggests that the rule of consequence (i.e., use of rationality) is just one type of appropriateness rule, so rationality may be subsumed under the logic of appropriateness framework (i.e., a role construal may call forth the rule that it is appropriate for a person like me to use logic and rational thinking in a situation like this). For example, couples have often made the case that their strategies for managing work and family were primarily based on what made sense for them financially (Pagnan, Lero, & MacDermid Wadsworth, 2011; Singley & Hynes, 2005). Role-based decision-making is most likely to apply in situations where the social aspect of a decision is salient and in which people have well defined, agreed upon roles (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989; Weber et al., 2004). In those situations, decisions are a matter of identifying the situation and enacting the rules for behavior in the situation. For couples, the rules of appropriateness are derived from their roles and role expectations in the home and vis-à-vis one another. For example, several studies have noted the importance of equity or fairness relationship norms in work-family decision-making; i.e. the rule that resources or demands should be distributed equally between spouses (Medved, 2004; Radcliff & Cassell, 2014; Wiesmann et al., 2008; Zimmerman, 2003). Sex and gender roles have also garnered much attention in work-family studies (for a review, see Powell & Greenhaus, 2010b). Gender roles are social norms and expectations about the beliefs and behaviors thought to be appropriate for men versus women (Eagly, 1987). Women are expected to be more communal, socially interdependent, selfless and nurturing in the construal and enactment of their social roles, whereas men are expected to be more agentic, independent and achievement-oriented in the construal and enactment of their roles (Eagly, 1987; Greenhaus et al., 2012). Gender role beliefs have had a pervasive and long lasting influence on the way men and women see their roles at work and at home (Patton & Johns, 2007). However, some authors have suggested that women and men's roles have become more egalitarian in contemporary society, although about 40% of adults still hold beliefs about the differing roles of men and women based on 'traditional' gender role construals (Galinsky, Aumann, & Bond, 2009). Role expectations and norms in couples, and therefore rules guiding decisions, are likely to be partially derived from early childhood socialization and experiences with gender roles (e.g., growing up in a traditional or egalitarian household; Eagly, 1987; Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Morris, & Shepherd, 2006), though roles develop within couples

overtime as well (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). Some couples may also come to work-family decisions without preconceived notions about what role each member of the couple will play. In these cases, rules are not assumed and may even be hard to establish, so decisions are likely to require more communication (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989).

Interpersonal processes in decision-making. A third way to study decision-making is to focus on interpersonal communications and relationship attributes in the decision-making process. Communication is clearly one aspect of resolving work-family conflicts and finding strategies for integrating work and family (Livingston, 2014; Maertz & Boyar, 2011), for conducting boundary work (Kreiner et al., 2009; Trefalt, 2013) and for maintaining work family-routines (e.g., Cathcart et al., 2008; Medved, 2004; Zvonkovic, Schmiege, & Hall, 1994), though work-family science has paid little attention to this aspect. An interesting characteristic of communication in this type of decision-making is the extent to which communication is required at all or how much communication takes place when decisions are made at the level of the couple (Wiesmann et al., 2008). It seems reasonable to suggest, for example, that work-family decisions vary in the extent to which both members of a couple or other family members take part in the decision process (Hand, 2006; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1988; Rettig, 1993). For example, Hand (2006) interviewed wives about parenting and paid work arrangements and found much variation in extent to which husbands had contributed to their decisions. Sillars and Kalbfleisch (1989) suggest that the majority of decisions made by couples are made non-reflectively and implicitly, through silent agreements and role enactments. This is because couples have strenuous demands on resources such as time, energy and attention, particularly couples with young children at home, and because couples typically partake in decision-making discussions while they are involved in other activities that compete for their attention (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). Also, communication is constrained in marriage due to norms against verbalizing disagreement and due to the multiple goals that a communication episode must fulfill. For example, it may be more important to maintain relationship harmony than to enact an open discussion about a work-family decision (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). For the sake of harmony, one spouse may anticipate what the other spouse would select (accurately or not) and may suggest that choice rather than his or her own preference (Kenny & Acitelli, 1989). Also, a spouse may desire change to a work-family routine, but decide not to bring up the issue and maintain the status quo in order to avoid conflict (Kluwer, Heesink, & Van De Vliert, 1997).

Whereas communication styles in decision situations range from explicit, direct, and proactive to implicit, indirect, and incremental, Sillars and Kalbfleisch (1989) estimate that the vast majority of decisions made by couples involve some level of implicit, silent arrangement. Silent arrangements are when decision outcomes are reached without explicit verbal agreement (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). Silent arrangements may be reached through role-playing, particularly in couples with shared expectations, assumptions and experiences. In this case, couples may make independent decisions that accurately reflect what would be desired at the couple level. Silent arrangements may evolve over time, as when the experience of making decisions together or observing the decisions of the other spouse evolves into assumptions or sets a precedence for future decision-making. Lastly, cursory conversations about a decision may lead to a silent arrangement, as when conversations are interrupted or taken incrementally over time until a point is reached when one member of the couple takes ownership of the decision and assumes the other would agree. It is important to note, even when work-family decisions are made independently, decisions are still made within a social context and the process is likely to involve consideration of significant others or stakeholders because of the impact the decision will have on those others (Rettig, 1993). Individual decision makers would consider obligations they have to others in the work-family system (Barnett & Lundgren, 1998) and other relationship cues even if these cues are not made explicit through communication about the decision. A communication-based approach to studying decisions is more explicitly dyadic or couple-level because researchers often study the types and amount of communications between partners.

Summary

The perspectives for studying decision-making are considered complementary and overlapping, so work-family decision-making in couples is likely to at once include elements of all of the decision-making processes discussed above. Poelmans et al. (2013) have encouraged researchers to take into account both rational and role-based perspectives in decision-making and to think about the circumstances when an explicit, conscious and deliberative style is utilized versus when implicit, intuitive and heuristic approaches would be taken. The actual decision process taken by a couple is likely to depend on specific decision being made and the specific situation in which it is being made.

Work-Family Decision-Making in Couples

For couples making decisions, the process is likely to be quite complex - involving two boundedly rational, role-playing people implicitly or explicitly taking part in a (work-family) decision that is constrained within the framework of their joint context. Several studies on work-family decision-making processes support this notion. For example, Cathcart et al. (2008) found that couples' negotiations regarding household and paid labor considered workplace structures and practices, role-based assumptions and social interactions. Barnett and Lundgren (1998) found that couples thought through many decision criteria when considering reduced work-hour arrangements, including each spouses' needs, preferences, obligations, opportunities and constraints, as well as their socioeconomic, cultural and organizational context. Greenhaus and Powell (2003) and Powell and Greenhaus (2006) concluded that decision-making in instances of work-family conflict involves internal cues such as work and family identities, role sender cues, such as pressures, supports and preferences of other stakeholders and activity cues, such as the flexibility to reschedule activities. Radcliff and Cassell (2014) also concluded that decision-making was an interpersonal process involving various cues such as preferences, beliefs and values, fairness norms, financial considerations and availability of supports and that decisions were constrained by the framework created by work contexts. Taken together, these studies suggest that work-family decision-making in couples simultaneously involves structural, rational and economic cues, role-based and relationship cues, and communication.

Although the above studies reflect the complex and social nature of work-family decisions, only a small number of studies are explicitly about decision-making at the work-family interface. This literature review casts a wide net to gain insights from related areas of research. Namely, I review research on careers and career management including research on strategies couples use to manage the work-family interface and the use of work-place policies, research on divisions of household labor including communications and negotiations between members of couples to establish and manage their routines, research on decision-making during incidents of work-family conflict, and finally identity theory applications in work-family science. I also note the importance of context and life stage in work-family decision-making.

Careers and career management of couples. Although most research on careers and career management is focused at the individual level (see Sullivan & Baruch 2009 and Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014 for recent reviews), couple-level career research has revealed couple-

level factors involved in career decision-making, how coupledom influences careers and couples' strategies for managing work and family. Career research has shown that couples may consider and/or be constrained by societal and cultural level factors in their career decisions, such as macro-economic cues including employment rates and living costs (Barnett & Lundgren, 1998), government policies and legislation (Cathcart et al., 2008) and cultural norms such as the definition of success (Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Moen & Yu, 2000). Couples also make career decisions within the framework of organizational cultures and workplace structures. They consider the availability of work-family policies, benefits and promotion schedules, the family friendliness of organizational cultures or supervisors, workplace pressures and expectations, the availability of supports outside of work, and the workloads and work shifts of each spouse in their decisions (e.g., Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Budworth, Enns, & Rowbotham, 2008; Cathcart et al., 2008; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Singley & Hynes, 2005; Smith, 1997). At the level of the couple, decision cues include demographic, financial and career factors of each spouse such as respective income and earning potential, career stage and educational attainment, as well as attitudinal, relational and identity cues such as gender roles, career salience, career prioritizing, beliefs, values and preferences (Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Budworth et al., 2008; Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Harvey, 1998; Pixley, 2008; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Smith, 1997).

Couple-level career research also describes some of the ways that members of couples influence each other's career decisions. For example, some career scholars have recognized the important role that coupledom can play in major career decisions like accepting a promotion requiring travel or an international assignment (Budworth et al., 2008; Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Harvey, 1998, Livingston, 2014; Pixley, 2008). When one spouse accepts a promotion associated with additional work commitments such as travel and longer work hours, the other spouse may have to accommodate those additional work commitments by constricting his or her own work commitments to take on more of the household responsibilities and childcare. This can have a long-term impact on the career trajectories of both spouses, including the potential continued upward mobility of the promoted spouse and the slowed progression of the other spouse's career which may never regain momentum (Budworth et al., 2008, Pixley, 2008). In career relocation decisions, Challiol and Magnonac (2005) found that these decisions hinged on the distribution and expectations of work and family roles in a couple, the attitudes that the spouses hold regarding a relocation and how the couple worked through the decision when they

had differing opinions. The authors note that the interpersonal relationship and interdependence in decision-making outweighed objective criteria generally considered important in these decisions such as the relocating spouse's job, organizational and community tenure, gender, or contribution to the household income. Couple-level life course analysis has also been used to understand how career trajectories and patterns of one spouse's career are connected to that of the other spouse (e.g., Han & Moen, 1999; Pixley, 2008) and the impact of life stage on couple's career commitments (Sweet & Moen, 2006; Moen & Yu, 2000). These studies note the influence of dependent care responsibilities and gender roles on career patterns and the interdependencies between spouses' career decisions over time.

Another line of research looks at the strategies working couples use to manage work and family including the couple-level use of work-place policies. These studies mainly focus on major modifications (e.g., career decisions) used by couples, rather than day-to-day strategies for jointly managing work and family roles. For example, Becker and Moen (1999) found that dual-earner couples rarely engage in two high-powered careers. One or both members of the couple often places limits on work hours or work arrangements that would encroach on family time. Many couples have one career (primary income) and one job (flexible or part-time) and some couples trade-off who has the career and who has the job at any given time. Becker and Moen (1999) also found that these decisions are frequently gendered (women scale back their work role more often than men) and dependent on whether a couple has small children at home. Singley and Hynes (2005) studied couples use of work-family policies and strategies for fitting work with family while transitioning to parenthood. They found that both spouses restructured work such as changing jobs and reducing work hours. However, mothers in their sample were much more likely than fathers to utilize workplace policies or supports in order to fulfill their family responsibilities and were more likely be the ones making the biggest changes to their work role; some of them quitting work altogether or reducing their work commitment to part-time. Further, about half the couples they interviewed had strong traditional gender role beliefs and based their strategies for dividing work and family responsibilities on these beliefs. The other half of the couples based their arrangements on factors such as availability of family-friendly policies and relative income levels. Proceeding from these studies of work-family strategies, Budworth et al. (2008) proposed a model in which a couple's shared identity (in work and family roles), which is partly based on underlying gender role beliefs held by members of couples, predicts the career

strategy a couple will select (e.g., placing limits on one or both spouses career, trading off whose career with take precedence, having one career and one job) and that this relationship is moderated by financial, organizational, career and family variables. Career strategies further predict career progression of both members of the couple over time.

In contrast to these studies, Milkie and Peltola (1999) found no difference between men and women in the types of work restructuring they reported making to fulfill family responsibilities, including refusing a promotion, refusing overtime or cutting back on paid work. Haddock, Zimmerman, Lyness and Ziemba (2006) interviewed dual-earner couples who rated themselves as successful in managing work and family roles. In addition to many of the strategies mentioned above, these couples often strategically sought employment at family-friendly organizations, described the importance of supportive supervisors, colleagues and work environments and set firm boundaries around life domains. Altogether these studies suggest that individuals and couples are thoughtful and strategic about their (macro) work-family arrangements and that parents, particularly mothers, make relatively major changes to paid work in order to meet the needs of their families.

Other studies, however, suggest that decisions are not always thoughtful and strategic. Some couples base their decisions on situational constraints. For example, Pagnan et al. (2011) interviewed 'off-shifting' couples about their decision to work complementary shifts in order to cover childcare. They found that some couples attributed their decisions to 'pull factors' such as wanting to be equally involved parents or the desire to have the children cared for only by the parents, whereas other couples attributed their decision to 'push factors' such as job requirements over which they felt they had little control or choice in the arrangement. Sometimes one member of a couple makes a decision alone or decisions happen without reflection or discussion of any kind. Hand (2006) interviewed Australian mothers about decisions concerning work and family arrangements and how those arrangements had changed over time. Her data suggests that even in the years following 2000, many mothers make decisions to take on much of the caregiving and forgo paid employment while their children are young and that their partners go along with these decisions with little discussion, at least until their youngest child is ready to go off to school. The women discussed their ideals about the role of men to be in the labor market and as providers for the family, whereas the role of women is to be in the home caring for the children; the women

assumed that their partners agreed with these perspectives because the husbands rarely challenged these assumptions.

Overall, couple-level career research notes the factors or cues considered in career decisions and the important interdependencies between spouse's career decisions and career trajectories. Individual career models generally assume that career decisions are made through rational approaches (e.g., Gati, 1986; Gati & Levin, 2015; Holland, 1997; Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Keane & Wolpin, 1997), however couple-level research exposes the relational and role-related aspects of these decisions. In an effort to balance work and family, members of couples seem to make relatively major changes to work roles, particularly women who tend to restructure work more than men do.

Decisions about routines. Work-family routines have received little research attention, however aspects of routines such as commute times and school schedules are known demands that families face in managing work-family responsibilities (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Hochschild, 1997; McGuckin & Nakamoto, 2005; Voydanoff, 2005; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012). Medved (2004) discussed the daily or recurring nature of childcare, paid work and household tasks, emphasizing that these routines are likely to have deep implications for experiences of work-family balance and conflict. Jensen, James, Boyce and Hartnett (1983) defined family routines as "observable, repetitive behaviors which involve two or more family members and which occur with predictable regularity in the daily life of a family." As seen in this definition, routines are recurrent and involve multiple people, though Becker (2004) notes that those people may be located in different places (e.g., work and home). Routines are activities or interaction patterns that happen daily or weekly, but they are also dynamic. Medved (2004) describes routines as 'quasi-permanent,' noting that participants in her study often described the need for restructuring routines. Fiese et al. (2002) also notes that routines are likely to fluctuate across a couple's life stage.

In terms of day-to-day schedules and family routines, the marriage and family literature on the divisions of household labor and childcare responsibilities in dual-earning couples parallels some of the approaches and findings in the career management literature. Namely, this research has predominately looked at gender differences in the type and amount of labors taken on by members of couples, has tried to understand influences on decisions about household labors (see Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010 for review) and notes some of the strategies or

adjustments couples use to manage work and family responsibilities (e.g. Karambayya & Reilly, 1992). Empirical evidence has consistently shown that women take on the majority of household tasks and childcare responsibilities though men's role at home has increased over the past few decades. This reality is somewhat predicted by the relative resources of the spouses (e.g., when a husband's income is greater than the wife's), the hours allocated to work by each spouse, the couples' gender role beliefs and the norms of the national culture in which couples are located (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Bartley, Blanton, and Gilliard (2005) also note that men and women differ in the types of household tasks that they routinely complete. Men predominately do "high control" chores, such as home and car maintenance, whereas women tend to take on the "low control" tasks, such as the cooking and cleaning that must be done daily to meet the basic needs of the family. Karambayya and Reilly (1992) found similar differences between men and women in the work-adjustments they make to accommodate family. Although the degree of work adjustments reported by one spouse was positively correlated to that of the other spouse, the husbands reported making more adjustments for special circumstances (such as making one-time adjustments to meet the needs of a child or spouse), whereas the wives reported making more day-to-day modifications to work (such as changes to work hours and arrival or departure times) to accommodate regular childcare activities.

Although couple-level career research has revealed some interdependencies in couples' decision-making with respect to role-related and relational aspects of the decision process, research on daily routines has primarily focused on communications between spouses. Studies of marital communications have analyzed marital interaction, power differentials and influence styles in the decision processes involved in enacting daily work-family routines (e.g., Medved, 2004; Zvonkovic et al., 1994; Zvonkovic, Greaves, & Schmiege, 1996). In one noteworthy study already mentioned above, Medved (2004) looked at women's work-family routines. She found that some activities and communications were routinized, whereas others were improvised temporarily when the routine failed. Longer-term changes were made to routines through deliberations and negotiations with husbands and other caregivers. Medved also noted the importance of maintaining relationships with family members and caregivers within the daily routine. Notably, although Medved was interested in family-level routines, she only interviewed women. Wiesmann et al. (2008) studied the implicit and explicit nature of couples' decision-making communications about the division of household labor. Many couples in their sample,

particularly ones with traditional gender role beliefs, used an implicit decision-making style involving silent agreements, conflict avoidance and automatic role enactment. For example, without any discussion of the issue, the wife cooks dinner and the husband takes out the garbage. In their study, couples who strongly preferred an egalitarian division of household labor or those frustrated about the current situation tended to use explicit decision-making. Explicit decision-making involves proactive planning, verbalized agreements and conflicts, and prospective awareness. For example, after some discussion, a couple may decide that the husband will cook dinner, rather than the wife, because he enjoys cooking and finds it a relaxing way to transition from the workday to his role as husband and father. The couple could also decide, after some discussion, that whoever wakes up first on garbage day takes the garbage out. The literature on routines has mainly focused on differences between men and women in the routines they undertake, the gender role beliefs that underlie those differences and the communications involved in routines. Aside from the study by Karrambaya and Reilly (1992) on work adjustments, work-family science has not paid much attention to the day-to-day strategies used by couples for managing daily work and family responsibilities. Further, beyond gender roles and power, other role-related aspects of decision-making which are noted in the careers literature are overlooked in studies about household labor and childcare routines. The couple-level processes for developing work-family routines and couple-level strategies for meeting daily responsibilities are not well understood.

Work-family conflict decisions. Several studies have taken a critical incidents approach to studying decision-making during episodes of work-family conflict. For example, Greenhaus and Powell (2003) used an experimental design to study work and family influences on the decision to attend either a hypothetical work or family event. They found that both the centrality of work and family identities and the presence of cues from managers and spouses were related to individuals' decisions. In another study, Powell and Greenhaus (2006) analyzed accounts of managerial and professional employees regarding conflict incidents they had experienced. Again, identity centrality and role sender cues influenced the decision, as did the nature of the activity itself (whether the individual felt it was an important activity and whether it could be rescheduled). Likewise, Epie (2009) notes the complex assortment of external and internal pressures and supports considered in episodes of conflict by managers who juggled work, family and executive MBA responsibilities in Nigeria. Shockley and Allen (2015) asked participants to

report on conflict incidents over several days. Their findings corroborate that decisions in conflict situations are influenced by role sender cues and characteristics of competing activities. They also found that the decision made in one instance of work-family conflict was often reversed in the next instance such that individuals tended to alternative between choosing work and choosing family in subsequent episodes of work-family conflict. Lastly, Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) asked dual-earing couples to report in a daily diary any incidents in which a choice had to be made between family and work roles. They found that work-family conflict decisions ('daily' decisions) were structured by major decisions ('anchoring' decisions), that financial cues, work and family supports and fairness cues all played a role in daily decision-making, and that decision-making involved communication and negotiation between members of couples. Taken together, these studies suggest decision-making during incidents of work-family conflict involves the consideration of internal cues such as identities and preferences, pressures and supports from stakeholders in the decision situation, and characteristics of the activities involved. Importantly, Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) noted the role of anchoring decisions in resolving (daily) episodes of work-family conflict and the importance of coupledom and communication in resolving work-family conflicts. Though theirs is the only couple-level study on decision-making during incidents of work-family conflict, it is an important first step in understanding the interdependencies between members of couples that occur during this process. Still, there is much to learn about the ways that couples make decisions in conflict situations and how they manage these conflicts together.

Identity research at the work-family interface. Overall, identity research on work-family decision-making has been concerned with modeling and measuring work and family identity centrality (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006, 2012; van der Velde, Bossink, & Jansen, 2005). In line with identity theory predictions, these studies have generally found that people make choices consistent with the relative centrality of their role identities (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006). Also, individuals report less conflict and strain when their time allocations, actions and decisions are in line with their identity hierarchies (Bagger et al., 2008; Bagger & Li, 2012; Luchetta, 1995). Fewer studies have looked at identity construals and role expectations, and the ones that have are predominantly focused on the influence of gender roles on the work-family experiences and strategies of men and women (as noted above). Exceptionally, Amatea, Cross, Clark and Booby (1986) developed a scale to

measure occupational, marital and parental role expectations. In terms of decision-making, the Amatea et al. (1986) measure has mainly been applied in research on career and family planning in young adults (Burke, 1994; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005; Weitzman & Fitzgerald, 1996) and relocation decisions of individuals (Kim & Froese, 2012; van der Velde et al., 2005). Another notable exception is a recent theoretical paper by Masterson and Hoobler (2015) which offers a couple typology based on spouses' combinations of family role construals, which involve role expectations related to caregiving, nurturing, providing financially and role-modeling in the family role. They propose implications of the typology on work-family decisions and experiences. This typology will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Further evidence that family and parenting roles are implicated in work-family experiences and decisions come from studies on working mothers and fathers. In their review, Eby et al. (2005) noted that parents of young children report more work-family conflicts, stress and absenteeism than nonparents. Parents, particularly mothers, often reduce or restructure their involvement in work activities to accommodate their family roles as noted earlier (Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2009; Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Singley & Hynes, 2005; Zvonkovic et al., 1996). Looking more closely at parenting role construals, studies about working mothers suggest that the way they think about and enact their work and parenting roles is influenced by the intensive mothering norms and values that are common in North America (Arendell, 2000; Johnston & Swanson, 2006; Liss, Schiffrin, Mackintosh, Miles-McLean, & Erchull, 2012). Intensive mothers are idealized as highly involved, self-sacrificing, child-centered parents who recognize that parenting is challenging but who also find it highly rewarding (Liss et al, 2012). Women (re)interpret these expectations, along with their work role expectations, in various ways in order to align their work and parenting roles (Christopher, 2012; Cluley & Hecht, 2013; Garey, 1995; Johnston & Swanson, 2006). For example, Garey (1995) found that women working the night shift presented themselves as stay-at-home mothers rather than working mothers because they were home during the children's waking hours. Johnston and Swanson (2006) compared the motherhood conceptions of stay-at-home, part-time employed and full-time employed mothers. They found that all of the women in the study subscribed to intensive mothering, but that women emphasized different aspects of mothering depending on their employment status. Cluley and Hecht (2013) found that self-employed mothers engage in child-centered boundary work and emphasize socio-emotional goals (rather than economic goals) in their businesses in order to

reconcile their family and work roles. Christopher (2012) reported that 'extensive mothering' was common among her diverse sample of employed mothers who defined mothering as a management and delegation role.

Motherhood has been central to the discussion about simultaneously managing work and family, but fathers also frequently experience work-family conflict (Bakst, Make, & Rankin, 2011; Duxbury & Higgins, 2005). Recent reports on "new" fatherhood find that men no longer identify their role as simply the hands-off provider in the family. Many men find it just as important to be involved and engaged with their children as they do to provide for their children financially (Bakst et al., 2011; Duckworth & Buzzanell; 2009; Harrington, Van Deusen & Ladge, 2010). Whereas traditional breadwinner fathers can easily align their work identity with their fatherhood identity, i.e. long work hours could be justified as a success factor in both fulfilling their career aspirations and providing for their families, new fatherhood seems to pit work against family. The number of hours men report working have not changed over the past few decades (an average of 47 hours per week), but men report spending more time on household chores and childcare (Aumann, Galinsky, & Matos, 2011). Despite the increase in family role involvement, men report wanting to spend even more time with their children; a reality difficult to reconcile with heavy work demands and pressure to put in long work hours (Bakst et al., 2011; Harrington, Van Deusen, & Fraone, 2013). These studies have explored the work and fatherhood experiences of predominately married, white, middle to upper class men in professional occupations. However, several authors have suggested that fathers are likely to define and conceptualize their role identity in diverse ways depending on factors such as age, living arrangement, social class, occupation, race and level of economic security (Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2009; Peterson & Steinmetz, 2000; Marks & Palkovitz, 2004; Marsiglio, Day & Lamb, 2000). For example, Duckworth and Buzzanell (2009) found that fathers in occupations that afforded them both flexibility and financial resources described a high level of involvement with childcare and activities. Fathers with long commutes, inflexible schedules and/or long work hours were still committed to putting family first but had more difficulty doing so. Some altered their work arrangements to better meet their fatherhood ideals of putting family first. Marks and Palkovitz (2004) note that working class fathers may emphasize the provider aspect of fatherhood because they are working long hours or multiple jobs just to meet the financial needs of their families. For them, working long hours is putting family first.

Professional or work identity and the way it is construed is also implicated in studies about working parents. Duckworth and Buzzanell (2009) discussed how some fathers made changes to work roles in order to accommodate their family role both by making changes at work and by reevaluating the importance of their work role in their identity. Many prioritized their family before their work and downplayed the meaning of their work role. Christopher (2012) also found that mothers reframed employment to suit their parenting role. They emphasized personal fulfillment along with financial resources from their work and rejected the ideal worker model that imposes long work hours. Many female entrepreneurs emphasize interpersonal relationships and societal contribution goals in their businesses rather than the more traditional income and growth goals many entrepreneurs pursue (Eddleston & Powell, 2008). This is particularly true for "mumpreneurs", women who begin businesses at home in order to care for their children while they work (Duberley & Carrigan, 2012). In a more traditional setting, Lewis (2003) studied the work-family interface of chartered accountants. She found that the accountants framed long work hours as a personal choice, reflecting their drive and engagement with the work, rather than attributing them to contextual pressures to work that way. From this sample of studies, it is clear that people have certain interpretations of their family, parenting and work roles and that those interpretations are linked to expectations, behaviors and decisions at the work-family interface. Although individuals have a tendency to make decisions favoring their most central role identities, identity centrality cannot predict choices when two roles are equally central or provide an understanding of why two individuals with the same centrality hierarchies would make very different decisions. This study moves beyond identity centrality and gender role beliefs, to seek a better understanding of the role of identity construals in day-to-day work-family decisions.

The importance of context in work-family decisions. Members of dual-earner couples are employed in organizations or self-employed. Accordingly, each member of a couple brings to each decision opportunities and constraints from their employment context (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Organizations have been characterized as strong situations because roles and normative demands are relatively well defined and institutionalized (e.g., Ashforth, 2001). This notion was supported by a large-scale, nationally representative study of Canadian workers, which found that their work-family experiences were closely linked to organizational culture and norms regarding work hours and work demands (Duxbury & Higgins, 2005). Organizations with

cultures of long hours or cultures that pit work against family, as well as organizations that place high demands on workers, have employees who report the most work-family conflict and role overload (Duxbury & Higgins, 2005). Though they may struggle with managing work and home responsibilities and may prefer to work fewer hours (Clarkberg & Moen, 2001), employees comply with demanding schedules and workloads in these organizations because doing so is well institutionalized and strongly associated with reinforcements and punishments. For instance, Greenhaus et al. (2012) found that individuals work long hours when work overload is high, regardless if they have strong work or family identity centralities. This suggests that work demands can constrain individuals from acting consistently with their own identities. On the other hand, organizations with family-supportive cultures generally have employees who report lower levels of work-family conflict (Duxbury & Higgins, 2005). Thompson, Beauvais, and Lyness (1999) found that perceptions of family-supportiveness were associated with three dimensions: supportive management, norms and expectations about work hours and whether employees are penalized for the use of work-family policies. It is interesting to note that policy use is influenced by organizational culture, rather than simply being a defining feature of a family-friendly culture. In other words, having access to family-friendly policies is not the same as using them. Overall, employees' work-family experiences seem to be linked to the norms and expectations in their organizations and/or supervisor support for formal policy use (Thompson et al., 1999) or informal accommodations to family (Behson, 2005). Work-family cultures are also linked with the industry in which organizations are situated. Some industries are well known for long, grueling work hours, such as law, whereas other careers are touted as ideally flexible for managing work and life. Some see their academic careers as such. At the couple level, work arrangements may be related to whether benefits or policies are available and accessible to one's spouse. As noted above, Singley and Hynes (2005) found that, for some couples, partners' access work-family policies influenced work arrangements of both members of the couple during and after the initial transition to parenthood. More often, women in these couples had better access to family-friendly policies which allowed them to restructure work to accommodate family more so than their husbands.

The type of work performed by members of couples and the way work is structured within organizations are likely constrain and enable decision-making at the work-family interface (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). For example, Duxbury and Higgins (2005) found that

people who work in not-for-profits, managers, people who do shift work and those who travel for work reported more work-family conflict. There are jobs that take employees far afield on a regular work day and or require shift coverage to arrive before the employee can leave work to attend to a family matter. Some organizations have strict policies about the times shifts begin and end, even what time breaks are given, whereas others grant much flexibility and freedom to employees. Many jobs have shifts that begin and end at odd hours or require certain staff to work through the night, over the weekend or during holidays. Some work places are completely impermeable in terms of contact with the outside world, whereas other jobs allow much more freedom to enact multiple roles throughout the workday. My mother worked as a prison guard for 25 years. Her shift was from 2:00 p.m. sharp until 10:00 p.m. and she would have to be in an ambulance to leave work before 10:00 p.m. We would have to be in an ambulance before the central dispatcher would connect her to a phone call from her children during work hours. Her schedule rotated six days on and two days off with three-day weekends every six weeks. She worked holidays unless they fell on her regular days off. These constraints affected her daily routines and decisions at the work-family interface in many ways. Organizations also have policies about when and what types of absences are allowable or paid (Johns, 2011). These absence policies are likely to play a role in daily decision-making, particularly during incidents of work-family conflict.

Self-employed people may have a different set of constraints and opportunities than those who are employed in organizations because they have considerable flexibility and control at the work-family interface (Loscocco, 1997). Some businesses are home-based and, for some self-employed women, business hours at home overlap with parenting hours (Kirkwood & Tootell, 2008). For others, self-employment may be very similar to organizational employment in terms of structuring work hours. Despite the schedule control afforded by self-employment, some business owners may feel there is little real flexibility because a day away from work is a day without pay.

On the family side, daycares and schools have start and end times, which may sometimes be extended at a cost. Members of couples make transportation decisions based on commuting routes and transportation options (McGuckin & Nakamoto, 2005). Couples have extended family members and other possible sources of support for caregiving when they face a work-family conflict (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Taken together, this suggests there are elements of couples'

employment and family contexts that are likely to play a key role in how couples make decisions and enact their work-family roles.

The importance of life stage. Lastly, the process for making career, work and family decisions and the considerations involved is also likely to vary by life stage (Moen & Wethington, 1992; Moen & Yu, 2000, Sweet & Moen 2006). Though some young professionals anticipate and plan for the need to balance work and family early in their careers (Basuil & Casper, 2012), individuals need not consider the implications of their own career choices on the career choices of a partner until married or settled in a long term relationship. Once coupled, the extent to which family is considered in work decisions may depend on how individuals identify with work and family roles relative to how their partner identifies with his or her roles, the actual roles they have and the extent to which the work decisions will impact the relationship or the other spouses' choices (Greenhaus & Powell, 2012; Powell & Greenhaus, 2012). At the stage before children, individuals in couples tend to work long hours (Sweet & Moen, 2006). In terms of career planning, this early career stage may be considered a launching phase for demonstrating hard work and commitment through long work hours and for gaining experience by taking developmental assignments (Sturges, 2012). At this life stage, decisions such as taking a promotion, extending work hours, accepting a traveling assignment or requesting a developmental project may be made at the individual level, with or without consideration of family (Greenhaus & Powell, 2012). Decisions that have a bigger impact on one's spouse, such as relocation or international assignments, are likely made through discussion and negotiation, as described earlier (e.g., Challiol & Magnonac, 2005). Similarly, couples in later career and life phases, whose children are gown and independent, may return to more independent decision-making.

Having said all this, it is fairly obvious that having one or more children is a life changing experience in many ways. In the context of work-family decisions, the presence of dependent children in a dual-income couple is what links one spouse to another in the decision-making process. It is at this life stage that career, work and family decisions become work-family decisions because spouses need to coordinate family and work responsibilities and roles (Budworth et al., 2008) and at least one parent needs to care for the children when they are not otherwise in childcare or school. The significance of childrearing on work-family decision-making can be seen in the types of career choices couples make and the strategies couples use to

manage work and family responsibilities once they have children. Becker and Moen (1999) found that, compared to other life stages, most dual-earner couples at this stage are not engaging in two high-powered careers. Likewise, Sweet and Moen (2006) found that one or both members of couples generally work fewer hours at this stage then couples who do not have children. In addition to cutting back on work hours, other forms of scaling back are common among couples with dependent children, such as restructuring work hours to accommodate the children's schedules, limiting work outside of regular work hours and limiting work travel (Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Singley & Hynes, 2005). This line of research suggests that life stage figures prominently in work-family decisions and that the life stage when a couple has young children is one in which decisions about scaling back and restructuring work to accommodate family are quite common. This is probably because of the fact that whereas the demands of being someone's life partner are relatively few, the demands of being a parent are many. The parenting role is a demanding "job" (Cathcart et al., 2008; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Moen & Yu, 2000; Singley & Hynes, 2005) and it requires at least one parent to be physically present at all times aside from outsourced hours. It's a stage of "three-way juggling of his job, her job, and their family goals and responsibilities" (Moen & Yu, 2000, p. 293).

Employed parents may also desire more stability and security in their roles (e.g., Hochschild, 1997; van Wanrooy, 2007) and rely more heavily on work and nonwork resources (Duxbury & Higgins, 2005; Glass & Estes, 1997; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012; Voydanoff, 2005). Because dual-income couples' work days are now tethered to one another through their children, decision-making at this life stage is likely to involve much more consideration of family and a new level of interdependence. Sillars and Kalbfleisch (1989) also note that this is a life stage when decision overload is likely to be a common problem among couples. Decision-making episodes may be more frequent and more varied than at other life stages. In some situations, decisions may require much discussion and debate as to how to best allocate each spouses time and energy, although many decisions will also be more prone to implicit role taking and silent arrangements (as described earlier) because decision-making resources (time, attention, energy, expertise) are stretched so thin. For all of these reasons, I chose to focus my research on decision-making in dual-income couples with dependent children.

Summary

This past work has provided some important insights into the types of decisions that are made by individuals and couples regarding work and family roles, particularly long-term changes to paid work arrangements to meet parenting role responsibilities and ideals. Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) called these 'anchoring decisions' because they tend to anchor or constrain subsequent decisions. The anchoring decisions most frequently studied include larger scale, long-term career decisions such accepting a job, taking a promotion, starting a business, moving for a job, reducing work hours and quitting a job (see Greenhaus & Powell, 2012 and Powell & Greenhaus, 2012 for brief reviews). Also, models and empirical support have outlined the many factors that directly or indirectly influence work-family decisions. Many studies have found gender differences in work-family decisions and enactments, which have been attributed to the gender role beliefs that influence the work, marital and parenting roles of both men and women.

Fewer studies have addressed more micro-level ('daily') decisions, such as decisions about day-to-day routines for enacting work and family responsibilities or one-time decisions that are made when work and family demands compete for attention. Of the few studies examining decision-making in incidents of work-family conflict, only one used a couple-level design (i.e. Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Studies that have examined routines have focused on who does what in terms of household chores and childcare, again mainly focusing on gender roles, and the nature of the communications in enacting day-to-day family routines. These studies do not fully address the many routine and non-routine daily activities that constitute the 'second shift' and 'time bind' described by Hochschild (1989, 1997). Nor do they provide an understanding of the couple-level processes by which these decisions are made.

Although identity centrality has shown some success in predicting behaviors and experiences in work and family domains, there are instances when the centrality of a role cannot explain choice and other aspects of identity may be more explanatory. Studies pertaining to family, parenting and work identities suggest that individuals have certain interpretations and expectations in these roles and that these role construals are linked with behaviors and decisions at the work-family interface. However, research on the influence of organizational context on work-family experiences suggests that individuals and couples are constrained (and enabled) by the anchoring decisions they have made in the past in terms of their careers (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014), in addition to being motivated to fulfill their self-in-role expectations. Models describing

day-to-day decision-making do not integrate contextual decision cues with the notion of identity construals, though both seem relevant in couple-level decision processes.

Although I focus mainly on couple-level studies in this literature review, the fact remains that the major portion of research on work-family integration and decisions has been conducted at the level of the individual. Work-family research has also largely grounded itself in the conflict perspective. Couple-level research and models provide some understanding as to how members of couples coordinate careers and make anchoring decisions. However, daily decision-making has received little attention at the couple-level of analysis. The focus of this study is on how couples make day-to-day decisions at the work-family interface. I am interested in the decision-making influences that are brought to bear at the couple-level and those that may emerge at this level of analysis. Moving beyond conflict and gender roles, I seek to understand how day-to-day routines, which have at their core decisions about both work and family, emerge given the identities, work roles, contextual constraints and opportunities of both spouses. I am also interested in understanding what happens when routines fail, such as when a child is sick, a work project requires extra hours or there is a daycare or school closure. I want to know if conflict is inevitable in these situations or if there are other possible outcomes. As outlined above, there are many factors that are known to influence decisions at the work-family interface. One of the goals of this study is to learn about the role of identity construal in daily decision processes. An inductive, qualitative approach is an appropriate method for this study because the purpose of the study is to develop theory about couple-level decision-making and better understand the processes by which daily decisions are made at the work-family interface (Langley, 1999; Lee, Kossek, Hall, & Litrico, 2011; Trefalt, 2013).

CHAPTER 3

Method

Exploratory methods, based on the principles of the grounded theory approach, were used to study the ways in which couples decide upon and enact daily work-family routines and manage non-routine occurrences. I wanted to learn how couples make sense of their everyday routines and decisions about managing work and family responsibilities. I also wanted to explore how individual role identities, as well as the context of their work and family situations influence the meanings, behaviors and experiences couples have at the work-family interface on a day-to-day basis. Data collection involved a brief questionnaire and in-depth interviews conducted first jointly with members of couples together followed by independent interviews.

Recruitment Strategy

To locate dual-earning couples with dependent children, I utilized several recruitment methods including posting advertising flyers in cooperating organizations, local libraries, family activity-centers, daycares and other places frequented by parents of young children. I posted an advertisement in a free family magazine with wide readership in a large urban area. I also used snowball sampling through personal contacts. The recruitment messages and advertisements outlined the purpose of the study, what participation entailed and the criteria for participating. Couples interested in participating in the study were be asked to contact me directly. Each couple was offered a $50 gift card to the store of their choice. Through this method of sampling, couples self-selected into the study, and couples who opted to participate may be more harmonious and less conflicted than the general population of dual-income couples; this may limit representativeness (Patton, 2002). Data collection began in April 2014 and ended in July 2015.

By recruiting couples through a variety of methods, I was able to locate participants in different geographical settings and in diverse work and family situations. My goal in finding couples in diverse situations was to understand the full range of approaches and solutions to work-family routines and decisions, rather than the approaches used exclusively by a single type of couple. I endeavored to collect rich data on everyday experiences through theoretical sampling, which is a purposive approach to simultaneous sample recruitment and data analysis that lends itself to theory building around an orienting research question (Patton, 2002). Thus, I wanted to recruit couples in a similar life-stage (i.e., all parents of dependent children), but

diverse in their identity construals, role expectations, work-family contexts, and ultimately work-family decisions and routines. In terms of identity construal, there is some evidence that different ways of thinking about work, parenting and gender identity are linked to socioeconomic and employment factors, such as type of employment and level of income (e.g., Duxbury & Higgins, 2005; Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994); based on this, I sought to sample couples who vary across occupations and occupational levels (managerial, professional, blue collar, etc.) and income. For example, the first couples I interviewed worked in professional positions (e.g., teaching, accounting, management) and had young children in daycare. Next, I sought out participants with lower level or blue collar positions. I also expanded my search into other urban and rural geographical areas, those working non-standard shifts and couples with in-home care providers (nannies) instead of daycare because these seemed to present opportunities to talk to couples who might have different experiences. I also met with two same-sex couples (one with two moms and one with two dads). I began the study looking for couples with children under the age of five, but expanded the sample to include couples whose youngest child was age 12 because the concerns and experiences of families with very young children appeared to be very different from those of families that also had older dependent children. Through this approach to seeking out diversity among couples in their family structures and other situational factors that seemed to be important in how they manage their everyday experiences, I was able to reach theoretical saturation. This is the point where the emerging story had reached a saturation point and adding new couples did not offer new insights about work-family decisions or processes (Patton, 2002).

Sample

I interviewed 30 dual-income couples with dependent children (i.e. at least one child under 12 years old) with regard to decisions about daily work-family routines and non-routine occurrences. Here dual-income simply meant that both spouses were employed full-time or part-time or self-employed. One couple was omitted from analysis because one spouse is retired and I did not consider unpaid volunteer work, as demanding as that may be, as meeting the inclusion criteria as a dual-income couple. The final sample was 29 couples from urban and rural areas of Canada and the United States. All couples were married or living as married. Couples were married for 3 to 18 years, the average length of marriage for the sample was 8.53 years (*SD* = 3.8). Many couples reported that they had been together much longer than they were married; they were together as a couple up to 10 years before marriage. Couples had between one and four

children (1 child: 34.5%, 2 children: 48.2%, 3 children: 13.8%, 4 children: 3.4%). The average age of the youngest child was 3.5 years and 76% of participants had a child under the age of 5 years. The average age of participants was 37.6 years (*SD* = 5.4), on average 38.8 years for men and 36.3 years for women. Couples were predominantly white (6.8% black). Participants had achieved a range of educational levels from high school to graduate level degrees, with the majority of participants having an undergraduate or graduate degree (39.6% and 34.5%, respectively). Household incomes ranged from below $50,000 (1 couple) to over 500,000 (1 couple). The modal income range was $100,000-150,000. Details about the sample can be found in Table 1. Please note pseudonyms and other substitutions (e.g., our son, the nanny, etc.) have been used throughout the paper instead of real names to respect the confidentiality of participants' data.

In order to find couples with a variety of work-family experiences, I sought out participants in a broad range of industries, occupational levels and job types. A small number of participants were self-employed (8.8%), while the majority worked in large (59.6%), medium (17.5%) and small (14%) organizations. Participants were from many different industries, with the highest numbers of participants working in educational services (27.8%), professional services (16.7%), manufacturing (11.1%) and finance and insurance (7.4%). Job titles included diverse levels of the organizational hierarchy and various professional backgrounds, including janitor, hi low driver, clerk, administrative assistant, teacher, engineer, accountant, nurse, physician, manager, director, vice-president, among others. Average organizational tenure was 7.08 years (*SD* = 6.82). Average hours worked per week by individuals was 39.0 (*SD* = 8.16) with 89.7% of the sample employed full-time. Of those who self-reported working part-time, hours ranged from 5 hours per week to 35 hours per week; of those who self-reported working full-time, hours ranged from 35 hours per week to 50 hours per week. Average combined work hours for couples in this sample was 78.46 hours per week. Nineteen percent of participants had additional employment or business endeavors besides their regular jobs. For example, several taught university courses and a few owned a business on the side.

Table 1
Overview of Participants

ID	Pseudonym	Job Title for Primary Employment (Additional Employment)	Number of Children (Ages)	Avg. Work Hours/Week
111	Shani & Shane	Teacher Project Financial Manager (Tax Preparation)	2 (3, 6 yrs)	30 45
121	Nick & Jamie	Director of Product Management (Marketing Consultant) Artist, Self-employed (Children's Entertainer)	2 (3, 7 yrs)	45 5
141	Marie & Donald	Creative Director Senior Producer (Adjunct Professor)	2 (8, 10 yrs)	40 Varies
151	Tony & Amie	Medical Technical Expert Director, Educational Programs	1 (1 yrs)	40 40
161	Erin & Stacy	Account Manager Business Area Export Representative	1 (2 yrs)	40 40
171	Shirley & Jonathan	Accounting Manager Customer Service Representative	2 (5, 9 yrs)	38 40
231	Sheila & Michael	Associate Director Finance Engineer	2 (1, 3 yrs)	48 45
241	Keith & Francine	Director, Finance and Business Operations Accountant, Self-employed	2 (6, 9 yrs)	40 10
251	Doug & Jill	Engineer Psychologist	2 (4, 4 yrs)	40 35

ID	Pseudonym	Job Title for Primary Employment (Additional Employment)	Number of Children (Ages)	Avg. Work Hours/Week
261	Ana &	Placement Coordinator (In-home Daycare Provider)	3 (2 yrs)	45
	Jake	Manager, Instructional Support (Adjunct Professor, Wedding Officiate)		45
281	Helen &	Teacher (Adjunct Professor)	2 (3, 9 yrs)	40
	Travis	Engineer		45
291	Mariah &	Credit Councilor	1 (2 yrs)	45
	Brad	Information Specialist (Retail Sales Clerk)		40
311	Cathy &	Associate Teacher	3 (6, 8, 10 yrs)	35
	Roland	Machine Operator		40
331	Janet &	Senior Internal Auditor	1 (2 yrs)	40
	Caleb	Senior Consultant, Accountant		38
351	Kevin &	Consultant, Self-employed	1 (6 yrs)	38
	Karin	Administrative Assistant		32
361	Jocelyn &	Administrative Assistant	3 (2, 2, 7 yrs)	35
	Gabriel	Teacher		35
371	Sampson &	Production Foreman	1 (4 yrs)	50
	Christie	Teacher		45
391	Evelyn &	Business Banker	2 (1, 5 yrs)	40
	Robert	Mortgage Market Manager		45
401	Sallie &	Medical Assistant	4 (7, 10, 13, 15 yrs)	25
	Tim	Chiropractor		36

ID	Pseudonym	Job Title for Primary Employment (Additional Employment)	Number of Children (Ages)	Avg. Work Hours/Week
411	Patty & Jensen	Director of Client Development Partner, Business Development (Spa Owner)	2 (2, 5 yrs)	48 40
421	Sadie & Owen	Psychiatrist (Private Practice Psychiatrist) Associate Professor	2 (6, 9 yrs)	25 50
431	Garret & Frank	Program Manager Vice President	1 (1 yrs)	46 40
441	Angie & Jim	Teacher Project Manager, Sales	2 (4, 8 yrs)	45 40
451	Sandra & Roger	Administrative Assistant Advanced Care Paramedic	3 (3, 5, 17 yrs)	35 48
461	Jana & Alan	University Administrative Staff Account Manager	1 (2 yrs)	40 40
471	Ralph & Janelle	Marketing Assistant Supervisor, Federal Government	2 (2, 4 yrs)	35 38
481	Sharon & Addison	Information Specialist Teacher	1 (2 yrs)	38 50
491	Shannon & Bruce	Hospital Clerk Janitor (Actor, Producer, Writer)	1 (2 yrs)	35 38
511	Hailey & William	Nurse Engineer	2 (10, 12 yrs)	40 43

Note. Pseudonyms have been used instead of real names to respect the confidentiality of participants' data.

The majority of the sample (82.8% of individuals) said they regularly or occasionally worked outside of their regular work hours. They worked overtime for pay or without pay, or flexed their hours so that they had a consistent number of hours they worked weekly but worked some of those hours outside their usual shift. Only 10 people (17.2% of the sample) said they never or very rarely worked outside of regular hours. Most commonly, work done outside of regular work hours had to do with attending work meetings, events or conference calls (41.4% had such activities). Many people (34.5% of the sample) also had known workload cycles or workloads that varied by project and required additional work hours during periods of workload increase. About a quarter of the people interviewed said they split-shift, i.e. do work in the evening after their family routine, usually after their children have gone to bed, either regularly or when their workload increased. Additionally, several others said they could split-shift if needed or did so rarely when work tasks required it. The bulk of the work done outside regular work hours was expected – not last minute. Only, about a quarter of those interviewed (27.6%) said they often or sometimes receive last minute requests to have an impromptu meeting or phone call, do a work task on non-work time or take an overtime shift without advanced warning. In addition to work overflow from primary employment, eleven participants (19.0%) also took on secondary employment. Work tasks associated with additional paid work are typically done on evenings or weekends, though a few fit in tasks for side jobs during the regular workday or during their regular work breaks.

Procedure

Couples were asked to fill out a short questionnaire to collect demographic data, factual information about organizational context, and brief measures regarding the quality of the couples' experiences managing work and family responsibilities. The questionnaire package was originally sent by mail containing two questionnaire booklets. Later, for the convenience of sampling in a wider geographical context, the same questionnaire was adapted to be taken online and participants were sent a survey link via email. In both formats, spouses were asked to fill out the questionnaires in private (separately from one another), prior to participating in the interviews. The demographic portion of the questionnaire included items about personal and contextual factors that are likely to play an important role in how couples manage their work-family routines and decisions such as dependent care responsibilities (children and elders), age, educational attainment, income, and employment information. Couples were asked to report how

long they had been married and how old the children were at the time of the study because these variables are likely to influence how established couples are in their work-family routines, the way they make decisions about managing work and family and even the extent to which their parenting and, perhaps to a lesser extent, their professional identities are crystallized in terms of identity construal. Also, the influence of spouses on each other's identities may depend on how long the couple has been together. People who have been together for a long time have had more time to impart their expectations on one another. The online questionnaire asked how long they had been together as a couple, in addition to how long they had been married, because early interview data indicated that the length of the marriage and the length of coupledom could be very different. The questionnaire asked about job and industry tenure because the longer someone has worked in an organization and industry, the more time he or she has had to internalize the contextual rules of that organization and industry. The only other question added to the online version regarded additional employment. Again, through initial interviews it became apparent that respondents had indicated their primary work and the work hours associated with that position, but that additional employment, for some couples, played a significant role in their work-family routines and decisions.

Work-family measures. The questionnaire also included brief measures of each spouse's satisfaction with the way work-family responsibilities are met by the couple and ratings of individual level work-family conflict and work-family facilitation. Those measures are outlined here:

Couple-level satisfaction with work-family balance. Valcour (2007) has conceptualized satisfaction with work-family balance as "an overall level of contentment resulting from an assessment of one's degree of success at meeting work and family role demands" (p. 1517). Here, this idea was adapted to assess individual's satisfaction with how work-family balance was achieved as a couple. Each spouse was instructed to (separately) rate "your satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way you and your spouse take care of work and family responsibilities, as a couple." Four items were adapted from Valcour (2007) including "Overall, I am satisfied with the way my spouse and I, as a couple, divide our time between work and family life" and "Overall, I am satisfied with the way our work and family life fit together." The last item was adapted from Saltzstein, Ting and Saltzstein (2001): "Overall, I am satisfied with the balance we have achieved between our work and family." Ratings were made on a scale from (1) very

dissatisfied to (7) very satisfied. The five-item scale appeared to have good internal consistency ($\alpha = .92$). The items for this scale can be found in Appendix A.

Work-family conflict. Work-family conflict is a bidirectional construct. Both directions, work-to-family conflict (WFC) and family-to-work conflict (FWC) were measured at the individual-level using the 10-item scale developed by Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian (1996). Responses were made on a 7-point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree to 7=Strongly Agree). Participants were instructed to rate the statements "about your individual experiences with combining work and family." WFC sample questions include: "The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill my family responsibilities" and "Due to work-related duties, I have to make changes to my plans for family activities." FWC sample questions include "I have to put off doing things at work because of demands on my time at home" and "Things I want to do at work don't get done because of the demands of my family or spouse/partner." The work-family conflict scale had good internal consistency. Cronbach's alphas for the five-item WFC subscale and the five-item FWC subscale were .91 and .75, respectively.

Work-family facilitation. Both directions of facilitation, work-to-family facilitation (WFF) and family-to-work facilitation (FWF) were measured using 10 items selected from van Steenbergen, Ellemers, and Mooijaart (2007). Items were selected based on the highest factor loadings in each category of facilitation and the desire to have symmetrical questions for WFF and FWF. WFF sample questions include "Because I work I am better able to limit the responsibilities I take on at home" and "The skills I use at work help me to better handle matters at home." FWF sample questions include "The amount of time I spend on my home life, stimulates me to use my time at work effectively" and "Because I relax and regain my energy at home, I can better concentrate on my work." The work-family facilitation scales showed a low level of internal consistency in my sample. Cronbach's alphas for the five-item WFF subscale and the five-item FWF subscale were .63 and .47, respectively. It is worth noting, however, that past research has found good reliabilities for this scale (E.g., van Steenbergen, Ellemers, Haslam, & Urlings, 2008 reported subscale reliabilities ranging from $\alpha = .79$ to .87).

Work, family and parent identity centralities. Work, family and parent identity centralities were assessed using a "Who am I exercise" adapted from Bagozzi and Bergami (2000). An illustration with 6 Venn diagrams was presented. The illustration showed the two circles of each Venn diagram ranging from far apart to fully overlapping and each had a verbal

anchor describing the degree of overlap. Individuals were asked to indicate which of the 6 diagrams best represented the degree of overlap between their professional/employee role and "who you are, as a person (your overall identity)." Next they were asked to indicate the level of overlap for the role of family member and finally for the role of parent. Response options ranged from 1 (far apart) to 6 (completely overlapping). Participants were instructed that multiple roles could be considered overlapping/central to themselves.

Interviews. The second phase of data collection involved semi-structured interviews with members of the couples together and then with each member of the couples separately. Once both members of each couple completed the questionnaire, they were contacted to set up a joint interview. Interviews were conducted face-to-face or via speaker phone with both members of the couple present (usually in their home). Joint interviews lasted between 36 minutes and 1 hour 43 minutes. One couple was interviewed separately because of scheduling conflicts. In most cases, interviews were conducted around 1 month after the questionnaire. This time lag helped separate any possible reactions to the questions on the questionnaire from the interview itself and helped to avoid the issue of setting a response tone by asking for facts and ratings immediately before the interviews. It was also important that the data on the questionnaire aligned with the interviews, thus the timeframe was not so long that the context outlined in the questionnaire was no longer their current situation. During the joint interviews, couples were asked to describe their daily routines, how those routines came about or have changed over time, how they deal with non-routine occurrences and how their work and other contextual factors play a role in all of this. Probing questions were used to gather more information about experiences, transition points and decision-making, with these questions remaining focused on couples' actual daily routines and non-routine events, and potential changes to those routines and their approaches to those over time. For non-routine childcare issues and non-routine work changes, a critical incident technique was used to explore how the couples would react to these non-routine events (Flanagan, 1954). For example, "Let's pretend it is tomorrow and I am the school/caregiver calling to inform you your child is ill. Who gets the call? What happens next?" It became clear from early interviews that receiving a call about a sick child in the middle of the work day is different from decisions regarding a child staying home from school or care the next day. For later interviews, I added the follow up probing question "is the process the same or different if you know the evening before that a child will not be attending school or care the next day

because they are ill?" I also asked "Have other unexpected things come up that change your usual routine?" A similar incident approach was used to ask about changes to regular work hours. "Let's pretend it's tomorrow (or your next regular work shift) and I am your boss/client. I come in to your office (or call you) close to the end of the work day to inform you that there is a last minute task that needs to be done before the next day… what happens next?" Some participants said that it was unlikely that last minute work would keep them in the office, however they had work events or busy periods when they had to work outside of regular work hours, but those were known in advance. In later interviews, the incident question about working late included follow up questions to accommodate these variations; i.e. "What other work-related things have come up that change your usual work routine?"

After the joint interview, each member of the couple was interviewed separately. Most of the individual interviews were scheduled one week to one month after the joint interview. In some cases, interviews were the same day, in which case the nonparticipating spouse was asked to step out. In a few cases, follow-up interviews were several months later. Given the variable time lag, interviewees were asked about any intermediate changes to their work-family routines. Individual interviews lasted between 21 minutes and 1 hour. The follow-up interviews allowed for more in-depth discussions about work, family and parenting roles, identities and ideals as well as follow-up on any issues or questions that arose from the joint interviews. Conducting the second interviews independently from the spouse also had the potential to allow members of couples to open up about issues they were reluctant to discuss in front of their spouses and to discuss ideals and roles in a less partner-biased way (Wiesmann et al., 2008; Valentine, 1999). Although this is theoretically possible, the sense I got from my participants is that members of couples presented a supportive and harmonious front in both joint and independent interviews and tended to corroborate each other's stories and values even in the independent interviews in their partner's absence. See Appendix B for the complete interview protocol.

Analytic Approach

This study utilized principles of the grounded theory approach to qualitative discovery, which offers systematic procedures for each step in the research design (Charmaz, 2006; Locke, 2001). Specifically, I began the study with orienting research questions: How do couples come to and enact their day-to-day work-family routines and make non-routine decisions? What is the role of identity construal in the way couples carry out their work-family responsibilities? I also

begin knowledgeable, but leery about the ways that work-family experiences have been framed and explained in past research (Locke, 2001; Suddaby, 2006). Much of the research on work-family issues has focused on individual level experiences and grounded itself in the conflict perspective. I felt there was much to be learned about the work-family interface by studying couples, particularly without the preconceived assumption that experiences are conflictual. The following steps of data analysis are outlined in more detail below (1) open coding transcripts for information about work-family decisions and identities (2) in depth analysis and subcoding of five work-family decisions and family/parent and work identities (3) referring back to relevant literature and juxtaposing emerging themes with published models (4) development of theoretical models grounded in the data. While my analyses generally followed these steps, the data analysis process also required iterations of data coding, juxtaposing emerging models against the literature, further coding and analysis, and so on. The findings of this data analytic approach are presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Open coding. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim shortly after each interview set concluded. This allowed me to begin data analysis as I was simultaneously gathering more data (Charmaz, 2006). Data analysis began with open coding, which is a way to fracture transcripts into microscopic data fragments that can be named, combined into categories with other codes, and compared to other data fragments (Locke, 2002). This process of coding and analyzing early data, along with writing analytic memos about ideas and themes that seem to be grounded in the data, lends itself to further, purposeful data collection until a theoretical model can be developed from the data (Charmaz, 2006). Open coding took several directions early on. There were many codes relating to participant's work roles including contextual information about workplaces and the nature of the work, as well as their reaction to their work and how they manage their work role and workloads. Couples mainly discussed work and non-work situational cues and activity cues when they talked about daily work-family decisions and routines (see Table 2 and Appendix C regarding cues discussed). Though there were no specific interview questions pertaining to career histories and decisions about larger-scope work decisions; careers, career histories and career management were frequently discussed during interviews even for questions pertaining daily routines. For couples to explain their routines, daily decisions and decision processes, it was often necessary to relive the past and understand the path that led to those decisions. For example, when asked about his work schedule, 241 Keith

said he works "about 9-6 roughly;" he then went on to explain that he used to work longer hours but the company he works for was bought by a larger company and, in the acquisition, his position was transformed into one with a more narrowly defined role and, because of that, the tasks that routinely kept him at work much later were no longer his responsibility. The couple spent several minutes describing this change in his employment several years ago, how it had impacted his role in the company and even how that role change had resulted in him becoming a coach for his children's hockey leagues. Likewise, as 261 Ana and Jake discussed their daily routines involving their schedules and those of their three children, Ana needed to give me a brief preview of her career history. This included transitioning from a directorship position overseeing a large daycare center to opening a private daycare in their home, then being recruited to a part-time position coordinating daycare staff at which time she decided to keep the home daycare running by hiring a part-time worker to staff it while she is at her coordinator position. This was meant to clarify how her work hour and other routines had developed. I began to take note of these career histories and how these stories seemed relevant in day-to-day decision-making. There were also many codes pertaining to the family context including the elements that make up daily routines, the activities and schedules that create those routines and the values and preferences that are infused into those activities. Some early codes were dropped from further analyses (e.g., affect/emotion, self-esteem/validation, delegating, biological needs) because accounts pertaining to these themes were mentioned relatively infrequently and/or the way these issues were discussed by participants was inconsistent. In order to address my second guiding research question pertaining to the role of identity in work-family routines and decisions, I coded the complete transcripts for any mention of work, family and parent identities, identity construals and role expectations. There were specific interview questions that were meant to capture specific data about identities (in the individual interviews), however open coding of the entire transcripts with this theme in mind ensured that spontaneous statements pertaining to these concepts were noted during data analysis. For example, role identities were occasionally mentioned during the joint interviews as a decision cue for all different types of daily-decisions and this was coded along with participants' responses to direct questions about role identities during the individual interviews. Cues for decision-making related to role identities could be framed in terms of expectations, ideals or preferences to live up to in decision-making or as counter-roles signifying what not to do or who not to be like.

Analysis of decisions and identities. Later coding, guided by my overall research questions, was focused within the major themes of work-family decisions, family and parent identity and work identity. In order to better understand work-family decision-making, I conducted in-depth analysis on three decisions about setting work-family routines including the routine elements of work hours, dropping off children at school or childcare ('drop-offs') and picking up children after school or childcare ('pick-ups'). I chose these elements of work-family routines because they are most closely situated at the intersection of work and family (i.e., they occur at the times and places when individuals make micro-role transitions between work and family roles, e.g., Ashforth, Keeine, & Futgate, 2000). Thus, these elements of work-family routines temporally connect work to family and most likely involve thinking about factors from both domains when making decisions. By comparison, other routine elements such as food preparation and family dinners, care routines or family members sporting activities seemed less connected to work roles. I also studied in-depth two decisions about non-routine situations including decisions about how to respond when children fall ill during a regular workday ('sick kid' decisions) and decisions about working non-routine work hours (e.g., working later than usual, bringing work home, working overtime). I called these 'work overflow' decisions because they had to do with work overflowing its usual boundaries. For each of these decision situations, further open coding was conducted, then subcoding of themes that seemed to require a more fine-grained analysis.

To understand the decision-making process for each of these decisions, I looked for any information, explanation, reasoning or justification couples mentioned in context of those decisions and focused on couple-level phenomena. Following the work of other work-family scholars, I called these decision cues (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Chapter 4 summarizes the decision cues couples considered in decision-making about routines and in non-routine situations and some ways the use of cues manifest at the level of the couple. Beyond decisions cues, I looked for clues about how spouses managed these situations together as a couple and found that there were general decision processes that applied to all couples for decisions about routines and in non-routine situations (Chapter 5). As I analyzed each decision situation in isolation, I found that there were only a limited number decisions that tended to be made in each decision situation; usually 4 to 6 different endpoints or choices. Couples could be grouped together by what they had decided to

do in each situation. Next, I compared couples across decision situations and found that couples generally made decisions consistently in that they made similar decisions across decision categories and they tended to group together with other couples in a more general way, not just in specific situations.

I also conducted in-depth analysis on family, parenting and work role identities and role construals. As noted, I coded entire sets of transcripts from joint and individual interviews for each couple for themes pertaining to these identities (see Table 5 for this coding scheme). Most of the data about identities came from the individual interviews and, more specifically, participants' responses to the questions pertaining to role meaning (e.g., What does it mean to you personally to be a good mother/father? What does your work mean to you personally?) and role expectations (What expectations do you have for yourself as a mother/father (family member; professional/employee)?). The majority of what participants talked about when they talked about family and parenting role identities were specific role expectations they held for themselves in these roles. For work identity, they talked about the motivations they have for working. Finally, I searched for links between identities and role expectations and decision-making. Family and parenting identity themes seemed foundational to the groupings of couples noted above, however work-identity themes did not seem to play a role in the developing models and were later dropped from analyses. The findings related to this analysis are discussed in Chapter 6.

Juxtaposing emerging themes with prior research. Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007) note the importance of constantly juxtaposing the developing themes and theoretical framework against prior research and models in order to illuminate the difference between what is known and what is new. The coding scheme was further developed and refined based on sensitizing concepts from existing models regarding individual level work-family decision-making (e.g., Powell & Greenhaus, 2006, 2012, Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014), general decision theories (e.g., March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004), research on married couples' decision and communication processes (e.g., Medved, 2004; Wiesmann et al., 2008; Zvonkovic et al., 1996, Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989), and identity theory (including literature about the content of motherhood, fatherhood, gender roles and work identities). For example, work-family decision-making literature articulates some categories of decision cues including internal cues, role-sender cues, activity cues, enabling cues, constraining cues and workplace conditions (Barnett & Lundgren,

1998; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Decision theory notes the conceptual differences between rational vs. role-based decision processes (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004). Marriage and family literature highlight the nature of communications in decision-making (Medved, 2004; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989).

Where appropriate, I integrated these concepts into the coding scheme to probe the data for evidence of these ideas and to see how they fit into my unfolding story. For example, during the early stages of data collection, Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) introduced a two-part framework for understanding how career histories and major decisions relate to day-to-day work-family decisions. They differentiated 'anchoring decisions' from 'daily decisions' at the work-family interface. Daily decisions, according to their framework, are day-to-day decisions that have to do with immediate issues, such as resolving a work-family conflict or finding time to engage in different activities on a particular day. Anchoring decisions are larger scale, longer-term life decisions, such as where each spouse chooses to work, where couples choose to live relative to their workplaces, children's daycares and/or schools, and proximity to extended family members. These decisions have been called major life decisions, or macro-decisions, because they have a substantial impact on the decision maker and other stakeholders at home and at work (Poelmans et al., 2013). I adopt the term anchoring decisions from Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) because these decisions tend to structure other types of work-family decisions and stabilize work-family routines. As in the well-known "anchoring effect" (Bazerman, 1998) decision makers tend to use anchoring decisions as anchors or reference points in evaluating alternatives and making decisions about other aspects of combining work and family (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Since the Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) framework fit well with what I was seeing in my own data about the importance of career histories and anchoring decisions, I began incorporate parts of it into my coding scheme, taking note of how decision cues emanate from the anchoring structures put in place by couples' past choices.

In terms of work-family routines, an article by Becker (2004) on organizational routines pushed me to think further about routines and how they develop in a path-dependent manner over time, such that where the routines started from and the history of decisions along the way impacts the further development of routines and where they end up. Another example of the evolution of the coding scheme to fit with the existing literature involves the refinement of the category 'activity cues' (Powel & Greenhaus, 2006). During early stages of open coding, I had

used a general code called ‘work task’ as a label used any time a member of a couple mentioned specific tasks at work or the type of work they do as information for decision-making. The various types of activity cues in the Powell and Greenhaus (2006) model helped me open up that code and realize that sometimes people were talking about the general nature of their work tasks (e.g., job characteristics) whereas other times they were talking about aspects of work tasks such as the importance of the task or whether or not the task is something that can be started at one point, but stopped and finished at another point in time. This further led to the realization that non-work activities could also be coded using activity cues since people also talked about the characteristics of non-work activities in the same way. As a result of this realization, the original code of “work task” was divided into several more specific codes. These activity cues are further discussed in Chapter 4. Throughout coding and model development, the unfolding story and processes were intermittently juxtaposed with rational and role-based approaches to decision-making.

In terms of family and parenting identities, one particularly important paper came out late in my data collection. This is an article by Masterson and Hoobler (2015), which categorizes couples into a typology based on the combination of each spouse’s family identity. In their model, family identity themes include career-based identity construal (including the role expectations of providing financially for the family and role modeling work behaviors) and care-based family construal (including the role expectations of caregiving and nurturing). The combination of construals that each spouse has places them into one of five couple-types, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Though these role expectations were already present as subcodes in my coding scheme under the theme of parent identity (see Table 5 for this coding scheme), this article in particular helped me refine my coding and thinking about parent and family identities.

Development of grounded theory. The findings of this data analysis approach are detailed in the following chapters. In Chapter 4, I explore the decision cues couples talked about in day-to-day work-family decision-making and how couples use system-level, couple-based thinking to make decisions individually or jointly. This analysis led me to uncover general decision processes for work-family routines and non-routine situations presented in Chapter 5. Lastly, in Chapter 6, I explore the role of identity construal in segmenting couples into a typology and how couples of different types differ in work-family decision-making. The

culmination of these three analyses is a decision framework that includes anchoring decisions as well as three categories of daily work-family decisions (building on the framework of Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014).

CHAPTER 4

Findings for the Use of Decision Cues

I began the analysis of daily decisions by closely examining the cues used to make decisions about work hour routines, pick-up routines, drop-off routines and the non-routine situations of sick kids and work overflow. Consistent with past research, I considered a decision cue any information, signal or factor couples attended to in their decision-making (Powel & Greenhaus, 2006; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). This brought three issues to the fore. First, it revealed that the five decisions were based mostly on the same decision cues, though there was some variation in the emphasis placed on different cues for the different decisions. Second, I found that daily decisions were made at the level of the couple or involved couple-level considerations. That is, couples' decision processes ranged from one spouse considering cues from their own and the other spouse's work context to a fully coupled process involving conversation and negotiation in jointly making decisions. Third, I found that decisions about routines differ in process from decisions in non-routine situations and further, the process for making non-routine decisions depends on the immediacy of the decision situation. In this chapter, I will discuss the decision cues and the way couples use system-level thinking to sort through their decision cues. Then, in Chapter 5, I will present the decision processes for establishing and changing routines and for making immediate and not so immediate non-routine decisions.

Decision cues

For dual-earner couples with young children, daily decision-making is based on multiple cues of different sorts that emanate from various aspects of the work-family system. The work-family system includes both spouses' work, their family structures and schedules, their children's schedules and activities, and supports in the form of extended family, friends or hired services. My analysis revealed that the most predominant cues for making decisions about work-family routines and non-routine activities were situational cues emanating from the work domain, but non-work situational cues also factored into these decisions. Activity cues (cues from characteristics of the activities e.g., activity importance, whether or not an activity could be rescheduled) were frequently mentioned for non-routine decisions but not decisions about routines. This is consistent with past research, which suggests that activity cues play an important role in incidents of work-family conflict which are typically non-routine decision

situations (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Cues relating to role identities were less frequently mentioned overall, but seemed to be important to those couples who do mention them. Table 2 summarizes the different types of decision cues and the number of couples who mentioned each decision cue for each of the five decisions. Decision cues were counted at the level of the couple, so that if either member of the couple mentioned the decision cue, the couple was counted as a case using that decision cue. In the following section, I explain the most frequently used cues in more detail and provide examples of how couples factored them into their decision processes. A figure representing the data structure for decision cues appears in Appendix C (cf. Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013).

Table 2

Decision Cues for Routine and Non-Routine Decisions

Cues		Drop-off	Pick-up	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work overflow
Situational (Work)	Organizational policies and practices regarding scheduling (e.g., shift work, flextime, telework, core hours), absence (e.g., sick leave, vacation time) and overtime			20	14	14
	Financial impacts, either incentive or cost (e.g., overtime pay, paid sick leave, loss of pay)				8	11
	Organizational culture (e.g., norms in the workplace, supervisor/coworker supportiveness)	1	1	21	13	12
	Nature of the work (specific work tasks or the type of work)		1	11	6	21
	Work hours	18	21		4	
	Workload variations or cycles			6	5	15
	Additional Employment	1	2	8		5
	Self-Employment	1	2	4	5	
Situational (Family)	Spouse's work hours (decision depends on spouse's work schedule)	17	11	15	2	12
	Children's school hours/school bus	16	10	10		4
	Childcare hours, type of childcare	5	4	5	6	3
	Children's activities	2	6	4		2
	Coaching children's activities	1		1		2
Situational (Other)	Geographic/transportation - commute, public transportation schedules, geographic locations	11	14	1	8	6
	Availability of family, friends or other help		2		14	7

Cues		Drop-off	Pick-up	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work overflow
Activity	Activity importance (general description of activity as important, urgent, severe, etc.)				6	17
	Comparison of work tasks to spouse's work tasks	1	2	1	19	10
	Activity interferes with routine				28	23
	Activity interferes with another non-routine activity				11	8
	Known in advance, scheduled				2	21
	Control over scheduling (of the relevant activity)					7
	Split shift/multitask (e.g., able to work in the evening or simultaneously attend two activities)	2	10	11	8	15
Role-related	Fairness (achieving equality, keeping opportunities and responsibilities evenly distributed between spouses)	4	4	2	7	3
	Priority Career (higher priority is placed on one spouse's career relative to the other spouse's career)		3	2	3	5
	Parent identity (desire to spend more or certain quality time with children, desire for certain types of family routines, concerns about the quality of the time children spent in the care of others, or the desire to provide children with ample enrichment activities)	3	7	11	5	6

Note. Counts are made by couple. If one or both of the spouses said this was a cue they used in a decision-making situation, then the couple was counted as using that cue.

Situational cues. Anchoring decisions made over time create the work-family situation in which daily decisions are made (Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Situational cues are the decision factors put in place by those anchoring decisions. The choice of working in a large organization located far from one's home results in different situational cues than the choice to be self-employed in a home office setting. Situational cues from the work domain were the most frequently cited cues for daily decision-making. These included organizational policies and practices, organizational culture, and cues related to the nature of the work of each spouse. Couples described workplace policies and practices pertaining to how many hours employees should work per day or week, when those hours should be worked, and where employees should be located while working, which varied from firmly prescribed to very flexible. As shown in Table 2, workplace policies were an important decision cue for setting work hour routines, but were rarely mentioned as a cue for pick-ups and drop-offs. Participants were unlikely to say that the reason they did (or did not) pick up their kid at school was due to a policy at their workplaces; on the other hand, work hours (which are informed by policies) did serve as a cue for pick-up and drop-off routines in many cases. Strict policies regarding scheduling tended to be more common in certain types of organizations or employment sectors, such as clinical, educational and manufacturing settings. Some policies, mainly affecting non-routine decisions, had a financial component, such as paid sick-leave or vacation pay, or overtime paid at a regular or a higher rate for additional work hours. Beyond the strictly financial calculation, some employees were allowed to bank the extra hours as vacation time or sick leave when they worked additional hours.

Some employers have a particular process for employees who need to leave work during a normal shift. For example, teachers needed to request a substitute to take over their classroom and wait for that person to arrive before they could leave to pick up a sick child. Some workplaces also have a policy regarding whether or not an employee can receive phone calls or communications while at work – not possible for at least 3 people in this study, which meant that those individuals could not receive sick kid calls during work hours. Self-employment was an important situational context for some couples because self-employed individuals often lack strict policies structuring their work and therefore have more flexibility in daily decisions (Parasuraman & Simmers, 2001). For example, it was often the self-employed spouses would who mold their work schedules around drop-off and pick-up routines and who responded to sick

kid calls. Also, unlike the harried working parents we envision from studies about work-family conflict who cannot take on one more task, 11 individuals (19.0% of those participating) in my sample took on additional employment beyond their regular jobs; some of them did this purely for additional income, but many did it for gratification. Policies and structures from secondary employment were also considered as cues in daily decision-making.

Situational cues were also related to organizational culture. For example, participants generally aligned themselves with organizational norms for work hour scheduling, with minor variations. Some expressed a particularly strong pressure to be at work during certain hours. These were typically managers who felt they needed to role model their work hours to subordinates or individuals seeking advancement within their organizations and wanted their work hours to reflect a certain worker image. Some also felt that there was an expected value to working extra hours because doing so might lead to job security or promotion opportunities, and one man expressed pressure to be available after hours because his organization paid for his cellular phone and data usage. Aside from workplace norms, people also talked about the supportiveness of the culture of their workplaces. For example, some mentioned specific support from supervisors or colleagues, but more often participants talked about general supportiveness such as coworkers' understanding about the need to respond when a child is ill. Others mentioned a general lack of supportiveness constraining daily decision-making.

Decision-making also depended on the nature of the work, or the actual work tasks involved in the work of each spouse, particularly for work overflow decisions. Some work tasks required work to be done at certain hours. For example, work involving international clients required early morning or late evening work hours to accommodate conference calls between time zones, whereas client service representatives, account managers and coordinators who worked locally needed to do the bulk of their work during normative 'business' hours so that their work hours aligned with their local clients. Some types of work required driving long distances or being locked into a task once that task was begun. The work of a paramedic involved both of those conditions – work that could not be abandoned in the middle of a task and that involved driving to geographically dispersed communities, which meant potentially being hours away from home at the end of a shift. These types of work situations made it difficult to respond to sick kid calls and increased the likelihood of work overflow. Some types of work involve work events that happen mornings, evenings or weekends, whereas other types of work

involve workload variability or cycles. For example, those in the education sector needed to work longer hours at the beginning of the school year and had various events outside of regular school hours, whereas accountants had month-end and year-end surges in workload. Those with project-based work also had periods of heavier workload and periods of lighter workload.

Non-work situational cues considered in daily decision-making included geographic and transportation considerations, children's schedules and availability of support. Drop-off and pick-up routines were often partly determined by geographic considerations such as where home, work, school and daycare were located relative to one another, public transportation schedules and the length of each spouse's commute. A few people also implicated the length or type of commute in their sick kid and work overflow decisions. Children's school, daycare, school bus and activities schedules were, of course, factored into work-family routines, but also considered in work overflow decisions. Sources of support, such as the availability of family, friends or babysitters who could be called upon to help, were also expressed as situational cues. For example, couples would note if they had extended family living nearby or no support network around to help. A few couples had a 'safety net' that included a combination of multiple caregivers (child attends different care different days) and family members routinely involved in childcare so they had layers of support to call upon in non-routine situations.

Activity cues. In my analysis of non-routine situations, I found that decision-making often required a more fine-grained comparison between the actual activities competing for attention. For example, the activity of caring for a sick child usually competes with the routine work tasks one has planned for that work day. Work overflow activities usually compete with work-family routines, but may also compete with other non-routine activities. Activity cues are cues from characteristics of the activities under consideration in the decision (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006). Some activities are relatively more important compared to other activities or tasks, some are known and scheduled well in advance, some can be easily rescheduled, some can be quickly put off until a later time or can be accomplished in a different setting, and some activities can be accomplished while doing another activity. All of these activity characteristics act as cues for non-routine decision-making. Activity importance was the most frequently cited activity cue in my data. Couples, for example, used the words urgent or severe to describe important activities. Caring for a sick child was usually, but not always, considered an important activity. Some couples said there is a difference between minor illness (unimportant activity) and

serious illness or injury (important activity). A mildly sick child could go to regular care or school so that both parents could fulfill their usual work day. Decision-making when a child was sick often involved the spouses comparing current work tasks to decide whose work activities were more important that day. Many work overflow activities were known aspects of a job; these could be a job requirement or obligation of employment or activities employees felt compelled to enact as part of fulfilling their work role to the best of their ability. Work overflow activities, such as work events scheduled outside normal work hours and additional work hours put in during periods with heavier workloads or impending deadlines, often compete with work-family routines and routine family activities. Usually these work overflow activities were considered sufficiently important to take precedence over work-family routines. However, a few people said the decision would depend on the work activity itself and how it compared in importance and timing to routine activities. Participants rarely cited examples of work overflow activities competing with other non-routine activities. In situations where two non-routine activities (i.e. two special events) would compete for attention, activity importance was a central cue. Judgments about activity importance may also be based on internal factors such as identity (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006) or external factors such as weighing the positive and negative consequences of participating (Shockley & Allen, 2015) or pressure from others (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006).

Another prominent activity cue was whether activities were known in advance. Longer lead times for scheduling non-routine activities made them easier to manage and meant that they rarely overlapped with other non-routine activities. Non-routine decisions would also hinge on whether or not activities could be cancelled or rescheduled easily and whether there was control over scheduling the activities or events. Decisions may also depend on whether an activity could be could be deferred until later the same day or accomplished while doing another activity. For example, about a quarter of my sample would bring regular work home to accomplish while caring for a sick child (multitask) or accomplish it in the evening after the child went to bed (split-shift). Split-shifting and multitasking were also common solutions for work overflow. This would allow additional work hours to coexist with, rather than compete against, work-family routines.

Role-related cues. Cues relating to the roles and identities of couples were less frequently cited as decision cues for routines and non-routine situations, although these cues

seemed to hold special importance to the decision makers who did mention them. I concluded this because couples who attended to these cues made choices consistent with the cues whenever possible and tended to mention these cues for multiple decisions. Cues that fall into this category were fairness, career prioritizing, and identity cues. It is worth noting that two of these cues (i.e., fairness and career prioritizing) were more explicitly couple-level than many other cues that couples mentioned because they had to do with how the spouses relate to one another. I called these relational cues because they were embedded in the relationship the spouses had with one another and were related to the way the couples prioritized in situations that affected both of them. Challiol and Magnonac (2005) found something similar in their study of couple's relocation decisions when one spouse was offered a career transfer. Couples in their study took into account "expectations of how to organize their life as a couple" (p. 247) in their decision-making. One couple-level cue is fairness. Some couples talked about keeping opportunities and responsibilities evenly distributed between the two of them. For example, they traded off drop-offs, pick-ups and/or responding to sick kid calls to achieve fairness in distributing these responsibilities when their dual-situation allowed them to do so. They sometimes also equally distributed the opportunity to work additional hours or to make work overflow commitments. Career prioritizing was the other couple-level cue infrequently discussed, but important to some couples' decisions. Career prioritizing is when higher priority is placed on one spouse's career relative to the other spouse's career (Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz, & Beutell, 1989; Livingston, 2014). This was expressed as an emphasis on one spouse's work role relative to the other's, a desire to protect one spouse's work role from incursions or the need to assure that the spouse with priority career was given adequate resources for his or her work role, such as time and flexibility. Couples discussed career prioritizing directly as a decision cue for one or more of the decisions examined or more broadly as a basis for dividing work and family roles.

Questioning couples about routines and non-routine decisions sometimes led to stories about how people see themselves in their work and family roles and how they see their families (e.g., we are a high powered couple, an active family, a family with an active social life, we really like to keep a routine). Parent identity was often expressed in terms of expectations that participants had for themselves as parents, such as spending more or certain quality time with children, creating certain types of family routines, ensuring the quality of the time children spent

in the care of others, or wanting to provide children with ample enrichment activities. Work identity cues were the least frequently mentioned role-related cues, but a small number of participants did cite role modeling at work, image or reputation management at work, and/or work ethic in their decisions.

System-level decision-making

Consistent with past research, I found that couples use multiple cues in decision-making (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010a; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Even when one decision cue was sufficient to formulate their routines, couples still talked about multiple cues to justify or fix their decisions. Beyond attending to multiple cues, couples needed to make sense of their unique combination of cues to make a decision. My analysis revealed that daily work-family decisions were made at the couple-level, even for the apparently individual decision of setting routines for work hours. As a reminder, the couples in this study all had dependent children, most of whom were under the age that they could stay home alone or safely get themselves to and from their various daily activities. Thus, at least one parent needed to be with the children when they were not in the regular care of others (daycare, nanny, school, babysitter, grandparents) and one spouse or the other was usually required to get the children to and from the places they needed to go. After becoming parents, members of the couples needed to consider each other in their work-hour routines, figure out together how to get all family members to and from their daily activities, and support each other in fulfilling work commitments. Couples talked about how decision-making had become much more interdependent at this life stage compared to how their decisions and routines had been before they had children. Livingston (2014) describes marriage as a "process of moving from 'me' to 'we'" (p. 949), however couples in this study described the transition to parenthood as the point in their marriage when they needed to bring more "we-ness" into their decision-making.

In making daily decisions, spouses used couple-based, system-level thinking about factors from their own and their spouses' employment situations, as well as the schedules of their children's school or care situations, and the activities in which various family members participate. As couples jointly described their decisions, each spouse seemed well informed of the situational cues from the other's work role and the schedules and activities of others in the work-family system. Decisions were coupled because one spouse always considered the other spouse's situation

and other aspects of the system. This coupled process manifest in different ways for different couples and different decisions. Sometimes spouses considered fewer cues and/or relied heavily the ones they preferred, in a more independent approach to decision-making; other times couples took one or more variations of joint decision-making potentially involving conversation and negotiation. Below I note some important ways that the coupled approach to decision-making manifest and share examples illustrating how couples used these approaches for different decisions. Note that these different manifestations may not represent all possible approaches to sorting through decision cues for decision-making and the kinds of approaches are not mutually exclusive. See Table 3 for a summary of the system-level decision-making approaches and illustrative quotes. The number of couples who used each of the decision-making approaches for each decision type is shown in Appendix D.

Independent use of cues from both members of the couple. Some couples approached decision-making or certain decision situations more independently, albeit with consideration of the other spouse's situation as well as the consideration of other stakeholders in the system. One reason for this was that certain cues or combinations of cues resulted in a more independent approach. There were decision situations where the work structures and policies (i.e., situational work cues) of one spouse gave that spouse the ability to make a decisions or respond to a situation, whereas the situational cues of the other spouse made it nearly impossible, costly or untenable for him or her to make the decision or respond to the situation. For routines, if one spouse worked an inflexible or variable shift, then the other spouse often had to be the one to flex work hours and assume the responsibility for drop-offs, pick-ups or both. For sick kid decisions, one spouse might make the decision more independently and take on the responsibility of caring for the sick child if they had paid sick leave policies, task flexibility, ease of leaving work quickly, a supportive work culture, a shorter or easier commute, the ability to receive communications while at work, and the ability to multitask or split-shift rather than forgo the work hours. When one spouse had situational cues that would make it markedly easier for him or her to take on decisions (such as pick-ups, drop-offs, and sick kid care) than the other spouse, then the first spouse might make the decision more independently, only taking a cursory glance at the other spouse's comparative cues. For example, Shani described the procedure for getting a substitute for her classroom and how supportive her workplace was in sick kid situations. She

does not mention the policies or practices of her husband's employer, but she does imply his job is less secure:

> 111 Shani, Teacher: It would 110,000% be me. He wouldn't even get the phone call… The difference is, we always talk about this, my job is one of those that is super secure. I'm tenured. I don't have to worry about losing my job. Not that he has to worry about losing his job either . . . so, usually it's gonna be me.

Likewise, Janelle was able to make a sick kid decision based on flexibility and paid leave policies at her work, but she comments that Ralph does not have the same policies.

> 471 Janelle, Supervisor, Federal Government: … usually it would be me doing the pickup. Because I work for the federal government, I have generous sick leave and family leave and vacation time plus all the overtime I bank from my trips. So I do have that kind of flexibility that I can leave work and get the kids… We'll talk about it and unless I have something extremely urgent that requires me to be there, it's generally me that stays home because again, Ralph doesn't have the same guaranteed leave time that I do.

Self-employment also seemed to lead to more superficial comparisons between spouses' cues in decisions. In couples where one spouse was self-employed, members were likely to make more assumptions in their decisions and rely on fewer cues. Because the self-employed context is usually less structured, the self-employed spouse tended to have relatively more flexibility to set their work schedules around work-family routines and respond to sick kid calls. Couples did not need to consider many cues emanating from the context of the organizationally employed spouse to make decisions or have a long discussion about who would take on work-family routines. For example, when asked how they would respond to a sick kid call, 351 Kevin and Karin agreed that it would be the newly self-employed Kevin who would respond. Kevin said "I'll be home writing so I'll be sucking it up." Karin agreed, "Now that he's working from home, I'd *assume* it would be him."

When decisions were made more independently and were based on fewer decision cues, it usually had to do with differential policies offered by each spouse's workplace, the different types of work done by members of the couple or other differences in situational cues. However, career prioritizing and parent identity cues were also associated with a more cursory style of coupled decision-making. For example, when couples had one priority career, they would "protect" the spouse with the priority career from sick kid calls. As 391 Evelyn says "… I just assume it's my job, I would never bother him with that because he's got a lot more going on than my stuff [which] can be put off usually." Another reason that (one member of) a couple may

approach a decision more independently is that one spouse had a strong preference for making the decision and the other spouse acquiesced to that. For example, 491 Shannon described how their sick kid decision would be determined by her organizational leave policies and shorter commute, but her husband's workplace actually offered very similar policies. When pressed further about their reasoning, it turned out she prefers to be the one to respond:

> Question: One thing what struck me when we are talking before is, if your son needs to come home from daycare, Shannon wants to be the one to do that. She sort of expressed it as 'they would call me and I would do it.' It doesn't seem like either of your jobs put you in a situation of why… that Bruce couldn't also do it. It sounds like an expectation she has of herself.
>
> 491 Bruce, Janitor: Yes, but primarily because she's closest to him… It's not because she's a mother that she's expecting to go there. I would further add to that, this doesn't have anything to do with her being mother, it has more to do with her being herself. Shannon is very much attentive to our son's health. That's a nicer way of saying she worries a lot… She likes the fact that she is the person that gets called because it alleviates some worry for her.

These examples illustrate a fairly independent approach to decisions, which is still coupled because one spouse considers the other spouse's situation, but the decision is made, for the most part, by one person in the couple.

Trading off. In contrast to the approach described above, many couples took into consideration a greater number of decision cues and were more explicit in their comparisons between each other's work policies, work tasks and the other cues they took into account. As mentioned earlier, some couples in some situations shared responsibility for routines or work overflow by taking turns or trying to evenly distribute these opportunities and responsibilities. This usually required taking in a greater scope of decision cues. For example, a couple might set up a routine for trading off pick-ups so that each spouse does it on certain days. The assignment of the days may take into account employment or additional employment schedules, children's care or activities schedules and/or the fairness cue. Similarly, couples who traded off work overflow took into account these same cues as well as other situational cues (e.g., financial cues, work policies related to overtime work, the nature of the work or work tasks, transportation) and activity cues (e.g., comparison of work task importance, advanced scheduling of work overflow activities). Based on these cues, couples would trade off work overflow routinely or on an ad hoc basis so that each spouse would have extra work hours to finish work tasks, address a heavy

workload, accept overtime work or attend after-hours work events. The spouse who was not working late would be responsible for childcare and (work-)family routines on that day. Couples might also simply trade off responsibility for a sick kid, but sick kid decisions usually required more cues and more complex approaches to sorting through cues (such as described below).

Decision logics. Some couples had to deal with variability in work shifts, work place, work tasks, workload, childcare, additional employment or family member activities. Because their dual context did not allow them to rely on a consistent daily or weekly routine or making non-routine decisions based on the same situation every day, these couples often adopted decision logics. Decision logics are cognitive patterns for thinking through decision cues (Becker, 2004). Couples who use decision logics tended to use a more coupled approach to decision-making, involving explicit comparisons between each spouse's relevant situational and/or activity cues at the point when the decision needed to be made. For example, couples may use an 'if, then' decision logic to determine who will take on routines or sick kid responsibilities on a given day. One couple had three days of daycare and two days of grandma care for their child. Drop-offs and pick-ups were done by one parent if the child was attending daycare and by the other parent if the child was at grandma's house. In another case, where one spouse had rotating shift work, drop-offs and responses to sick kid calls depended on if he was working or not that day. The 'if, then' logic was as follows: if he is working, then she does drop-offs and responds to sick kid calls. If he's off, he does them. To further complicate the issue, if she is doing drop-offs and it's her early shift, then she needs to trade the shift with a coworker for the later shift. Work overflow decisions could also rest on an 'if-then' logic, such as 'If it is my spouse's night to work at her additional employment, then I have to refuse overtime work.'

Communication and negotiation. For couples in which both spouses have fairly high-level positions and/or a fair amount of autonomy in their work, daily decisions often rested on the urgency of work tasks and fairness. Workplace policies did not play such a big role in decision-making in these cases, though the nature of the work and how it was managed or scheduled within the organizations of each spouse played a role in creating workload variability. In these couples, communication and negotiation was explicitly integral to their decision process because they had to communicate with each other in the moment in order to determine how their respective momentary work tasks or workload would impact their routines and attendance at non-routine events. As one couple noted for a sick kid decision, they must communicate with

each other in order to determine "whose calendar can be cleared the quickest (431 Garret)". One couple owned a business together, so decisions really depended on discussions about who could set aside work tasks immediately to deal with a family routine or non-routine situation, or who could take on a family routine so that the other could deal with work overflow. 511 Hailey and William paraphrase nicely the idea that the decisions are not going to be obvious in advance, it must be discussed on a case-by-case basis; Hailey "I would trouble shoot on that when the call comes in, not before" and William agrees "yeah, we can't do it any other way".

Human resource management. Several couples took what could be called a human resource management (HRM) approach to (some of) their decisions. This was especially true for couples in which both members had some work autonomy and also for couples who used the fairness cue. HRM is analogous to treating the home like a business with several team-members, each of whom has needs and responsibilities. An HRM approach to work-family decision-making requires each spouse to have a sophisticated knowledge of each other's policies, and how and when those policies can be and have been invoked. Couples who took an HRM approach usually also considered each other's work tasks, project deadlines, special events and workload cycles to determine their routines and make non-routines decisions. They may also factor in respective organizational cultures and general supportiveness at each spouse's workplace, respective tenure at their jobs, and the needs, activities, and schedules of colleagues, caregivers and other family members. This interdependent approach involves the consideration of many, many cues in decision-making and, though special consideration is given to the importance of tasks or events for either spouse, each spouse's career was generally considered equal priority. HRM is usually combined with other approaches to decision-making including trading off, decision logics and communication. For a sick kid decision, for example, one couple explained how they considered the remaining number of paid sick days each spouse had so as to make sure the number was even between them and to ensure each spouse had a reserve of paid sick days for future use as well as consider who has work tasks that day which are more flexible. They also considered commute, work culture, fairness, availability of support, and other cues. One notable case of HRM involved a couple in which the husband, 421 Owen, a professor who had a very flexible work situation apart from 6-8 hours of classroom teaching per week, was paired with a wife, Sadie, who worked part-time but inflexibly - two full days and two half days per week. He was able to arrange his classroom teaching on the days his wife had shorter work days so that he

could be most flexible on her full days when she was least flexible. If their children's school called, the spouses knew each other's most inflexible times and since those times do not overlap (by design), each spouse could assume who would respond to a sick kid call at any given time based on their knowledge and design of the system.

Table 3

Summary of System-Level Decision-Making Approaches and Illustrative Quotes

Decision Making Approach	**Independent use of cues from both members of the couple**
Description of approach	Fairly independent approach to decision-making or certain decision situations, in which one member of the couple makes the decision (with consideration of the other spouse's situational cues and sometimes consideration other family members activities/schedules) and typically takes part in the relevant routine or non-routine activity.
Context	Work situation (situational work cues) of one spouse gives that spouse the ability to make a decisions or respond to a situation, whereas the situational cues of the other spouse make it nearly impossible, costly or untenable for him or her to make the decision or respond to the situation (e.g., one spouse is self-employed or works very flexibly and autonomously, and the other works in an inflexible situation with little autonomy). May also be influenced by roles or preferences (e.g., one spouse has a strong preference for making the decision and/or taking on responsibility and the other spouse acquiesces to that). Situational work cues, career priority cue, and parent identity cue are commonly considered.
Illustrative Quotes	111 Shani (sick kid): We were talking about roles - that falls under my dossier. I don't think he would know when to make an appointment. I take care of all of that. That's my dossier. There are certain things that I constantly take care of and certain things that he constantly takes care of. Like we have our roles. 122 Jamie (sick kid): Well if I got a call he was sick I would pick him up, bring him home, and then just hang out with him, take care of him. The only way it would have been different was if I had been somewhere really far away for some reason and he was closer, he would probably hop in the car and get the kids, but I don't disrupt, I learned not to disrupt him, he's the main breadwinner of the family so you know, his work comes first, so that would be my responsibility. 471 Janelle (work overflow): …but because I'm not the one who does the pickups on most days, it wouldn't necessarily be too much of a problem on my end [to stay late at work]. I know there's one or 2 days I've had to stay late because of a client coming in last minute but it's not really a huge deal for me… It happened last week. There was a phone call that ran late or something and yeah, it's just a matter of Ralph beats me home

then and gets everything started or I think I came in one day and you guys were eating. But it all depends on… on the day. So yeah, I have a little bit more flexibility [to stay late at work] 'cause I'm not expected to be at the daycare.

441 Jim (work overflow): The work I do is not last minute surprises for the most part, except it has a lot longer lead times and I'm aware of it. If there's any days where I know Angie is here, we'll just naturally extend it and I'll stay a lot longer at work. The same thing for her.

Decision Making Approach	**Trading off**
Description of approach	An approach to decision situations whereby spouses seek ways to take turns or evenly share responsibility for taking part in a routine (every other day or on a set schedule), caring for a sick child or accepting work overflow. Simply taking turns may be constrained by situational and activity cues.
Context	Spouses have similar cues from respective work contexts (e.g. similar policies and practices around scheduling, absence, overtime, etc. at each spouse's workplace). Consideration of situational cues, activity cues, and/or fairness cue.
Illustrative Quotes	511 Hailey (drop-offs/work hours): We'll take turns. We'll flip a coin the night before, and one of us will head into work early. [The other will] wait for the babysitter to arrive at 7:45. 441Angie (work overflow): Yeah, we sell off each other because sometimes being a teacher I have to be at work for parent night or things like that a lot of the time, or just to catch up on my work at work, so we kind of sell each other off, and some nights he'll work later and some nights I'll work later. 411 Patty (work hours): if it's a Monday or a Wednesday, I essentially will come home at 7:30-8, so whether that's taking the time to work late, or go grocery shopping… So on Tuesdays and Thursdays are his late nights… 161 Erin (sick kid): Yeah when she's been sick for more than one day at a time, we've like… I take a day then she takes a day, just so that we don't both look bad at work.

231 Sheila (sick kid): So when he was sick, I mean but generally, if it was like a 2-day thing he would always stay home one day… we'd generally make sure it was even. It would have to be. But I was always hoping he would get sick on the weekend. But there were sometimes where yeah, it was like 4 days. I remember one time, he stayed one day, I stayed one day, his mother came for a day, and I think the next day, we did a half and half.

281 Helen and Travis (pick-ups)
Helen: We usually try to keep it consistent. I usually do…
Travis: Tuesday / Thursday; I do Monday / Wednesday.
Helen: Right. We usually try to do every other day.
Travis: Just on the schedule of dance and Helen's teaching and what we had going on, and trying to split times.

Decision Making Approach	**Decision logics**
Description of approach	An approach to decision-making that involves 'if, then' or other cognitive patterns for thinking through decision cues and determining who will take on routines and non-routine responsibilities on a given day (e.g., if A is working, then B does drop-offs and responds to sick kid calls, but if A is off, then A does them).
Context	Couples with variability in work shifts, work place, work tasks, workload, childcare, additional employment, or family member activities may use decision logics because their dual context does not allow them to rely on a consistent daily or weekly routine, or allow them to make non-routine decisions based on the same situation every day. Relevant situational cues are considered.
Illustrative Quotes	451 Roger (drop-offs; if he's off work or works a night shift, he does drop-offs, if he works day shift, she does drop-offs): …generally whenever I work nights basically I generally take on the preparation of the kids in the morning. So, if I'm either off work, like I got my 4 days off, or if it's when I'm on nights generally the kids basically get out of bed and dressed and ready for school by me so Sandra can take off for work. I get them to the bus and to preschool and then I'll come home and try to sleep a little bit. Sandra will pick them up at the end of the day. But when I work on my days, my day 6's, I leave before their up, so she has to get them up and ready… 291 Brad (drop-offs and pick-ups): When I take her to my Mom's, I pick her up. Um, usually, when she goes to daycare, Mariah picks her up…

291 Brad (work hours; if the child sleeps over at grandmas, he can go to work early): …like 90% of the time she'll stay the night like Wednesday night at my mom's. That way she'll just be there in the morning, like I won't need to take her in the morning. You know I take her to my mom's around 6ish [Wednesday], and that way if I want to get to work early, I can [on Thursday].

312 Roland (work overflow; if it doesn't interrupt family time, he takes overtime): Um normally, if I work overtime, I worked overtime where it's not when they're home, it's during the school year. You know it's… I'm gonna be gone anyways in the morning, so I'm gonna work overtime and if I work overtime late and I'm still home before they get home.

251 Jill (work overflow; if he has help, then she schedules overflow): Usually it would be planned. It happened, it wasn't that often but let's say I had one client that I needed to see and the parents were both working and it was really difficult, so I did that exception and I kind of worked it out that day I would try just stay at work til 6:30 and then go to my thing, but we, I chose the day where I know he has the help, so there's not so much change in the sense that they're still picked up at the same time at daycare, they're coming home, the food is ready, Daddy's there and usually he reads the books or the babysitter will do it and put them to bed.

421 Sadie (work hours; if the kids are enrolled in an afterschool enrichment program, she can extend her private clinic hours later in the afternoon): And then Wednesday, they actually have an early dismissal so they both are here by 1:40. Unless they do an after-school class, which we encourage. In which case, I pick them up at school at 3 or 2:30, depending on the length of the class. But that's not every single… you know, that'll go for an 8-week span and then it'll be over, so there are times… on Wednesday, there's a lot more flexibility where I can see patients a little later. But right now they're not in a class, so they'll be coming home at 1:40. So it's a short day.

451 Sandra and Roger (sick kid; if he's working, then she is responsible for sick kid):
Q. If a child is sick, who gets that phone call?
Sandra: Me.
Roger: Sandra does.
Q: Then what happens?
Sandra: I leave work.
Q: What about when it's one of Roger's natural days off?

Sandra: Then he goes.
Roger: She'll call me and I'll go get them.

Decision Making Approach	**Communication and negotiation**
Description of approach	An approach to decision making that involves spouses communicating with each other in order to make a decision about a routine or non-routine event.
Context	Couples in which both spouses have fairly high-level positions and/or a fair amount of autonomy in their work regarding scheduling and flexibility. Activity cues and fairness cue are most relevant.
Illustrative Quotes	431 Garret (sick kid): We communicate during the day about what's happening…. Based on, if you didn't have a call or a meeting, one of us would drop whatever had to be dropped, and go. We can go. That hasn't happened yet, touch wood, but in the event that it would happen…Basically, we tag team. That's how that's probably going. Whose calendar can be cleared quickest? 511 Hailey and William (drop-offs/pick-ups/work hours) Hailey: We don't know what's for tomorrow. We haven't figured out who is taking the older one to the Sailing Club yet whether it's you or me. Q: It's sort of a nightly discussion, who's picking up the kids? William: We usually do that in the day time... We always phone each other. Normally during the school year, it's like we'll be calling back and forth. Hailey: We'll take turns coming home earlier from work. On the way back, whoever took him to the yacht club will pick him up because we just have one car, and the babysitter will go whenever we get home. 231 Sheila and Michael (sick kid) Michael: Well she'd probably call me right away and tell me. Sheila: Yeah, absolutely. Michael: So if we were both at work, I think we'd just talk on who's… Sheila: Who's gonna go.

	Sheila [suggests getting a nanny]: It'll just give us a bit of a break, with a little back up if the kids are sick, you know what I mean? So we don't have to fight over whose job is more important that [the other will] have to stay home with the kid. 511 William (work overflow): We always phone each other. Right now I'm not phoning Hailey in the day time because I don't really need to. She's at home right now sometimes. Normally during the school year, it's like we'll be calling back and forth. 511 Hailey: ...calling back and forth. If there's a very sick family and I just can't leave, I'll just call him, "I can't come, can you pick up the kids?" If my schedule is much more, harder that something just happened as I'm heading out the door, then I can't go. (William: My stuff is 7 years into the future.) I just call him and say, "Can you pick up the kids?" 351 Kevin (pick-ups) Kevin: Usually it's schedule based. She has an exercise class that she wants to go to at the end of the day, I have a meeting, it's a variety of things, or we'll just be like I picked him up the last few days so it's your turn now. So, but there's usually reasoning behind it, like there's something that's happening that I need to go to or she needs to go to. Q: So the discussion is happening in the morning? Kevin: Could be the day before, could be on Monday, we kind of figured out the week. Yeah, we're very clear about it. Sometimes if during the day something has changed we'll communicate during the day to organize and make sure that someone is going to pick him up.
Decision Making Approach	**Human resource management (HRM)**
Description of approach	HRM is a decision-making approach that is analogous to treating the home like a business with several team-members, each of whom has needs and responsibilities. An HRM approach involves interdependent consideration of the schedules and needs of various stakeholders in the work-family system, including children, coworkers, and caregivers. This approach is usually combined with other approaches such as trading off, decision logics and communication.
Context	Couples in which both members have some work autonomy regarding scheduling and flexibility. Also, these are couples who usually have bigger families and a broader network of people involved including extended

family support and multiple caregivers. Cues considered include situational cues, activity cues, and fairness cue.

Illustrative Quotes

261 Ana (pick-ups): Well, [our eldest daughter] takes the bus back. I get home around 3:30 from work and I will bring [our middle son] home with me. Um, I'll get home about 3:30 so then I take care of the daycare kids [including our youngest. The daycare staff leaves]. I walk up to the bus stop at about 4:30, pick the kids up from the bus, come home. I usually get the kids all a snack at that point. Parents pick up [the children from the home daycare] at about 5 or 5:15.

261 Jake (drop-offs): Well that's more advice that I would give too because we know other couples who are just as busy, but it's a lot of motion and not a lot of productivity. Like they just haven't worked out the efficiency, so they're running all over town, you know, criss-crossing and if they would just step back to plan it out, look how things occur along a timeline and apply some efficiencies, apply a system of events to it, they would be better off.

421 Sadie and Owen (pick-ups)
Sadie: On Tuesday, [our daughter] has her rehearsal starting at 4, so in fact Owen will have to pick up the kids and it doesn't make sense to pick only [our daughter] up. So he'll pick up both the kids, drive [our daughter] to her rehearsal and then you know, well you can tell about that.
Owen: … so it's become a trick because [our daughter]'s rehearsal is at 4, [son]'s practice doesn't start until… Game doesn't start until 5:30. So generally what we'll do is hang out where [our daughter] has her rehearsal. [Son] will do his homework you know, and we'll just kind of wait until it's time to take him to his game.
Sadie: What will probably happen now is that I will come home and then I will pick up [our daughter] at her rehearsal. Owen will have already taken [our son] to the game. And part of the reason why I was so confused about this is that until this week, Owen's parents were here. They'd been here for the winter and they were helping us with all this stuff.
Owen: It's not easy in the sense that, as you gathered, it's like a logistical puzzle. Every day is different. But as long as we write it down, we can keep track.

281 Helen and Travis (sick kid):
Helen: That's a juggling act. That's what it feels like. First call though is grandparents. We only have my mom and step dad but they have weird schedules. Sometimes they're here and sometimes they're not. The Monday, my mom typically doesn't work Mondays and Fridays so if it's one of those days, I'll use her. And [older

daughter]'s instance, if she got sick at like noon, I might bring her home and check in with her every hour. She's okay at home alone for a few hours. If it's [younger daughter], obviously one of us has to be home. Now we're really lucky. Our daycare lady has never called to come get her so she's pretty understanding and I have a lot of kids that are in her care in my classroom. So she gets what I do. She's called me to say can you get Tylenol at lunch time, or this is what's going on. But she's never said you gotta come get her.

Summary

In summary, daily decision-making about work-family routines and about non-routine activities, are based mostly on multiple situational cues, though role-related cues were mentioned by some couples. Non-routine decisions also involve situational cues with a financial component and activity cues, which are lacking in decisions about routines. Going back to the different perspectives for studying decision-making, the cues used in daily work-family decisions fit both rational as well as role-based models. Financial considerations are the cues that fit best in rational models of decision-making (March, 1994; Staw, 1980), but these cues were not mentioned for most of the work-family decisions studied here and the rule of consequence (i.e. using of economic rationality or financial reasoning) can also be used in the appropriateness framework for decisions-making (March, 1994). Situational cues can also generally be considered rational cues, though they were structural, or structuring, rather than financial. That is, most situational cues had to do with objective factors such as schedules, policies and geographic considerations, which constrained, enabled and anchored decision-making. However, some situational cues were more normative in nature, acting as role-based guidelines for behaviors and choices (Weber et al., 2004). Activity cues can be either rational and/or role-based. For example, control over scheduling and whether the activity could be deferred until later seem to be related to a more rational approach, but activity importance and how an activity would be prioritized when compared to another activity seems to be more role-based because they require judgments that come from an internal system of values, beliefs, and expectations. Role-related cues are closer to role-based models of decision-making (i.e. these may invoke heuristic decision rules known as rules of appropriateness; March, 1994; Powell & Greenhaus, 2012), rather than acting as pieces of information to be attended to in a specific decision situation. However, it is also theoretically possible that role-related cues act as criteria for evaluating alternative choices in a rational approach to decision-making. For example, couples could assess options for routines based on the amount of fairness achieved by each option. Later analysis support the former possibility, that role-related cues revealed underlying appropriateness rules for decision-making as discussed in Chapter 6.

Daily decisions are made at the couple level, ranging from one spouse making these decisions while taking into consideration cues from their own and the other spouse's work context to a fully-coupled processes involving conversation and negotiation in jointly making

just-in-time decisions. Career prioritizing and parent identity cues are associated with a more cursory style of coupled decision-making. Couples who prioritize one career, and some couples who talked about parenting identity, used fewer cues in decision-making. When fairness is taken into account, couples use more coupled approaches to decision-making including complicated HRM thinking and decision-making involving communication and negotiation. While system-level consideration of multiple decision cues is a shared aspect to all the daily decisions I examined, decisions about routines seemed to differ in process from decisions in non-routine situations. In the next sections, I will delineate these different processes.

CHAPTER 5

Findings for Daily Decision Processes

To gain a better understanding of couple's decision-making processes, I conducted in-depth analysis on three work-family routines including setting routine work hours and daily transitioning of children to and from care or school ('drop-offs' and 'pick-ups'). I also studied in-depth two non-routine decision situations including decisions about what couples do when their child is ill and cannot attend school or regular care ('sick kid' decisions) and decisions about working non-routine work hours ('work overflow' decisions). Couples often contrast these two non-routine situations with decisions about other non-routine activities or events, many of which have more advanced notice then these two scenarios. This led to further analysis of non-routine situations involving advanced notice and calendaring and a realization that the immediacy of non-routine decision-making affects the process. This chapter presents the decision processes for establishing and changing routines, for making immediate non-routine decisions, and for scheduling non-routine activities into the future.

Decisions about work-family routines

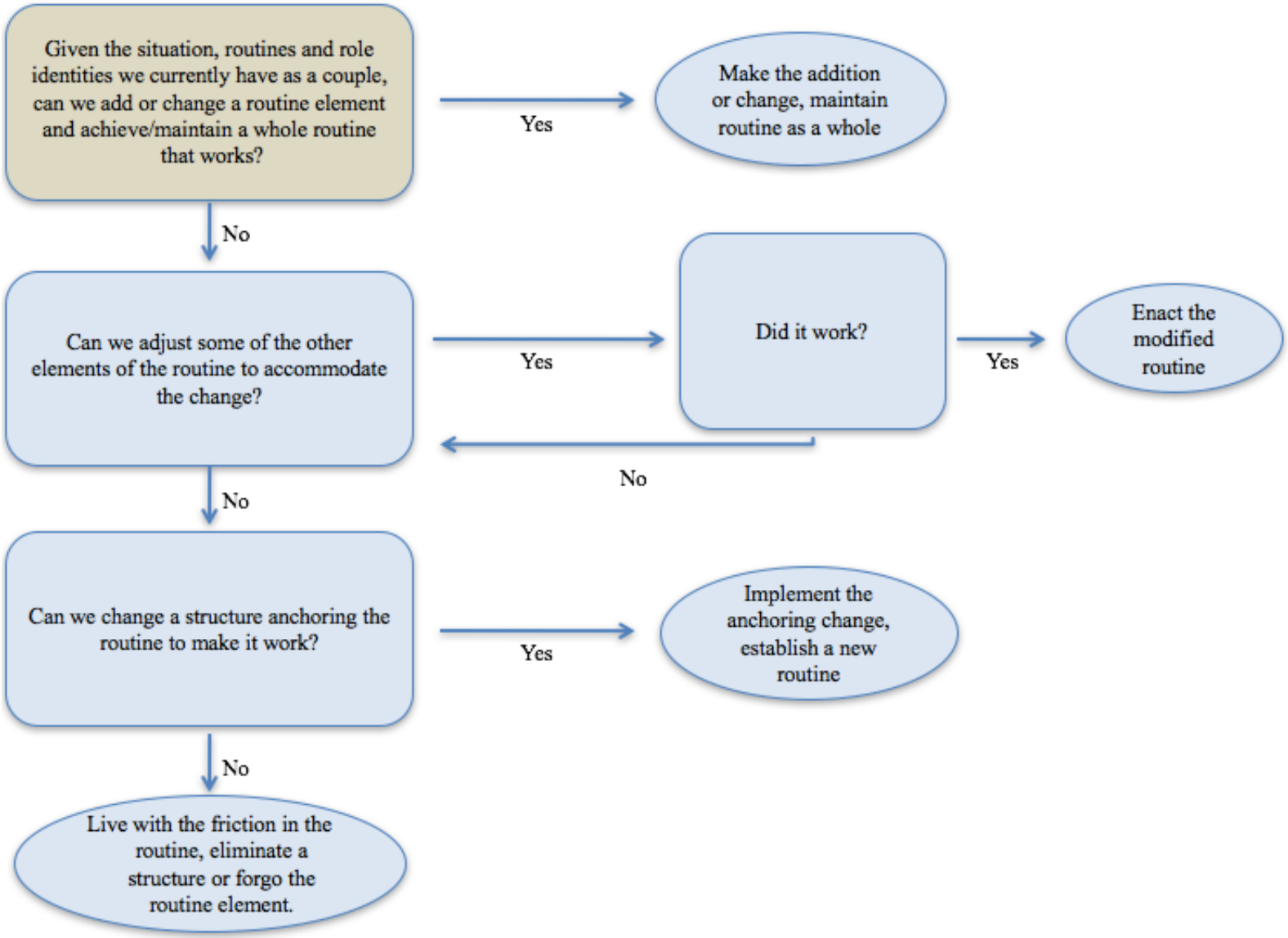
Routines have received little research attention by work-family scholars and research that that can be drawn upon from other domains mainly focuses on gender differences in household tasks (e.g., Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010), rather than coupled approaches to broader work-family routines. I wanted to gain a better understanding of the latter issue. Decisions about routines can be defined as work-family decisions dealing with choices involving two or more family members which have quasi-permanent implications for the distribution of daily or weekly time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Jensen et al., 1983; Medved, 2004; Poelmans et al., 2013). A whole routine (e.g., for one day or one week) is made up of several smaller routines or routine elements, hereafter referred to as "routines." For dual-income couples with young children, routines may include their regular work hours and locations, the times and places of overtime work and additional employment, the transporting of family members to and from work, and getting children to and from school/daycare as well as their other activities. I use the label 'work-family routines' to refer to all of these routines because they are at the intersection of work and family and because arranging these routines requires integrated thinking about both domains. The elements of couples' work-family routines that I examine in this thesis are work hours and school/daycare drop-offs and pick-ups. Couples also

have family routines that may include meals together, family leisure time, and bedtime routines for young children that often include parental involvement, and they may have work routines that involve doing certain work tasks on certain days of the week or attendance at regularly held meetings. These were not considered work-family routines, however, because they are tied more closely to their domains of origin and usually do not require integrated thinking about work and family.

At this point, it is worth noting that decisions about work-family routines include what a routine will be, who will take part in the routine, and when and where the routine will take place. In my analysis of decisions about routines, I found that work-family routines are heavily tied to anchoring decisions made over time in the work-family system. Also, additions or changes to a whole routine tend to be made based on the routine elements that are already in place. When a change does not readily fit into the old routine, flexible aspects of the routine may need to bend to accommodate the new aspect. This may require a few iterations to create a whole routine that works for everyone. Sometimes new anchoring decisions need to be made when new routines cannot be made to fit within the current anchoring structures. This basic process for making decisions about routines is detailed below and depicted in a flow diagram in Figure 1 (also see Appendix E for a table of additional quotes illustrating the steps of this process). Drop-off and pick-up routines were usually additions to existing routines, as were work hour routines for those who had returned to work after exiting the workforce when their kids were born, but the general process would apply to changes to elements of a routine. A common point of change was when children moved from childcare to school, which usually meant adjustments had to be made to other parts of the overall work-family routine to accommodate the children's new schedule. Routines also needed to change when jobs changed. The flow diagram is expressed as questions that couples could ask themselves as they go through the decision process. The couples would find the answers to each question through the couple-based, system-level consideration of their unique set of decision cues, current routines and anchoring structures that was described earlier. This flow diagram represents what couples expressed about the way they adapted their routines over time, but most did not explicitly state that they asked themselves these questions; rather, it was through analyzing their responses to my interview questions that what appears to be a largely nonconscious process was revealed.

Figure 1

Decision Process for Work-Family Routines



The anchoring decisions made over time in the work-family system provide an important foundation for decision-making about routines. First, the anchoring structures in place in a couple's work-family system, such as each spouse's work situation, as well as the couple's geographic location vis-a-vis work, school, daycare, etc., generate the situational cues upon which decisions about routines are based. The most prevalent cues for work hour decisions are the policies, practices and norms at each spouse's workplace, i.e. work hour decisions depend heavily on where people work. Decisions about drop-offs and pick-ups are also based on situational cues emanating from the anchors in the system (e.g., geographic locations, school bus schedules, types or schedules of childcare). Second, I found that decisions about new elements of the routine are made based on what routines are already in place. Those existing routines also originate from the anchoring structures in the system. For example, decisions about pick-up routines took into account existing work hour schedules. In his study of work routines, Becker (2004) noted that routines are built, evolved, dismantled and rebuilt in a path dependent manner because new routines tend to get overlaid on the context that already exists when decisions are made. In other words, the existing routine and its history act as cues for decision-making when a routine is changed (Becker, 2004). Third, some couples mentioned role-related cues in their decisions about routines. They sought out routines that would allow them to achieve fairness, place priority on one spouse's career or fulfill their own expectations of themselves as parents. Taken together, the starting place for making decisions about additions or changes to a routine is the situation created by the anchoring structures in the system, the routines that are already in place and role identities of the members of the couple making the decision. When a couple is faced with a new decision about their routine, they survey their situational cues and existing routines to see how the change is going to fit within their system and, at least some, consider their spousal or parental role identities, i.e. 'given the situation, routines and role identities we currently have as a couple, can we add or change a routine element and achieve/maintain a whole routine that works?'

With respect to work-family routines (of dual-income couples with young children), the starting place for building those routines is usually the employment contexts the couples were in when they had children. Generally speaking, both members of the couples in my sample were working full-time and their work hours were set fairly independently from one another. Spouses generally did not consider each other in setting or modifying their work-hour routines before

having children together. This is consistent with past research (e.g., Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989, Weber et al., 2004), which also suggests that until couples have children, work-family routines are simple and tend to be enacted implicitly and practically within the constraints of work structures and norms. In my sample, members of couples usually returned to the same employment contexts after having children and the children were mostly enrolled in full-time care outside the home. Thus, having a child added two critical new routine elements (i.e., drop-offs and pick-ups) to the couples' work-family routines that were layered on the old work-hour routines and work-family context. For couples with in-home caregivers (none of which were live-in nannies in my sample), 'drop-offs' consisted of waiting for the arrival of the nanny in the morning and 'pick-ups' meant arriving home after work to relieve the nanny in the evening. There were five couples in which one member had exited the workforce when their children were young. When that member re-entered the workforce, the new work-hour routines were layered on top of existing work-family routines (composed of the spouse's work schedule and the children's school schedules). Looking across all of the couples, it became clear that when new routines were layered on old routines and situations, sometimes it worked and sometimes it did not.

When it worked. Some couples talked about how elements of their work-family routines naturally fell into place because each new piece was compatible with existing elements. For example, in five of the couples interviewed, both spouses worked a somewhat regular "office shift" with fairly stable hours. Each couple had an existing work routine that was well-suited to adding new elements (i.e., drop-offs and pick-ups). These were also couples with relatively young children. Young children are usually in daycare or another flexible care situation, the hours of which can be aligned more readily with (normative) work hours. Also, younger children are usually enrolled in fewer enrichment activities, so routines are not complicated by schedules of extracurricular activities and the responsibility of shuttling somewhat older children from place to place. Overall, decision-making for these couples who work 'office shifts' and who have children under school age was less complicated and involved fewer decision cues. As an example, 491 Shannon and Bruce both end work by 4:00 p.m. daily. They work near each other, so they meet up after work and pick their child up together around 4:20 p.m. because it takes about 20 minutes to get to the daycare from work. Their respective shifts, which they have both been working for many years, align easily with family life (for now).

Several other couples were able to fit drop-offs and pick-ups onto more complex situations without having to change work hours. For example, there were two couples who had hours offset from one another (one spouse working earlier in the day and other working later), which often meant that the spouse who started work later did drop-offs and the spouse who ended work earlier did pick-ups. Another three couples had one spouse who worked an irregular shift (night shift, early morning shift or variable day/evening shift), whereas the other spouse worked a more regular 'office shift'. In those cases, drop-offs and pick-ups depended on who was available to do them. When existing work-hour routines were more complicated, couples tended to develop a decision logic for sorting through their decision cues to determine how drop-offs, work hours and pick-ups will look each day. Two couples had a full-time nanny to care for the youngest child and it was the nanny who would meet the school bus of the older child daily for pick-up. This meant that members of these couples did not have to change their existing work schedules to add drop-off and pick-up elements to their routines because they out-sourced this responsibility to a paid caregiver. In my sample, spouses who returned to the workforce after exiting when their children were young tended to choose new work that would fit into existing structures and routines upon their re-entries to the workforce. They opted for self-employment, part-time work and/or positions that would accommodate the existing framework. In all these cases, new elements could be added to the whole work-family routine or a routine element could be modified without any impact on the routine as a whole. Additions or modifications would be made and the couple could just maintain the rest of the routine.

When it didn't work. Other couples talked about the fact that their current work schedules were incompatible with adding new elements of work-family routines and fitting those new elements onto their old routines did not work. For example, some parents with school-aged children talked about the fact that the end of the school day does not align with normal work hours. This is consistent with past research showing that work hours are often renegotiated to match children's school schedules (Karambayya & Reilly, 1992). This was less frequently the case with daycare schedules, though a few participants did mention the early closing time of their child's daycare as problematic. About half the couples interviewed explained that they could not add drop-offs or pick-ups to their existing routines without one member of the couple making adjustments to their work hours. These adjustments could be a minor issue, such as shifting a work schedule by 30 minutes, or they could be more complicated, such as developing a split-

shift, with fewer core hours in the office and the remaining hours worked in the evening at home. For couples who needed to make these adjustments, they considered the work-family system as a framework for their decisions and they looked for ways to push one routine element in a direction that accommodates other elements without throwing the whole system off its path (Can we adjust some of the other elements of the routine to accommodate the change?). Some routine elements are flexible and can be moved easily; some are tethered or anchored into place, such that other routine elements have to move around them. The flexibility of work hours of each spouse depended on numerous factors, including work tasks, the nature of their work, the culture of their organizations and/or the policies of the organization for which they worked. For example, when one spouse had a more secure job, then that spouse may have been able to adjust work hours to do drop-offs and pick-ups, either due to higher autonomy, more informal accommodations to family, easier access to flextime, and so on. On the other hand, the work schedule of a spouse with a less secure job may be less easily changed because the couple would avoid putting that spouse's job security at risk by asking for a non-normative work schedule (i.e., the less secure spouse's work hours routine was more anchored in its place). The flexibility of pick-ups and drop-offs depended on the type of care in which the children were placed. For example, schedules of children in school and/or who took the school bus tended to be elements that were more difficult to change, whereas pick-ups and drop-offs for children in caregiving situations (e.g., daycare, in-home caregivers/nannies, and caregiving grandparents) were easier to change; there were however a few couples who described inflexible care situations (e.g., daycares that closed at 4:30 p.m., a nanny who wanted to leave by 5:00 p.m.). Logistic considerations about geographic locations and commute times to and from work were often elements that were anchored in place (it may be hard to change where you live or where your work is located). Financial considerations were more rigid for couples on a fixed budget, whereas couples in higher income brackets may have more leeway in decision-making around the monetary cost or gain of their decisions. For example, in some cases, couples found a (paid) solution by using resources outside the dyad to help align work hours with their children's schedules, but this was less likely for lower income couples. In my sample, six couples used the after-school daycare for their children every day or some days to create some slack in the pick-up routines. Two more couples had babysitters or grandparents pick up their children every day.

These solutions allowed both members of these couples to maintain their existing work schedules and/or the end-of-day flexibility that they had before having children.

In general, couples sought out non-radical adjustments first, tending to continue closely along the paths they were already on, before considering more radical adjustments. The small adjustments that were most commonly made in an effort to align new routines were changes to work schedules of one or both spouses, changes in transportation mode, garnering support or hiring services, and eliminating unnecessary activities or routine elements. Participants also talked about shifting some of their routines or the labor involved in a routine to the weekend, so that workday routines could be streamlined from such things as household chores, dinner preparations, exercise, or children's extracurricular activities. Even sleep hours could be reduced on workdays and (ideally) made up on non-work days (for most people, the weekends).

After these smaller adjustments were made, couples would try to settle into their new routine. They would test it out and ask themselves: did it work? Sometimes they talked about how the modified routine felt good and sustainable (it worked). Other times, they talked about experiencing friction and the modified routine felt stressful or unsustainable (the answer to the question of whether it worked was no). Friction might arise from a variety sources. The timing of pick-ups was a source of friction expressed by many couples. Most felt they should ideally pick-up children no later than 5:00 p.m. and many thought even earlier was better because family evening routines include so many time consuming elements and activities, such as food preparation, school aged children's homework, sporting and enrichment activities, household chores, quality family time and care routines. Habitually truncating evening family hours makes it difficult to fit in all these required and desired family activities. Friction arises here because many participants' workdays do not end before 5:00 p.m., yet they desire to pick up their kids before 5:00 p.m. Several couples explained that they could theoretically pick-up their children later than they regularly do because their daycares were still open, but they felt that this would result in a more rushed, lower quality experience in the evening, so they did not avail themselves of the extra day-care hours.

Frictions also stemmed from identity inconsistent behavior. For example, some participants talked about holding the parenting expectation that children should be involved in many extracurricular activities or that parents should spend a certain amount of quality time with their children each day. When work schedules did not allow parents to meet these expectations, it

was another source of friction. Maertz and Boyar (2011) list this first among six types of work-family imbalance, summarizing it as "letting oneself down" (p. 91). Frictions also arose from an inability to meet relational values, such as when adding new routine elements was perceived to unfairly burden one spouse with a disproportionate responsibility for the routine. This may result in feelings of guilt on the part of the spouse who cannot do his or her fair share and could also result in conflict between members of couples.

At this juncture, most couples said they could live with a little friction in their routines, typically reasoning that the current routine would not last forever. For example, when their older child started school, 361 Gabriel needed to pick-up his two-year old twins near his work every day, then drive to his daughter's school located near their home to collect her. Logistically the new pick-up routine made sense, but it was not without friction. Faced with getting his two-year old twins out of the car to walk into the school to collect his older daughter and then walk them back to the car, Gabriel decided to allow the six-year old girl to walk through parking lot on her own. Did it give him a little stress? Yes. But it was a lot better to him than the much more complicated option of shepherding toddlers through the parking lot and then trying to stuff them and their snow suits back into their car seats. He explained that this is the routine for now, but it will change in the summer when the children can get out and play at the park at the school. He and his wife accepted that the new routine contained this friction (stress) related letting the young daughter walk through a parking lot unattended because the routine would be somewhat temporary. Another couple explained that it is a little inconvenient that their child's daycare closes at 4:30 p.m., which means one of them has to rush out of work to do pick-up every day, however the child will be going off to school next year, so they will only have to live with the friction in the current routine for a little while longer.

When small adjustments are not possible or have not resulted in a viable, frictionless routine and the friction is not something the couple can tolerate (answer to the second question is no), larger changes tended to may be made (Can we change a structure anchoring the routine to make it work?). Several couples talked about changing employment in order to establish a workable routine. In one couple, both members changed employment because they were both commuting four hours per day before they became parents and that long commute time was not compatible with their childcare schedule, nor was it how they wanted to spend their time any longer after their child was born. For two other couples, the work schedules or work overload of

one spouse were forcing the other spouse to take on a disproportionate amount of the work-family routine. In each case, one or both spouses sought new employment with work hours that were more compatible with the work-family routines they wanted to have and/or the spousal or parental identities they hold. Some couples changed childcare arrangements in order to adapt their routines within their existing frameworks (e.g., changing to a daycare with different hours or geographic location). In making these anchoring changes, couples considered the parts of the system that were working well and sought new situations that would carry forward those elements, while adjusting elements that were not working.

In some cases, a change to one part of the system had a fall-out effect on other parts of the system, creating the need to start back at the beginning by re-examining situational cues and making more adjustments until a system that worked could be established. Because routines are built on an existing system of anchors and activity schedules, trial and error is often required to fit new routine elements with what already exists. As shown in Figure 1, couples look for minor adjustments along existing paths first; still, when adjustments are made, it is not always clear how they will impact other parts of the system and further adjustments are sometimes required. Building a routine is often an iterative process of making small adjustments and then larger changes, if necessary, to find a whole routine that works well for everyone. Changes to anchoring structures included changes in employment and changes to childcare arrangements. People may also consider other anchoring decisions like moving to a location more convenient for routines or becoming a two car, two driver family so that the couple has more options for routines involving driving. In my data, it was rare, but it did happen that adjustments and then anchoring changes did not result in a satisfactory routine. 241 Francine went back to full-time work after her maternity leave but found it overwhelming with the new parental responsibilities and the parental role expectations she had for herself. She adjusted her schedule, then changed her work commitment to part-time but eventually decided to exit the workforce because she couldn't envision how working, even part-time, would allow her to be the parent she wanted to be. Table 4 shows examples of adjustments and anchoring changes possible when developing a routine.

Table 4

Examples of Adjustments and Anchoring Changes When Developing a Routine

Action	Examples
Adjustments to routines	Modify work hours
	Split-shift, multitask
	Change caregiver schedule
	Secure afternoon babysitter or afterschool program
	Change transportation type or route
	Hire catering services
	Eliminate unnecessary routines (attending fitness classes, playing a league sport, nightly dinner preparations)
	Move labor or activities to weekend
	Sleep less
Anchoring changes to establish a new routine	Change employer
	Change employment situation (part-time work, telework, change jobs with the same employer, change shift)
	Change to self-employment
	Change childcare arrangement (change daycare/school, get a nanny)
	Change geographic considerations (e.g., move homes)
	Become a two-car family

To summarize, the process for developing a work-family routine is to add new elements or to make changes within an existing framework of structures and routines. Small adjustments or large changes may be required to create a routine that suits the needs of everyone involved. Figure 1 depicts a general flow of this process with the starting point of existing situational structures and routines. Members of couples also seem to try to infuse role identities into the additions or changes they make to routines. The process was derived based on analysis of data about work hour, pick-up and drop-off routines, however the same process could apply to other additions or changes to the routine. For example, children's sporting activities and additional employment commitments are (often) recurrent, regularly scheduled activities. These would act as new routine elements that are layered onto the routine in the same way as pick-ups and drop-offs are often layered onto work hour routines. I would speculate, however, that if the addition of these routines does not fit readily into the whole routine, or requires more than minor adjustments, then these "optional" elements would be eliminated from the system rather than being a reason to make a major change in the system.

Decisions about non-routine activities

While work-family routines have received little research attention, there have been several studies on decision-making involving non-routine incidents (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell 2003, Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Overall, these studies have used individual-level analyses (with the exception of Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014), have approached these decisions situations as work-family conflicts and have not studied these incidents in the context of work-family routines. I wanted to understand how coupledom factored into the decision-making process in non-routine situations and how non-routine situations were dealt with in the context of work-family routines. I found that non-routine decisions were generally based on the same situational and activity cues, though some couples also mentioned role-related cues in these decisions. I also found two dimensions of these decision situations, immediacy and frequency, influenced the process for decision-making. The immediacy with which a decision needs to be made seems to divide non-routine decision-making into two different processes such that there are actually two different types of non-routine decisions. One of which is unscheduled and requires immediate action and the other of which is known in advance and can be scheduled. First, I will discuss the commonalities between immediate and scheduled non-routine decisions, then I will present the divergent decision

processes for these two types of non-routine decisions including a flow diagram depiction for each (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Raiffa, 1968). Lastly, I will discuss how the frequency with which specific non-routine situations arise, both scheduled and immediate, makes a difference in how couples deal with these situations and the impact these decisions have on routines.

Non-routine decisions, like decisions about routines, depend heavily on situational cues emanating from anchoring structures in the work and family context. Further, the specific non-routine decisions faced by a couple and the frequency with which these decision situations occur, is partly a result of these anchoring structures. That is, certain types of work or working for particular organizations could result in certain types of, and/or relatively more, work overflow situations than doing other types of work or working in other organizations. Likewise, sick kid decisions may depend on the number of children a couple has and/or what type of daycare the children attend. For example, children who are cared for by grandma can still be in their usual care when they have a minor illness, whereas parents of children attending a large daycare center have to make other arrangements when their children are sick. Also activity cues and situational cues with a financial component (financial cues), which are not mentioned in decisions about work-family routines, are a consideration in non-routine situations.

Non-routine decisions are usually decisions between competing activities, so a comparison is made between the importance of the activities, whether there is control over the timing of one or both activities and whether there is a financial cost or gain to participating in one or the other. While past research has looked at the decision processes in situations when two important non-routine events compete for attention (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006), I found that non-routine activities more commonly compete with routines rather than other non-routine activities. For example, caring for a sick child would be more likely to compete with completing routine work hours than with a special work event and unexpected, end of day meetings would compete with regular pick-up routines, rather than a child's once-a-year school recital. Since non-routine activities usually compete with routines, couples need to decide between the routine and the non-routine activity or determine how to deal with the routine if one of them attends to the activity. Situations where two non-routine events competed against one another were, relatively speaking, less common.

I began the analysis of non-routine decisions by looking at answers to the critical incident questions pertaining to getting a call from school or daycare regarding a sick child and receiving

a last minute request to participate in additional work. From the first interviews, I learned that getting a 'sick kid call' in the middle of a work day is only one of two possible sick kid scenarios working parents were experiencing. Couples were quick to point out whether the same decision cues or process would apply if they knew a child would be sick the next day versus getting a call in the middle of the day. For example, Shirley's office work can be dropped at a moment's notice, but Jonathan's work in customer service needs to be scheduled in advance:

> Couple 171 Shirley and Johnathan:
> Shirley, Accounting Manager: Well if I get a phone call in the middle of the day then I basically take the rest of the day and then kind of play it by ear how it's gonna go the following day. Normally if it's, you know, if she's sick in the middle of the night, Jonathan is normally the one who takes off from work the following day. But if it happens in the middle of the day, it's normally me who goes and picks her up.
>
> Johnathan, Customer Service Representative: Because I'm doing customer service, I'm in a call environment with a call queue and that, so I have to be mindful of the other people who are with me because there's only one other person who does it for my region… more often than not, if the kids are sick I'm able to call in and tell them I won't be there the following day, so that'll give my work enough time to make arrangements to get somebody to cover and move things around.

I also wanted to understand how these compare to other non-routine family situations mentioned by participants. Situations like weather closures at school, which may happen at a moment's notice or just the night before, were similar to sick kid decisions. On the other hand, school or daycare holidays, school professional (pedagogical) development days and children's special events were usually known well in advance and more resources or resolutions were available for those decisions, which did not have to be made immediately. The analysis of work overflow decisions followed a similar story line. When participants were asked the incident question pertaining to last minute requests for work to be done outside regular work hours, most said "that doesn't really happen at my job." They usually went on to explain that any work done outside of regular hours is scheduled in advance (e.g., monthly all staff assemblies, special events, international conference calls) or can be anticipated due to known workload cycles or project deadlines. Only about a quarter of my sample said they receive last minute work requests, but around 80% said they often or sometimes have some type of work responsibilities that happen outside regular work hours. Like sick kid decisions vs. decisions about other family-related activities, decisions about last minute requests at work seemed to follow a different process than decisions about scheduled work overflow activities.

Below I describe the different decision processes for immediate, unscheduled non-routine decisions and known, scheduled non-routine decisions. What is similar about both processes, however, is that the starting point for decision-making in all non-routine circumstances is the consideration situational cues from the anchoring structures in the system and of the non-routine activity vis-a-vis the usual routine. As March (1994) suggests "understanding any specific decision in a specific situation requires a great deal of concrete contextual knowledge" (p. vii). Couples were very clear about the contextual knowledge they considered as a starting point in their decision processes. Figures 2 and 3 are flow diagrams showing the general routes taken in decision-making in immediate and scheduled non-routine decision situations. As in the diagram for decisions about routines, the flow of decision-making is expressed as questions that couples ask themselves and the answers to these questions come from couple-based, system-level consideration of decision cues, existing routines and anchoring structures. Again, the flow diagrams represent processes revealed by observing what couples said about many, many different decision situations and the frequency with which those situations occurred. Since the cognitive process for a specific decision is likely to involve nonconscious and heuristic processing (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989; Weber et al., 2004), the flow diagrams probably represent these (mostly) nonconscious processes rather than actual questions decision makers ask and answer when making a decision. Also, these models are large and inclusive because they represent a general process that was observed in a large variety of specific decision situations. Although the models originate from the most likely scenarios and generally capture the most common flow of decision-making, they also accommodate variations in decision processes. For example, couples may skip questions that do not apply in their specific situations or they may go out of order if it suits their specific context to do so. In other words, couples mainly use these general processes for decision-making, but some couples or some instances deviate from the lock step fashion of the diagrams; all decisions, however, start from the same point and are still made within the framework of the model. A table of quotes illustrating the steps of the decision processes for immediate and scheduled non-routine decisions is presented in Appendix F.

It is worth noting here that the "decision maker" in these situations often initially starts as an individual. That is, one person receives a call from the school or one person is asked to do a work task outside regular work hours and it is this focal person who initially faces the decision process and what to do next. There are circumstances in which the decision-making unit will

automatically be the couple, such as when the spouses are together in the evening and they realize that their child will not be attending school or daycare the next day due to illness or a weather closure. They may then approach the decision processes together considering the questions in sequence to determine how the activity of staying home to care for the child compares with the routine or non-routine work they had planned for the next day. More commonly, one spouse will be put in position to be the decision maker and, more often than not, that spouse is usually the right person to make the decision. This is because the anchoring structures and routines that the couples create together often facilitate having one spouse making the decision and/or being in the position to respond to the request. That is, the responding spouse – the decision maker – is the one whose situational cues lend themselves to making the decision. Couples went to great lengths to describe their situational cues in explaining their decisions and this was partly due to the fact that situational cues assign the decision maker. Take, for example, sick kid calls. There were 22 couples (75.9% of the sample) in which the same spouse always, or usually, received and responded to a sick kid call in the middle of the day or always/usually did so on certain days of the week. The reasons for this were that the responding spouses were the ones who are more easily reached at work, whose work tasks can be put off more easily at the last minute, either generally or on that specific day, and/or who have paid leave or other favorable policies and practices for times when they need to be absent from work to care for a sick child. For at least some of these couples, one spouse had chosen to work in a family-friendly environment which allowed them to be more flexible in these situations because being the decision maker and responder to sick kid calls and other family-related immediate decisions is consistent with their parenting identities. Further, daycares and schools often ask couples to list themselves as emergency contact persons and spouses often list themselves in the order in which they are likely to respond. The remaining couples (7 couples, 24 % of the sample) traded off the responsibility for caring for a sick kid or relied on support outside the couple because they had similarly demanding situational cues from their respective workplaces, similar supports and/or had a value preference to share sick kid responsibility evenly.

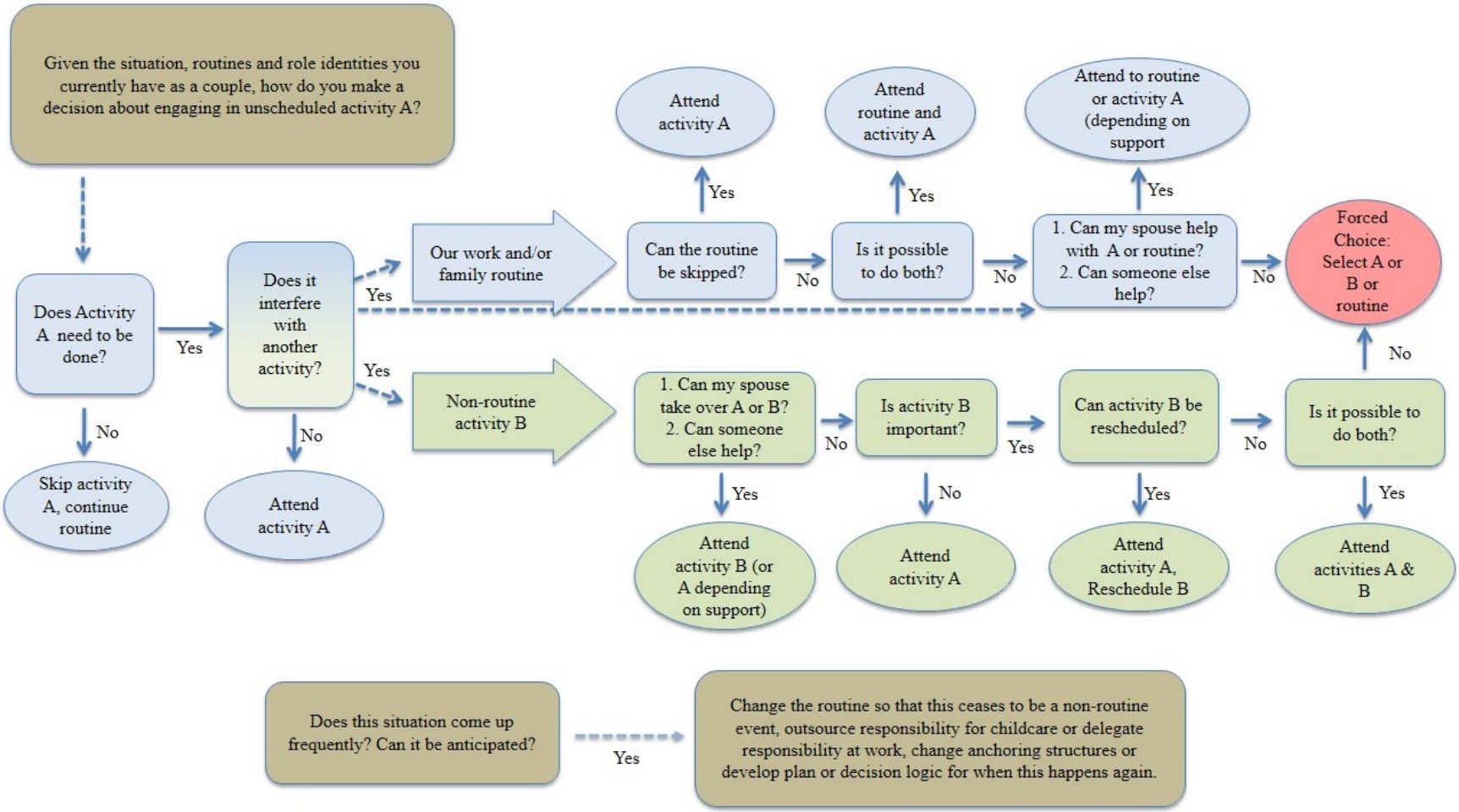
The likelihood of one spouse or the other being put in the position of decision maker in non-routine work overflow situations depends on work tasks and structures in the couples' systems. For example, spouses who tend to get last minute phone calls from clients tend to be account managers or self-employed consultants, rather than office assistants (whose jobs are

more likely to finish like clockwork at 5:00 p.m. daily). Similarly, spouses who are asked to attend a spontaneously arranged end-of-day meeting tend to be those who work in high-intensity private firms, not school teachers whose union contracts stipulate 24-hour notice for meetings outside regular hours. Alternatively, a nurse who divides her time between clinical and research duties may have more last-minute non-routine work overflow on clinical days than research days. The frequency of non-routine work overflow requests may also depend on one's history of responding to the requests by doing them rather than refusing them, increasing the likelihood of being asked again. One participant (371 Sampson) talked about his reputation for being a '24 hour' employee because he so frequently said yes to work overflow. However, now that he has a child, he wishes that the organization would ask someone else at times.

Decisions about immediate non-routine activities. Immediate non-routine decisions can be defined as day-to-day or one-time work-family decisions dealing with choices which have relatively immediate implications for the temporary distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Poelmans et al., 2013; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). Immediate non-routine decisions are ones that need to be made on the spot with relatively little advanced notice and that are usually role participation decisions made between two competing activities happening simultaneously in different domains. As noted, the types and frequency of immediate non-routine situations that a couple encounters depend on the types of anchoring structures they have (e.g., the nature of their work, the organizations they work for, caregiving or school situations of the children, where they are located geographically). As shown in Figure 2, decision-making about immediate, unscheduled activities starts from these structures and their embedded situational cues. Couples also consider role-related cues and existing routines in immediate decisions (i.e. Given the situation, role identities and routines you currently have as a couple, how do you make a decision about engaging in unscheduled activity A?). The structures not only create or curtail these situations, but also create a strong context in which the answer to each question is considered based on what is possible, required, unlikely, impossible etc. given their combination of situational cues.

Figure 2

Decision Process for Immediate Non-Routine Work-Family Activities



From there, it becomes a process of comparing activity cues and scanning for sources of support, though the answers to the questions remain partly dependent on situational cues. When an unscheduled event or activity pops up, the decision maker first considers whether the non-routine activity is something they want and/or need to do. The answer to this may depend on whether the activity is important to them (e.g., it is an important role expectation they have), whether the activity is optional or required (e.g., a known aspect of their work role), and/or the combination of incentives and costs (financial or otherwise) to participating in the activity (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2015). For example, 391 Evelyn, described a meeting with a senior level colleague about her transition to her new job. Afterward, he wanted to go out for drinks and she thought "you can't really say no to that, it's my boss's boss. So I wasn't supposed to go, I didn't have plans to go, but I had to…" Likewise, 121 Nick described leaving in the middle of a work meeting that he was asked to attend after he usually leaves work for the day. He said leaving "the meeting to catch the train… was the one thing I had on my mind." In these last minute work overflow situations, the first thing that seems to cross most participants' minds is whether the extra work was something important that needed to be done (as in Evelyn's case) or not (Nick's case, though he later found out these meetings are not optional). When the non-routine activity is deemed unnecessary, participants tend to stick with their normal routines. When the activity is judged to be important, then the decision maker (one spouse or the couple) would consider whether the activity interfered with something else that was happening at the same time. When the activity does not compete with another activity or a routine, the decision maker may decide to attend to the activity even if there are no compelling activity cues to sway the decision in that direction. For example, 441 Jim says he will stay at work to get something done if he knows his wife is taking care of the pick-up routine. Likewise, 451 Roger would only take an overtime shift if there was nothing else happening at that time. 411 Patty explains that it is better when last minute work overflow happens on one of the days she already stays late in the office because then it doesn't compete with another activity:

> 441 Jim, Project Manager: If there's any days where I know Angie is here, we'll just naturally extend it and I'll stay a lot longer at work. The same thing for her… If I have to get something done, I'll just tell her sorry, I have to get it done.

> 451 Roger, Paramedic: They called me last week and said, "Would you like to work a night shift on Sunday?" I picked it up because I knew Sandra was home and everything, was you know kosher and copacetic in that aspect, so I took it. But if there's a day I know a whole bunch of stuff's going on, I'll say, "No." It's easier not to.

> 411 Patty, Director of Client Development: So that'll more than likely happen to me where a client needs something and I have to get that completed… it might land on my later day and that works out better.

Most of the time, however, this was not the situation; rather the most common situation by far was when an unscheduled activity (that was deemed important) interfered with a normal routine. When this happens, the next question was to consider whether or not the routine could be foregone (e.g., Can I skip the pick-up routine and leave my children at school? Can I cut my work hours short?). If it could, then the decision maker would attend to the unscheduled activity and skip and/or delay the routine. If the routine had to be enacted, then the decision maker considered further activity cues (Can the activity and the routine be done simultaneously? Can either the activity or the routine could be put off until after the other is finished?). Again the answer to these questions would depend on the decision makers' specific situational cues, such as the nature of their work, what type of task the request entails, etc. If both activities could not be done simultaneously and neither could be put off, then participants would seek out support from others to attend to the activity or to fulfill the routine (Can my spouse or someone else help?).

Typically, participants talked about their spouse as the first source of support they would seek in these immediate non-routine situations. If a spouse can take over the routine or the activity, the decision maker typically accepts the support. If the spouse is unavailable, other sources of support tend to be sought. Going back to the example of a sick kid call, about 75% of the sample had a usual spouse who receives the call. That spouse considers the cues from their own and their spouse's situations and proceeds through the upper portion of the decision flow diagram, usually finding some way to leave work and pick up the sick child. In some cases, participants reported using an 'if, then' logic to determine whether the spouse who gets the call follows the decision process to make the decision and/or take care of the sick kid, or whether the spouse who gets the call follows the dotted line straight to 'call my spouse for support'. This kind of if-then logic often hinged on having a spouse with a variable work schedule, so the 'if

then' logic would be 'if it is my spouse's day off, then I call my spouse; otherwise, I follow through the normal decision process.

The remaining seven couples do not have a usual sick kid person. Whoever receives the call follows the dotted line strait to call for support. Three of those couples had a nanny or safety net, so they would respond to all but the most serious sick kid calls by immediately calling a caregiver to request support. If no support caregiver could provide help, then the decision maker (the one who received the call) may need to proceed back through the questions in the decision flowchart to figure out how to respond to the situation. The last four couples immediately followed the dotted line to speak with my spouse. These couples tended to move through the decision process together, comparing relevant situational and activity cues and also considering fairness. As one couple put it, these decisions depend heavily on daily activity cues. They call each other right away "to fight over whose job is more important that [the other] has to stay home with the kid (231 Sheila)."

Sometimes participants arrive at a point where both the activity and routine must be done, the two things cannot be done simultaneously, and no support is available. In these cases, the decision ends in a bind and the decision maker is forced to choose between doing the activity and enacting their routine, and one thing must get left by the wayside. These are the classic cases of time-based work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) and there is some evidence that family would be chosen over work in these situations (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003).

Although less frequent, it is worth noting that unexpected activities sometimes also compete with other non-routine activities (rather than with routines). These other activities could be planned work meetings or special events, known periods of heavy workload due to project deadlines or workload cycles or special family activities, such as children's special events or a planned family outing. Many couples mentioned that it had occurred that a last minute non-routine activity came up on a day when another non-routine activity was already planned. In these situations, support seeking seemed to come into the equation much sooner and more effort was put into seeking support. When no support could be found, however, further activity cues would again be examined (Can one of the non-routine activities be rescheduled? Can the two non-routine activities be done simultaneously?). For example, couples in which one spouse is the typical responder to sick kid calls would note that exceptions would be made in circumstances when the "usual spouse" has a special work event that they must attend or would like to attend.

In these rare situations, the decision maker would proceed through the lower portion of the flow diagram, first seeking support from the spouse and possibly others, then considering activity cues for the competing activities. Couples generally tried to avoid exceptions, particularly if it resulted in a spouse who usually did not respond to sick kid calls taking time off work without pay to care for a sick child. Janelle and Amie describe these unusual circumstances:

> 471 Janelle, Supervisor, Federal Government: We'll talk about it and unless I have something extremely urgent that requires me to be there, it's generally me that stays home because again, Ralph doesn't have the same guaranteed leave time that I do.
>
> 151 Amie, Director of Educational Programs: But like, last Friday, he was sick and the daycare ask us to come to pick him up from the place, and you couldn't, you wouldn't leave work because there was this meeting you wanted to attend, so it was easy for me to just say okay, I have to go… it just can't be on a regular basis.

Although support seeking is clearly a part of the decision process (especially for sick kid calls), participants talked about support seeking in immediate non-routine situations as being tenuous at best and often coming at a cost. Spouses rely heavily on each other when they need to rearrange their routines to accommodate unexpected responsibilities, though for many, even spousal support is uncertain and dependent on a comparison of one spouse's work activities against the other's. In the case of sick kids, many couples expressed uncertainty in being able to obtain support from family, friends or babysitters when help was needed last minute. For example, 441 Angie and Jim explain what happened last time they received a sick kid call. Jim rushed out of work because he did not know whether calling on family would lead to support.

> Couple 441 Jim and Angie:
> Jim, Project Manager: But the example for this year is when that happened and our daughter was sick for that one day.
>
> Angie, Teacher: Your mom came and got them.
>
> Jim: But we didn't know that, so that's the thing, I rushed out of the office and then basically as I'm driving, I'm calling to see if I can arrange somebody to get her quicker, just because I have an hour drive, so basically I'll be there very soon but if there's any chance somebody can get her so she doesn't have to stay uncomfortable there too long, and so thankfully my mom was available and by the time I got home, had already had her on the couch laying down and stuff.

Couple 411 Patty and Jensen also express low likelihood of garnering support if the nanny gets sick:

> Patty, Director of Client Development: We try to have a good back-up plan in place, but those are really hard to come by. We do have a neighbor that will help out in an emergency situation if she's available and we do have a couple others, but it never works out that they're available on that short of notice, so it does end up typically being one of us, which in our professions in sales, we have constant meeting sessions and it makes it really hard to have to shut down a whole day to stay home....

When the unscheduled event is work overflow that interferes with pick-up routines, some couples talked about extending their usual caregivers hours at a cost. A few participants spoke about refusing overtime because they knew a colleague would cover the extra shift when they could not. One could also imagine a situation where colleagues are asked take over routine work or attend a last minute work meeting in lieu of someone who needs to leave to pick up their (sick) children from school, but no participant in the study said she or he had done this. The participants in this study were usually not interchangeable with other colleagues at work. When they left work midday, the rest of the work did not get done or was brought home with them. If they were asked to attend to something last minute, no one else could step in to take on that task.

Generally, the process for making immediate non-routine decisions involves scanning situational cues to quickly identify what is possible and sometimes seeking support. The end point for decisions is often a choice of one thing or another and may involve some sort of compromise such as having to pay for additional childcare or having to do two activities at once rather than being able to focus on one at a time. Of the two types of non-routine decisions, immediate decisions seem to be more problematic, stressful and disruptive. For example, 281 Helen described a sick kid decision by saying "That's a juggling act. That's what it feels like." 411 Jensen explained that they rely heavily on the nanny if their children get sick because they have no family in the area they can call upon to help. I asked what happens when the nanny gets sick. His response: "We pretty much start crying." 281 Travis also expressed frustration at not being able to say yes to last minute work overflow: "A few times it hasn't worked and we've had to say no. I don't like doing that…"

Decisions about scheduled non-routine activities. Many types of work and family activities and events are scheduled in advance, not decided upon at a moment's notice. Scheduled non-routine activities can be defined as decisions about non-routine events or activities that happen only once or occasionally, made with some advanced notice, related to the temporary distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains

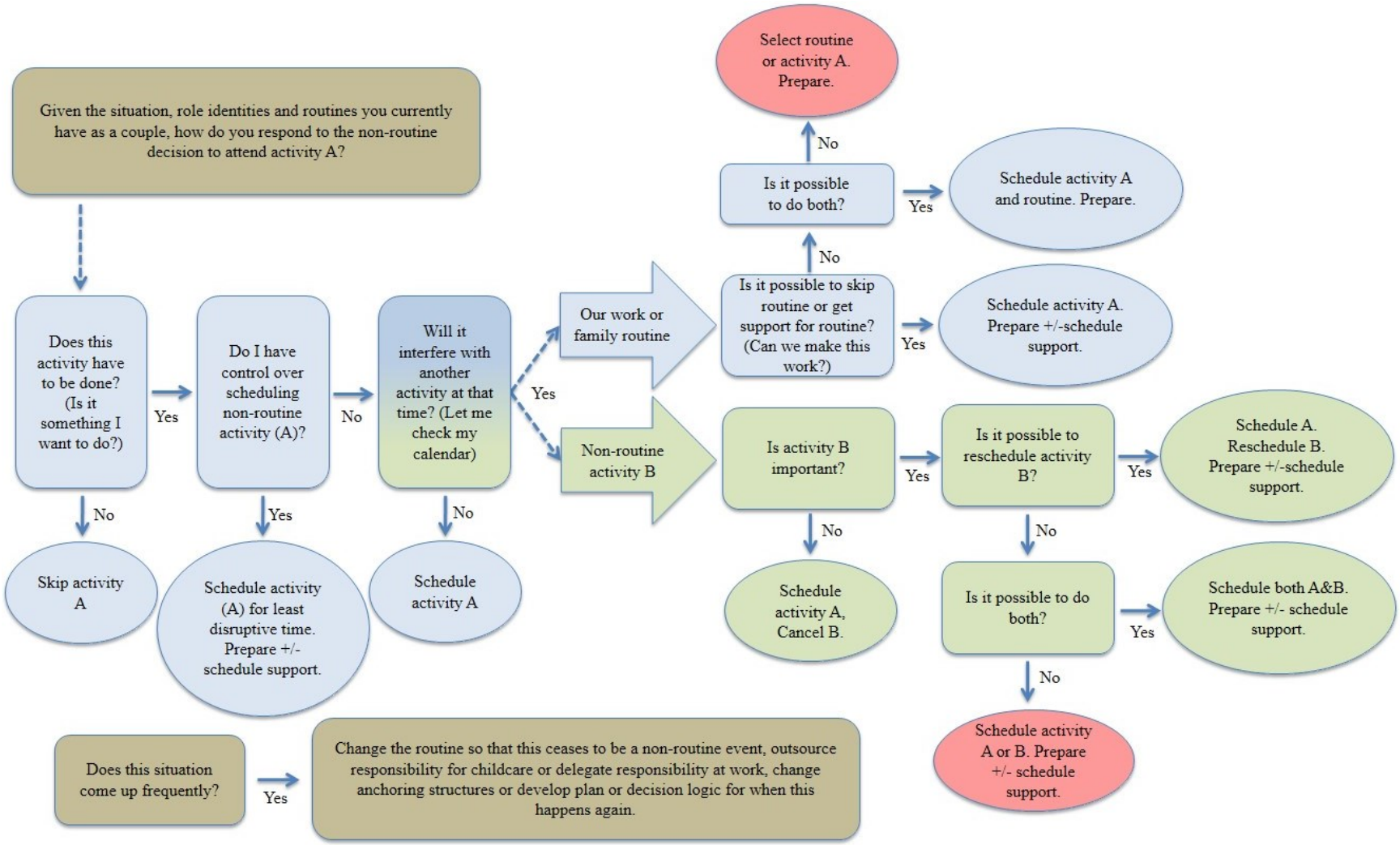
(Poelmans et al., 2013). These are decisions about the non-routine things that come up that will temporarily change the daily or weekly work-family routine for one or more family members or compete with another non-routine event already scheduled. As a one-time event, a decision about a scheduled non-routine event is not very consequential in terms of impact on couples' work-family routines or major-life anchors, however some may be meaningful activities or special events. Like immediate decisions, decisions about known, scheduled activities also happen within, and emanate from, the structures of the couple's work and family situation; the difference is that the structures can often be more flexible given advanced warning, especially for situations that arise infrequently. For example, some participants talked about making special arrangements to telework during a known school break so that they did not have to take paid time off, but could still attend to childcare duties. It may also be possible to flex work hours or take a longer than usual lunch to accommodate a child's annual school event or daytime doctor's appointment, even if those schedule changes are not normally allowed by an organization. Role-related cues are also considered in these decisions, but may also be set aside for special occasions that are planned in advance. For example, 121 Jamie usually prefers to be the one at home in the afternoon to meet the school bus and take care of the family routine, but, as an entertainer, she is occasionally willing to suppress these self-in-role parenting expectations to give a scheduled live performance during that time.

Taking this into consideration, the starting point for making decisions about scheduled non-routine activities is still the situational cues produced by anchoring structures, role identities and routines of the dual-income couple; however, because decision makers do not have to adhere so closely with these structures for scheduled activities, activity cues seem to play a bigger role in these decisions than situational cues. Figure 3 depicts the decision process for scheduled non-routine activities. Like immediate non-routine decisions, decision makers first tend to judge whether the activity is important and if it is optional or required (Is it something I want to do?). Again, this judgment is based on whether the activity is part of their personal role expectations, something that is required of them at work and/or whether there are costs or incentives to attending or not attending (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2015). When participants decided the activity is one they want and/or need to do, the next considerations are typically about scheduling (e.g., 'Do I have control over scheduling the activity?). When they do have control over scheduling the non-routine activity, then participants

would talk about scheduling the activity for a time and date when it was least disruptive to routines and other activities. For example, children's annual doctor and dentist appointments would be scheduled when these are least disruptive to work (e.g., when workload has a down cycle) or when parents have a known break from work (e.g., teachers have a summer break and would schedule these during that time). Also, after-hours client meetings or conference calls would be scheduled when least disruptive to family routines (e.g., after children had gone to sleep). A dominant theme for scheduled non-routine activities was calendaring: Known events and activities are put on a calendar. Moreover, most couples talked about having a shared calendar, making it easy to schedule known non-routine events around their other activities. Joint calendaring allows couples to plan around each other's scheduled work overflow activities, so that at least one member of the couple is available for the work-family routine when the other is not.

Figure 3

Decision Process for Scheduled Non-Routine Work-Family Activities



The theme of calendaring continues to dominate as one progresses through the chart. Perhaps not surprisingly, the answer to the question of 'Do I have control over scheduling? is often 'No.' In this case, the next step decision makers tended to take was to "check their calendars" to determine if the event interfered with another activity. I observed that the most common type of interference was when a scheduled, non-routine activity would happen on a date and time in the future when it would conflict with a normal routine (as opposed to another special activity). In the case of extra work activities being scheduled (in advance) on top of work-family routines or family activities that are scheduled to take place during regular work hours, couples considered whether it was possible to skip the routine or to find support for the routine and they talked about having the time to figure out how to deal with the situation and/or adjust their routines to make it work (Can we make this work?). Again, the answers to many of these questions come from the couple level consideration of situational cues. Couples expressed that it is usually possible to either get support to cover the routine or just forgo the routine altogether (depending on the situation), when they were scheduling an activity in advance. Like immediate decisions, participants said that their spouses would usually be the first source of support for scheduled, non-routine work activities, and spouses were better able to support each other in these situations because they could calendar it and prepare for it themselves. Couples also expressed more certainty in being able to obtain support from family, friends or babysitters when help was needed on a specific date in the future, rather than last minute. For example, 311 Cathy would stay home with a sick child, but grandma would be scheduled to help if there is a school closure that was known weeks or months in advance. Likewise, 291 Mariah and Brad call upon family support when daycare is closed so that 'nana' still only covers childcare her usual two days a week:

> Couple 311 Cathy and Roland:
> Cathy, Associate Teacher: There's only a couple days during the school year that our schedules are different. I call grandma.
>
> Roland, Machine Operator: Yup. As long as no one has plans on their calendar. That's what grandma uses, is a calendar like us so if we call and say we need her, she can plan for it.

> 291 Mariah, Credit Councilor: And so, if daycare is closed, because they do close a couple times a year, um, my mom will come from [her home an hour away], she goes with Nana for two days, and then Brad's dad's wife will take her one day or his dad will take her one day, so when its daycare is closed, the family chips in, or like I'll take a day off.

In the rarer circumstances when routines cannot be foregone and no support is available even with advanced notice, decision makers would then consider whether the activity and the routine could be done at the same time or if one could be deferred until after the other (Is it possible to do both?). Sometimes it is necessary to make a choice between the routine and the activity because no support can be found, even with advanced notice, and the activity and the routine cannot be combined.

The less common type of interference was when one scheduled non-routine activity competed with another scheduled non-routine activity for the same calendar spot. In these situations, the decision processes that my participants talked about seemed to follow the same processes described by Powell and Greenhaus (2006), which involved attempts to reschedule one or the other activity or assessing whether it is possible to participate in some combination of the two activities. This process is shown in the lower portion of the flow diagram in Figure 3. As in the case of immediate decisions, there are times when one activity has to be forgone because there is no way of rescheduling either activity and the activities cannot be combined. Overall, my data suggests these situations are relatively uncommon compared to the above scenario in which the non-routine activity is scheduled at the same time as the work-family routine.

Unlike immediate non-routine decisions, the decision process for scheduled non-routine activities can unfold over a longer period of time because immediate action is not required when the decision about the event arises. Calendaring and scheduling issues may follow immediately or sometime in the future. The decision maker may seek support right away or as the time of the event draws near. Couples also described preparations as an important part of scheduled non-routine decisions. The intervening time between scheduling the activity and actually attending it often involved different sorts of preparation. Preparing for scheduled activities may involve one spouse leaving instructions about drop-off, pick-up and family routines so that whoever is taking over these routines can do so easily, and/or preparing food for missed meals so that whoever is taking over post pick-up caregiving does not have to worry about making sure children are fed. On the work side, preparing in advance may involve plans to accomplish a few extra hours of

work on the days prior to a planned absence, organizing work tasks so that important deadlines can still be met, and keeping routine work up-to-date, thus ensuring a scheduled non-routine activity does not disrupt usual workflow. Preparation at work could also involve handing off work to others and instructing colleagues to fill in while one is away from work. With advanced preparations, it may be easier to participate in an activity and a routine simultaneously or offset them so that neither one is neglected. As 241 Ken said: "for me to work from home, I just usually have to have a day's warning so that I could bring what I need with me." Some scheduled non-routine activities are special events and others can be made special since advanced planning and preparations means nothing is really forgone; instead things are just rearranged. Several participants described taking the opportunity to spend time with their children during a known school closure or clearing their afternoon schedule to enjoy time with their children after taking them to an annual dentist or doctor appointment. A scheduled and prepared day away from work to spend with a healthy child could be made special while an unexpected day out of the office to care for a sick child is disruptive and almost never fun. 441 Angie and Jim express this notion in their discussion of pedagogical days (PD days) at their children's school:

> Couple 441 Angie and Jim:
> Angie, Teacher: No, our schedules are not the same for PD days, so that does cause a problem, like we had a couple in January and February, I think my parents did one but Jim had to take a day off for one of them.
>
> Jim, Project Manager: But I like doing that.
>
> Angie: Jim likes doing that, it's a nice bonus quality day, so he takes a day off to spend with the girls. Yeah, and if the grandparents are around they're fighting over them with those PD days because they want to have those days with them when they're around.
>
> Jim: Those are the only times they can actually fit in actual outings, because after school there's just not enough time to make a special day.

Overall, the process for making scheduled non-routine decisions involves consideration of situational cues and comparing activity cues, but it is also about calendaring, preparing, supporting and accommodating. The advanced notice for scheduled non-routine activities means that these activities are much less disruptive to routines and other non-routine activities. Scheduling them in advance helps couples support each other, makes support seeking outside the couple more certain and less costly, and allows time for preparations. Non-routine activities can

even be fun or special under the right circumstances. Parents, of course, look forward to their children's special events and want to attend them. My participants also expressed a desire to help out at work when asked and felt that work overflow activities, most of which are an expected part of the work they do, were untroublesome with advanced notice. Also, the majority of those in my sample who took on additional employment did so for enrichment rather than income and found it easy to fit in these additional work activities because the schedules were known in advance. While immediate, unscheduled activities left couples scrambling for the least problematic solution, scheduled activities were described as undisruptive, manageable, and even opportunities to look forward to:

> Couple 151 Amie and Tony:
> Amie, Director of Educational Programs: That's once a month and maybe four times a year, I have bigger events like grants or meetings. So it's also part of my work so extra time doesn't really have… so it's the perfect mix for now because he's more available than I am. Just on a regular basis, your work schedule is more flexible than mine. Except for maybe 4, 5 days a month, you have calls by night.
>
> Tony, Medical Technical Expert: Yeah and that is also something easy to manage. She knows her events well in advance, months or years. It's unlikely something last minute would come up…. My calls sometimes, they can be scheduled two days before they happen, but in her case, it's one year and she knows when she's going to an event, in which case I just write the times in my calendar and say guys I can't call anyone.
>
> Couple 291 Brad and Mariah:
> Brad (regarding his additional employment in retail sales): I worked at the game shop at the mall when I was in college, so I'm kind of in with those guys if you will…
>
> Question: So kind of like you're friends?
>
> Brad: Yeah
>
> Mariah: Not, kind of. They are.
>
> Brad: And, you know, I get my discount
>
> Question: And its fun?
>
> Brad: Yeah. And I get to borrow games.

The importance of frequency. In contrast to routines, which happen at the same time and same place daily or weekly, non-routine situations vary in frequency from once in a lifetime to quite frequent. And frequency matters. Frequency words were ubiquitous in couples' accounts of non-routine decision-making. For example, participants noted they rarely deal with sick kid calls because their children seldom get sick. It is worth noting here that the families in my study are generally healthy families (no family in the study had special needs, chronic disease, or unusual healthcare risks – the decision processes in those circumstances may not be the same as described here). For all types of work overflow, participants would qualify their answers with frequency words describing how often or unlikely situations or activities were to arise. Sometimes the descriptions were very specific, e.g., 'once a month in the evening and once a week for an hour after work' or 'about 25% of the time.' Most descriptions were vague, e.g., situations were described as rare, occasional, all the time, it has happened, etc. Overall, these assessments were subjective – something that happened monthly could be described as rare or common. No matter how often a situation recurred, couples seemed to use their subjective assessments of frequency to temper their responses to these various situations. A one-off request to attend an after-hours work event would be dealt with differently than a weekly request to do so. The novel requests would follow the processes described above. However, novel non-routine situations seem to be pretty rare. Couples may be more likely to encounter novel situations during anchoring transitions such as when a child starts daycare or school or when one member of the couple changes work roles. When non-routine activities happened frequently enough, couples changed their routines or their anchors to accommodate or prevent the activity or they formulated a plan that would allow them to make the decision in a way that would short cut the usual decision-process. These different ways of dealing with non-routine situations that happen with some frequency are described below.

Couples may (re)arrange their routines to accommodate a frequently occurring non-routine activity. For recurrent, scheduled work overflow or additional employment, this activity becomes part of the routine (e.g., 281 Helen has additional employment on Monday nights, so Travis always does pick-up and post pick-up family routines that night). When work overflow is an anticipated last minute activity but it doesn't recur with regularity, the work-family routine would likely be built in a way that accounts for that variability. For example, couples in which one spouse frequently, but unpredictably, had non-routine work overflow at the end of the day

and the other spouse rarely did, arranged their pick-up routines so that the more regularly available spouse took on that responsibility. With this arrangement, the spouse who is faced with a non-routine, last minute request to stay late at work can quickly say yes, because the answer to the question about what the non-routine activity interferes with is: nothing. This spouse is free to accept the work overflow whenever they deem it important or necessary to do so. If both spouses have frequent work overflow, they might share the responsibility for the pick-up routine such that either one can do it (and trade off whenever one needs to work late) or they may hire a babysitter to do pick-ups daily. In this way, the pick-ups element of the work-family routine does not interfere with extra work hours and the absence of one or both spouses does not interrupt the routine.

Couples may put a plan in place to deal with non-routine activities (Medved, 2004), particularly ones that cannot be accommodated by changing work-family routines. Many non-routine activities, scheduled or unscheduled, are not completely unexpected, they are ones couples have experienced in the past or anticipate having to deal with in the future. For the most part, people seem to expect and accept work overflow because of the variability they have in their workloads and work hours. And kids do get sick. Even if it does not happen often and even if one cannot predict the exact day on which it will occur, one can reasonably assume that if you have kids, they will get sick at some point. The couples I interviewed usually drew on past experiences and had a plan for how they would face decisions about frequent or likely to occur non-routine activities in the future. Even when couples had not experienced a specific decision situation before, they were likely to have a plan in place for when the situation arises. For example, 491 Shannon describes exactly what will happen if the daycare calls letting her know her son is sick. Her husband, commented “As you can tell by her response that has not happened yet.” She agreed “Yeah, that's the plan pretty much.” Also, 311 Roland explained that they have a designated safe neighbor for the children to go to if it ever happens that he and Cathy both get stuck late at work unexpectedly on the same day. An almost impossible circumstance given their dual situation, but imaginable, so they plan for it. When couples have these plans, they may skip the decision process outlined above, or parts of it, because they have already thought through the situation and most likely scenarios in advance. The plan may also be decision logic for making these decisions when they come up, rather than a definitive behavioral intention. The logic usually has to do with comparing activity cues regarding what each spouse has planned for the

time of the non-routine activity, but may also depend on transportation routines and who did it last time (fairness cue). Lastly, the frequency of a non-routine activity can also make the difference in the situation being a minor inconvenience vs. a recurring crisis. When couples are uncomfortable with the frequency with which certain non-routine situations occur, they may make anchoring decisions to decrease the frequency of the situation or eliminate it all together. Members of couples may change jobs when their current employment situation involves unacceptably frequent work overflow. Or couples may change daycares if they find that theirs closes unexpectedly all too often.

Summary

The initial processes that emerged about how couples make routine and non-routine decisions were pieced together through clues in the accounts of couples describing many different decisions situations. Not all couples talked about all steps in the decision flow diagrams or elaborated on each step in each decision situation, but the juxtaposition of stories from all couples allowed for whole diagrams to be pieced together. Couples mainly talked about their sets of situational cues informing their decisions. They occasionally mentioned role-related factors as cues among other cues. They described comparing activities, scheduling, calendaring and preparing in non-routine situations. They also described the frequency of different decision-making situations and the likelihood with which different scenarios manifest. The processes that emerged appeared to follow a fairly deliberate approach, although as mentioned earlier, couples probably enacted the steps in a heuristic and nonconscious manner when following the flow that the diagrams suggest. Literature on the heuristics of decision-making could shed some light on the processes observed for daily decision-making in routine and non-routine situations. Gigerenzer and Gaissmaier (2011) described two types of heuristics that may explain the initial step in deciding how a new routine or a change to a routine will fit within the existing anchoring structure and routines. The first is called the ‘take the first’ heuristic; this heuristic applies when a decision maker “chooses the first alternative that comes to mind” (p. 462). For example, members of couples might scan their situational cues and existing routines to look for the place that a new routine can fit. As soon as they find that place, the decision is made. The second heuristic is called the ‘tallying’ heuristic; this heuristic applies when the decision maker searches through decision cues in any order and chooses “the alternative that is favored by more cues” (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011, p. 469). In this case, members of couples may consider

multiple decision cues and decide to make the addition to the routine in the place that is suggested by the combination of the cues. One or both of these heuristic processes might represent the nonconscious, yet cognitive process of surveying situational cues to figure out where a new element of a routine will fit into the existing routines and structures. It is also possible that some decisions about routines call for a 'take the first' heuristic, whereas others call for a 'tallying' heuristic or that different couples use different heuristics. For example, some couples may tend toward the simpler 'take the first' approach and other couples may make a more thorough comparison of each spouse's cues in a 'tallying' approach.

Non-routine decisions processes look more like the heuristic called 'fast and frugal trees' (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011). This form of heuristic, which is particularly useful in understanding decisions in situations with natural frequencies, represents a quick ways of sorting through decision cues in a predetermined order. The search is stopped when the cues lead to an exit and an object (or situation) can be classified. It is likely that the flow diagrams identified for non-routine decisions, particularly the process for immediate non-routine decisions, represent fast and frugal trees used for sorting through situational and activity cues. First, non-routine decisions seem to have a natural frequency in that there are most likely occurring scenarios (represented in the terminal bubbles in upper portion of the first part of the flow diagrams) and the likelihood of each scenario (likelihood of ending up at more distal terminals) diminishes as one comes to the end of the flow diagram. For both types of non-routine decisions, the lower part of the diagrams signify paths that were articulated as low likelihood or relatively infrequently occurring. Second, the non-routine decision process is taken in order (for the most part) and exited when the situation is classified. No further consideration is necessary once the decision maker has come to a conclusion.

In contrast to the rational decision-making perspective, couples rarely seem to take a utility-maximizing approach to making daily work-family decisions, as they did not appear to consider alternatives to the choices they made, nor did they appear to evaluate decision options against criteria to determine which decision had the highest expected value. Instead, these decision situations appeared to involve a scanning of situational and sometimes activity cues and then the implementation of one solution. This approach is consistent with role-based decision models, which see decision-making as a process of situational recognition and role enactment. The decision maker first surveys the situation in order to place him or herself in it (perhaps in the

heuristic approaches described above). The second step involves invoking behavioral rules that one should enact given the situation (March, 1994). These rules come from identity-based and socially prescribed role expectations (Weber et al., 2004). From this perspective, activity cues, particularly how they are described in immediate non-routine situations, may act as a special class of situational cues because their purpose is to help identify the situation. Role-related cues, which seemed to be given special consideration, are the role expectations that members of couples hold for themselves in the situations they identify. Once members of couples recognize situations related to their roles, these then become opportunities to enact spousal and parental role expectations. The fact that role-related cues are mentioned infrequently when couples describe their decisions is also consistent with the appropriateness framework of decision-making. As described by Weber et al. (2004), the second step involving role enactment through the application of rules of appropriateness is largely nonconscious, heuristic and automatic. People are not always aware they are invoking their role identities in these situations, let alone the rules they govern (Weber et al., 2004; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). However, these rules do become apparent when one analyzes multiple decisions both within and across multiple couples. It is also worth noting that the process for scheduled non-routine decisions seem to have role-based aspects (i.e. the initial part of the decision process may describe situational recognition and role-based enactment) as well as more rational aspects (i.e. calendaring, support seeking and preparing may involve the consideration and judgment of alternatives and utility maximizing choice alongside role-based assumptions).

Up to this point, my analysis proceeded very closely to what couples said about developing routines and making decisions in non-routine situations. Couples, however, seemed to leave a lot unsaid. Through the process of analyzing each decision situation independently, I noticed that each couple maintained a consistency and patterning to their decisions beyond that imposed by the situational cues and anchoring structures they described. For example, one couple may invoke the fairness cue across multiple decision situations and find ‘fair’ solutions in decision situations even when they did not mention this as a cue. Fairness might happen even when situational cues discourage it. In another couple, one spouse may take on all routines and non-routine activities related to childcare, whereas the other spouse would be given free license to say ‘yes’ to any and all work overflow activities. This may be true even when the situational cues from their work roles are pretty similar.

Further, when comparing across couples, I realized that each decision situation resulted in only a small set of possible decisions or choices, such that couples could be grouped together by what they had decided to do in each situation. For example, for pick-up decisions, one group of couples had one spouse who took responsibility for the pick-up routine every day, one group had one spouse who usually does the pick-ups most of the time, another group traded off daily and yet another sought outside help so that neither spouse maintained this responsibility. What's more, couples seemed to group together not just in the choices they made for one decision but across decisions and thus tended to group together with other couples in a more general way, not just in specific situations. For the most part, couples who had an 'always' pick-up spouse generally had the same spouse doing drop-offs and responding to sick kid calls. On the other hand, couples who traded off pick-ups also traded sick kid calls.

There were three interrelated reasons for these groupings. First, couples seemed to vary with respect to the situational and activity cues to which they attended and the role-related cues they used. For example, relational cues and parent identity cues were used by some of the same couples consistently across decisions. Although many couples did not mention these cues, they were important in swaying decisions in a direction consistent with the cue for the couples who did articulate them. Second, there seemed to be couples in which the spouses took on very different work and family roles and other couples in which spouses' roles overlapped to the point that they were interchangeable in what they brought to the work-family system. Third, couples had made different anchoring decisions over time, which meant that their current situations created different starting points for making decisions. Rather than having 29 different starting points in the anchoring structures and situational cues framing day-to-day decisions, the couples in my sample fell into a small number of groupings based on how one spouse's anchoring decisions related to the other's and how they saw their roles vis-à-vis one another. So, while all the couples seemed to follow the same decision processes, they enter those decision flow diagrams from different places.

I also noticed different couples were sensitive to the frequency of non-routine situations in ways that other couples were not. Whereas one set of couples may consider frequent late nights at the office, scheduled or last minute, normal for either spouse or just one of them, others felt that work activities outside normal work hours were intrusions unto their family time and needed to be eliminated. Some couples shared the responsibility of responding to sick kid calls

so that neither spouse would max out their sick leave or gain a negative reputation as an absentee employee, whereas other couples relied on anchors or changed anchors so that one spouse could easily respond to these situations because the other could not. Still other couples sought out sources of paid support which could alleviate the frequency of their own involvement in sick kid situations or allow them to invariably say yes to work overflow.

Looking at the decisions couples had reached in different situations, the patterns of decision-making over situations and across couples and how couples responded to frequency of non-routine events, made it clear that not all couples approach these decisions in the same way though there were these general processes that seemed to apply to everyone. There seemed to be something beyond a history of anchoring decisions and differences in situational cues underlying the differences in couple's decisions. These realizations brought to the fore the issue of identity, which up to this point had seemed to be in the background of their decision processes. My second research question pertained to the role of identity construal in the way couples carry out their work-family responsibilities. While the fine-grained analysis of decision situations revealed some important role-related cues, the issue of identity, on the whole, remained behind the scenes in discussions of decisions. The next chapter explores identity through an analysis of data from the second interviews in which parenting, family and work roles were discussed directly. While members of couples infrequently discussed their roles as cues in their daily decisions, when asked directly about their role identities, they articulated meanings, expectations and ideals for their roles that aligned well with the decisions they made, including both routine and non-routine decisions.

CHAPTER 6

Findings for Decision-Making by Couple Type

Through the process of analyzing each decision situation independently, I noticed that certain sets of couples seemed to group together in their decision-making and choices beyond the fact that most couples followed the same general decision processes. Role expectations and identity construals, particularly those associated with family and parenting roles, appeared to be the underlying reason for the ways couples grouped together in their anchoring and daily decisions and the ways members of couples related to one another vis-à-vis their roles. Couples had made different anchoring decisions, leaving them with different anchoring structures and situational cues to inform their decision processes. Role identities appear to play an important part in shaping anchoring decisions. Couples seemed to build their anchoring structures in an identity consistent way, which also meant they could achieve routines and make choices consistent with their family role identities. Although couples did not consider alternatives to the choices they made in daily decisions, they did talk about considering alternatives choices in making anchoring decisions (e.g., considering several jobs in a job search) and judging those alternatives based on criteria they had set out for making the choice. Some criteria were financial and logistical, but members of couples also described the consideration of their roles and the impact of alternative choices on how they would meet their own role expectations. Further, I noticed that in some couples, members took on different work and family roles and this was due to differences in the role expectations they held. In other couples, members shared responsibilities and were fairly interchangeable in the ways they carried out their roles because the role expectations of one member were similar or identical to those of the other member of the couple. As discussed in the Method section, a typology of couples based on the combination of each spouse's family role construal was published during the course of my data analysis (i.e., Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). I used this typology as the basis for analyzing the identity data for two reasons. First, I noticed in my analysis of family, parenting and work identities and role expectations that the patterns of choices for the different groups of couples aligned mostly with their roles in the family, not with the meanings and expectations they had for themselves at work. Though the analysis proceeded with an in depth look at identities in both the family and the work domain, there seemed to be no patterns involving work identities that fit with the patterns in the data, at least not beyond what couples had described as situational cues from work. Second, the

typology is based on deeply held family role construals rather than surface-level characteristics such as work-hour arrangements or employment status (e.g., Hall & MacDermid, 2009; Harrington et al., 2013; Moen & Yu, 2000; Sweet & Moen, 2006) and, theoretically, role identities influence behaviors and decisions (Burke & Stets, 2009; Lobel, 1991; Thoits, 1991). A typology based on role identities and construals accounts for the behaviors that manifest on the surface, but also underlying motives for those behaviors. The Masterson and Hoobler (2015) couple typology is described below, followed by the method for categorizing couples in my study into this typology. Lastly, I explore the different anchoring and daily decisions made by different types of couples.

According to the Masterson and Hoobler (2015) typology, a family role or identity can be construed in one of three ways and the resulting typology of couples is the combination of each spouse's family role construal. For an individual, the meaning and expectations (construal) of the family role can either be care-based, career-based or both career and care-based. Individuals with a care-based family-role construal self-define their family roles in terms of expectations for meeting family members' physical and emotional needs. They tend to emphasize caregiving tasks, which assure the health and safety of family members, such as planning and making meals, cleaning and organizing the home, providing minor medical care as well as nurturing tasks, such as providing emotional support and recognizing and meeting individual family members' divergent needs. In my data, I also found that individuals with care-based role construals also talked about structuring daily family routines, planning and scheduling growth and development experiences for the family or family members, and managing household calendars. Individuals with career-based family-role construals self-define their family roles in terms of expectations for meeting the financial needs of their families. They tend to emphasize providing stability and security, health benefits and a certain type of lifestyle for the family through economic resources. Beyond this provider role expectation, individuals with career-based family construals also tend to see themselves as role models who exhibit a certain work ethic or who have achieved professional success. I would add that they also see themselves as the guides or teachers of the life values they would like to instill in their children. The third category is a construal of the family role that includes both career-based and care-based role expectations. This category includes individuals who see themselves as both nurturers and caregivers, as well as providers and role models.

Putting it together at the couple level, Masterson and Hoobler (2015) proposed five couple types. There are two couple types that are asymmetrical in their role construals, meaning that spouses have role construals that are different from one another, and three that are symmetrical in that spouses share the same role construals. One asymmetrical type, which Masterson and Hoobler labelled 'traditional,' is a couple in which the wife has a care-based family identity and the husband has a career-based family identity. In these couples, it is expected that mom takes on the majority of caregiving responsibilities in the family, whereas dad emphasizes career-based activities and takes on fewer responsibilities at home. I adopt the term neo-traditional in this thesis, based on the work of Moen and Yu (2000), because none of the couples in my study are so traditional that mom stays at home and does not work; rather, all of my couples have two working members. In fact, it is hypothetically possible that the wife in a 'neo-traditional' couple could out earn her spouse (making her the primary breadwinner), though there was no couple like this in my sample. Evidence from several studies suggests that neo-traditional couples are the most common type of dual-earner couple (Clarkberg & Moen 2000; Becker & Moen 1999; Moen & Yu, 2000); they made up 24.1% of my sample. The other asymmetrical type presented by Masterson and Hoobler is the 'non-traditional' couple. This couple-type is one in which the male spouse includes a care-based identity in his family role construal and takes on the majority of the caregiving responsibilities in the household, whereas the wife construes her family role primarily in terms of career-based expectations and takes on much less of the caregiving role at home. Moen and Yu (2000) called these cross-over couples because their roles are the reverse of traditionally held gender role norms in society. Two couples in my study (6.9%) were non-traditional.

The remaining couple types are symmetrical in the way they construe their roles. The 'outsourced' couple is one in which both members of the couple have career-based family identities and neither one is particularly care-oriented (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). Because of this, they typically need to purchase services to cover care-based responsibilities at home. My sample includes four couples of this type (13.8% of the cases). The 'family first' couple is one in which both spouses have care-based family identities and neither one is particularly career-based (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). For couples of this type, which comprised 10.3% of my sample, both spouses are heavily involved in caregiving, even though they also both work outside the home. The last couple type is called the 'egalitarian' couple because both spouses incorporate

both care-based and career-based expectations into their family role construals and these couples are most likely to align with the notion of sharing both home and work responsibilities equally (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). Thirteen couples in my sample were placed in the egalitarian category (44.8% of the cases). I should note that although Masterson and Hoobler (2015) used the broad label 'family' role construal and expectations, I found that people in my study talked about caring, nurturing, role modeling and providing only with respect to parenting role expectations and construals. Participants said that 'family' included immediate as well as extended family members and held more general expectations about their roles as 'family members,' such as to be there for each other when needed and be involved in each other's lives. To be consistent with Masterson and Hoobler (2015), however, I use the phrases family role construal and family identity (which encompass family and parenting role expectations).

As noted in the methods, the entire transcripts were coded for themes connected to family and parenting identities. Most of the data about these identities came from answers to the specific questions in the individual interviews pertaining to role meanings and role expectations. The majority of what participants talked about when they talked about family and parenting identities were specific role expectations they held for themselves in these roles. Table 5 shows the coding scheme for these role expectations grouped by the themes care-based family construal and career-based family construal. To categorize couples into the typology, I reviewed the coded transcripts for occurrences of codes pertaining to role expectations which aligned with the care and career-based role construals suggested by Masterson and Hoobler (2015). Individuals who talked about care-based role construals or role expectations such as caregiving, nurturing and taking care of the home in discussions of their parent and family roles but made little mention of providing financially for the family or acting as a role models were labeled care-based. Individuals who described providing, role modeling and value instilment, but said little about caregiving or nurturing were labeled career-based. Individuals who claimed both caregiving and nurturing role expectations as well as provider and role model role expectations were labeled as career- and care-based. By matching the role construals of one spouse with the other's, couples were placed into the typology based on their combination of role construals. Take for example couple 261, Ana talked about caregiving, keeping the family calendar and planning family outings, structuring the daily routine of the family, nurturing family members, planning for growth and development experiences of family members. She also mentioned role modeling to

her children in the context of enjoying her multiple roles; i.e. “making sure I’m happy in what I’m doing so that I can be a good role model for them.” Given that the bulk of what she talked about pertained to a caregiving and nurturing, she was placed in the category of care-based family construal according to the Masterson and Hoobler (2015) categorization. Her husband, Jake, talked about providing for the family, role modeling the ethics of hard work and as a father figure, providing children with guidance and growth and being available and involved whenever possible. Jake was categorized as having a career-based family construal because most of what he talked about as his role in the family had to do with providing, role modeling and guiding, not day-to-day caregiving and nurturing. Based on this approach, I was easily able to categorize 23 couples in my sample into one of the five couple types described above. Couple 261, Ana and Jake were placed in the neo-traditional category. If both spouses in a couple construed their family identity in terms of caring, they were labeled a family first couple, and so on.

Table 5

Coding Scheme for Family and Parenting Role Expectations

Theme	Code	Definition
Care-based Role Expectations	Calendaring	Keeping track of dates, organizing and updating the family calendar
	Caregiving	Feeding, cooking, washing, cleaning, keeping children and environment safe, doing daily care tasks, providing minor medical care
	Involved	Being there (as opposed to being absent), being actively part of the activities or routines but not integral to them
	Meal planning	Preparing meals, planning for meals, preparing meals in advance
	My responsibility	My kids are my responsibility
	Nurture	Emotional caregiving, loving, emotionally supporting, also monitoring family members in terms of knowing how they are feeling and what interests they have
	Planning outings	Planning the details of a family outing, desiring an outing to be a certain way, perhaps ritualizing an outing
	Shuttling	Transporting family members to and from activities
	Structuring daily routines	Planning, maintaining, or enforcing routines
	Growth	Planning and scheduling personal growth and development activities and learning of family members
Career-based Role Expectations	Guide	Teaching, coaching, mentoring children, raising children with certain values in mind, monitoring their choices or activities so that they align with values
	Intellectual stimulation	Using creative or strategic thinking, cognitive challenge, need for challenge
	Provider	Provide financially for the family, assure financial security and lifestyle
	Role model	Set an example
	Available (Auxiliary)	Being there in case you are needed, being available to help when called upon, used as a substitute or on reserve in case of need

Six couples (20.68%) were difficult to place into the typology based solely on what they said directly about their role construals. For these couples, I needed to review their transcripts more closely looking for all the various places they described their own roles and their spouses' roles. This would usually clarify whether spouses emphasized caring/nurturing, providing/role modeling or both in their role construals. Sometimes I also needed to look at gender role beliefs because those usually corresponded to how couples fit into the typology. Interestingly, the couples that did not fit readily into the typology seem to express contradictions or mixed sentiments about their roles. For example, 251 Doug sees himself as having a more career-based family identity (provider/role model) and expressed more traditional, gendered beliefs about the roles of men and women in society. However, he was involved in the day-to-day care of the children as well, which he said is partly because he and his wife have twins and this is double the work. At the same time, he has also sought help from outside the couple so that caregiving was distributed among a cadre of babysitters and a catering service. His wife, Jill, seemed to incorporate career and care into her family role construal, and expressed more modern beliefs about the equal roles that men and women should play in society, but a closer analysis of Jill's data suggested that she tends to emphasize education, instilment of values and role modeling in her family role expectations over day-to-day caregiving. Taking all of this into consideration, this couple was classified as outsourced.

It is worth noting that the two-mom couple and two-dad couple in the sample were both categorized as egalitarian because members of both those couples incorporated care and career into their family role construals. Although derived in the context of heterosexual couples, the Masterson and Hoobler (2015) typology can easily accommodate same-sex couples because the typology is based on the combination of the spouse's internally held family role construals and expectations. Same sex couples with assymmetrical role expectations would likely fit the non-traditional category and symmetrical couples could be egalitarian, outsourced or family first depending on their combination of role construals.

Once all the couples were categorized, I reanalyzed the decision situations by couple type. In the section that follows, I summarize the anchoring decisions, daily decisions, gender beliefs and approaches to communication surrounding work-family decisions for each couple type. As noted earlier, the daily decision-making of couples is structured by anchoring decisions they have made in the past; for this reason, the analysis of each couple type begins with a brief

discussion of their anchors and, if relevant, a history of their recent anchoring decisions. I then describe how each couple type makes daily decisions and the predominant decision cues used in their decision processes. A table of decision cues by couple types is presented in Appendix G.

Gender role beliefs also seemed to underlie different approaches to decision-making and these are discussed briefly for each couple type. Other studies have made this assumption (e.g., Powell & Greenhaus, 2012; Westman, Brough, & Kalliath, 2009), but lack the empirical data to support it. Data in my study that can be brought to bear on this issue came from a question I had asked each spouse in the context of their individual interviews. Specifically: "Is there a difference between a mother and a father?" Interestingly, couples were very much aligned in the answers they gave with regard to this question. Whereas there are two main ways to see gender roles – either men and women have different roles or they do not – different types of couples contextualized their beliefs or made small adaptations to this main assessment in different ways.

Communication was also an important part of the stories people told about routine and non-routine decisions. Because of this, I looked to see if groups of couples differed in their communications and I discuss my observations about how they differed. From my survey data, it is worth noting that members of all couple types seemed to be equally satisfied with the way they balance work and family as a couple (an average rating 5.73 out of 7, with a range by couples type from 5.38 to 6.00). Also, members of all couple types rated their work roles as less central than their family and parenting roles.

What struck me at the end of all this was that different types of couples seem to have a different overarching decision rule when making anchoring decisions, as well as decisions about routines and non-routine events. This rule was like the North Star, or a guiding light for all of their decision-making processes, and I observed that these guiding lights emerge from the family roles that individuals occupy and are based on the expectations and meanings that define those roles. These guiding rules are rules of appropriateness or guidelines for role appropriate behavior (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004); they emanate from coupledom, guide anchoring and daily decisions at the work-family interface, and answer the question: 'what does a couple like us do in a situation like this?'. For each couple type, I have listed and explained the appropriateness rule that, in the context of their role construals, seems to underlie their decision-making. Table 6 offers a brief summary of information pertaining to each couple type.

Table 6

Overview of Five Couple Types

Couple Type	Avg. combined work hours	Guiding Rule: What does a couple like us do in a situation like this?	Exemplary Quote	Gender Role Beliefs	SWLB
Neo-traditional (Career-based husband; Care-based wife)	66.43	We each have our role to play.	"And that was sort of the deal from the get-go, when we had our first child. I was fine, I'm more of a home person, I tend to the kids, I'm more maternal and more, you know, so I had no problem leaving work to come get the kids when they were sick.... So it worked out well so that he could stay at work and get his stuff done and I would come home to take care of the kids (241 Francine)."	Men and women have different roles: Men are providers and women are caregivers/nurturers.	6.00
Non-traditional (Career-based wife; Care-based Husband)	86.50	One of us has to make family a priority.	"The one thing that people always told me before I had children is that when you have like two parents, there's always gonna be one parent that has to give. You can't have both parents that are…100% your job and 100% at home… there always has to be one spouse who is more flexible (231 Sheila)."	Men and women are equals and interchangeable in their roles, however we have a unconventional situation.	5.75

Couple Type	Avg. combined work hours	Guiding Rule: What does a couple like us do in a situation like this?	Exemplary Quote	Gender Role Beliefs	SWLB
Egalitarian (Both career- and care-based)	81.60	We keep it even.	"We both respect and enjoy our jobs and if there's work to do, it needs to be done but at the same time, we have a sick child at home and we need to take care of that too so we try to juggle that back and forth and keep it equal as we can… most of us feel that our work is maybe not equally but close to equally as important as our own lives because it really is what we do the other half of our lives (281 Travis)." "…respecting each other's jobs was one thing, knowing that your job is different than mine but equally as hard…. just respect for each other's time and what both of us do (281 Helen)."	Men and women are equals and interchangeable in their roles, we must share equally.	5.69
Outsourced (Both career-based)	85.75	We honor our work commitments. We have good help.	"I've built up enough in my career that I can be a part of those special events, so I'm just trying to tear myself away from work, as much as that's hard, clients depend on you right, just to be a part of some of those things that you just won't be able to do again when they're this age (411 Patty)." "We provide our nanny with a vehicle, there's car seats in there and everything, so she takes our kids out to the library and events and gymnastics and she can pick-up and drop-off the eldest and just put the youngest in the car, so it's pretty good (411 Jensen)."	Men and women do not have different roles.	5.38

Couple Type	Avg. combined work hours	Guiding Rule: What does a couple like us do in a situation like this?	Exemplary Quote	Gender Role Beliefs	SWLB
Family First (Both care-based)	72.00	We always give priority to family.	"We also have to consider that we want to keep priority to our family first. And after we can always try to find other professional opportunities to fit into the things that we like most… it's like we consider at this time to give proudly to our kids and our family and later, so that they should grow up through a certain stage before we can actually proceed and do something like move or progress in our field (361 Gabriel)."	Men and women are equals and interchangeable in their roles, we must share the 'mother' role.	5.83

Note. Average combined work hours are per couple per week. SWLB is satisfaction with work-life balance measured at the couple level, measured on a 7 point Likert scale e.g., 'I am satisfied with how my spouse and I...'

Neo-traditional Couples

Anchors. Neo-traditional couples are ones with one spouse whose role is caregiving and nurturing (the wife) and one spouse whose role is providing and role modeling (the husband). The work roles of neo-traditional spouses were very different from one another. Generally, care-based wives were employed part-time and/or self-employed in flexible positions, which allowed them to mold their schedules around the needs and schedules of their family members. Wives in this group worked 24.14 hours a week on average (with a range of 5-40 hours per week), by far the lowest number of hours of any (sub)group in the study, and they rarely had work activities outside regular work hours. The career histories of these women included extended maternity leaves, exits to the workforce and/or self-employment, including operating a home daycare when their children were young, and scaling back work commitments and hours. Of the seven neo-traditional couples I interviewed, only one care-based spouse worked full-time. She had recently scaled back her work from a management position requiring 50 plus hours a week because, she said (391 Evelyn), that job was "taking over our lives" and "our lives were falling apart."

Spouses who emphasized career-based family construals in neo-traditional couples worked full-time and had always done so. They worked an average of 42.29 hours per week (with a range of 36-45 hours) and also had longer commutes than their wives. They tended to have high-level jobs in managerial or director level positions, which are the kinds of jobs that offer less day-to-day flexibility and that entail variable work hours, after-hours events or phone calls and some work travel. Over half had taken a promotion or changed jobs to advance their careers in their recent career histories. Only one had taken a new job to reduce work hours and work overflow.

Daily decision-making. The care-based spouses (wives) in neo-traditional couples all held the family construal and role expectations to take on the family caregiving tasks and they were each paired with a husband who did not see these activities as part of his family role, but rather held the family construal and role expectations to be a provider and role model. Situations involving caregiving were often "decided" on by the care-based wife, whereas situations involving breadwinning were often "decided" on by the career-based husband. Recalling the discussion about manifestations of decision-making at the level of the couple, neo-traditional couples seem to take a more independent approach to making daily work-family decisions and rely on fewer decision cues to identify a situation as one that requires caregiving or one that

upholds breadwinning. The asymmetry of their role construals means that spouses in these couples attend to different cues in work-family decision situations (Weber et al. 2004) and rely on fewer cues overall for decision-making because once a situation is recognized as a care responsibility, for example, the wife would only attend to her situational cues which allow her to easily respond and mostly ignore the fact that his situational cues might be quite similar (although they usually were not).

From examining patterns in how these couples make all kinds of daily decisions, it became apparent that the wives saw any situation related to taking care of the children, the home or the activities of the family as their domain – as decisions for which they have sole responsibility. These women invariably take on the majority of the routine caregiving responsibilities such as drop-offs and pick-ups, as well as family-related non-routine decisions. Even though only a few of these care-based spouses actually said that they *wanted* to be the parent to respond to sick kid calls, they had set up their work structures so that they are well positioned to take on non-routine activities in the family domain (e.g., having flexible and less demanding jobs) and they recognize these non-routine family situations as times to enact their caregiving role. Likewise, although parent identity was infrequently cited directly as a decision cue for work overflow decisions, neo-traditional spouses with care-based family construals see most work overflow situations as detracting from their ability to provide care to their families and usually say 'no' to overflow. These women had made anchoring decisions to reduce or remove altogether their own work overflow. In the rare instances when care-based spouses in neo-traditional couples have to work outside of regular work hours, their work structures are set up so that it usually entails a scheduled meeting known in advance, which could typically be scheduled sufficiently early or late that it does not change the work-family routines for which they are responsible. When these meetings do interfere with a drop-off or pick-up routine, these couples would often seek support from family members or babysitters to cover the routine and caregiving responsibilities. The career-based spouse was rarely asked to take over this responsibility or, if he was asked, it was a process of instructing him about the routine and making preparations to simplify the routine so that he could act as substitute in the routines in which he normally did not take part (e.g., listing out the time-schedule, giving driving directions, preparing food, laying out children's clothing).

In contrast, the career-based husbands rarely gave any consideration to caregiving as being part of their responsibilities and they were often absent or excluded from routine and non-routine decisions involving caregiving. They were rarely involved in caregiving tasks and they placed emphasis on their careers as a way to contribute to their families. Even though few articulated that identity was the reason for this, they had set up their work structures so that they were largely unavailable to take on a caregiving role to their children (i.e., they worked long and/or variable work hours, had long commutes, and scheduled and last minute work overflow). Neo-traditional couples have one priority career (his), which also tends to be the primary income. Because of this, dads in neo-traditional couples see daily decisions as opportunities to secure immediate or future financial resources. Career prioritizing played an important role in routine and non-routine decision-making. For instance, in scheduling his work hours, the career-spouse usually aligns them with the norms in his organization and needs of his job (not the caregiving needs or routines of his kids). This is because protecting and advancing the work of the career-spouse (and thus protecting his ability to provide for the family) means that he should be decoupled enough from the family routine to be able to work whatever hours his employer expects him to and to work whenever work needs to be done. These couples said explicitly or implied that it would not be possible for the spouse with the priority career to do pick-ups because he would arrive at the pick-up spot too late in the evening and it would take away from his (flex)ability to stay late in the office as needed or to attend work-related events. Although spouses with career-based family identities in neo-traditional couples may want to be home with their families in the evening, whether they are there or not does not change what is happening at home. Nor do they expect themselves to be part of their day-to-day care responsibilities of the family. Career-based spouses often expressed their role in the work-family routines as the person who is available if (and only if) they are called upon; someone who is usually but not always there, someone to whom tasks are delegated, but not someone who is integral to the routines. The situations that best allow career-based spouses to express their family role construals were ones that assured their ability to provide for the family like putting in long work hours, accepting overtime work for pay or acquiescing to work overflow to demonstrate commitment to work and secure future resources. The same situations also provided them opportunities to role model such values as work ethic, status and ambition.

As shown in the quotes below the decisions about working outside regular work hours are quite different for the care-spouse compared to the career-spouse in neo-traditional couples:

> Couple 111 Shani and Shane:
> Shani (care-spouse), Teacher: It's very, very different than I when I was a teacher before I had kids, I was at work morning, noon and night, weekends… I mean I took on a lot before I had kids, I'm more picky now because I can't coach a team because who's gonna' pick up my kids? … I did everything. But now I have to be more selective, there's no way I could do anything after school, cus, as you can tell, he is not available... it's all me. I don't want my kids at daycare until 6 o'clock at night.
>
> Shane (career-spouse), Project Financial Manager: For me, usually, you do the pick-up, take care of the kids or whatever, it's just a matter of... if there is something urgent at work needing my attention and couldn't wait then I would just do it, not like it happens every week at my job. Usually they issue a corporate time calendar well in advance so it's usually pretty predictable.
>
> Shani: This time, at the beginning of the month, guaranteed two or three nights he'll be home late.
>
> Shane: It's rare that I would come home past nine.
>
> Couple 121 Jamie and Nick:
> Jamie (care-spouse), Self-employed Artist,: I'm pretty happy, I mean I'm lucky that I get to be a full-time mom and that I can be there at 2:30 to pick up my kids, I wouldn't have it any other way. So I guess to be there to pick them up, and bring them home, and give them the milk and cookies and still have a career. But I have tried to create working hours for myself. Well, I have told clients that have contacted me at 7 o'clock to record something, like I'll say I'll do it the first time, but I kind of, you know my hours are kind of like 8-4, and I have one client that said 'oh really, we work all the time', like he didn't get that. But I've learned that I have to have those boundaries, although most of my clients, my reoccurring clients do respect that, so it's rare.
>
> Nick (career-spouse), Director of Product Management: We've actually discussed that between the two of us and that the job is new, and its high paying enough and it's a high enough position that unfortunately it has to take precedence, so my wife and kids are more or less aware of that now, so if that's the case, I call and I say I'm going to be home late tonight. And Jamie has basically reluctantly agree to not be making me feel guilty, so it's more or less rare from what I can tell that it will happen… she made it clear that she's not going to make me feel rushed to get home, because I felt very compelled to be here, to not make her life any harder and to not make the kids feel like they're missing me in any way. Or like I'm not there.

Couple 391 Evelyn and Robert:
Evelyn (care-spouse), Business Banker: Oh, it has happened… Yeah, but that's rare for me… And now I took this new job because of the flexibility...

Robert (career-spouse), Mortgage Market Manager: Her [old] job was typically, I mean truthfully kind of a hybrid between…

Evelyn: The insane asylum and…

Robert: No, between becoming stay-at-home and taking the next step. It's like 'do you want to go balls-to-the-wall career and become the district manager and work 50 hours a week, and essentially live [at work]…. Is the difference of pay going to be worth an even further investment away?

Evelyn: Yeah, did we really want to be those parents?

Robert: [Before Evelyn changed jobs] I felt like I was penalized, because she worked 50 hours a week, she was dog tired when she got home, she wanted to bitch about stuff I didn't care about for half an hour, cause I wanted her to quit for two years anyways, so for the less money she was making, and for the fact that her job was more demanding as far as her having to be there, that it not only intruded on my job, but it also required me to do an awful lot more at home because I saw how beat up she was… Yeah this will probably be one of the most key things that I've said on the entire thing that probably resonates to a lot of people, that's super chauvinistic sounding but it's honest to god true. In the environment that we are in today, if the man is expected to be the primary provider, and the woman chooses to have a work and career also, but that work and career forces the person who is not only expected to be the provider to bend and mold their schedule and also pick up a ton of slack at home, that's not fair… and I'm happy with the amount of work that I have to do at home, now, with the job that she has, because she can still do 65 or 70% of it, and be happy being at work. And I can pick up a little extra slack and make a little of the extra money at work, but still be helpful to her at home. And we both kind of have our own identity both in and out of the home.

Gender identity. As one would expect, members of neo-traditional couples believe men and women have different roles at home. Men are providers and women are caregivers and nurturers. These couples also expressed the belief that children should be cared for by their mothers, particularly at a very young age, not by other caregivers.

Couple 401 Tim and Sallie:
Tim, Chiropractor: Overall the way we approach it is the mother would have more of a nurturing role and the father have more of the provider role."

Sallie, Medical Assistant: I'm glad for the different roles, I think that men and women, just by nature, provide different things.

Communication. Communication was not a prominent theme for neo-traditional couples. Generally, discussions were not necessary for many of their decisions because the designated spouse assumes the responsibility for the domain in question without much discourse; that is, the care-spouse cares for the children and the home, whereas the career-spouse takes care of his career and the breadwinning. These are what Sillars and Kalbfleisch (1989) call silent arrangements because decisions are made non-reflectively and implicitly, through unspoken agreements and role enactments. According to their research, silent arrangements are particularly likely in couples with shared understanding of their expectations, assumptions and experiences. Care-based spouses did mention communication when there were going to be changes to the routine in the rare event they needed to work outside of regular work hours and they talked about how they provided details about those routines for others who would need to recreate them (particularly salient to care-based spouses because they themselves are solely responsible for and integral to the routines). Care-based spouses also talked about communication with respect to work-family boundaries, in terms of setting their hours around the children's schedules and communicating to clients and other stakeholders that they have firm boundaries around those work hours. Career-based spouses talked about communication in terms of calling or texting to let the other spouse know when they would be working late. They also mentioned getting last minute communications from work outside of regular work hours (e.g., request for overtime, impromptu phone meetings). When career-based spouses talked about communications related to boundary setting, they discussed setting norms for themselves about regular and irregular work hours which amounted to fairly weak boundaries at home and informing other stakeholders about those norms (e.g., negotiating an alternative schedule to leave for early train except when there are late afternoon meetings).

Appropriateness rule. The guiding rule for neo-traditional couples is 'we each have our role to play.' These couples feel that each spouse has unique skills and interests, and each makes a unique contribution to the work-family system. Based on that, these couples divide their roles so that the wife is responsible for caregiving and the husband is responsible for providing in the home domain. It can be an efficient division of labor, as 391 Robert points out "the breadwinner/homemaker model makes a lot of sense because then both domains are well cared for…" In support of that notion, neo-traditional couples appeared to have higher work-to-family and family-to-work facilitation than any other category of couples in the study, along with fairly

low levels of work-family conflicts. Perhaps having each spouse identify with a different primary family role and supporting each other in those roles allows work and family to be allies rather than enemies (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). It could also be that, because this couple type has the lowest average combined work hours (66.43 combined hours per week), they have more resources in the balance for the home domain.

Exemplary quote:

> 241 Francine, Self-employed Accountant: And that was sort of the deal from the get-go, when we had our first child. I was fine, I'm more of a home person, I tend to the kids, I'm more maternal and more, you know, so I had no problem leaving work to come get the kids when they were sick... So it worked out well so that he could stay at work and get his stuff done and I would come home to take care of the kids.

There is a strong sense in neo-traditional couples that how spouses see themselves in their family roles (having primary responsibility for childcare vs. primary responsibility for breadwinning) and the larger decisions they have made over time, even before they had kids, have shaped work-family decision-making. For care-based spouses, the stories are about making themselves available in the afternoon and evening for family, creating boundaries that prohibit variability in work hours at the end of the work day, and scaling back on work commitments that happen after hours. For the career-based spouses, it is assumed that their jobs will entail late nights and variable hours and they comply with those demands to ensure and protect their ability to provide well for their families. As 241 Francine remarks "…that's just the way we built the system."

Non-traditional Couples

Anchors. Theoretically, non-traditional couples have a career-based wife and care-based husband; they are the reversal of the neo-traditional couple (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). In my sample, however, the role construals are more nuanced than the origins of the typology would suggest. The care-based spouses (husbands) in my sample emphasized caregiving, but also held the career-based family expectations to role model, guide and provide for their children; they just placed less emphasis on these role construals than caregiving. Wives in my sample emphasized career-based expectations, but also held care-based expectations, however, caregiving tended to take a secondary place in their family role construals. Both women were very dedicated to their work and held positions with a high-level responsibility. While 151 Amie naturally gravitates

towards a more career-based family construal, she is trying to also embody the caregiver role and "be more involved."

> 151 Amie, Director of Educational Programs: I never thought I would be a mom, it was not a goal in my life. So I have to figure out the place or make some room for that... He convinced me and it's a really, really good thing, but I am, sometimes I have some problems to, not to realize it, but to uh, in French we say incarnée.

231 Sheila, on the other hand, feels she has to choose where she puts her resources, either at work or at home caring for her family:

> 231 Sheila, Associate Director of Finance: It's funny because I am like very career-driven. My career is very important to me. But at the same time, I'm very, very, very attached to my children… It's hard you know… it's really hard… I find being a woman especially, having a career, being aspirational, it's very difficult. I'm torn all the time. I'm very torn…. I don't expect them to say 'we promise you're gonna get promoted in the next 2 years.' They can't do that. I don't expect that. But I still kind of need to know where they see me because either I decide to go get that promotion elsewhere, or stay with my company and the current level I'm at and if that's the case, I'll adjust my lifestyle; I'm not gonna work my butt off there. I'm not gonna… although it's sort of in me, so it's hard. But I will have to say to myself look, if they won't give it to me, let me give it to my children.

The work roles of non-traditional spouses could be quite divergent (i.e., one could have a high-level career and the other a lower-level job), as in neo-traditional couples, but this was not the case for the non-traditional couples in my study. In my sample, there were two couples classified as non-traditional and, in both cases, the men worked in full-time positions and had professional careers. This was the couple type with the highest average work hours; a combined average of 86.50 hours per week. They were also one of two couple types with the highest average household income in my sample. Unlike neo-traditional couples, where the career-spouse far out earned the care-spouse, the non-traditional spouses in my study were in the same income bracket or the career-spouse was just one income bracket above the care-spouse.

In the non-traditional couples in this study, the fathers had a caregiving emphasis to their family roles, but still worked 40 or 45 hours per week, respectively. Both men worked in organizations that allowed them to set work hours around their children's schedules and offered family-friendly policies for changing work hours if necessary (e.g., to respond to a child illness). Both had the ability to work from home as needed and one regularly split-shifted so that he could finish his work in the evenings after he had taken care of the pick-up routine and post pick-up caregiving. In this latter case, 231 Michael had had a series of job changes for various reasons

and each time he would (re-)negotiate his work hours so that he could continue to be responsible for pick-ups:

> 231 Michael, Engineer: I was having like 3 interviews to get this job and I said during the second one, there's no point in me coming to the 3rd interview if you tell me I can't leave at 4:00, because I'm gonna have to be picking up my kids at 4:45.

Caregiving spouses in non-traditional couples were not looking for career advancement, at least not right away. 231 Michael feels passionate about environmental issues and helping people, but he felt that doing activities related to those things does not need to be part of his paid work:

> 231 Michael, Engineer: I could probably be happy if I were a stay-at-home dad but with my free time, I did other valuable things. I don't need to have a job. I don't love my job.

151 Tony had been seeking advancement in his career before their son was born, but was comfortable with the fact that taking paternity leave and negotiating a child-friendly schedule at work meant he probably would not be chosen for a promotion in the near future:

> 151 Tony, Medical Technical Expert: I knew that I'd put on ice some of my career dreams, you know they're just a little bit postponed, but they are postponed. That I know. I knew when I told to my boss that I would take three months off, I knew that I would not be the next little genius in my company, or they would not give me such risks and responsibilities because I would simply not be here for 3 months, so of course not, I won't be that person, even if I dream of that equality, etc… Now my job is just what I do, and what I do for work, because I like what I do, of course, this is a nice occupation, this is what I do to live, and I just put there what's relevant.

The wives in non-traditional couples had longer hours than their husbands (45 and 48 hours per week respectively); they had more work related events and/or work-load cycles that kept them at work (routinely and non-routinely) later than their husbands. These career-based women worked in high-level management positions and had employees reporting to them. This meant they needed to role model their work hours to their employees and be onsite to oversee employees during regular hours. They both worked in more demanding and less flexible environments and they were determined to comply with the demands of those positions and environments because they were seeking career advancement. Both acknowledged their ability to work longer, more variable hours and to climb up the corporate ladder was facilitated by having spouses with fairly stable work schedules and more day-to-day flexibility. Interestingly, the men in neo-traditional couples, who had this same arrangement, rarely acknowledged their wives' roles in their ability to work longer, more variable hours.

> 151 Amie, Director of Educational Programs: …maybe a month before my maternity leave ended, I was asked to take the position of the director of the department for the year, because the director is on maternity leave, so it was accepting a big challenge while I had a big challenge in my life… Of course, if I had taken a year of my maternity leave, it wouldn't happen. Nobody would ask me to take the direction of the department, but we already, before I left for the maternity leave, we already decided that I was going to take 3 months and a half, and Tony the last three months. So when I came back to work for [the new] position, he was at home with our son, so it was really easy for me because we didn't have a daycare routine, and it was really relaxed, just because they were both in pajamas when I was leaving for work... I could leave earlier than now, because now we have a family routine to leave together, and I could leave earlier. If I had to stay later just to finish one thing or two, I could. Um, so, it was really comfortable if he didn't get sick. But let's say that he caught something, Tony was with him, and Tony, when you have someone at home full time, he was cooking, so it was not the same business as now because now we have a tight routine, and when we arrive, usually the breakfast is still on the table because we didn't have the time in the morning, the supper is not ready, so we have to keep working when [at home]…So it was perfect for me, during those three months adaptation to that position, my brain was really relaxed, I would concentrate on that, and when I was coming back home it was quiet, it was calm, so that was perfect.

Daily decision-making. Spouses of the non-traditional couples have somewhat asymmetric role construals, as well as different situational cues from their work structures and policies. Unlike neo-traditional couples, however, their roles are not so clearly differentiated from one another. The relationship that spouses had with one another was paramount to their decisions; they incorporate career prioritizing and/or fairness into their decisions depending on how they identified situations. This makes decision-making more nuanced because the underlying role construals are a matter of emphasis not totally different role expectations, and consequently, decisions depended partly on these relational cues. In these couples, the care-based husbands took on more of the caregiving routines and family related non-routine decisions because these choices aligned with the more dominant role construal they held – caregiving. Though both caregiving dads in my sample worked full-time or more, they had sought out flexibility and autonomy in their work roles so that they could set their work hours around their children's schedules and take on more of the work-family routines, particularly pick-ups and post pick-up responsibilities. The career-based spouses, the wives in these couples, took on relatively more routine and non-routine opportunities to protect and advance their work because that aligned with the emphasis they place on career-based role construals. Not having regular

responsibility for family routines, particularly pick-ups, allowed wives in these couples set their work hours around work-related factors, which was important for securing and advancing their careers.

Since spouses in non-traditional couples also included the other construal in their family identities and did not strictly divide their roles; career-based spouses still took on some caregiving either routinely or non-routinely and care-based spouses still had work overflow and workload cycles to which they needed to attend. Because of this, these couples took into account more cues in decision-making and used more coupled decision approaches because situations were more ambiguous for them. For example, one of the couples talked about both career prioritizing and fairness in their decision-making about routines. 231 Sheila outlined the many reasons that Michael needed to be the one who does pick-ups every day, including priority given to her career. Later she said it is fair in a way because she will always be the one to do drop-offs so that he can leave for work very early in the morning. In terms of setting the pick-up routine, it was not clear that she could not do it based on situational cues, but it was clear to them it would affect her career, which meant she could not do it. Sheila and Michael also considered fairness in sick kid decisions – they would split sick days or trade off when their child was sick based on comparing activity cues for their respective work days. However, during her intense month-end periods when her workload increased and she needed to be in the office during the regular day and usually much later; she implied that career prioritizing played a more dominant role in sick kid decisions during those periods and fairness went by the way-side. Her work overflow, particularly that associated with month-ends, took priority and required her spouse to be the primary person doing pick-ups and often spend whole evenings caregiving solo (much like the dads in the neo-traditional couples, she actually was not integral to the routine and it could easily be carried on with or without her). There were other situations, like drop-offs, that the caregiving responsibility would not detract from her career, so she took these on to be fair. The other non-traditional couple also used career priority as the primary decision cue for sick kid and work overflow decisions, however activity cues seemed to come into play more for them for work overflow decisions. For example, 151 Amie, the career-spouse, had work overflow activities that were scheduled well in advance and took precedence over her husband's work overflow, but because he had control over scheduling his evening conference calls and also had a calendar of her work events, it was easy to accommodate both spouses' overflow in their joint schedule. This

couple mentioned fairness in a more general sense, not as an immediate decision cue for daily decisions. When the husband in this couple had work overflow, but the wife did not, it was the wife (the career-based spouse) who took over the caregiving role. More often, it was the career-based wives who attended to overflow from their work and the care-based husbands who took on the caregiving. Both Sheila and Amie articulated how important it was that their husbands were able to fully take on the work-family and family routines when they needed to work late.

> 231 Sheila, Associate Director of Finance: …and there were nights when I didn't come home because I had to work late, and Michael was fine. He gave them supper, bathed them, put them to bed no problem.

> 151 Amie, Director of Educational Programs: Let's say I have to stay for a conference by 9:00 p.m., okay, I will come back home later, he's taking care of the baby and knows how, and there's no questions of this, it allows me to concentrate on that position because I don't have to care for the little things of the days…

Unlike traditional couples, it is important to note that non-traditional spouses were interchangeable in that either one could take on any of the work-family routines and caregiving responsibilities. The responsibilities were generally assigned in a way that gave priority to the work of the career-based spouse, but there were plenty of situations when caregiving would not detract from her career, so non-traditional couples needed to attend to situational, activity and relational cues more closely in their daily decisions.

Gender identity. Non-traditional spouses describe men and women as interchangeable in their roles and believe that men and women are equals. At the same time, the non-traditional couples in this study also describe their own particular situations as a little unconventional because the wives' demanding careers require the male spouses to take on more of the caregiving and household roles. This division of labor is not the equal division one might expect from a modern egalitarian view of gender roles, albeit it is a division that is the opposite of what one would traditionally expect.

> Couple 151 Tony and Amie:
> Tony (care-spouse), Medical Technical Expert: Right now I don't see a huge difference in our respective role. I think we are quite switchable in what we do.

> Amie (career-spouse), Director of Educational Programs: I really think we share everything with our son and he's in confidence, he's confident if he is with me or with

> Tony. So it's equal in that sense too… so that is how we're maybe non-conventional arrangement.
>
> Couple 231 Sheila and Michael:
> Sheila (career-spouse), Associate Director of Finance: …it's 50/50 because Michael happens to be a very involved father… you know, when they're sick they want their mommy… although I do believe a father can have an equivalent important role and be that 'mommy'.
>
> Michael (care-spouse), Engineer: Just to put it in perspective, think I'm the woman and she's the man. Cause that's kind of what it's like.

Communication. Some discussion may be required for non-traditional couples to establish their roles and routines because their roles are at odds with commonly held gender roles. However, once the work-family routines had been established in non-traditional couples, there seemed to be little reason to discuss further those daily responsibilities. In fact, both the women in my sample explicitly pointed out that there was no need for conversations, planning or instructing if they needed to work late because their husbands (unlike other husbands) already knew how to handle the full routines in their absence. This was very much unlike the neo-traditional spouses where the wives would have to leave detailed instructions for their husbands or other caregivers in their absence.

> Couple 151 Amie and Tony discuss these ideas:
> Amie, Director of Educational Programs: The other thing that this arrangement made, is that Tony really knows our son as well as I know our son, so if I have to leave for a weekend, I don't leave him a list, I never say do that and do that, and I never say don't forget to do that. We know exactly how to deal with him.
>
> Tony, Medical Technical Expert: And we have different ways, we have our ways.
>
> Amie: And maybe we fought a little bit more than other people when the mother's dealing everything with the kid (laughter) just because we disagree sometimes but we have the same weight in the decisions, I'm not driving the show.

Although communication was only peripheral for 151 Amie and Tony's sick kid decisions, 231 Sheila and Michael explicitly spoke about the need for discussion in the sick kid decision process. Similarly, for work overflow, one couple needed to coordinate and calendar each other's work overflow, whereas the other couple had created a system where the career-based spouse's work overflow would not interfere with routines or non-routine activities, so no

communication around her work overflow was required. One area where communication came up in non-traditional couples was with respect to caregiving spouses and the use of open communication with their employers to ensure that they were accommodating and available when needed at work, but also available to take on the majority of their work-family routines and many of the non-routine family activities as well. This is in contrast to the strong boundaries that caregiving spouses in neo-traditional couples talked about building to keep work from encroaching on family. One career-spouse asked her colleagues to respect her family time between 6:00-8:00 p.m., but said she resumed being responsive to work after that. That was the extent of the discussions about boundary work for career-based spouses.

Appropriateness rule. The guiding rule for non-traditional couples is that 'one of us has to make family a priority.' The rule stems from the idea that children should be cared for by their parents; so, if mom's career is her focus, then caregiving must become dad's domain much of the time. Members of non-traditional couples share many responsibilities and are interchangeable at home, however for the non-traditional couples in my sample, her work is more important to her than his is to him. Although she may want to be a caregiver at times, this is a secondary part of her family role construal and she prioritizes her career because her more dominant family role construal is that of provider and role model; on the other hand, because he does have caregiving as a relatively strong part of his family role construal, he ends up making caregiving his first priority. Exemplary quote:

> 231 Sheila, Associate Director of Finance: The one thing that people always told me before I had children is that when you have like two parents, there's always gonna be one parent that has to give. You can't have both parents that are…100% your job and 100% at home… there always has to be one spouse who is more flexible.

There is a sense in the non-traditional couples in my sample that men and women are interchangeable, but that these couples just happen to be in an unconventional situation. Unlike the high powered (career) wives with stay-at-home or less than fully employed (care) husbands, who have gotten media attention in recent years (e.g., Ludden, 2013; Rampell, 2013), both spouses in the non-traditional couples in my sample work full-time and have professional careers. The stories they told were about the career priority of their wives' careers and how those careers were so important to the wives that the husbands' careers had to take a back seat in order to make their families work. This was reflected in the larger decisions they had made over time and resulted in situations where, despite egalitarian beliefs about men and women, it was the

husbands who took on much more of the caregiving routines and non-routine family responsibilities to support the career ambitions of their wives. The male care-spouses had scaled back their careers and their career ambitions to make themselves available for these responsibilities. The female career-spouses, like the men in the neo-traditional couples, sought constant advancement in their careers and they molded their work hours and their responsiveness in work overflow situations to meet those ambitions.

Egalitarian Couples

Anchors. Egalitarian couples are those in which both spouses have family role construals that involve caregiving and nurturing as well as providing financially for the family and acting as role models for their kids. Egalitarian couples were generally composed of two spouses working full-time jobs. The combined average work hours for spouses in egalitarian couples was 81.60 hours per week (ranging from 25-50 hours per week per person). There were only three couples (out of 13) who had a noticeable gap in the number of hours worked between the two spouses. In one of those cases, the wife had recently scaled back her work to part-time, but this was after several years of being the spouse working longer hours and being the primary breadwinner.

When it came to their career anchors, spouses in egalitarian couples were looking for 'right sized' employment. For example, several talked about seeking new employment with work hours that better aligned with their children's schedules or reduced commuting times. Others talked about reducing work travel, either at their current employers or in new positions. They tended to work autonomously or in organizations that offer some flexibility through work policies and practices. For example, 281 Helen moved her teaching to a different school in her district that had the same school day schedule as that of her children; her husband, Travis, had spent several years looking for a new position that would reduce his frequent overtime, without sacrificing the strides he had made to advance his career in his previous job. 171 Jonathan also described leaving a previous position with variable work hours and weekend shifts:

> 171 Jonathan, Customer Service Representative: I'm like nope, time to find something else. 'Cause I mean there was no way to establish any kind of um stability for the kids because they don't know if I'm here this week or coming in late, and there's no routine between Shirley and I.

Those who had changed employment to 'right size' or to advance their careers, took promotions or positions that had little impact on the work-family system. Members of egalitarian couples

were generally interested in challenge, growth and learning in their careers but they wanted advancement at a pace that did not disturb their heavy family responsibilities.

Daily decision-making. Since role construals for both spouses in egalitarian couples included both career-based and care-based expectations, decisions about routines and non-routine situations tended to involve comparisons between the two spouses' situations. Situational cues such as work place policies and practices and activity cues of each spouse were scrutinized for each decision. Further, fairness was important to these couples. If the situational and activity cues were about the same between the spouses in a decision situation, they then tried to make their decisions in a way that evenly distributed responsibilities and opportunities between the two of them. Basically, since both members of these couples had expectations to do both providing and caring, decisions were based on what the situation dictates and trying to keep caring tasks and work opportunities even. In about half of the couples, both spouses had adjusted their work hours around each other's and their children's schedules. In the other half of these couples, one or both spouses engaged in shiftwork, so adjustments to work-hours were only made by spouses who could make those changes (i.e. the ones not working shift work). Regular drop-offs and pick-ups were almost always practical decisions based on spouses' work hours and situational cues, but those who could traded off drop-offs, pick-ups or both to keep these responsibilities equally distributed between the spouses. Split shifting was common among egalitarian couples. This allowed members of these couples to share the post pick-up family routine, spend time together as a family or shuttle children to and from activities after leaving work, and then do more work in the evening.

Egalitarian couples dealt with sick kid decisions in one of several ways. Some based the decision mainly on situational cues. For example, roughly half of the egalitarian couples said that one of them was the usual responder to sick kid calls because they had the flexibility in their work to do so and/or their workplaces offered paid leave for those situations. When members of the couples had variable schedules (i.e., in three couples, one or both members worked different hours on different days, rotating shift, etc.), the one who responded depended on which day of the week it was and the decision-making usually involved an 'if, then logic' (e.g., If my spouse is working, then I respond to sick kid calls. If my spouse is home, then my spouse responds). Four couples based their decision mainly on activity cues and fairness, and they needed to communicate with each other when a sick kid call came in to determine who would respond to

the call depending on their respective work tasks in the moment. It may be slightly more likely for one spouse to go rather than the other because of situational cues (e.g., working closer to a child's school, more flexible work, or more paid leave remaining for the year), but in general they shared responsibility for non-routine caregiving. Egalitarian couples took into account many cues in their decisions and used all the coupled approaches to making decisions. They were also the type of couple who were most likely to employ complicated HRM thinking in their sick kid decisions. For example:

> 281 Travis, Engineer: If that situation comes up, we talk to each other and say what do you got going on today? How much sick time does she have, how much sick time do I have? If I have a slow day and she's jacked, then I'll take the day off. If she has a slow day and I'm jacked, I'll take the day off. That's how we equalize that out.

All egalitarian couples had at least one spouse who occasionally or routinely worked outside regular work hours. Spouses generally supported and accommodated each other's need to attend to work overflow. There were four egalitarian couples in which only one spouse had work overflow. In these cases, those spouses typically split-shifted so that they could share in the caregiving responsibilities. For the couples in which both spouses had work overflow (8 couples), this was typically accomplished with an arrangement for trading off 'child-free time' to attend to work overflow. The spouse who was working late would be absolved of participating in the family routine that day and the spouse who was not working late would "fly solo" with responsibility for caregiving and (work-)family routines. HRM and decision logics were often employed in thinking about work overflow because spouses tried to set up their overflow so that it was least disruptive to the system or when they knew the other spouse would be most available to take on the childcare. Some couples developed routines for trading off additional work hours daily or did so on the basis of work activity cues. The routines were based on schedules of primary employment as well as additional employment. For example, 291 Mariah and Brad each had at least two nights per week when they allowed each other to work longer hours and 2 nights when they are 'assigned' pick-up and post pick-up caregiving responsibilities. 281 Travis and Helen also have a similar overflow routine, but the actual days may change by the semester depending on which night Helen teaches a university course as additional employment. 431 Garrett and Frank have an interesting circumstance in that Frank occasionally has early morning meetings (he only does drop-offs on Fridays and never schedules meetings that day) and Garrett

often works later than he expects (but this does not affect pick-ups because he rarely does them). Rather than ‘a my-night and your-night routine’, they have an ‘I’ll take the mornings and you take the evenings’ routine. Even for these couples who had a regular routine for trading off child-free time, they acknowledged that it is possible to change the routine if necessary. Rather than a routine for trading off, one couple traded off days as needed so that the number of days each has to do additional work or a personal activity are about equal on a weekly or biweekly basis. 511William and Hailey express this sort of arrangement:

> 511 William, Engineer: So the mornings I can, I go in and get to work by 6:30 and then I can pull out early and build up enough hours, or depending if that's the day that I have to go in and come home early to feed the boys then that works well, otherwise I'll just take a short day and then make it up the next day…We try and get in either two or three days a week for me to get early, and Hailey takes the other two or three days, depending on how everybody's schedule works out, and sometimes it'd just has to be mixed up because if she's got an early morning meeting or if I have a ‘telecon’ for an early morning then obviously that's the day that you, you just have to trade off all time.

Gender identity. Egalitarian spouses said that mothers and fathers can do the same things and are interchangeable, though a few felt that mothers have a bit of a bigger role when the children are babies (but this had to do with breastfeeding, not nurturing). It was important for these couples to share equally their responsibilities and opportunities. Fairness meant 50/50. For them, it is not equal to divide up their responsibilities so that each spouse takes care of certain things; rather, they tried to take on the same tasks with about the same frequency. It was important that their children see that as well (we both cook, we both drive, we both do bed time). These couples acknowledged that men and women may take slightly different approaches to parenting and these differences usually aligned with known gender roles in our society. In fact, they felt it was important to be aware of expected differences between the roles of moms and dads so that they can consciously act otherwise. They made an effort to act as equals and role model their egalitarian beliefs so as not to perpetuate gendered differences in roles:

> 291 Brad, Information Specialist: These days I don’t think there’s much difference, because of the whole, I mean, I don’t want to say the gender equality thing, but I mean there’s just as many working dads as there are working moms these days.

> 481 Sharon, Information Specialist: …it seems to end up being where the mother is the predominant caregiver and I didn’t want that, and I don’t think Addison wanted that either, so it’s very 50/50.

> 331 Janet, Senior Internal Auditor: Well we try not to divide our role by gender, we do the same things, we try to have the same expectations, so I don't honestly I don't see a difference.
>
> 331 Caleb, Senior Consultant: …because of the physical part as well, the nursing part, so there's something extra they have between them, but as a role, a mom or a father, I don't think it really should be that different.

Communication. Although some egalitarian couples set up their routines based on practical considerations from their situational cues, others had elaborately designed work-family routines and/or tried to set up their routines to evenly distribute the responsibilities between the two members of the couple. Setting up these routines required knowledge of each other's situational cues and communication about what works best for each member was often involved. As for other couples, once routines are set up and stable, they require little communication to keep them going, but the trading-off pattern that was used by some egalitarian couples usually required some conversation unless trade-offs occurred on a set schedule. Also, these couples were much more likely to mention the need for conversations about changing their routines, such as rearranging pick-ups, because frequent (or at least occasional) work overflow made their routines more dynamic. For some, sick kid decisions were dealt with through explicit discussions, rather than assumptions about who had the most flexibility on a given day. Many talked about setting boundaries at home that were accommodating to work, much like the career-spouses in neo- and non-traditional couples. For example, they attempted to align last minute work with the times they have built in flexibility (e.g., letting their supervisor know which days they can or cannot can work overtime or scheduling after-hours clients on the nights when their spouse is doing pick-ups). They accommodated unscheduled, last minute work by suggesting to a last minute caller an alternative time to speak or to use an email instead or by attempting to keep last minute meetings efficient and focused.

Appropriateness rule. For egalitarian couples, the guiding rule is 'we keep it even.' These couples generally base decision-making on equal sharing of responsibilities and opportunities. For them fairness was very important and played a role in decisions about routines and non-routine situations (unless situational cues made it very impractical to split responsibilities evenly). They would even adjust anchoring decisions if one spouse's work role created difficulty with the even sharing of caregiving responsibilities at home. There is a

noticeable lack of career prioritizing in these couples. Underlying their decisions and discussions was the assumption that each person's work and time is as important as the other's.

Exemplary quotes:

> Couple 281 Travis and Helen:
> Travis, Engineer: We both respect and enjoy our jobs and if there's work to do, it needs to be done but at the same time, we have a sick child at home and we need to take care of that too so we try to juggle that back and forth and keep it equal as we can…
>
> Helen, Teacher: …respecting each other's jobs was one thing, knowing that your job is different than mine but equally as hard…. just respect for each other's time and what both of us do.

Overall, there is a strong sense in egalitarian couples that both members of the couple are equal, that their careers are equally important, and that they share equal responsibility for childcare. For these couples, work-family decisions tend to be based on many cues from their dual situations and the activities they have going on and trying to distribute responsibilities and opportunities equally between the two spouses. The stories they told were about supporting each other, about respecting each other's work, and about trading off, taking turns and accommodating each other whenever possible in non-routine situations so that neither has to forgo opportunities at work. In anchoring decisions they tended seek 'balance' through 'right sized' positions in autonomous or flexible organizational environments, growth and advancement at work at a pace that allows them to still fully participate in their busy home life, and positions that would allow them to achieve fairness between the two of them.

Outsourced Couples

Anchors. Four couples were categorized as outsourced couples because both spouses were generally more career-based than care-based in their family role construals. In the literature, a distinction has been made between 'dual-income' and 'dual-career' couples. For example, Higgins, Duxbury, and Irving (1992) studied career-oriented individuals with career-oriented spouses. Harvey and Buckley (1998) described dual-career couples as ones in which both spouses had a high psychological commitment to their work. The outsourced couples in this study fit these dual-career characterizations. Outsourced couples worked a combined average 85.75 hours per week (spouses hours ranging from 35-50 hours per week). Alongside the non-traditional couples, these couples reported the highest household incomes of any couple type.

Outsourced couples have professional and/or managerial positions. Half of the spouses had taken a promotion, changed jobs or taken on additional employment for career advancement in recent years. These were couples where both spouses worked relatively later in the evenings and/or both had variable end times due to fluctuating workloads or irregular work meetings. These couples usually found solutions outside the dyad for pick-ups and caregiving to accommodate those work schedules. They were more likely to employ an in-home caregiver (nanny) or after school babysitters so that their own work hours were less dependent on the children's schedules or each other's work schedules. They were also more likely to outsource meals by using take out or catering for regular evening meals.

Daily decision-making. To members of outsourced couples, most work-family decision situations looked like opportunities to provide for their families and role model ambition and hard work. Since neither member construes his or her family identity as caregiving and nurturing, the availability of support for these functions, paid support as well as family and friend support, is important in their routines and non-routine decisions. Spouses share responsibility for parts of the work-family and family routines, but rely heavily on help from outside the couple to take on the rest (particularly pick-ups and post pick-up caregiving). Because they are driven by career-based expectations, they set their work hours mainly around the norms and needs of their work, but also need to consider others in the system (e.g., the nannies' hours, spouse's hours, children's schedules) when setting work hours. Since members of these couples have a fair amount of autonomy in their work roles, decisions are a bit less constrained by situational factors such as workplace policies and practices. Both spouses also tended to have long daily commutes and members of one couple talked about routinely using speaker phone in their vehicles to continue working up until the moment they pulled into the driveway in the evening.

For members of outsourced couples, who needed to assure their ability to provide and role model by attending to work whenever work needed to be done, work overflow was built into their routines. Two couples traded off who will work late and who will relieve the nanny or babysitter, somewhat similar to the approach of some egalitarian couples. For example, 411 Patty and Jensen divide the week so that one spouse has Monday and Wednesday evenings and the other takes Tuesdays and Thursdays. These are the nights they can do extra work, schedule work meetings after regular hours or do a non-work activity. However, if something last minute comes

up at work for the spouse who is meant to care for the children that night, they could contact the other spouse and reverse the arrangement for that night. If both spouses had something work-related come up on the same night, they said they would ask the paid help to stay later until one of them could be home.

> Couple 411 Patty and Jensen:
> Patty, Director of Client Development: …if it's a Monday or a Wednesday, I essentially will come home at 7:30-8, so whether that's taking the time to work late, or go grocery shopping or run errands that I need, or even go to the gym. And so Jensen will have dinner started by that time or we'll pick something up and have dinner together as a family at around 8:30 and then quality time with the kids and then start the bedtime routine. So on Tuesdays and Thursdays are his late nights… Just when the kids were born we had decided that we need to have time other than just flying home from work to do things like that… so it was just our way of working in some adult time or individual time…
>
> Jensen, Partner, Business Development: And same thing, the nanny is pretty awesome so if I call her and tell her I'm going to be late and if she can stay, she's really good about it. Or Patty…
>
> Patty: ...so I definitely, rather than inconveniencing the nanny or having her stay given that I know she has something she does throughout the week, I will come home…

The other couple traded off on an as-needed basis. A third couple had nightly babysitters though neither one of them had work overflow very frequently. Since the babysitters already pick up the twins from daycare and are involved in the family routine in the evening, either spouse could decide to stay at work later than usual without disrupting the family routine. The last of the four couples had work hours offset because one member worked a night shift. The spouse who worked at night worked past his shift almost daily and the other spouse has a once a week meeting right after work and an evening event once a month. These additional work hours were easily accommodated, however, because this couple had a live-in grandparent as well as good friend support to help with childcare when they had work overflow. Unlike egalitarian spouses who relied heavily on one another for work overflow and sometimes had to refuse overflow, outsourced couples had additional support built into their routines, which enabled them to accommodate overflow work more readily. Overall, because outsourced couples work long hours, trade off nights to work late and/or have schedules off-set from one another, outsourced couples probably spent less time together as a family overall than other couple types.

Outsourced couples also have more support available to them so that a sick child doesn't interrupt a workday. Although they did take into account their work schedules, the nature of their respective work roles and commute times for sick kid decisions, these couples said they could also rely on regular caregivers or call upon babysitters to help. This was unlike the egalitarian couples who took on most of the non-routine caregiving within the couple (or amongst themselves). For example, 411 Patty and Jensen said their nanny would pick up the eldest from school or keep her home if she was ill. The nanny could also take either child to the doctor if necessary. Having this third team member meant that the couple need not worry about rearranging their days if a child falls ill, however they do have to worry about the rare occasion the nanny falls ill.

> 411 Patty, Director of Client Development: Then our caregiver would come and pick her up or Jensen would come and pick her up based on his more flexible schedule.
>
> Q: And you just let her know and she goes?
>
> Patty: Yeah

Overall, members of outsourced couples see themselves as providers and role models, so their daily routines are designed to protect and enhance their ability to do those things. They also protect their work role from non-routine caregiving and try to say yes to work overflow whenever possible. They consider some situational and activity cues in daily decision-making but rely on the support of others to help with many caregiving responsibilities. This meant decision-making could be approached more independently and fewer cues were considered in decisions. Spouses sometimes traded-off, but rarely described decision logics or complicated HRM thinking in decisions. They did communicate and negotiate between themselves in some circumstances, but more often, communication was used to garner support from caregivers.

Gender identity. Members of outsourced couples simply said mothers and father can do the same things and are interchangeable. They do not have separate roles.

> 441 Jim, Project Manager: Yeah, in our house we don't really have delineated roles in that way. I've never really thought of that and I don't think there's really feminine tasks for a man and I don't really think there's masculine tasks for a woman.
>
> 371 Samson, Production Foreman: Christie and I don't have set roles. Like I'm the father so I do this and I do that and I do that like it's a plan. No, it's both of us. I don't want our

> daughter to think oh Daddy does this with me and Mommy does that with me. I don't agree with that. And it's also for us that we can be involved in our daughter.

Communication. Outsourced couples spend more time coordinating and managing their support network than other couples. They call upon support from nannies, babysitters, family and friends to help with sick kids and work overflow, as well as routines. Their non-routine decisions may also be made through conversations with one another to coordinate a sick kid pick-up or rearrange the pick-up routine due to work overflow. They were also likely to receive impromptu calls from work or to receive last minute requests to do work outside of regular work hours because of the nature of their work. While conversations about boundary setting were not commonly cited, two of the husbands, 371 Sampson and 441 Jim, did talk about renegotiating work hours so that they could do daily drop-offs.

Appropriateness rule. Since their main expectations for family and parenting are career-based, members of outsourced couples take care of their families through providing and role modeling. For them to fulfil these role expectations, they work hard, seek career advancement and follow through on the commitments they make at work. They recognize that these are similar goals they share and work together as a couple to support each other's careers. One participant, 411 Jensen, describes couples like he and his wife as "…the really successful couples, like the power couples, they really are people that work hard and help each other with their goals." Their guiding rule for work-family decision-making is 'We honor our work commitments.' To them, they are working hard not only to achieve success at work; they are also working hard to fulfil their self-in-role expectations as good parents.

Outsourced couples tended to be short on time, particularly time at home with family. They solve the issue of caregiving, which is time consuming and does not fulfil their own personal role construals, by having paid and unpaid support. They emphasize value instilment, mindfulness, keeping things in perspective and rituals, rather than caregiving tasks, when they are spending time with their children, so that the little time they had together was meaningful and special (i.e., quality time). For example, one couple had the babysitters stay to help with the evening chores so that the parents could spend better quality time with their twins for the little time that they were at home in the evening before the kids went to bed. As 251 Doug said regarding babysitting and catering services "you'll free up some time, you'll spend better quality time with your kids rather than cooking and cleaning." 371 Sampson, the man who worked night

shift, talked about the importance of a daily fifteen-minute phone conversation with his wife and making the most of the hour or so he had to get his daughter ready for preschool and driving her there. 411 Patty talked about the importance of being present at children's special events and supporting their endeavors and accomplishments (just as she and her husband support each other's).

Members of outsourced couples also feel that is important that their children are well cared for and have high quality experiences when they are with other caregivers. For example, two couples felt that their children had better quality experiences being at home with a babysitter or grandparent getting more one-on-one attention than they would in an afterschool program or spending longer days in daycare. One couple provided the nanny with a vehicle so that the children could have better access to growth experiences. Beyond simply providing care, nannies and other caregivers would ideally uphold the values of the parents and instill these values as well. These couples seemed to have the secondary guiding rule 'we have good help.'

> Couple 411 Jensen and Patty:
> Jensen, Partner, Business Development: We provide our nanny with a vehicle, there's car seats in there and everything, so she takes our kids out to the library and events and gymnastics and she can pick up and drop off the eldest and just put the youngest in the car, so it's pretty good… but that is probably one of the most bounded efforts that you've ever put forth, when you're having someone watch the two most important things in your world, because when you're not 100% up on with the care of your children, it will spill over to every ounce of your life. Something too when you're picking a nanny, there's something that I read recently and I truly believe it, that you are the sum of the 5 or 6 people closest around you, so if you can see your nanny as being one of those factors that go into your children's lives and you can see being the sum and your nanny being included in that, that's a big factor when you're choosing somebody.
>
> Patty, Director of Client Development: It's because you know they're going to be spending the majority of the time with your children. Are they going to carry forward the same disciplines and morals and all that? So it's a very rigorous process to find the person who's going to fill those shoes.

Overall, members of outsourced couples expect to provide financially, role model and instill value in their children. They do this through honoring their work commitments, finding good support for the caregiving and focusing on the quality of the time that they spend with their children. Other exemplary quotes include the following:

> 411 Patty, Director of Client Development: I would say up to this point it's been a lot of work, and a lot, as I've built my career over the last 9+ years, a lot focused on that, and I've really shifted as much as possible, and I'm continuing to do so, more towards being a part of the family and the day-to-day stuff, which are school, where she has a Valentine's day or Halloween party and stuff like that where I've built up enough in my career that I can be a part of those special events, so I'm just trying to tear myself away from work, as much as that's hard, clients that depend on you right, just to be a part of some of those things that you just won't be able to do again when they're this age.

> 441 Jim, Project Manager: Realize that there's a lot of give and take constantly, like with any good partnership, with any good business, that you have to have an actual plan and realize that the way you get them to be good humans in the long term is by sharing and investing in them… A lot of it is general, making sure that they have a house over their head, make sure they have food on the table, make sure they have a chance to go to school that they want to go to later on in life, make sure they get to develop themselves in different ways along the way. I believe in being a renaissance person. Not to sound corny but I think you need to know a bit of everything if you want to be good at something. You don't understand different aspects of things until you know it. I don't want to be somebody that's only good at sports, I want to be able to paint, I want to be able to love music, I want to be able to do this, that, and the other, and I expect that from them, for sure.

There is a sense in outsourced couples that both members have made a big commitment to their careers and they both wish to maintain that momentum and continue to advance. The stories they told were about working hard and about how having children has forced them to have more balance in their lives because, before children, each of them had the capacity to work non-stop. Members of these couples tended to have long work hours, variable work overflow and long commutes. To accommodate these demands and support each other's demanding careers, they rely heavily on paid and unpaid support to help with routine and non-routine childcare and other household needs. More than other couples, they sounded strategic and decisive in their descriptions of routines, decisions, and use of time.

Family First Couples

Anchors. There were three family first couples in my sample. These are couples with two care-based spouses. Members of family first couples worked full-time, but fewer than 40 hours per week (a combined average of 72.00 hours per week, each working from 35-38 hours per week). The only (sub)group to work fewer hours were the care-based spouses in neo-traditional

couples. Family first couples were also the couple type to report the lowest household incomes and appeared to have the lowest average work-to-family conflict scores. Members of family first couples tended to work below their level of educational or professional attainment in order to work in more flexible or less demanding jobs. For example, 361 Gabriel has a PhD in second language acquisition, however instead of pursuing a university professorship or continuing his work in international consulting, he has taken a position teaching language to children. His wife, Jocelyn, has a master's degree but works as an administrative assistant. 491 Barry has a business degree and produces theater productions, but works as a janitor for various reasons including the steady income and reasonable hours. Members of these couples talked about changes in employment, even multiple changes over time, in order to decrease hours, commute, travel, work overflow, or to be better geographically located at work relative to family. They had also refused new positions that would infringe on their caregiving responsibilities. For example, 361 Jocelyn had interviewed for a position that she would have been very interested in taking from a professional standpoint, however it was located in another city and required variable work hours and overflow. Due to the work hour commitments and the long commute, she declined to take the position. Family first couples tend to have both members of the couples working in organizations that offer family friendly work policies and practices, such as paid sick leave and the flexibility to leave work when necessary. Only one person in this group (471 Ralph) works in a position without paid leave. He had taken the position to work closer to home, the second job change for that reason in a few years, and was hoping that the contract position would turn into a full-time job with paid benefits. Meanwhile, his wife Janette, works for the federal government and has generous paid leave and benefits. Two couples also talked about changing daycares for their children because the geographic locations, available hours and/or costs of their previous daycares were problematic. Overall, there seemed to be more anchoring decisions happening within a relatively short period of time for two out of three of these couples. They used trial and error to find anchoring structures that allow them to put family (caregiving) first.

Daily decision-making. Family first couples mainly based decision-making on situational cues, such as workplace policies and practices and commute times, though as noted above, the entire set of anchors underlying these decisions were designed so that workplace structures and policies would support decisions that enabled emphasis to be placed on family care. For example, work hour routines were set 100% around work hour policies or shift work;

no other cues were considered for setting this routine. For drop-off and pick-up routines, which either member could do since both expected to take on caregiving in their family roles, members of these couples relied on situational cues for decision-making. They considered geographic and transportation cues and their work hours relative to their spouse's work hours. Because of their relatively short workdays, which aligned easily with children's school and daycare schedules, these decisions were practical and simple. Most of the time, these couples spent the evenings caregiving together and seemed to spend more time together as a family than other couple types.

As with work-family routines, sick kid decisions were based on situational cues since either parent could take on this responsibility. Work policies regarding paid leave were the main cue in sick kid decisions, though one couple said they needed to discuss work tasks (activity cues) to decide who would stay home if a child needed to stay home sick from school or daycare the next day. Interestingly, spouses in the family first couples in my sample tended to have complementary policies rather than similar ones. For example, one spouse was better positioned to do all the routines, whereas the other one was better positioned to take care of non-routine childcare. These couples did not talk about fairness in their decisions and did not trade off responsibilities. Since priority was on caregiving and it did not matter whether it was the husband or the wife who took on caregiving responsibilities in different situations, these couples let their workplace policies determine who would take on which routine and non-routine roles. Further, daily decisions did not require 'if, then' logics, HRM thinking or much communication, just the coupled consideration of relevant situational and sometimes activity cues. Not one family first couple mentioned available support in the form of family, friends or babysitters who could help with routine or non-routine childcare. In fact, two couples were quite isolated because they had moved away from family and the third couple had elderly parents in the same city who required some care rather than being in a position to lend a helping hand.

Members of these couples were not particularly interested in building their careers if that meant spending less time on childcare routines or investing time outside of the family. They never or very rarely worked outside of their regular work hours. Some of them did have work events after hours or workloads that cycled or varied, however the occurrence of these situations was very infrequent and the volume of the workload increases was quite small (e.g., they would fit in the extra tasks by working through a lunch break or a few extra minutes at the end of the day). The quotes below exemplify how these couples feel about work overflow:

Couple 491 Shannon and Bruce:
Shannon, Clerk: … but at 4 o'clock if something happens where I could stay up to 4:20, 4:30, but that was before our son. After our son was born, maybe by 4:10…I would, if it is important, which it is actually because I do bereavement in the hospital. If somebody comes at 4 o'clock and they tell me that they have just lost their mom or dad, I'm not going abandon them… I will text Bruce and say that I'm running late and he will meet me… it is rare for me to deal with a patient for more than 20 minutes.

Bruce, Janitor: It hasn't happened often, maybe twice in the last two years or so, I have been asked to work an extra shift, overtime directly after one that ends for me and I have refused on both times. Simply because, I don't prefer, I just prefer to come home. The extra day's pay or something like that is not important to me. I'd rather just come home.

Couple 361 Jocelyn and Gabriel:
Jocelyn, Administrative Assistant: No. This job, no … most recent when we were preparing a case and there were documents that we needed to send to whoever it is, and we had to do it urgently, which required that we'd spend an extra 45 minutes. And on those days I'd work through lunch, and not take my lunch break in order to get the thing done. But yes, it would mean that if I were to spend more than that 45 minutes, it would mean that I'd miss the train, and then another inconveniences.

Gabriel, Teacher: And that's one of my principles too, I don't bring work home… when I leave, everything stays there. Even in my last position/ I know they send you a lot of emails and they expect you [to respond] and I don't respond until I get to work.

Gender identity. Members of family first couples are interchangeable in terms of childcare and household chores. They may have certain preferences in terms of which tasks they like to take on, however their main goal is to support and complement each other at home. They do not feel there are different roles for mothers and fathers, but they also express that the mother's job is a little harder and they are lucky to have two people in the family who can do that job.

Couple 491 Bruce and Shannon:
Bruce, Janitor: I mean, I don't know if I believe that there's a role that a father has versus a role that a mother has… The complementary roles, luckily for us, happened organically.

Shannon, Clerk: "My husband and I, not intentionally, but it's very fair between us, I find. I feel he's like another mom, I really do.

Communication. In terms of communication, family first couples did not require lengthy conversations to set up work-family routines, which are based on practical considerations linked to work and school schedules and geographic/transportation factors. One couple talked about

discussing a change to their routine to accommodate a change to one spouse's fitness routine. These couples also mentioned rare discussions that would happen if either needed to work outside of regular work hours. They would communicate to make arrangements for changes to their routines or to let the other know they are working a bit past their shift (a matter of a few minutes not hours). They also talked about communications involving boundary work. Overall, individuals in these couples were more likely to set strong boundaries at home and remarked about declining overtime or refusing to bring work home. For sick kid calls, discussions were not usually necessary because the spouses could assume who would respond based on their respective workplace policies. However, 471 Ralph did note that he had to call Janelle to let her know when she had to go get a sick kid. The daycare calls him because he does all the routine drop-offs and pick-ups, but he has no paid leave to respond to a sick kid call so he needs to relay the message to his wife. Discussion may also happen for decisions when a child seems sick and will need to stay home the next day.

Appropriateness rule. The mantra for family first couples is 'always give priority to family'. This is true for anchoring decisions, daily decisions and life in general. Although they need to work to support family life, their main priority is being there to care and nurture their children. For other couple types, work centrality was rated, on average, just a bit lower than family or parenting identity centrality. For family first couples, work centrality was rated much lower than family and parent centralities. Some of these people cared very much about their work, they were just making choices at this point in their lives that they believed were better for their children rather than for their careers. They expressed a sense of duty and sacrifice, expressing more commitment to their children and less to work. They accepted slightly lower wages for a lot less commuting. Sacrifice often meant scaling back on other enjoyable commitments such as volunteer work, community involvement, and time with friends. Exemplary quote:

> 361 Gabriel, Teacher: We also have to consider that we want to keep priority to our family first. And after we can always try to find other professional opportunities to fit into the things that we like most… it's like we consider, at this time, to give proudly to our kids and our family so that they should grow up through a certain stage before we can actually proceed and do something like move or progress in our field.

Overall, spouses of family first couples have made caring for and nurturing their family their main commitment. The stories they told were of scaling back work commitments and

forgoing career ambitions to make family a priority. They work in full-time work positions but work fewer than 40 hours per week; they are employed in organizations that offer family-friendly policies and practices and rarely or never experience work overflow. They develop their routines and make sick kid decisions based on (family friendly) situational cues such as work shift schedules, workplace policies and geographic and transportation considerations. Interestingly, they also lack the support network other couples have, so they must manage routines and non-routine situations on their own. 361 Jocelyn paraphrases some of these ideas below:

> 361 Jocelyn, Administrative Assistant: In our case, we scale back on activities and certain planned things, and certain things that we would have liked to do we just won't allow ourselves right now. And I think even in terms of our careers, I think in general the both of us, we decided to do things that are, I want to say below our capabilities, but we decided to do things that would allow us to have the flexibility that we need to manage life at home… but I think that in our case the biggest challenge is that we don't have a network, so we end up doing everything ourselves. We don't have the mother, the mother-in-law, or the aunt, to say 'oh they just called from daycare, can you pick them up?'. We'd like to go out for dinner just the two of us, and cannot go, we don't have that luxury or time. If we're going to a restaurant, everybody's going to a restaurant... I mean for sure we could always pay but we're paying this fee, and then um, I think with our eldest it would be okay if it were just her alone, but with the twins, I am not ready at this stage to leave them with a babysitter. It's my decision I suppose.

Summary

To summarize, couples seem to make anchoring choices over time, which then allow them to act in an identity-consistent manner when enacting daily routines or making non-routine decisions. When asymmetrical couples make daily decisions, the care-based spouses take on all or most of the care-related routines and the non-routine caregiving, whereas the career-based spouses generally work longer, more variable hours in order to secure financial resources, advance their careers, and role model professional commitment. These couples prioritize one career, tend to use fewer cues and take a more independent approach when making daily decisions. This is particularly true in neo-traditional couples because the spouses' role expectations are clearly differentiated between caregiving and providing. Since spouses in symmetrical couples hold identical role expectations, they rely more on situational and activity cues and generally take more coupled approaches and use communication in daily decision-making. Egalitarian couples were most likely to invoke fairness and trade off care-related routines and non-routine caregiving and also to use complicated HRM thinking in decision-

making. Outsourced couples rely heavily on support from caregivers outside the couple because both spouses are committed to succeeding in their careers for the sake of meeting their family role expectations. Members of family first couples make practical decisions based on situational cues emanating from their family friendly work environments and commit to caring rather than career attainment. Efforts to establish or maintain work-family boundaries seem to align with the family role construals held by members of couples. Care-based spouses erected boundaries that allowed them to focus on caregiving of their family, career-based spouses erected stronger boundaries around work but let work seep into non-work time and those with both care- and career-based role construals found some compromise in the middle.

Although some couples talked about their roles as spouses to one another or their parenting role expectations as cues for daily decision-making, much of the influence of role identities on daily decisions seems to remain below the surface in their decisions, acting in an automatic and nonconscious manner (Weber et al., 2004, Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). The analysis of couples based on their role construals lends further evidence for the role-based decision-making approach in daily decision-making. Reflecting back on the decision processes outlined for routine and non-routine decisions, it appears that what couples are aware of and focused on in the decision processes is the situation. They use situational and activity cues to survey the situation. Often, but not always, they recognize the work-family situation as something consistent with their role construals and expectations and they make choices through heuristic, nonconscious role enactments. Occasionally, the situation does not allow for simple role enactments and they find themselves making exceptions to their usual routines or choices. Further, consistent with role-based perspective on decision-making, each couple type seems to make decisions consistent with a guiding rule; this guiding rule is an appropriateness rule that maintains alignment between their role construals and the choices they make in decisions situations.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion

Summary of Key Findings and Contributions

Work-family decisions are made by couples. The focus on individuals in existing research on decision-making at the work-family interface overlooks the social and interactional nature of many work-family decisions, which are made with spouses and among family members. My data support the conclusion that daily decisions are made at the level of the couple, though the "coupled-ness" of these decisions varies. It ranges from one spouse making the decision with knowledge and consideration of both spouses' decision cues to a fully coupled process involving conversation and negotiation in joint decision-making. The first major contribution of this study is that it illuminates different ways in which work-family decision approaches manifest at the couple-level; this goes beyond past couple-level research, which has shown work-family decisions are made within the context of the marital relationship and may be made jointly (e.g., Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Budworth et al., 2008; Cathcart et al., 2008; Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Livingston, 2014; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Singley & Hynes, 2005) but not the processes by which couples approach decision-making.

Work-family decisions are made in light of work-family routines. When couples talk about daily decision-making at the work-family interface, they talk about the multitude of cues they consider, most of which emanate from the anchoring structures in their work-family systems. The most prominently discussed decision cues for developing work-family routines were situational cues from each spouse's work, including workplace policies, organizational cultures, and the nature of the work of each spouse. Non-work situational cues, such as proximity to work, daycare, school and extended family, and the schedules of family members, were also important for setting routines. Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) called these situational cues constraining and enabling factors because they observed that the ways in which work-family conflicts were resolved by couples depended heavily on these factors emanating from anchoring structures. For non-routine decisions, work and non-work situational cues were also prevalent, but decisions about engaging in non-routine activities also required a more fine-grained analysis of the situation through the consideration of activities cues (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2015).

In comparison to past studies that have noted the importance of role-sender pressure and role-sender support in decision-making (Epie, 2009; Greenhaus & Powell, 2003, Powell & Greenhaus, 2006, Shockley & Allen, 20015), these were not prominent themes in my data. This is consistent with Radcliffe and Cassell (2014), who also used a couple-level, qualitative approach for studying decision-making. The second major contribution of this study is that it illuminates processes by which daily decisions are made in light of existing routines. When couples make decisions about additions or changes to work-family routines, they consider their current routines, and when couples are faced with non-routine decisions, they assess the situation based on how the non-routine activity relates to the routine with which it competes. In other words, current routines act as cues in daily decision-making. Members of couples build work-family routines together and do so to co-create contexts for decision-making that allow them to better deal with work-family conflicts or prevent them from occurring.

Work-family daily decisions follow a logic of appropriateness (at the couple-level). Overall, what couples attend to, and therefore discuss, in daily decision-making is their situations. They survey the situational cues, activity cues and current routines to understand which decision is possible and appropriate given their situation. Activity cues act as a special class of situational cues because their purpose is to help identify the situation (e.g., whether it is a situation in which the activity is important or required, whether it is a situation in which the activity can be completed at a later time or enacted simultaneously with something else, etc.). Couples attend to situational cues when making daily decisions because these cues help them determine whether the cues assign one spouse or the other as the decision maker and/or as the one to engage in the activity; these cues help the couple to assess whether the situation calls for caregiving or providing, and they help to determine whether a given activity competes with another routine or activity happening at the same time and what to do about that. According to the role-based perspective on decision-making (the appropriateness framework), identification and recognition of the situation is the first step in making a decision (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004). Although all decision science perspectives note the importance of the decision context in making choices, my observation that situational recognition is paramount to couples' decisions is most consistent with the appropriateness perspective.

The appropriateness framework of decision-making also accounts for the social nature of decisions, because it takes into account the identities that decision makers hold and the roles that

people have vis-à-vis others in the decision situation (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004). Although, role-related cues were not frequently mentioned by couples in daily decision-making, these cues were important to the couples who did mention them and they corresponded to the underlying family role construals that members of couples held. Two of the role-related decision cues observed in this study (fairness and career prioritizing) used in making daily decisions were related to the roles that spouses took relative to one another. This further signifies the importance of coupledom in work-family decision-making.

Weber et al. (2004) describes how identity interacts with the situation in decision-making; specifically, identity affects the situational cues to which decision makers attend and affects how the situation is understood. Consistent with this, role-related cues affected the other cues to which my participants attended and how they understood their situations. For example, career prioritizing was associated with the use of fewer decision cues and a more independent approach to decision-making. When a couple prioritized one spouses' career, members of the couple attended to cues in decision situations that allowed them to make decisions which protected and advanced the career of that spouse. When members of couples both prioritized one spouses' career but also desired fairness in their decisions, they needed to attend very closely to situational and activity cues to determine whether a situation called for protecting and advancing the prioritized career or the possibility of taking turns. In general, when couples invoked fairness, they considered many more cues, took more coupled approaches to making decisions and more thoroughly compared situational and activity cues of each member in decision-making. For those couples, work-family decisions look like opportunities to share equally in responsibilities and opportunities (unless situational and activity cues highly favor an unfair choice). Even for couples who did not articulate role-related cues in their decisions, analysis of couples' family role construals revealed that role expectations associated with their family roles and underlying assumptions about gender roles are consistent with the choices they make. Although, people are not always aware they are invoking their roles in decision situations, they nonconsciously and automatically behave in identity consistent ways (Weber et al., 2004; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989).

After the couple has identified the situation vis-à-vis their combination of cues and their role identities, the second step in role-based decision-making involves role enactment through rule following. Theoretically, the interaction of the situation and identity activates behavioral

rules that members of couples enact in a given situation which stem from identity-based and socially prescribed role expectations (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004). These rules answer the question "What does a person like me do in a situation like this?" (Webber et al., 2004, p. 281). Role-related cues that couples described and family role construals are associated with role expectations that members of couples hold for themselves in the situations they identify. Once members of couples recognize situations related to their roles, these then become opportunities to enact spousal and parental role expectations through the rules these generate. Weber et al. (2004) notes that it is this second step involving role enactment through the application of rules of appropriateness that is largely nonconscious and automatic. Through the analysis of multiple decisions both within and across couples, the rules guiding couples' decisions were revealed. These appropriateness rules maintain alignment between couples' role construals and the choices they make in decisions situations. It is important to note that the rules identified exist at the level of the couple because they emanate from the couple's combination of family role construals and the ways spouses enact decisions vis-à-vis one another. Given the coupledness of daily decision-making, the data from this study point to the conclusion that members of couples invoke the question 'What does a *couple* like us do in a situation like this?' and they extend the appropriateness framework from the individual to the couple-level of analysis. This is a critical contribution of my work.

Daily decision situations involve the scanning of situational cues and then the implementation of one solution. Notably, couples did not consider multiple options or choices in their daily decisions. If work-family decisions followed rational choice models more closely, then one would expect to see scenarios in which decision makers consider multiple options and judge each option against criteria to determine which choice would provide the best expected utility or at least consider the utility of multiple options until they find a satisfactory solution (March, 1994). This is not what daily work-family decisions look like. Rather, decisions about routines and immediate non-routine activities involve the consideration of multiple decision cues and the enactment of a choice that is consistent with how a couple sees themselves in the situation at hand. It is worth noting, however, that the process for scheduled non-routine decisions may have some more rational aspects, specifically in terms of the consideration and judgment of alternative choices and utility maximizing in calendaring, support seeking and preparing.

Work-family decision-making comprises more decision types than past research has suggested. Scholarship dealing with the issue of work-family decision-making suggests there are different types of work-family decisions. For example, Powell and Greenhaus (2010) discuss a threefold typology of decisions including role-entry, role-participation and role-exit decisions. Other scholars make the distinction between major vs. minor decisions at the work-family interface. Specifically, Poelmans et al. (2013) note that some work-family decision situations involve "day-to-day micro-decisions," whereas others deal with "more substantial, long-term macro-decisions" (p. 137). Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) also present a framework which delineates larger scale 'anchoring' decisions from 'daily' decisions. As I explored couple-level stories about daily work-family routines, how those routines came about and how decisions were made in the face of non-routine events, one thing that became clear is that the category of 'daily' decision-making (i.e. Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014) does not adequately differentiate the types of work-family decisions happening on a day-to-day basis. Some day-to-day work-family decisions evolve over time, some are about activities planned for a later date and still others need to be made immediately. This corresponds with research on the process of decision-making, which has shown that the magnitude of a decision as well as the immediacy of decision-making will likely influence the process and outcome of the decision (March, 1994; Poelmans et al., 2013). The fourth major contribution of this thesis is the delineation of a decision framework that includes four categories of work-family decisions: anchoring decisions, decisions about routines, immediate non-routine decisions and scheduled non-routine decisions. I focused on the decision processes of the three types of daily decisions (i.e., routine, immediate non-routine, and scheduled non-routine decisions) and I discuss my conclusions for each of those types of decision below. However, because anchoring decisions are important in framing or structuring all other categories of decisions and infusing identity and role expectations in daily decisions, I first briefly discuss what is known about this type of decision and where my results fit in with that knowledge. Within the four-decision framework, I summarize my findings pertaining to the relative emphasis on different decision cues and the general processes for the four decisions; I also point out how these findings contribute to this area of research. Table 7 summarizes the four types of decisions.

Table 7

Summary of Work-Family Decisions

Decision Type	Definition of decision	Examples	Decision Cues	Decision Process
Anchoring Decisions	Major work-family decisions dealing with choices which have relatively permanent implications for the distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Poelmans et al., 2013; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014).	Accepting a work promotion Taking an international assignment Changing jobs Changing from full- to part-time employment Becoming self-employed Buying a new home closer to work Changing childcare (from daycare to a nanny, changing daycares) Having a child Choosing a spouse or partner	Macro-economic, societal and cultural cues Situational cues (e.g., organizational policies and cultures, supervisor supportiveness) Demographic and career factors of each spouse Financial cues Identity and role-related cues Preferences, values and beliefs	(Boundedly) Rational consideration of benefits and costs of alternative choices. Couple-level deliberation, communication and negotiation to co-create identity consistent anchoring structures within which to enact daily lives.

Decision Type	Definition of decision	Examples	Decision Cues	Decision Process
Decisions about Routines	Decisions dealing with choices involving two or more family members which have quasi-permanent implications for the distribution of daily or weekly time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Jensen et al., 1983; Medved, 2004; Poelmans et al., 2013).	Setting work hour routines (when and where work is typically done) Dropping off and picking up children at daycare or school, meeting the school bus or waiting for the nanny's arrival Working at secondary employment Transporting children to extra-curricular activities Volunteering Playing league sports Attending fitness classes	Existing routines Situational cues Role-related cues	Application of rules of appropriateness (How can we fit a new routine element into our existing routine?): Iterative, path dependent development of whole routine that works for everyone involved.
Immediate Non-Routine Decisions	Day-to-day or one time work-family decisions dealing with choices which have relatively immediate implications for the temporary distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Poelmans et al., 2013; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014).	Receiving a call about a sick child during the middle of the workday Being notified about an unexpected school or daycare closure Receiving a message that the care provider is ill Being asked to attend a last minute work meeting outside regular work hours Being notified last minute about optional or required overtime work Receiving a work-related phone call or other communications on non-work time	Existing routines Situational cues Financial cues Activity cues Role-related cues	Application of rules of appropriateness (Is this something that needs to be done? How can we make it work?): Scanning situational cues, finding the least problematic solution.

Decision Type	Definition of decision	Examples	Decision Cues	Decision Process
Scheduled Non-Routine Decisions	Work-family decisions dealing non-routine events or activities that happen only once or occasionally, made with some advanced notice, related to the temporary distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Poelmans et al., 2013).	Scheduled work events, conferences or meetings that happen outside of normal work hours Additional work hours put in during known workload cycles Work travel Special family or family member's events that happen during work time Annual doctors or dentists appointments for self or family members Annual board meeting for a volunteer committee	Existing routines Situational cues Activity cues Role-related cues	Application of rules of appropriateness (Is this something I (we) want to do? How do we make it work?): Scheduling, joint calendaring, supporting and support seeking, and preparing.

***Anchoring Decisions*.** Anchoring decisions are major work-family decisions dealing with choices that have relatively permanent implications for the distribution of time, energy and resources in work, family or personal domains (Poelmans et al., 2013; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014). There is evidence from past research suggesting that anchoring decisions are made at the couple level in the same way daily decisions involve couple-based, system-level thinking as observed in this study. For example, several authors have offered couple-level career management models, recognizing that the career of one spouse is intimately connected to that of the other spouse (e.g., Budworth et al., 2008; Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014; Han & Moen, 1999; Moen & Yu, 2000; Rettig, 1993; Pixley, 2008). However, others have argued that family is considered in work decisions only when the individual has a strong family role identification (Greenhaus & Powell, 2012). Either way, anchoring decisions tend to be difficult decisions, the consequences and scope of these decisions are large in magnitude, and they are generally situations in which the financial aspect of the decision is salient (Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; March, 1994; Rose, 1992; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989; Weber et al., 2004). Because of this, the process may require a high level of information gathering and processing, extensive cognitive deliberations, as well as explicit discussions (Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Haber & Austin, 1992; March, 1994; Rose, 1992; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989; Weber et al., 2004). Decision science would suggest this decision type lends itself to weighing of alternatives and reflecting on the implications of each following a more rational approach (March, 1994; Weber et al., 2004). Consistent with this, when participants in this study talked about anchoring decisions, they described a process involving the consideration of alternative choices. At the same time, I observed that anchoring decisions tend to be identity-consistent and it is mainly through anchoring decisions that identity gets embedded into daily decisions. Three studies provide corroborating evidence that identities influence the decision process of anchoring decisions. Radcliffe and Cassel (2014) found that preferences and values (related to identities) are predominantly considered in anchoring decisions, not in daily decisions. Challiol and Magnonac (2005) found that the work and family roles that members of couples have vis-à-vis one another played a larger role in relocation decisions than objective decision criteria. Kivetz and Tyler (2007) found that, when decisions are made about role investments in the distant (rather than proximal) future, participants attend to identity over instrumental considerations. My data reinforce these past findings. Couples seem to make anchoring decisions in an identity

consistent manner using a primarily (boundedly) rational approach, which then allows their daily decisions to be identity consistent as well.

Decisions about work-family routines. Routines are recurrent activities, actions or interactions that happen daily or weekly and that involve two or more family members (Fiese et al., 2002; Jensen et al., 1983; Medved, 2004). Decisions about work-family routines include adding a new element to the daily or weekly routine or changing a current element of the routine. Examples of work-family routines include work hour routines (when and where work is typically done), dropping off and picking up children at daycare or school in the morning and afternoon, meeting the school bus or waiting for the nanny's arrival and working at secondary employment. Decisions about routines are quasi-permanent (Medved, 2004) and though they may feel like daily minutiae, decisions about routines can be considered relatively large in magnitude because they are linked with significant consequences over time (Becker, 2004; De Goede, 2012; Fiese et al., 2002; Jensen et al., 1983; Sheely, 2010). The timeframe for making-decisions about routines is ambiguous. Sillars and Kalbfleisch's (1989) perspective on couple-level decision-making suggests that putting a routine together is an unclear, incomplete and fragmented task in which routine elements evolve over time and small, incremental steps are spontaneously taken toward establishing a whole (albeit dynamic) routine.

I found that routine decisions are made within the framework created by anchoring decisions (Becker, 2004; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014), but I also observed that the routines created by anchoring decisions also form an important part of that anchoring framework. Couples consider situational cues when making decisions about new routines, but they also consider the existing routines that are already in place. The decision process for adding new elements or making changes to old elements of a routine occur by surveying situational cues and current routines to find a place to fit in the addition or change. As noted above, identity probably informs which cues are attended to in these decisions and the process is likely to be largely heuristic and nonconscious. Sometimes fitting in new routines requires old elements of the routine to bend to make space for the new element. This may require a few iterations of flexing other elements of the routine to make it work. Each iteration would require the consideration of situational cues and routines to determine what adjustments are possible (and/or preferred based on role expectations and identities). Eventually, if adjustments have not resulted in a viable solution, couples may resort to anchoring changes in order to find a routine that works well for everyone

involved. Work-family research has largely ignored work-family routines, aside from some research on communication; thus, the illumination of routines as an important decision category and these observations about how routines are built and changed serve as important first steps in understanding this couple-level process.

Non-routine work-family decisions. Like decisions about routines, decision-making in non-routine situations is mainly based on the situational cues emanating from the anchoring structures in the system. Further, the anchoring structures partly create these non-routine situations and affect the frequency with which specific non-routine situations occur. Non-routine decision situations involve a comparison between two competing activities, thus a survey of the situation also involves a closer look at characteristics of activities themselves. Work-family research has focused on situations where two important activities compete with each other for the same time slot (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2003) or incidents of work-family conflict (Epie, 2009; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015), however I found that non-routine activities usually compete with work-family routines, not other non-routine activities, and that these situations may or may not be construed as incidents of work-family conflict because of the ways different couples interpret and deal with them. The observation that most decisions involving non-routine activities are made in comparison to regular routines further signifies the importance of studying the role of routines in on decision-making and work-family research in general.

Novel non-routine situations require a more thoughtful assessment of the situational cues in order to place oneself within the situation and determine what role-related rule to invoke. When specific non-routine situations come up frequently, couples develop decision logics or plans to deal with them efficiently (Maertz & Boyar 2011; Medved 2004), change their routines to accommodate the activity or reduce its impact on routines, or make changes to anchors to reduce its frequency or eliminate the activity. In this way, couples play an active role in creating the context in which non-routine decisions are made.

Immediate non-routine decisions. Research on work-family decision-making has generally looked at episodes of work-family conflict, which largely consist of immediate non-routine decisions (Epie, 2009; Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006; Shockley & Allen, 2015). Immediate non-routine decisions are the decisions that need to be made on the spot with relatively little advanced notice and that are usually role participation decisions made

between two competing activities happening simultaneously in different domains. Immediate decisions are made by quickly scanning situational and activity cues to identify the situation and then following whatever rule is invoked by that situation, which depends on the dual situation of the couple and their combination of role construals.

Most immediate non-routine situations that come up are anticipated because the couple has a history of these happening, they are built into one's job description or they are known family/non-work occurrences. Although couples do not know when specific instances will pop up, they find anchors and build routines in order to prevent non-routine activities from becoming a problematic interference or at least to minimize the impact of the interference. Attempts to quantify episodes of work-family conflict (e.g., Shockley & Allen, 2015) may underestimate these episodes because activities are not construed as conflicts when routines are built so that anticipated non-routine activities do not disrupt the routine or when couples share responsibilities for routines in such a way that non-routine activities can easily be accommodated by either partner. In other words, work-family decision-making research seems to have concentrated on a subset of immediate non-routine decisions – those that result in interference – while largely missing out on opportunities to understand more about how the same incidents are managed by couples to minimize their interference or prevent them altogether; it may also have failed to uncover the fact that some 'incidents' are not even classified as work-family conflicts at all because of the way couples manage them. Another key contribution of this study is in the revelation that non-routine immediate decisions do not always end in work-family conflict and in the identification of some of the processes by which that is achieved. This adds to a small literature on how strategies for creating balance are sometimes a response to conflict or used to prevent conflicts (Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Medved, 2004; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Wiersma, 1994).

Scheduled non-routine decisions. Many non-routine activities are ones that are scheduled in the future, not ones that come up at a moment's notice and need to be decided upon immediately. Scheduled non-routine decisions are not very consequential in terms of impact on couples' work-family routines or major-life anchors, however some of these activities may hold special importance to decision makers. While it may be quite difficult to make a choice between two somewhat important events when neither can be rescheduled (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2003), my data suggests these situations are relatively rare. Like immediate non-routine

activities, most scheduled non-routine events compete with an activity of lesser importance (usually a routine) and because there are several days or several months to make these decisions, creative solutions can usually be found. Scheduled non-routine decisions are created from, and constrained or enabled by, anchoring structures and routines of the work-family system like other daily decisions, however activity cues seem more important for making scheduled decisions because these decisions are mostly about calendaring an event in the future and making it work with the routines or other activities already on the calendar. Also, structures may be more flexible when activities are infrequent and decided upon in advance, so decision makers may not be so bound to situational cues for these decisions. The process for making scheduled non-routine decisions seems to involve role-based processes, but also has the potentially more rational aspects of how to implement the decision. Choices about calendaring, support seeking and preparing for the event are potentially utility maximizing and effortful processes of considering and weighing alternatives and making arrangements.

Couples described scheduled non-routine activities as manageable, undisruptive and even opportunities which were pleasantly anticipated. This aligns with research showing that when individuals perceive greater control over a situation, they experience less work-family conflict and role overload (Duxbury, Higgins, & Lee, 1994; Thomas & Ganster, 1995). On the other hand, a large-scale national study of work-family conflict in Canada suggests that individuals at risk for chronically high levels of work-family conflict are those with work demands that remove them from the family domain (e.g., work travel) or take time away from family that is usually reserved for non-work time (e.g., unpaid overtime, work events; Duxbury & Higgins, 2005). At least some of the work activities mentioned in that study are the scheduled non-routine activities observed in this one. Further, studies about work restructuring for family typically cite reducing overtime work and reducing work travel as ways to achieve balance (Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Milkie & Peltola, 1999). The specific non-routine activities that couples face, the anchoring structures in which those activities occur, the frequency of those activities, and the type of couple facing them may all make a difference in how these decisions are experienced and managed. Past research on work-family decisions has largely been about immediate episodes of conflict, whereas decisions about known activities that are scheduled in advance, the processes involved in scheduled non-routine decisions, and how these situations are dealt with by couples, have for the most part been neglected. It is a noteworthy contribution of this study to highlight

scheduled non-routine decisions as an important decision category and to present some initial observations about the frequency of and the process for making these decisions.

An important contribution of this study is that it uncovers the immersed part of the iceberg in terms of many work-family decisions that have received little attention in work-family science. As noted, decision-making research has focused on immediate episodes when work and non-work activities compete for attention. From these studies we have learned a great deal about how individuals manage experienced work-family conflicts. However, the actual incidence of non-routine decisions that end in conflict may be minor in comparison to all of the daily decision situations that couples face. By studying a broader range of non-routine events and by doing so within the context of work-family routines, I learned that couples actively manage the work-family interface and share family demands in different ways such that many episodes of conflict are solved without resulting in interference between roles or are prevented through adjustments to routines or changes to anchors. When an episode of interference does arise, it is usually a non-routine event competing with a work-family routine, not two important non-routine events competing for attention as past research would suggest. Further, activities that are scheduled in advance often are not reported in episodic studies, although they may make up a significant portion of the non-routine events that couples face. Taken together, this suggests that certain situations may not be construed as conflicts by everyone and there is a broader range of daily work-family decision situations than past research has revealed. Also, though scheduled activities seem easier to manage overall, it is possible that when both scheduled and immediate non-routines activities accrue over time, couples may reach the limit of their resources to deal with these situations. As a result, even within couples, a given situation may be construed differently depending on what came before. Looking at the idea of work-family conflict from a 'levels' perspective (Maertz & Boyar, 2010), it could be that chronically high levels of work-family conflict or family-work conflict reflect reactions to an episodic accumulation of interference events. This is consistent with the suggestion of Radcliffe and Cassell (2014) and may allow us to link episodes of conflict, at least more frequent ones, more closely with the anchoring strategies couples use to manage the work-family interface. Past studies have reported various anchoring strategies (Becker & Moen, 1999; Haddock et al., 2006; Milkie & Peltola, 1999; Singley & Hynes, 2005), but those studies have not reported the specific types of daily issues that major changes to work-family roles are meant to resolve. For example, becoming a

one job, one career couple (Becker & Moen, 1999) may be designed to allow one spouse to attend to all family-related routines and non-routine family-to-work conflicts, whereas the other spouse can easily accept work "interfering" with family, thus ensuring their ability to provide financially for the family.

Family role construals are central to work-family decisions, and decision-making differs by couple type. A fifth contribution of this thesis is that it lends empirical support to the theoretical couple typology developed by Masterson and Hoobler (2015) and applies this typology to demonstrate how different types of couples use different decision processes and make different decisions. Consistent with the framework, I found that spouses in neo-traditional couples took on very different family roles from one another due to the underlying differences in their role construals. I observed that symmetrical couples (egalitarian, family-first and outsourced) had role construals and roles that overlapped to the extent that the spouses were interchangeable in the roles they enacted in the work-family system. The non-traditional couples in my sample, however, deviate from the theory in that they are not nearly as asymmetrical as the neo-traditional couples. There was more role overlap between spouses in the non-traditional couples in my sample than those theoretically described and the differences in role construals between spouses in these couples were more a matter of emphasis than a complete complementarity of roles (unlike neo-traditional couples). This occurred because non-traditional wives emphasized career more than care-based role construals, though they still included an element of care, and husbands emphasized care more than career-based role construals, though they still had an element of career too. Another notable difference from the original theoretical framework is that Masterson and Hoobler (2015) described career and care-based role construals as *family* role expectations. However, my sample talked about family role expectations more broadly. These couples talked about all of the role expectations that form the basis of care and career-based role construals as specific functions of the parenting role, not of their family roles in general. This calls into question how well the typology would fit the experiences of couples without children or whose children have grown and left the nest.

This study extends Masterson and Hoobler's (2015) discussion of decision-making by couple type. My data shows how couples of different types have different starting points for daily decision-making because of the combinations of their role construals and because they have made different anchoring decisions over time; this leaves them with different anchoring

structures and decision cues to inform their decision processes. When asymmetrical couples make daily decisions, the care-based spouses generally take on decisions and responsibilities related to caregiving, whereas the career-based spouses tend to develop routines and make non-routine decisions that promote their ability to provide for the family. Asymmetrical couples tend to use fewer cues and take a more independent approach when making daily decisions. On the other hand, symmetrical couples rely more on situational cues, take more coupled approaches, and use more communication in daily decision-making. Also, work-family boundaries seem to be erected and managed in ways that align with the family role construals held by members of couples. The analysis of couples based on their role construals supports the conclusion that daily decision-making follows a role-based approach and that role identities are important in motivating behavior and decisions at the work-family interface.

Identity theorists make explicit the functions of both identity centralities and identity construals in behavioral enactments and decision-making (e.g. Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Stets & Burke, 2000). People invest more heavily in their most central roles and decisions often align with identity hierarchies when choices are made between competing role identities (e.g. Farmer & Van Dyne, 2010; Lobel, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2000). In terms of construal, people have personal interpretations for each role identity they hold and those interpretations are associated with behavioral role expectations and decision rules (e.g. Burke & Reitzes, 1981, 1991; March, 1994; Stets & Burke, 2000; Thoits, 1996; Weber et al., 2004). Past work-family research has predominantly focused on the role of identity centrality in work-family decision-making (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Greenhaus et al., 2012; Kossek & Lautsch, 2012; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006, 2010), but in reality both aspects of identity are important for understanding decision-making. Also, information about one aspect of identity does not necessarily inform researchers about the other. Having a career-based family role construal is not the same thing as having high work-role centrality. A person may construe his or her family role as one of provider and role model, but not see the work role as central to his or her self-concept. In fact, in my sample, ratings for work centrality for individuals with career-based family role construals ranged from 2 to 5 (on a 6-point scale). Also, having a care-based family role construal (seeing oneself as a caregiver and nurturer in the family) does not automatically mean that the work role is unimportant. Work centrality ratings ranged from 1 to 6 in for care-based spouses in my sample. Also, although individuals with care-based family role construals generally invest less

time in the work role than those with career- or career and care-based family role construals, some feel that their work identity is at least equally central to their self-concept as their family identity. What's more, routines and decisions depend on how members of couples are paired together in their role construals. Although, on average, most participants rated family as the more central identity (which may partially reflect a bias toward the socially desirable response), the distance between the centralities varied by family construal and couple type. For example, career-based spouses in neo-traditional couples invest heavily in their work roles, though they do not necessarily see their work identities as central to their self-concept. In fact, all but one of the neo-traditional dads rated family as more central than work (a family centrality mean of 5.43 vs. a work centrality mean of 3.57). In contrast, career-based spouses in outsourced couples, who also invest heavily in their work roles, appear to have a smaller difference between ratings of work and family role centralities (a family centrality mean of 4.88 and a work centrality mean of 3.63). By attending to identity construals and looking at decision-making processes at the level of the couple, it becomes more possible to predict what a person with equally central work and family role identities (e.g. dual-centrics, Kossek & Lautsch, 2012) might decide in a situation where work and family activities compete. A dual-centric person who construes his or her family role as caregiving and nurturing and whose spouse has a career-based family role construal would likely select the family activity; on the other hand, a dual-centric person who construes his or her family role as providing and whose spouse has a care-based role construal would likely select the work activity. This study contributes to the conversation about the importance of identity construals and role expectations in behaviors, decisions, and strategies for managing work and family roles (e.g., Amatea et al., 1986; Grzywacz & Carlson, 2007; Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). It is clear from this research that the centrality of role identities is not enough to fully understand or predict what members of couples will do in a decision situation involving the consideration of both work and family identities. Understandings about construals as well as how members of couples are paired together in their role identities also contributes important information about the decision-making process.

Implications

Implications for Research. This study shows that couples make daily decisions about work-family routines and non-routine activities at the level of the couple and the process for making work-family decisions depends on the type of decision and the type of couple making the

decision. This is an important advance in our knowledge regarding decision-making at the work-family interface because past research has mainly looked at individual-level decision-making and has mainly focused on instances of work-family conflict. Given that the dual-income family system includes the demands and resources of not one, but two people, and possibly the instrumental support of many others outside the couple, solutions can often be found and conflict avoided. Further, not all daily work-family decisions involve a conflict situation that must be immediately settled; in fact, many decisions involve setting or adjusting routines or scheduling a 'conflict' in the future. The implication of these findings is that work-family research on decision-making has only begun to explore the types of decisions made at the work-family interface and the interpersonal and social processes involved in these decisions. By studying daily decision-making with a more open ended approach, rather than focusing on pre-defined episodes of work-family conflict, I was able to uncover new processes that link work and family domains, instead of presupposing that when individuals have both work and family demands, interference will occur by definition (e.g. ten Brummelhuis & Bakker, 2012)

The findings of this study lend further support to past claims that work-family decisions in dual-income couple are made at the level of the couple. This implies that more research needs to be done at the couple-level. Also, taking a couple-level perspective could shed new light on existing knowledge of work-family processes and models. For example, Shockley and Allen (2015) found that individuals tend to alternate between choosing work or choosing family in subsequent episodes of work-family conflict. These authors suggest that individuals use this compensatory pattern in an attempt to balance work and family goals. The findings of the present study offer an alternative explanation for their findings. Couples who invoke the fairness cue in work-family conflict situations would trade off responsibility for responding to these situations to achieve equality. As a result, each spouse alternates between choosing work or choosing family in subsequent episodes of the same non-routine situation. Other couple-types might take different approaches.

Past research has used identity centrality and gender roles to predict and/or explain work-family experiences (e.g., Bagger et al., 2008; Bagger & Li, 2012; Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Powell & Greenhaus, 2006); my research suggests that identity construal – how an individual personally defines his or her roles - may better predict decision-making processes, choices and outcomes. It is important to recognize that someone who sees his or her family role as very

important and more central than other roles, may make decisions favoring a greater commitment to work, rather than forgoing or scaling back on work commitments to better care for family, if he or she has a career-based family role construal that entails financially supporting the family (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). At the couple-level, it is noteworthy that many couples seem to have an egalitarian basis for their role construals and enactments (4/5 of couples in this study). This means that when studies assume gender roles but do not empirically test them, there may actually be a good portion of the sample with egalitarian beliefs who do not fit into the assumed (traditionally) gendered divisions of roles. By separating out (neo)traditional couples from those with egalitarian beliefs about men and women's role in the family, rather than assigning gender values based on sex, researchers could gain a better understanding of how gender roles affect work-family experiences (Powel & Greenhaus, 2010). Overall, it appears that role construals are likely to play an important role in work-family decisions and they should be measured empirically.

Implications for Practice. For organizations, the findings of this study may help them develop human resource policies and organizational cultures that are better aligned with the realities that employees face as dual-earner couples. Considering the different categories of work-family decisions and the different cues and processes for making the different types of decisions, it becomes clear that there must also be a range of work-family policies and practices in organizations that allow work and family to coexist in a comfortable manner. For anchoring decisions, hiring managers and human resource personnel should consider that individuals are embedded in different family and couple situations, thus they may be seeking different structures at work at different points in time. Organizations could help couples by offering a range of anchoring structures, such as full- and part-time work-hour schedules, shared positions, shift work, telework options, and (non)travel positions rather than one-size-fits-all employment for all employees. As work-family decisions happen at the level of the couple, organizational stakeholders need to recognize and support the efforts of employees whose lives are linked with others (Budworth et al., 2008; Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014). In hiring and promotion practices, realistic job previews (e.g. Phillips, 1998; Premack & Wanous, 1985) which include information about the frequency and types of non-routine work activities, work travel, expectations about work-family boundary permeability and schedule (in)flexibilities can allow potential employees to think about and discuss with their spouse the implications of taking a new position for their

work-family routines and the way they share their roles and responsibilities. Also, hiring managers and human resource personnel should not assume that a woman with children would rather be at home raising them, nor should they assume that a working father only plays a small role in his family's routine (Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). If hiring managers are concerned about whether an applicant would be able to fulfill the responsibilities of a position, they should consider asking the more direct (and legally defensible) question of whether the person is available for work activities during nights and weekends or available by phone or email in the evenings. While traditional families still exist, there are a variety of couple types in which spouses find different ways to support each other's work and family role expectations. Employers should strive for fit between the needs of the organization and the needs of the employee (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). Taking a work-home perspective (Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014), employers could seek employees who fit both in terms of the skills, abilities, and temperaments they bring to the job and in terms of their need to balance their work with the other commitments they have outside of work. Ideally, employers would engage in open communication about family demands, rather than continuing outdated practices and assumptions about unencumbered (ideal) employees (Davies & Frink, 2014; Reid, 2015; Sallee, 2012). This would allow employees to better manage their careers alongside their employed spouses and achieve 'couple-job fit'. Looking at this from the perspective of career counseling, career counsellors may help young adults think through the stages of their careers, recognize the interdependence of career paths between couples, and consider the possibility of sharing career decision-making with a future spouse who may or may not share the same ambitions or role expectations (Basuil & Casper, 2012).

Routine decision-making speaks to the need for flexible work hours, especially the ability to set one's own schedule and telework options. As routines change over time, workers may need to reset their schedule to accommodate changes in children's schedules such as when children transition from daycare to school. Companies could also encourage departments to plan meetings during core hours, not at the very beginning or end of the work day when working parents are more likely to utilize the flexibility in scheduling to perform their family responsibilities (e.g., Perlow, 1998). Some employees may even be willing to participate in a 9:00 p.m. phone meeting rather than one onsite at 4:00 p.m. when they need to run out for their pick-up routine. However, it is not fair to assume all employees with dependent care responsibilities have the same

scheduling needs. Individuals' availabilities for routine and non-routine work activities can depend on their spouses' work schedules and scheduling policies, and these factors are considered when spouses make decisions about work hour routines. Some couples have one member who works unusual hours (e.g. a night shift) or who has a rotating schedule. In these couples, routines may vary from one day to the next and these employees may need to set different work hours on different days of the week. Working parents may also desire a stable, known schedule rather than variable or last minute work hours as this helps them achieve that predictable regularity they need in order to satisfactorily balance work and family (Levine-Epstien, 2016). Or at least a predictable, variable schedule because the advanced notice is easier to deal with than random, last minute occurrences. Employers should also understand that the need to set alternative schedules, restructure routines, or even the choice to work a reduced workload schedule or take a temporary leave from work does not necessarily signify a lack of commitment to work (Shockley & Allen, 2012). One potential mechanism for allowing flexibility but still assuring that organizational goals are met and services are provided is by letting work teams figure out how to cover shifts, provide services, and meet project goals among themselves (e.g., Bhave, Kramer, & Glomb, 2010; Hunter, Perry, Carlson, & Smith, 2010; Moen, Fan, & Kelly, 2013). For example, 451 Sandra talked about sharing the early shift with a colleague because the usual person who staffed that shift was on medical leave. Because her ability to work the early shift depended on her husband's rotating schedule, she and her colleague needed to communicate continually about which of them could cover the shift each day. Since members of work teams often work closely together, they may already be aware of the constraints and demands outside of work faced by each member of the team. This puts them in a better position to find solutions that work for everyone.

In terms of non-routine decision-making, paid leave policies are important, especially when they can be used in one hour or half day increments. Also flextime and flexplace (e.g., telework) policies which allow employees' hours and place of work to vary from one day to the next are useful, particularly in immediate non-routine decision situations. Employees may choose to flex their time rather than forgo work hours to meet non-routine family needs when they are given the autonomy and ability to do so. For example, a working father may need to suddenly leave work to collect a sick child from school, but may prefer to make up the work hours in the evening at home rather than utilize paid leave for the unexpected family

responsibility. However, companies and individuals need to be careful about the use of telework and mobile working programs because some workers feel that this type of work blurs the boundaries between work and home and they have a hard time shutting work off when work is mobile (Hill, Hawkins, & Miller, 1996), particularly if they feel pressure from their employer to be available to work any time of the day or night (Mazmanian, 2012; Mazmanian, Orlikowski, & Yates, 2013). Although the 24/7 economy plays a role in creating these pressures (Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014) and may require national level efforts (e.g., a ban on companies contacting workers outside of regular work hours; Stuart, 2014) to rectify the problem, companies can make concerted efforts to avoid the "trap of constant connectivity" (Mazmanian, 2012, p. 1225), while still offering workers flexibility to deal with non-routine events. Further, my data suggest that non-routine work can be better managed when work schedules and non-routine work events are known in advance. For example, several teachers in this sample described a policy requiring at least 24 hours advanced notice for any meetings or events outside regular work hours and how this helped them avoid potential work-family conflicts. Although these types of policies may not be practical in some work environments, employers may be able to use regular communication or scheduled meetings, such as quarterly reviews, to forecast upcoming surges in workload. Even if exact dates and times for work overflow cannot be identified, employees could put plans into place for the possibility of overtime if they have been forewarned about a period of time when they may need to work additional hours or be called upon to attend to last minute work. For example, they may be able to secure a safety net or hold off on using their safety net so that they are sure to have help when they need it most. This is important because the reaction to scheduled or anticipated activities is very different from that of disruptive, stress inducing immediate non-routine activities. When employees are deliberately given a longer lead time for scheduling non-routine work (events), the better they can plan, prepare and seek support to cover work and family responsibilities. Lastly, policies requiring employees to be incommunicado while at work may not work for everyone. If both spouses in a dual-income couple are subject to such policies, then neither one can receive a call when a child is unexpectedly ill. Organizations may need to specify how parents can be reached during working hours if cell phones are not allowed in the workplace.

Further, past research has shown that organizations may formally offer work-family policies but employees' use of such policies may depend on the culture of the organization and

individual supervisor's support for policy use (Behson, 2005; Butts et al., 2013; Kossek et al., 2011). The findings of this study provides a better understanding of the daily dynamics of employees' experiences in the context of their family responsibilities and routines. With this understanding, organizations can bolster their efforts in creating family-friendly environments in which members of dual-income couples can avoid stressful episodes of work-family conflict or a chronic case of work-life imbalance (Shockley & Allen, 2007). Also, supervisors can learn to better support employees' efforts to satisfactorily manage work and home on a daily basis by considering employee's work-family routines and offering autonomy in how work and family activities are planned. In fact, organizations could offer training for managers on how to be supportive of employees' daily family needs. Although it is easy to tell managers to be supportive, not all managers may know how to do so intuitively.

These findings could also serve as a resource for couples, particularly for those that are struggling to find strategies that work for both members of the couple in meeting their role responsibilities and expectations. One implication from this study is that educating working parents about possible solutions to untenable work-family routines and seemingly unworkable non-routine conflicts may help couples see possibilities they would not otherwise consider. Individuals and couples gave reasons and justifications for the decisions they made, but the decision-making process is bounded by past decisions, previous routines, and personal experiences (March, 1994; Poelmans, 2005, Rettig, 1993; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989; Weber et al., 2004). Introducing couples to a broader range of possible solutions may help them search beyond their limited experiences and see solutions that are feasible but unimaginable having had no exposure to them previously. For example, the wives of neo-traditional couples sought out or created work arrangements that allowed them to take on traditional household roles and yet work in meaningful and satisfying careers. They may serve as role models for others with care-based family construals who also want, or need, to generate income through gainful employment. Egalitarian couples may lack role models for how to share roles more evenly and how to achieve the ideal of equality or equity in the distribution of labor and rewards which may be constrained by the complex nature of work-family system (Singley & Hynes, 2005). Given that four out of five couple types expressed egalitarian beliefs, but in slightly different versions, the findings pertaining to different decision-making approaches by different couples may introduce couples to variations on the theme of role sharing. As people may not set out to find a partner who fits

their values and preferences about work and family, spouses may need to accommodate their partners' views and come to a system that works for both of them. Knowing that there are different types of couples and how those different types do things differently may help couples find approaches that work for both members of the couple. This finding may facilitate acceptance and validation of the different ways to operate as a working couple. When couples strive for work-family balance, they should keep in mind there is no one right way to be a dual-income couple.

The findings could serve as a basis for interventions aimed at improving couples' capacity to problem solve and manage their work-family interface either in a counseling setting or in company sponsored workshops. In the couple's therapy literature, conflicts between work and family have been described as one of the top problematic issue that couples face (Risch, Riley, & Lawler, 2003). In that context, clinicians can help couples explore the identity construals, role expectations, beliefs, decision rules, and decision processes guiding their work-family decisions and find solutions that the couples may have not considered on their own. By helping couples clarify their values in decision-making, this may also fortify their capacity to resist pressures at work that are inconsistent with their values or resist non-work pressure to conform to the ideals of other couples or other family members. Clinicians and workshops may also help couples develop constructive communication skills to help them co-manage their daily work-family responsibilities and their careers over the lifespan. These efforts could affect longer term outcomes such as marital and life satisfaction and overall well-being.

Limitations

Sample. There are several limitations to the sample used in this study. First, although multiple avenues were taken for participant recruitment, the sample is best described as a convenience sample. The findings may not represent experiences of the general population of dual-income couples with dependent childcare responsibilities. Also, couples at different life stages, singles and single parents are likely to follow different decision processes in routine and non-routine situations than those observed here and may manifest parent and family identities differently due to differences in life stage or circumstance. In fact, many couples noted that they had enacted their routines and made non-routine decisions that were more work-oriented before they had children and that they made decisions more independently from one another before sharing childcare responsibilities. Opposite-sex Caucasian couples also made up the majority of

the sample, although same-sex and racially diverse couples had some representation. Also, as noted, those participating were generally healthy families; decision processes are likely to be different for families with members who have special needs or long-term illness (e.g., Chung et al., 2007; Freedman, Litchfield, & Warfield, 1995; Rosenzweig, Brennan, & Ogilvie, 2002). Considering this, the findings should be considered preliminary until they are verified through additional testing with randomized samples of diverse couples (Ibarra, 1999). Although efforts were made to include couples in this study with diverse experiences; white, middle class, married, professional couples still made up the majority of the sample and the findings may best represent this subgroup.

Given that participation in the study placed considerable demands on a population of couples who already have high demands on their resources (e.g., Duxbury & Higgins, 2003), the couples who agreed to participate may have been couples experiencing lower than average levels of work-family conflict (Shockley & Allen, 2015). Further, the study required that both members of each couple agree to volunteer to participate, which may have appealed more to couples who are generally satisfied and less conflicted in their relationships with one another. Although it is possible that this kind of research could also appeal to couples who are experiencing higher levels of conflict and who were motivated to participate because they want to learn more about the issue of balancing work with family or at least have a chance to voice their struggles, this did not seem to be the case here. Although members of couples in my sample described many different kinds of work overflow (which are a key predictor of work-family conflict; Duxbury & Higgins, 2009), they also reported fairly low levels of work-to-family and family-to-work conflicts on average ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 1.55$ and $M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.11$, respectively). Having taken multiple approaches to participant recruitment and because recruitment followed a theoretical sampling approach (Patton, 2002), seeking different couples in specific situations or with different experiences as the study continued, it is not possible to determine if there are substantial differences between couples who chose to participate and those who declined. Despite these possibilities, the findings suggest that there is a range of approaches taken to balancing work and family – even among couples with potentially similar levels of balance or conflict.

Another limitation of the sample is that, once categorized into couple types, the sample size for some types of couples was quite small. For example, observations of family role construals and daily decision-making for non-traditional couples were based on two couples.

Although the small proportion of couples of this type in my sample may mirror the distribution of couples by type in the general population of dual-income couples, it is quite possible that these two couples were unique from a larger subset of couples who would fall into this category. A larger, representative sample of dual-income couples would be useful to replicate the findings, corroborate the proportion of couples that fall into each couple type and evaluate whether there are additional types of couples who do not fall into the couple typology.

Method. Couples may have reacted to the methodology used to gather the data in such a way that the findings deviate from what would have been seen using another approach. Gomm (2004) talks about the demand characteristics of a research context, suggesting that participants adjust their responses to meet what they perceive to be the expectations of the researcher. For example, knowing that the research question pertained to the interaction between work and family, participants may have presented work and family as more enmeshed rather than two separate, independent domains. Also, participation was spread over three episodes, so it possible that participants became increasingly aware of the interactions between work and family over the course of participation. While attempts were made to order the questions in such a way that would minimize reactivity and I attempted to create a time lag between episodes of data collection (in most cases), interviews affect people (Patton, 2005) and later data may have reflected the 'intervention' of the earlier questionnaire and interview. Further, because of the cooperative nature of the interview exchange, these may become fact-generating interactions (Gomm, 2004). Couples may have presented justifications and rationalized explanations of their routines and decisions rather than other types of accounts and downplayed any tensions or marital discord related to the issues of managing work and family responsibilities. Also, because portions of the decision processes explored in this study happen nonconsciously and automatically, couples may not be able to fully articulate their cognitive processes through retrospective accounts (Rieskamp & Hoffrage, 1999; Weber et al., 2004).

The qualitative approach often necessitates the researcher's presence throughout most of the data collection. Couples may have felt constrained in their responses due to issues of anonymity and confidentiality. Further, much of the interview data were gathered through joint interviews. Joint interviews allow members of couples to corroborate or supplement each other's stories or contradict an idealized account given by the other (Allen, 1980). Also, the interaction of the couple during the joint interview offers understandings about spouse's different points of

view and the way a couple recreates the account for the interviewer provides clues about the way they operate as a couple in making work-family decisions (Allen, 1980; Valentine, 1999). Despite these advantages, some researchers warn that the quality of the data may be compromised by joint interviews because partners present themselves differently when their spouse is present than when they are not (Boeije, 2004) and that members of couples may be more open and present less partner biased accounts when interviewed alone (Valentine, 1999; Wiesmann et al., 2008). Again, efforts were made to optimize the data through the content and the sequencing of the interviews. The joint interviews were conducted first and captured information about couples routines and decisions. These allowed me to observe couple's interactions in answering the questions. For example, some couples volleyed back and forth during decision-making and recounting, giving the impression both members of the couples 'owned' the problem, whereas other couples had a spokesperson for each domain or issue. These observations informed the discussion on manifestations of coupled decision-making. The later, separate interviews allow me to explore in more depth any issues or questions that arose from the joint interviews, gave members of couples a private space to discuss their roles and ideas and benefit from the rapport build during the first interviews. Overall, the quality of qualitative research depends on how well respondents' opinions are reflected in resulting models. Without going back to participants, it is not possible to know whether they would agree that the models presented in this thesis correspond to their perspectives on the situation, and without conducting the study through a different method, it is impossible to know the extent to which the methodological choices taken ended up constraining and/or altering responses to the questions asked.

In their accounts, couples seemed to make identity-consistent anchoring choices over time and those anchors then allowed them to engage in identity consistent routines and make identity consistent non-routine decisions. However, much of the interview data consisted of retrospective accounts and it is possible that couples constructed their narratives to match the decisions that they have made over time (Singley & Hynes, 2005). Given the cross-sectional nature of the study, it is difficult to separate the instances when participants self-selected into work and family contexts because those contexts aligned well with their own identities from instances when identities came to align with work and family contexts over time through the

process internalization. This may be an empirical question for another day using a methodology that allows one to study decision-making in real time and over time (Poelmans et al., 2013).

Directions for Future Research

Decisions at the work-family interface. The four decision framework articulated in this thesis expands on existing work-family decision types, but it still may not capture all possible types of work-family decisions and the relations between them. Future studies should aim to fill in any missing decision categories and to further articulate the relationships between different decision types. For example, work-family routines have received little research attention, but my data suggest that existing routines are considered in all types of work-family decisions. New routines are added to an existing framework of routines and routines usually still need to be accomplished when non-routine activities compete for time and attention. Research should further explore the processes and events that precipitate changes in work-family routines, such as reactions to or changes in the frequency of non-routine activities, episodic accumulation of work-family conflicts (Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981; Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Shockley & Allen, 2015), circumstances which impose identity inconsistent behavior (Maertz & Boyar, 2011; Thoits, 1991) and common junctures of work and family transition (e.g., transitioning to parenthood, a child graduating from daycare to school). Studies could also explore further the path dependent nature of routines, how practicing one routine results in being competent with that routine but not other routines due to lack of practice (competency traps) and how knowledge is dispersed among participants in a routine and how that may limit understanding between participants and the ability to easily share aspects of the routine (dispersedness of knowledge; Becker, 2004). These issues may limit couples' choices when they need to deal with a non-routine situation or change routines. Further, couples may not readily detect changes in their context or may not associate those changes with the routines they have (change blindness; Bazerman & Moore, 2009), this can result in obsolete routines being carried forward into new circumstances. Future research should also address the role of routines in anchoring decisions. For example, routines seem to act as decision criteria in anchoring decisions as couples explore alternative anchoring choices and consider which choice will allow them to achieve or maintain a workable routine.

Decision processes for routine and non-routine decisions. Future research should empirically validate the process diagrams for the different types of decisions and explore further

the manner in which rules of appropriateness and heuristic decision-making happens at the level of the couple. Episodic and longitudinal approaches would be helpful for clarifying the frequency with which different types of work-family decisions are made, how often couple's daily decisions result in work-family conflict and how and when conflicts are prevented. My research suggests that couples are actively engaged in preventing conflict situations from arising. Couples seem to avoid some conflicts by adjusting routines, supporting each other, laying down a safety net in anticipation of certain types of conflict and changing anchors. It may be that conflicts are only construed as such when a satisfactory solution cannot be found and a decision maker is stuck in that relatively rare circumstance where they have to make a forced choice between two competing activities. Work-family research could benefit from a more inclusive approach to decision-making by looking beyond immediate conflicts to other decision situations which are ever present but understudied and looking at the system of individuals involved in making decisions and preventing conflicts. Poelmans (2005) describes work-family conflict "as the intermediate result of decisions made in the course of time (p. 266)"; according to his approach conflict can be studied as an antecedent, a moderator, a mediator or a consequence in the decision-making process. Future research look at all of these possibilities.

Other directions for future development of the decision processes identified here include expanding these frameworks to couples at other life stages, divorced couples who share custody of their children, single parent families, or families with members with special needs. For example, the young professionals in Sturges (2012) study on work-life balance crafting seemed to express some similar concerns and choices as the dual-income couples with young children in this study as well as some divergent ones. Lastly, much of the work-family decision-making research is based on middle class, white, North American samples. Poelmans et al. (2013) and many others have noted the need to study decision-making in diverse samples as well as consider the role of national culture on decision processes.

The coupledness of work-family decisions. Overall, work-family research could benefit from more coupled approaches. There continues to be an over representation of women in work-family decision-making research (e.g., Shockley & Allen, 2015; Medved, 2004; Bagger & Li, 2012), though couple-level studies have consistently shown that the decisions of one spouse affect the decisions of the other and that decisions are often made at the level of the couple (e.g., Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Cathcart et al., 2008; Karambayya & Reilly, 1992; Livingston, 2014;

Radcliffe & Cassell, 2014; Singley & Hynes, 2005). Also, the coupledness of decision-making seems to manifest in different approaches. Studies could explore these approaches further; for example studies could determine whether there are additional approaches than those identified here and whether the coupledness of decision-making manifests differently at different life stages.

With respect to couple types and building on the work of Masterson and Hoobler (2015), it would be useful to study larger, more representative samples to understand the proportion of couples in the general population who fit into each couple category. My research suggests that egalitarian couples are most common, but future research could assess whether this is the case and whether the proportion of couples of each type varies in different geographic regions or across nations. Future research could also assess how couple type relates to work-family experiences and whether couples of different types subjectively define certain events or incidents as work-family conflicts whereas others do not. For example, couples of different types in this study appeared to have similar levels of satisfaction with achieving work-life balance as a couple, yet they had very different types and frequencies of work overflow. It could be interesting to explore what types of activities that couples of different types see as constituting work-to-family or family-to-work conflict or neither type of conflict. Another possibility would be to look at whether these decision processes could also be a source of work-family facilitation and enrichment and whether that differs by couple type. A larger, representative sample would be needed to test these ideas empirically. Couple of different types seem to use different strategies for managing work the work family interface and this may lead to different consequences over time (e.g., Forsberg, 2009, Livingston, 2014; Masterson & Hoobler, 2015; Moen & Yu, 2000; Shockley & Allen, 2015). I observed that couples of different types had made different anchoring choices over time. Though there has been some couple-level research on career management (e.g., Barnett & Lundgren, 1998; Budworth et al., 2008; Cathcart et al., 2008; Challiol & Magnonac, 2005; Hertz, 1988; Smith, 1997), future studies could provide a better understanding of how couples jointly experience and manage their careers. Taking, for example, the different career patterns observed in individual-level models (Baruch & Bozionelos, 2011; Greenhaus & Kossek, 2014; Sullivan & Baruch, 2009; Sullivan & Crocitto; 2007), couple-level research might ask whether some individual career patterns ‘marry’ more easily with others and if couples of different types have different coupled career patterns. It

would also be useful to expand the criterion domain of career success to reflect couple-level outcomes, such as harmony within the couple, family-level income, and fulfillment of couple-level identities (cf. Masterson & Hoobler, 2015). Related to this, couple-level variables, such as couple-level satisfaction with work-life balance and average combined work hours, could also provide useful information in individual-level studies for understanding the context of decisions or experiences.

Identity. Identity construction is a process of internalizing the norms and values set forth in society and in the organizations where individuals work. It is a dynamic process of interpreting and acting, acting and interpreting (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Life course research (Sweet & Moen, 2006) and longitudinal studies could provide an understanding of how work and family role identities are constructed and how they change over time (e.g., Singley & Hynes, 2005; Tschopp, Keller, & Stalder, 2015). Gender role beliefs and related role expectations, for example, are partly developed through early socialization and family experiences (Eagly, 1987; Medved et al., 2006). Growing up in a traditional or egalitarian family (and/or society) is likely to play a role in the development of traditional or egalitarian gender role beliefs and gendered role expectations. Other family background variables may also play a role in shaping role identities. For example, Powell and Greenhaus (2010b) found that average work hours are related to family background (having a workaholic parent or a dysfunctional family). Basuil and Casper (2012) found that work and family role planning in emerging adults relates to the perceptions they hold about the level of work-family conflict experienced by their same sex parent. Future research could look for other forms of socialization and early experiences that relate to work and family role expectations and construals (e.g., being raised in a single parent household, living abroad as a child). Also, work and family shift over a life time and identities may change to accommodate these shifts (e.g., Lee et al., 2011). Several studies suggest that work identities change to accommodate parenting identity at the transition to parenthood. For example, mothers and fathers reframe and re-evaluate work roles in order to accommodate their family and parenting roles (e.g., Christopher, 2012; Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2009). This is in contrast to the young professionals without children in the study by Sturges (2012) who seemed willing to sacrifice their personal time and an ideal work-life balance for the sake of professional growth and development. Research could further explore the ways that identities change (or stay

the same) during the transition to parenthood as well as how identities are shaped within the marital relationship and by early career and parenting experiences.

Whereas anchoring decisions have garnered more research attention at the level of the couple than daily decisions, there is still much to be learned about how anchoring decisions are made by couples and how identities play a role in anchoring decisions. For example, how identity influences the process of (rational) decision-making for anchoring decisions is not well documented. Theoretically, identities may be used to weight criteria for decision-making and assess the costs and benefits associated with alternative choices (e.g., Carlson & Kacmar, 2000; March, 1994; Poelmans, 2005). Identity may also be related to some of the ways that rational choice is bounded and biased (e.g., Baumeister, 1998). For example, individuals tend to seek out opportunities to engage in activities associated with their role expectations (Burke & Reitzes 1981), attribute greater importance to activities of central roles than to those of less central roles (Murnieks, Mosakowski, & Cardon, 2012), are more likely to interpret various contextual settings through the frame of reference provided by central identities (Burke & Reitzes 1981), and are better able to recognize and integrate information related to their central roles (Baumeister, 1998). Individuals may anticipate the influence of anchoring decisions on day-to-day role enactments and therefore strongly prefer choices that would allow them to engage in their roles, while depreciating or ignoring choices that would not.

Future research should further explore the role of relational decision cues and investigate whether other relational cues exist in the spousal relationship or in the relationships between other dyads in the work-family system. Also, given that the family role construals described by Masterson and Hoobler (2015) aligned more closely with the parenting role expectations, rather than more general family role expectations, the rules for appropriateness identified by this study probably best describe the rules guiding decisions of dual-income couples with dependent children. Research with couples in other circumstances and other life stages would be necessary to identify the expected and appropriate behaviors and the rules that guide decisions when the parenting role is not salient or couples have no children. Further, research could look at whether other stakeholders in the work-family system (e.g., supervisors, grandparents) hold similar or different expectations and rules than the couples who are enacting work-family routines and making decisions. Also, it is possible for an individual to hold conflicting values and role expectations and this may make rule selection in certain situations more conscious and

deliberative and result in inconsistent choices (Bazerman, Tenbrunsel, & Wade-Benzoni, 1998; Weber et al., 2004). These two issues are exemplified in the case of an aspiring manager, 231 Sheila, who holds the expectation that she will work hours that are normative for high level management at her organization and she also expects her employees to work the hours she assigns them (9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.). However, as a mother she drew a (weak) boundary around the hours from 6:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. to spend time with her children and she understands that working parents need to attend to pick-ups after work and often want to do so before 5:00 p.m. Given her emphasis on a career-based role construal, she usually put work before family in work-family decisions situations and this was facilitated by having a care-based husband who does pick-ups and post pick-up caregiving daily. She also expects her employees to put work before family caregiving, however it is doubtful that all her employees have a caregiving spouse to take care of home responsibilities or that all her employees emphasize career-based family role construals as she does. Future studies could focus on these issues of disagreements between stakeholders in the work-family system and how choices are made when individuals have contradictions within their own role expectations.

Future research using the Masterson and Hoobler (2015) typology would be facilitated by the development of scales to measure the family role construals that form the base of the typology. Researchers could modify the Amatea et al. (1986) scale to align it with the theoretical scope of the Masterson and Hoobler (2015) typology or develop an altogether new scale. Researchers could also explore whether there are couple types beyond those described in the typology. For example, the majority of the couples in this study were easy to place in the typology because members of the couples expressed fairly clear role expectations which aligned well with their gender role beliefs as well as their decisions and behaviors. However, there were six couples who were more difficult to place in the typology based on the role expectations they claimed to have. Going back to the example of 251 Doug and Jill who were classified as outsourced based on the emphasis they both seemed to place on career-based family role construals. Jill also had some care-based expectations and expressed modern gender role beliefs about equality of men's and women's roles, whereas Doug enacted caregiving behaviors at times, but held traditional gender role beliefs. 471 Ralph and Jennifer were also hard to place because he expressed both career- and care-based construal, but she placed more emphasis on caregiving and nurturing. Because she also expressed some career-based expectations, they were

classified as an egalitarian couple. However, she framed her career-based expectations in terms of guilt and obligation due to the fact that she is the primary breadwinner and the family needs her source of income (a reluctant co-provider), but she said that children need their mom when they are young (a traditional belief) and she dreamed of moving away from the city and pursuing self-employment part-time to spend more time with the children (which would be predicated on him getting a better paying job). Several authors have noted the possibility of an individual expressing modern (or egalitarian) gender role beliefs pairing with an individual with traditional gender role beliefs (Haber & Austin, 1992; Voelz, 1989). Two possible additions to the typology could include egalitarian wives with traditional husbands (possibly describing Jill and Doug) and traditional wives with egalitarian husbands (e.g., Jennifer and Ralph). It is also possible that these are observations of couples in transition toward purer types like the types described by Masterson and Hoobler (2015). Instead of two new categories, there may be one additional category describing all couples in transition. Outsourcing, for example, may be a common solution for couples where a modern wife is paired with a traditional husband. She comes to mirror his career-based family construal and together they find good help to take on much of the caregiving. Following the work of Swann (1987), studies could look at the process of identity negotiation between spouses and how couples come to the roles they have vis-à-vis one another and how they come to agree on rules of appropriateness. Beyond, categories of couples, future research could also explore whether couples with well defined, agreed upon roles are more satisfied with their routines and decisions or their overall work-life balance than couples with ambiguous role construal or who disagree on their role expectations.

It is noteworthy that the analyses of work identity in this study revealed no patterns of relationships with daily work-family decision-making. This is surprising because there is evidence from several past studies suggesting that the way individuals construe their work or professional identity is related to work-family enactments (e.g., Christopher, 2012; Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2009; Duberley & Carrigan, 2012; Eddleston & Powell, 2008; Lewis; 2003). Many of these studies suggest that work identities change to accommodate new roles and responsibilities at the transition to parenthood. Couples in this study also noted changes in the meaning of work and their approach to working after becoming parents, but these meanings did not weigh strongly in their daily (routine and non-routine) decisions. This suggests that the relationship between work identity and work-family decision-making may be better studied through life course

research (Sweet & Moen, 2006) and longitudinal studies. Longitudinal research cold also reveal the role of coupledom in shaping work identities over time.

Interestingly, family and parenting role identities were mainly expressed in terms of role expectations, however parallel questions about the meanings and expectations of work roles brought forth only very general notions of role expectations. Many of these general expectations participants discussed about work roles seemed to overlap with personality or trait approaches in organizational science (e.g., need for achievement, affiliation and power, McClelland, 1985; and conscientiousness, Digman, 1990). Work-family science has found that that personality is related to work-family experiences (Bruck & Allen, 2003; Lilly, Duffy, & Virick, 2006; Wayne, Musisca, & Fleeson, 2004) and career decision-making (Chartrand, Rose, Elliott, Marmarosh, & Caldwell, 1993), however personality has not been explored in daily decision-making at the work-family interface. Future research could broaden the scope of identity research beyond role centralities, construals and expectations to look at how personality plays a role in work-family decisions and identity development. For example, studies could look at whether couples of certain types have certain combinations of personality (e.g., members of outsourced couples and wives in non-traditional couples may have a high need for achievement). Participants mainly talked about their work roles in terms of motivations they have for working and the value of work. Couple-level research could look for patterns of work motivations by couple type or identify a new couple typology based on work motivations expressed by members of couples. Possible theoretical frameworks might include self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2011), the theory of basic human values (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999), work ethic profiles (Meriac, Woehr, Gorman, & Thomas, 2013) and/or the kaleidoscope career model (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009).

Emotions. Researchers should be more intentional in looking at the role of emotions in work-family decision-making (Poelmans et al., 2013). Different work-family decision types probably vary in the extent to which they are emotionally-laden. This is because the types of activities under consideration in the different decision categories range from the mundane choice of who will drive a child to school to the anxiety-provoking choice between attending an important work meeting or leaving work to collect a very sick child from daycare. Also, to the extent that work-family decisions and enactments are identity relevant experiences, the choices made in these situations may either enhance or threaten valued identities resulting in

corresponding positive or negative emotional responses (Thoits, 1991). For example, immediate non-routine decisions are the type of decision most likely to constitute incidents of work-family conflict and inter-role interference (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) which can invoke negative emotional reactions (Judge, Ilies, & Scott, 2006). Consistent with this, Williams and Alliger (1994) found that situations of work-family juggling were related to emotional strain, particularly when individuals had high task demands, had to put goal progress on hold and perceived little control in the situation. There may also be a greater tendency for immediate decisions to be about events negative in tone (e.g., phone calls regarding sick child while at work or last minute requests or phone calls at home to solve problems at work) and therefore may be associated with corresponding negative emotions (Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Schilling, 1989; Kanner et al., 1981). Scheduled non-routine activities include planned work or non-work obligations and irritating chores but may also encompass pleasant events such as celebratory work retreats or children's end of season sports tournaments, which would be associated with positive emotions (Emmons, 1991; Langston, 1994). When scheduled activities are planned and prepared in advance, participating in those activities is less likely to involve role juggling or inter-role conflict. Future research could look more directly at how emotions play into decisions, and/or how they may be outcomes of different choices. For example, research on guilt has shown that episodes of work-family conflict are related to feelings of guilt and hostility (Judge et al., 2006). Further, individuals who hold traditional gender role beliefs experience more guilt when family interferes with work, whereas individuals who hold egalitarian beliefs experience more guilt when work interferes with family (Livingston & Judge, 2008). Shockley and Allen (2015) argue that an episode of conflict can either result in work-to-family conflict or family-to-work conflict depending on what is chosen in the situation. Research on emotions could provide a better understanding of what emotions are experienced before making a choice between work and family role participation, how those emotions guide decision-making and how making a choice results in feelings of guilt and other emotions. As noted earlier, different processes or events may precipitate changes in work-family routines. Future studies could also explore the role of emotions in triggering the need for changes in a routine and could look more closely at how emotions may play a role in the development of routines over time.

On a related note, work-family experiences and decisions may be a source of marital discord and spousal conflict. As noted, Risch et al. (2003) found that a national sample of

couples rated balancing work and family as the top concern out of 42 problematic issues in the early years of marriage. Granello and Navin (1997) note that dual-earner couples commonly seek marital counselling due to stressors related to negotiating the work-family interface. Couple-level studies should further investigate how, why and when couples' experiences at the work-family interface result in marital strain and spousal conflict. For example, studies have shown that the way one spouse manages family-to-work boundary transitions and mobile work while at home can contribute to work-family conflict and relationship tension, particularly if the other spouse is annoyed and frustrated by those boundary transitions (Carlson, Kacmar, Zivnuska, & Ferguson, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2016). Another source of spousal conflict could come from disagreements on respective work-family roles and responsibilities (Kluwer et al., 1997; Perry-Jenkins & Folk, 1994). Differences in the understandings of each other's roles and role expectations may mean that members of couples are operating on different rules of appropriateness and this could lead to disagreements and conflicts when one member makes a decision that is not what the other member would have wanted. Also, couples of different types may be more or less prone to conflict or verbalizing disagreements (Kluwer et al., 1997; Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). As noted earlier, couples in this study did not seem to have a lot of conflict. Researchers could seek out couples in conflict or a sample of marriage counselors to gain a better understanding of antecedents and consequences of spousal conflicts related to work-family integration.

Communication. Lastly, communication is an important aspect of finding strategies for balancing work and family and resolving work-family conflicts (Maertz & Boyar, 2011), creating and managing boundaries (Kreiner et al., 2009; Trefalt, 2013), maintaining work-family routines (e.g., Cathcart et al., 2008; Medved, 2004; Zvonkovic et al., 1994), and co-managing careers and households (Livingston, 2014), though there has been little work-family research on processes of communication. Future research should take a closer look at communication processes in work-family decision-making as well as work-family research more generally (Poelmans et al., 2013). Several themes emerged around the concept of communication in this study that are worth further investigation. For example, there seemed to be differences in communication patterns among couple types, including the use of implicit and explicit communication styles (Sillars & Kalbfleisch, 1989). Work-family boundaries seem to manifest differently among couple types and participants described conversations and negotiations they had had with different stakeholders in the work-family system to establish and maintain their

boundaries. Future studies could seek to validate these initial observations about communication differences among couple types and seek a better understanding of the communications involved in boundary management (Leonardi, Treem, & Jackson, 2010; Shumate & Fulk, 2004). Couples alluded to artifacts of communications or communication tools such as shared calendars and cell phones. These make it easier to communicate and coordinate, but also more difficult to establish firm boundaries between home and work (Nippert-Eng, 1996). Future research could look at whether couples have preferences regarding different tools or technologies for communication and calendaring, whether boundary preferences play a role in choices about communication tools at the level of the couple (Ollier-Malaterre, Rothbard, & Berg, 2013; Martindale-Adams, Nichols, Zuber, Graney, & Burns, 2016; Siegert, 2015), and whether different tools or preferences are related to different processes, choices or outcomes. Participants also talked about communications with potential employers, managers or colleagues regarding setting or changing work hours or work place, either temporarily or permanently. On the non-work side, couples coordinated with each other as well as extended family members and paid services for both routine and non-routine decisions. Future studies could benefit from a more focused approach for understanding the various types of communication and the variety of communication partners involved in developing work-family routines and responding to non-routine situations (e.g., Medved, 2004). Since communication skills can be learned, intervention studies involving skill building around work-family communications could lead to an additional avenue for helping couples suffering from work-life 'imbalance.' Lastly, there is a need to study the function of communication overtime in defining roles and relationships, validating choices and shaping identities (Burke & Stets, 2009; Galvin & Braithaite, 2014; Golden, 2000).

Final Conclusion

This research reinforces the fact that it is couples who make daily decisions at the work-family interface, though the coupledness of decision approaches varies from one couple to another. I observed that couples consider multiple cues in daily decisions, mainly ones that emanate from the larger 'anchoring' decisions they have made over time, but also from work-family routines that contribute to the anchoring context for other daily decisions. I also found that identity is important in daily work-family decisions, but more specifically, that family role construals are a critical component of identity. Role construals get infused into daily decisions

by couples through a process of situational recognition and role enactment that is consistent with the logic of appropriateness model of decision-making.

In the end, this study sheds further light on the fact that there is more than one way to be a dual-earner couple, and that different types of dual-earner couples may follow different decisions processes, attend to different decisions cues, have different rules of appropriateness, and ultimately, make different decisions. Knowledge of these differences can be helpful to companies that want to help employees navigate the work-life interface and to couples who are faced with daily work-family decisions and must answer the question: What does (or can) a couple like us do in a situation like this?

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APPENDIX A

Couple-Level Satisfaction with Work-Family Balance Scale

Instructions:

Below are several statements about your overall feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way you and your spouse take care of work and family responsibilities, as a couple. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements. Use the scale below to guide your answers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Mildly Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Mildly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:	Disagree						Agree
1. Overall, I am satisfied with the way my spouse and I, as a couple, divide our time between work and family life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Overall, I am satisfied with the way we divide our attention between work and home.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Overall, I am satisfied with the way our work and family life fit together.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Overall, I am satisfied with our ability to balance the needs of our jobs with those of our family life.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Overall, I am satisfied with the balance we have achieved between our work and family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

Couple Interview:
This is a study about how couples manage work and family responsibilities on a day-to-day basis. We want to understand how your routines came about and how you make decisions when non-routine things come up. First, I'd like to start very generally

1. What is it like being a working family?

Now, I'd like to narrow the focus and understand what happens during a regular work day and a regular work week. [What is a typical day routine?]

1. If I followed you through a typical day, what would I see you doing?
    a. Have you always done things that way?
        i. It sounds like you were doing it a little differently before that. Tell about what was happening at that time that lead to you to change to the way that things are currently done?
    b. Have there been other points of change or changes to the routine – decisions where you had to consider both work and family?

2. Are there days in the week that are different from the routine you've just described? (e.g. activities that one or more family member(s) do such as after school sports)
    a. How is that day (are those days) different? How did that come about?
    b. What happens on the weekends? (Do either of you do work?)

3. I'd like to hear more (Tell me) about what happens with the child/ren.
        i. How did you decide about childcare [choose this daycare? School?]
        ii. How did you decide who would take care of which child care responsibilities - daycare drop offs, pick-ups etc, afternoon activities, etc?
        iii. Has this changed over time?
        iv. Are there other care-giving responsibilities that you have (e.g. elderly parent)? How long have you been doing that?

4. Now I'd like to talk about what happens when non-routine things come up.
    a. Let's pretend it is [tomorrow] and I am the [daycare/school/nanny/grandparent] calling to inform you your child is ill/Caregiver is ill. Who am I calling (mom or dad – who gets that phone call)? Ok. Hi, this is such and such calling from [care-giving arrangement]. Your [child] needs to be picked up. – What happens next?
        i. Is this how it usually happens [recap what they have just described]? Have you always done it that way?
        ii. Is it different if it is one of the other children/the other child/the older child/ren?
        iii. What if you already know a child will be sick tomorrow; is that handled the same way as you just described or is it different?

iv. Other than a sick kid, have other things come up that change your usual routine? Tell me about them.

b. Here is another example. Let's pretend it is [tomorrow] and I am your boss/client. I come in to your office (or call you) close to the end of the work day to inform you that there is a last minute task that needs to be done before the next day….. What happens next? [Would this ever happen with your work?]
   i. Is this how it usually happens [recap what they have just described]. [What would you usually do in this case?] Have you always done it that way?
   ii. Have other unexpected things come up that change your usual work routine? Tell me about them.

c. There are also times when you can plan for changes to your usual routine.
   i. What happens when daycare/school is closed/babysitter is unavailable?
   ii. What happens when there is a scheduled doctor's appointment for a child?
   iii. Do either of you travel for work? What happens when one of you travels?

5. You've each told me a little about your work days. I'd like to understand a bit more about how your work meshes with your family. [may have already covered much of this]
   a. Tell me a bit more about your work [where you work, what you do]?
   b. How were your work hours set?
      i. Can you change when and where you work? (How flexible are you in changing when you work?)
      ii. Do you ever need to work outside those hours (stay late, bring work home, go to work early, work on weekends?)
      iii. When you need to take a few hours or a day off for family what is the process for doing that?
   c. What role does your supervisor play in all of this?
   d. Has anything changed in your work role in recent years [since you children were born]? What was happening before, in terms of managing work and family?
   e. You mentioned (that your work – is flexible, has short hours, is at home - helps in this way _____). How does that help you manage work and family responsibilities? Are there (other) ways your work helps you manage your family responsibilities?
      i. Are there ways that your work makes it harder to manage your family responsibilities/activities?
   f. Is there anything you wish you could change about all of this [the way you combine work and family]?

6. Last question. Thinking very generally about managing work and family responsibilities and routines, what advice would you give other couples who are working and raising children?

Individual (Separate) Interview:

1. When we spoke before with your partner/husband/wife with us, we talked about your daily routine and what happens when non-routine things come up. It sounds like you and your partner/husband/wife, do this [summarize some of the interview].
    a. Does that sound about right to you?
    b. Has anything changed since we last spoke?
    c. [Add any specific questions or points of clarification from the joint interview]

2. Here is a general question about this idea of work and family…Does the term work-life balance have meaning for you? Tell me what it means to you.

3. Work Identity
    a. Now, I'd like to hear more about how you personally see yourself in your various roles. First I'd like to talk about work and we'll talk about some other roles after.
        i. What does your work mean to you - personally?
        ii. What expectations do you have for yourself as an employee [manager, business owner]? What about day-to-day – what expectations do you have for yourself on any given work day? How about longer term expectations?
        iii. Have you always thought about it that way? Has that changed at all over time?
        iv. What about where you work – Do people have the same expectations for you as you have for yourself? [what do your manager and coworkers expect of you there as an employee/manager/What do your clients and colleagues expect of you as an a business owner]?

4. Family Identity: Next, I'd like to talk about you as a family member…
    a. What does "family member" mean to you personally?
    b. What expectations do you have for yourself as a family member?
    c. Have you always thought about it that way? Has that changed at all over time? Tell me about it.

5. Parent identity: Now I'd like to talk about a specific family role - what it means to *you* to be a parent.
    a. What is it like for you being a mom (a dad)?
    b. What does it mean to you personally to be a good mother (father)?
    c. What expectations do you have for yourself as a mother (father)? What about day-to-day – what expectations do you have for yourself as a mother/father on any given day (vs. big picture)? What about bigger picture (longer term) expectations?
    d. Has the way you think about yourself as a mother/father changed at all over time?

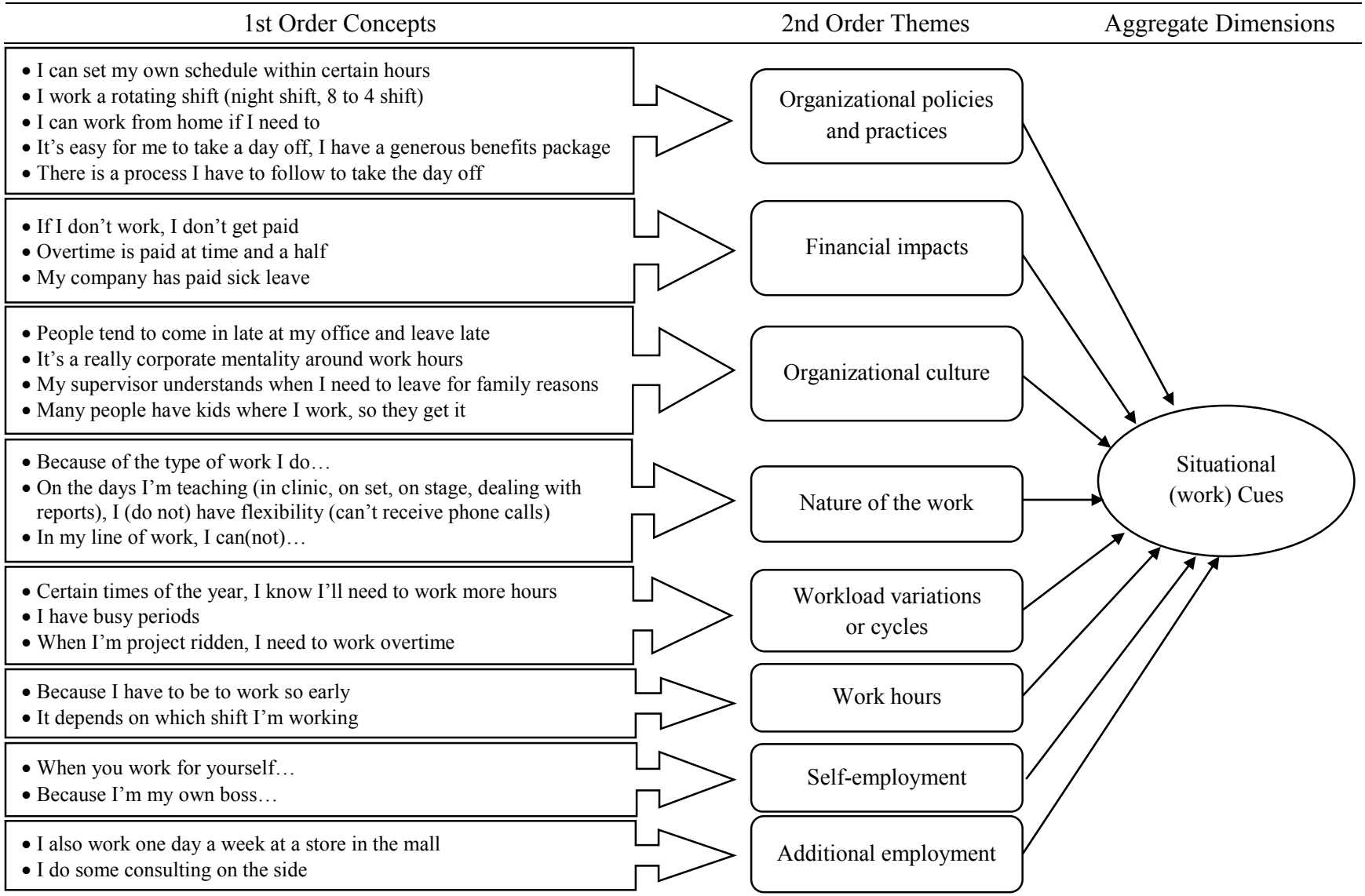
    e. What does it mean to be a mother (father) as opposed to being a father (mother)?
    f. We were talking about expectations before - Do you think your partner has the same expectations of you that you have for yourself as a parent? What about your expectations of him/her – do you think you see his/her role the same way he/she sees his/her role?

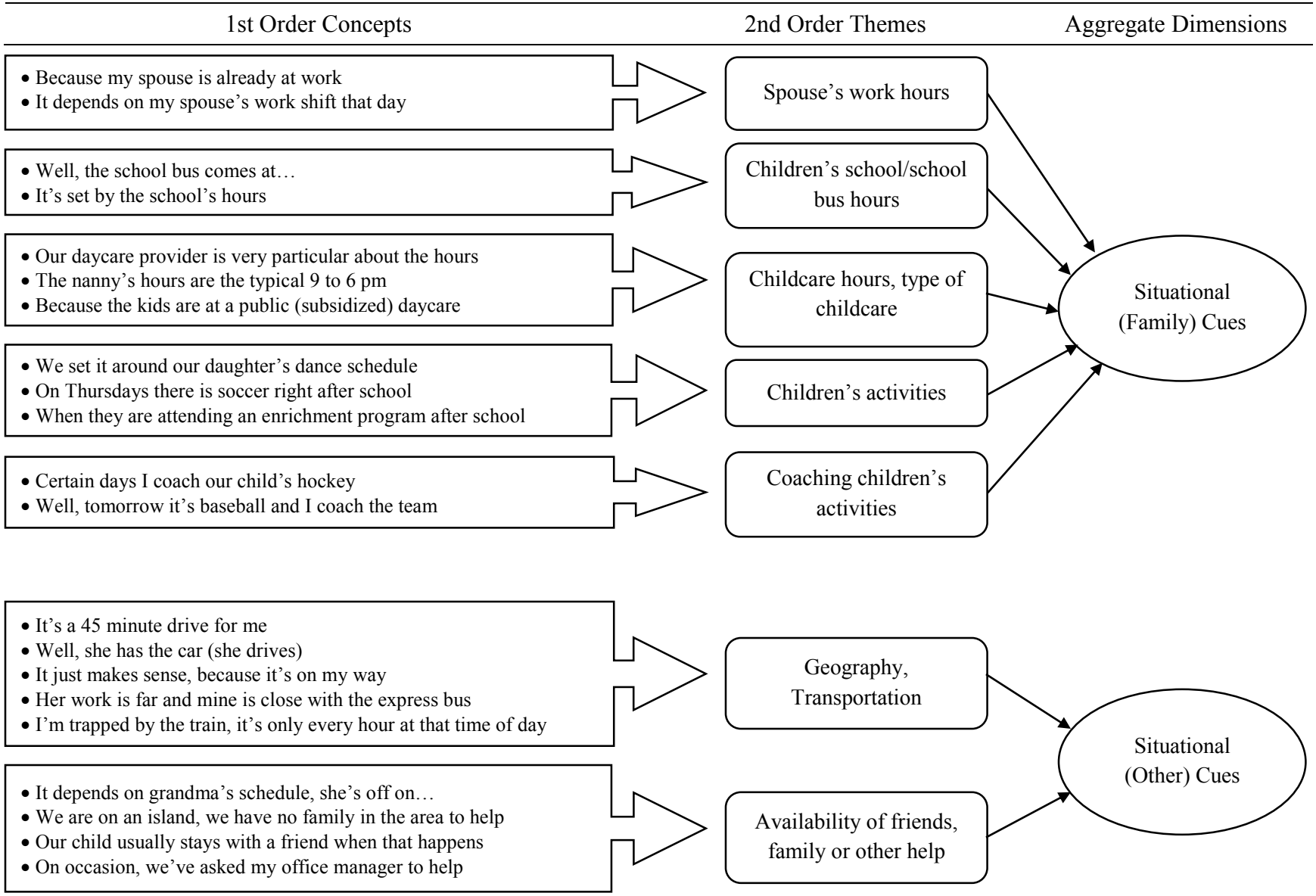
   g. Do you think your partner's view of parenting has affected the way you think about being a parent? Are there things you've learned from each other?

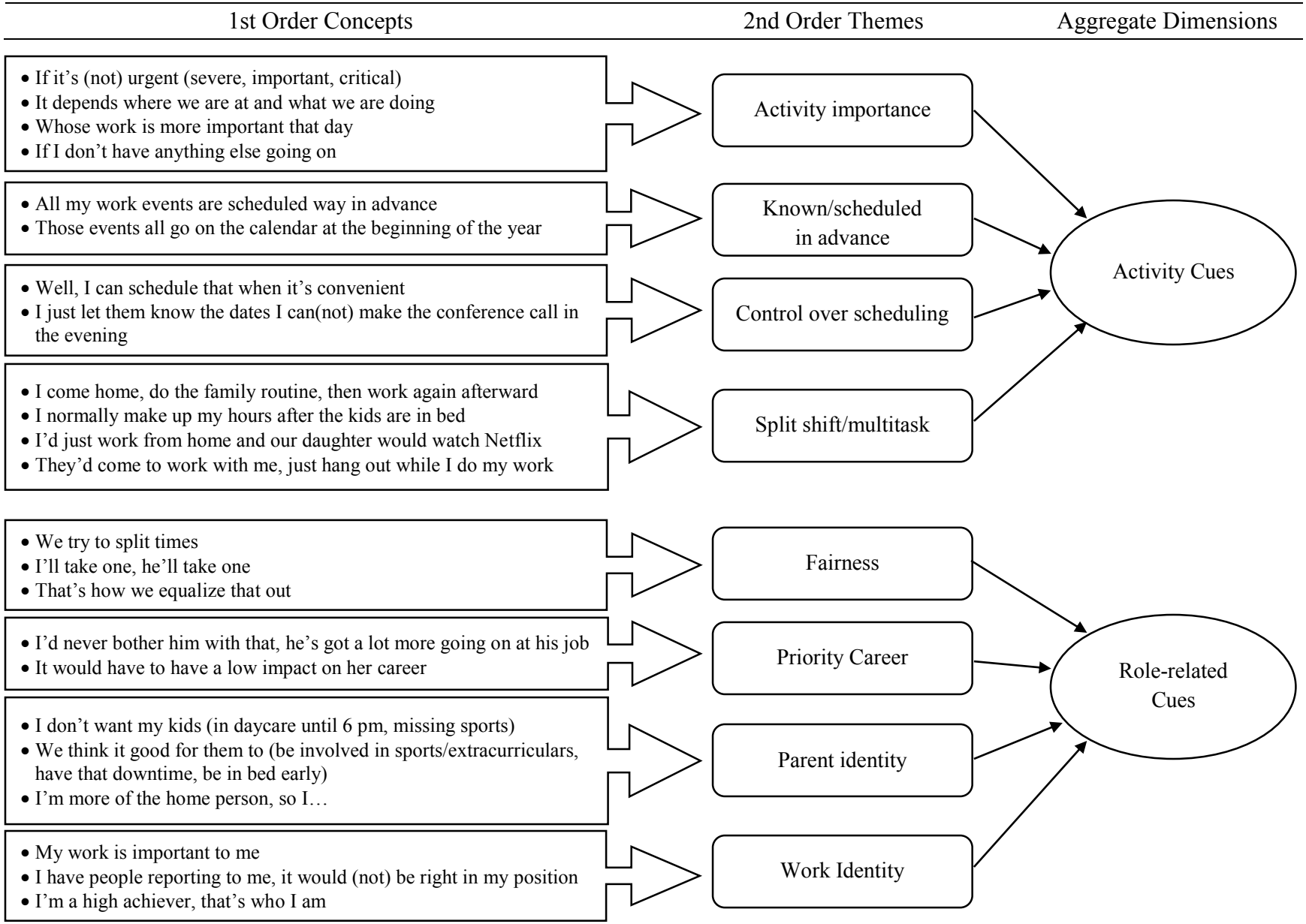
6. Is there anything that we haven't talked about that you feel is important to share regarding combining work and family in a dual-earning couple?

APPENDIX C

Decision Cues Data Structure




1st Order Concepts
2nd Order Themes
Aggregate Dimensions
• Because my spouse is already at work
• It depends on my spouse's work shift that day
Spouse's work hours
• Well, the school bus comes at…
• It's set by the school's hours
Children's school/school bus hours
• Our daycare provider is very particular about the hours
• The nanny's hours are the typical 9 to 6 pm
• Because the kids are at a public (subsidized) daycare
Childcare hours, type of childcare
• We set it around our daughter's dance schedule
• On Thursdays there is soccer right after school
• When they are attending an enrichment program after school
Children's activities
• Certain days I coach our child's hockey
• Well, tomorrow it's baseball and I coach the team
Coaching children's activities
Situational (Family) Cues
• It's a 45 minute drive for me
• Well, she has the car (she drives)
• It just makes sense, because it's on my way
• Her work is far and mine is close with the express bus
• I'm trapped by the train, it's only every hour at that time of day
Geography, Transportation
• It depends on grandma's schedule, she's off on…
• We are on an island, we have no family in the area to help
• Our child usually stays with a friend when that happens
• On occasion, we've asked my office manager to help
Availability of friends, family or other help
Situational (Other) Cues


1st Order Concepts
2nd Order Themes
Aggregate Dimensions
• If it's (not) urgent (severe, important, critical)
• It depends where we are at and what we are doing
• Whose work is more important that day
• If I don't have anything else going on
Activity importance
• All my work events are scheduled way in advance
• Those events all go on the calendar at the beginning of the year
Known/scheduled in advance
• Well, I can schedule that when it's convenient
• I just let them know the dates I can(not) make the conference call in the evening
Control over scheduling
• I come home, do the family routine, then work again afterward
• I normally make up my hours after the kids are in bed
• I'd just work from home and our daughter would watch Netflix
• They'd come to work with me, just hang out while I do my work
Split shift/multitask
Activity Cues
• We try to split times
• I'll take one, he'll take one
• That's how we equalize that out
Fairness
• I'd never bother him with that, he's got a lot more going on at his job
• It would have to have a low impact on her career
Priority Career
• I don't want my kids (in daycare until 6 pm, missing sports)
• We think it good for them to (be involved in sports/extracurriculars, have that downtime, be in bed early)
• I'm more of the home person, so I…
Parent identity
• My work is important to me
• I have people reporting to me, it would (not) be right in my position
• I'm a high achiever, that's who I am
Work Identity
Role-related Cues

APPENDIX D

System-Level Decision-Making Approaches Counts by Decision Type

Decision	Independent Use of Couple's Cues	Trading Off	Decision Logics	HRM	Communication and Negotiation
Work hours	21	3	3	2	11
Drop-offs	16	6	6	2	12
Pick-ups	15	7	3	3	12
Sick kids	17	8	4	7	17
Work overflow	14	4	6	5	19

Note: Counts are made by couple. If one or both of the spouses said this was an approach to decision-making they used in a situation, the couple was counted as using that approach. The different kinds of approaches are not mutually exclusive; some couples in some situations used multiple approaches.

APPENDIX E

Quotes Illustrating Routine Decision Process

Steps of the Decision Process	Illustrative Quotes
A. Couples considered their cues and routines. They added new routine elements to the existing framework where it made sense (to them) to do so.	151 Tony and Amie (drop-off): Tony: We do our share and then at 7:20, we stop everything to go. We leave together. We leave at the same time and we split at the end of the street because she goes to the metro and I go to the daycare which is 3 minutes away. It's just that well we're… for the metro, it's better that I go to the daycare than her. My work is super close; hers is not. Amie: Your work is more flexible than mine. Tony: That's what I mean. Exactly. Amie: I have to be there at 8:15 and it doesn't matter if you are there plus or minus 15 minutes and the same for the leaving time. I can't leave before 5pm. For you, it's more flexible. Tony: I see something else a little bit that adds to what you are saying. She has to be very neat when she comes at work. She has to look professional...if one day, I have some vomit on my shirt, well, but I mean it won't hurt the company's image because no one sees me. 171 Shirley (drop-off, pick-up): I was basically the one who brought [our son] to daycare most days and picked him up because Jonathan doesn't drive so I'm the one with the car.... On my way back, yeah. So I'm normally done around 4 so I'm at the daycare around 4:30 usually and it takes her a little while to hop out of the daycare because she's enjoying herself so much. 261 Ana (work hours of new job set around drop-offs and pick-ups): So I work in that building, in that department so he would just go with me and I would work during his hours that he was in preschool. 361 Jocelyn and Gabriel (pick-ups and child's activity schedule set around his early exit on Fridays): Jocelyn: So on Fridays he picks her up first because where she has her swimming lessons it's in the same community as the daycare so he picks her up, goes to pick them up, and swimming starts at 4:30 and on Fridays you finish earlier right? Gabriel: Every Friday I finish at about 3.

	Jocelyn: So the decision to have her go to swimming lessons on Fridays is because we know that he will finish earlier.
A. Couples considered their cues and routines. They could not see an obvious way to add a new element. **B. They had to adjust some aspect(s) of their routine in order to make things work.**	171 Johnathan (changed his work routine to do drop-offs and pick-ups): [Our son] stays here with me. I start work at 8am and then I duck out for about 5min at 8:30 to drop him off at the bus stop. Um then I pick him up again at 3:45, something like that. 3:45. And I go back to work until 5. ... I mean I wish I could like either I would start after he would go to school so I wouldn't have to rush out in the middle of… you know, that 5 minutes to get out there, which isn't such a big deal in summer, right. But when it's winter you know, it's…. Did you bring your… no. No you, have to put on your scarf. No, the other scarf. So it takes a bit longer. And you know if I'm running a bit late, I can just walk down to the end of - during the summer - the driveway and I can see him walk to the thing, but in the winter there's the snow and everything so. 261 Jake (changed work hours to do drop-offs) ...and before I was first dropping [our daughter] off then dropping [our son] off and it changed my work day. I used to be in at 7 then I could sometimes leave at 4 if I wanted to. 251 Doug (got a babysitter to do pick-ups to avoid changing their work routine): The main purpose [of having babysitters daily] too is to pick up the kids at 3 pm because the average job is 9-5, so they don't get home until 6 and you don't want to be in that situation. **Usually the adjustments worked, but sometimes they had to reconsider all the cues and make further adjustments:** 161 Erin (changed her schedule after returning from maternity leave so that she worked 7:30 to 3:30 then met partner at daycare for pick-ups, she then decided to just meet them at home because it was a hassle to meet them at daycare): Yeah well I asked at the beginning, I said is it okay if I just do 7:30 to 3:30 and it was no problem. I just said for daycare, it makes it more convenient if I do it early and plus, I was still breastfeeding regularly when she went [to daycare], so I needed to be with her in the morning and like right after daycare... at first I always wanted to be there for the pickup but then it just became too hectic sometimes with the timing for making the bus and whatever, or me wanting to feel like I'm not always rushing out from work like right when I'm allowed to.

A. Couples considered their cues and routines. **B. They could not see an obvious way to add the new element, even with an adjustment, or the adjustments they had made did not work.** **C. They needed to make anchoring decisions to change anchoring structures to make a routine that worked for everyone involved.**	471 Ralph (Changed to teleworking to avoid a long commute and do pick-ups, but it did not work, so he changed jobs to one closer to home): We then moved to [a suburb] and we're both commuting to [the city]. [Our daughter] was born, Janelle went on mat leave and then after that ended, um we were both still commuting to [the city] for… I was doing that for a couple more months but I was able to negotiate with my employer that I could work from home a couple days or just have a bit more flexible hours. Initially I got sort of a couple months trial period and then they decided at the end of that period that that wasn't working so they were going to go back to the revised hours—or the normal hours, which at that point would have meant you know, the whole… trying to raise a kid at that point would have been very difficult. So anyway, so then I moved to [a job closer to home]. I was close to home. And then about a year after, Jan was able to transfer to [a job closer to home]… from March of 2012 to May of 2013, I was yeah, there was much more responsibility for me at home because it was usually I was getting [our daughter] ready and then getting her to daycare and then coming home and doing dinner prep as well… I guess it was drive to achieve a better work-life balance was the big driving horse on it. Uh I remember when um my first… the job in [the city], I had been there for about 4.5 years and we've been in [the suburb] for 2 years I think. We were commuting together and we were fine, that was just something that we were doing. Then the first day after [our daughter] was born, the first day I went back to work, I was walking to the station and I thought this is ridiculous, why am I doing this, because it's 4 hours a day that I was commuting... I was fortunate enough to find a job [close to home] and the move was more of a lateral move in terms of a - it was just a better commute and also, you know I was able to pick [our daughter] up and drop her off quicker and I was closer to her in case something happened to her while she was in daycare and all that stuff. 361 Jocelyn (changed daycares twice to align pick-ups with work hours and commute): daycare was more of a struggle because when they started to go to daycare in September last year, we initially put them in a home daycare and they spent almost, well they spent 4 months in that daycare, and then we decided to change them because the woman wasn't very flexible with her hours. And given that I was going to start [at the university] in January and my hours were 9-5 and at that time he was working [in the city as well]. And she did 7-5 and there's no way that either of us could have gotten home by 5 to pick them up. So we moved them from there and then we registered them in a private daycare because we weren't able to find subsidized spaces, and they were there until May I think, and then we got subsidized spaces in a new private daycare, so yeah, they've been there since then, so they've changed daycares twice since they've started going to daycare.

	241 Francine and Keith (Francine changed to a reduced workload schedule to do pick-ups): Francine: …but I'm the one who would pick them up from daycare so I had that deadline. You know, like, I had to finish my day by four so I could be at daycare by five to pick 'em up because it closed at five. Keith: And it was reflected in what they were paying you too, I mean, you took a lower pay in order to have that flexibility. At the time, you were working four days a week and slightly shorter hours - like, you were working through your lunches. Francine: Well, I wasn't getting paid for –I made it clear that for overtime, you know, it was, my hours were limited in overtime because what would happen was I would work from 8 to 4 or 9 to 4 and I would work through my lunch hour so I would eat at my desk so I had no break but at 4 o'clock I had to be outta there cuz daycare closed at 5! You know? So, people got used to that I had to be outta there by 4 but it's hard, it's draining constantly saying, "I gotta go! I gotta go! Schedule the meeting for earlier cuz at 4 o'clock, I am out of here!" You know? **If the anchoring change did not work, they would consider other anchoring changes:** 241 Francine (decided to exit the workforce then became self-employed): Yes, back when I was doing auditing... I don't remember my son's life when he was 2 or 3 years old. It was a complete rat race and hamster wheel and I don't know if I had a choice to change it at that time, I guess I felt that I didn't, but if I were to relive my life, it would be, I would find a way to make it different because it was crazy... So I worked while I was pregnant with my daughter and then once she was born I said, "eh, that's it, I'm taking some time off". So I was looking for something part-time. But it took me a long time to find the job that I'm in now. I wanted something that was stable. I didn't want to have a contract for a month and then not be able to work for the next six months and constantly be looking and the uncertainty, I didn't want that. So it took me like three years to find this job, and so that's why I'm kind of holding on to it. It's good for me now, so that's why I'm kind of just like keep going with what I have now. Right, there were full time positions and part time positions but I would have to travel to and there were all sorts of different scenarios and I really stuck to my guns, I really wanted something local. This one isn't local, but I get to work from home the majority of the time, so it's actually even better than something local. And yeah because I didn't want to cross any bridges, be stuck in traffic, all of the things that haunted me when my kid was at daycare and I was in that rat race, I really took a very firm stand that I didn't want that in my life again, so this is good.

Couples talked about experiencing friction when routines did not work well or did not work at all.	**Frictions might stem from the timing or geography of routines:** 281 Helen and Travis (describe difficulty being on time for pick-ups): Helen: We also have a daycare person who's very particular about pick-up times so that also keeps us on a tight schedule. Travis: Before 5. Well actually 4:30. Helen: 4:30 is kind of the time she's given us. If we're gonna be late, we have to let her know. Travis: And I can get out at 4 at the earliest because it's a half hour drive, so we're tight all the time… [and then dance lessons for the eldest daughter is] 30 minutes in the opposite direction… it's 30 minutes away from where I work and that makes it tight. So we're always going, always looking at the clock, trying to keep things on schedule and I'm never on time when it comes to that. 351 Karin and Kevin (discuss the difficulty of her doing pick-ups): Karin: … he would finish earlier, so he would pick [our son] up at 4:30-5. Whereas I finish work at 5:30 so I'm only ever there to pick him up at like 6. Which is pretty much the latest you can pick him up. And there is a difference noticeably to him. He knows that like I'm much later than Kevin will be and will sometimes express why can't I come earlier or whatever, and now specifically because he goes to a school where they move him to the small school if you don't pick him up by 5:30, they all move to the other building. So I always pick him up at the small school, and you've never… Kevin: I've never picked him up from the small school. Karin: But I find it a lot more annoying for me to have to pick him up than it is for him. Kevin: Yeah, I mean it's much closer for me, for sure. Karin: Yeah, and just the timing, the convenience factor, the whole thing. Plus, if you're willing to ride that bicycle. In general it's just easier for you to pick him up and more timely, but I understand it would cut into your day doing that. 231 Michael and Sheila (Michael describes annoyance with rushing out of work to do pick-ups daily; Sheila adds that the timing of pick-up is also contingent on the many tasks that must be accomplished after pick-up): It was a bit annoying - like I got used to it - but a bit annoying that I'm working and have work to do, I'm trying to… I hated the… okay it's 4, I need to go. I'm trying to finish something. I don't have the flexibility to spend another 15 minutes. Sometimes I pushed it a little bit but I'm rushing, whatever… and also I'm one of the first ones to leave the office also. But everyone knew I was going to pick up my kids and that was fine, they accepted, whatever. But it's a bit

	annoying when you have to rush out at the exact time. Almost like you have a train you have to catch and you know you have to leave at that time...It's not the end of the world, but it's not ideal. Sometimes you're working and someone's talking to you or you're in a meeting because 4pm is not particularly late so… Now I'm in a construction company and people go in early and late so now I feel bad leaving. I used to leave at 5 and half the people were already gone. Now I leave at 5, it seems like everybody's still there…. I was having like 3 interviews to get this job and I said during the second one, there's no point in me coming to the 3rd interview if you tell me I can't leave at 4, because I'm gonna have to be picking up my kids at 4:45 at the la… I could pick them up later. I could pick them up at 6 but we don't want to. And then if I pick them up at 6, dinner… you know, it just doesn't work. So at 4, 5pm… I gave myself a little buffer because right now it's taking me 35 minutes to get there. But yeah, I leave my desk at 4. About the time I get to my car, about 5 minutes and so it's gonna be about 4:45 when I get there. Sheila: I don't want them there til 6pm. First of all, it's a very long day for them. I don't want to walk in and he's the last kid there waiting for his parents. And like I said you know, you've gotta get dinner on the table, you've gotta get them fed, you've gotta get them bathed, you've gotta get their nightly routine, like… you can't have your kids going to bed at 10pm. 451 Sandra (explains that her work hours have changed because a coworker is on leave, so the mornings she has an early shift make it difficult to do drop-offs): Yes, 8:00 to 4:00 some days and 8:30 to 4:30 on the others. We're supposed to be open 8:00 to 4:30 but we're short staffed right now because the person that works 8:00 to 4:00, he's also on leave right now. We've been filling in where we can to make sure that the office is open the hours it needs to be... This is where I am thankful I have flexible work coworkers. Because my 5 year old catches the bus a quarter to 8 and she's not allowed to be dropped off at the school before 8. So I wait in the car at the bus stop for her and then she gets on the bus, and then have I to drive my son to his preschool which is on the other side of town so there's no way possible I could make it to work by 8 because I can't juggle them all. Before when I was working 8:30 to 4:30 I could drop them all off and make it to work on time but now it's really, really tight so it's been a challenge but we've been sharing [the early shift between colleagues]. 351 Kevin (also describes the inconvenient routine of taking their son to soccer): Like this summer he played soccer and it was a nightmare. He loved it, he was happy. I don't understand why, but he was happy, but two days a week we had to get him to soccer and it was like 6 or 7 pm Tuesdays and Thursdays. Every week for the entire summer. It was exhausting, and for us to collaborate together to

	make sure, okay you're getting him to soccer today, no I have to work, I can't do it tonight, can you do it tonight? Okay, no problem. ... Tell me you really want to play soccer and we'll do it again next year, but if you don't feel strongly about it, I'm not going through that again… It was a lot of work, and soccer is literally all over [the borough]. And we don't have a car, so we have to get his ass over to the soccer field, so plan an extra 30 minutes to take the bus there and back. So it was serious work… a very serious logistical challenge, and to feel motivated to get him to a soccer game was hard. Especially when you see him wandering about on the field picking flowers, and you're like what are we doing? You're not even playing soccer, why are we here? **Frictions also stemmed from identity inconsistent behavior:** 391 Evelyn and Robert (describe a potential promotion at her previous job, one consideration was whether it would be consistent with her parenting expectations): Evelyn: So my work situation has gotten a million times better since I started this new job. Because I can work from anywhere… [and] because of the flexibility... Robert: Her [old] job was typically, I mean truthfully kind of a hybrid between… Evelyn: The insane asylum and… Robert: No, between becoming stay at home, and taking the next step. It's like do you want to go balls to the wall career and become the district manager and work 50 hours a week, and essentially live [at work]…. Evelyn: I was working 50 hours a week. Robert: It's a different kind of 50 hours a week with that much managerial responsibility because every hour feels like two hours… Is the difference of pay going to be worth an even further investment away? Evelyn: Yeah, did we really want to be those parents? 391 Robert (also notes that Evelyn's previous job forced him to take on more caregiving and domestic labor at home, which was not how he saw his role in the family): I felt like I was penalized, because she worked 50 hours a week, she was dog tired when she got home, she wanted to bitch about stuff I didn't care about for half an hour, cause I wanted her to quit for two years anyways, so for the less money she was making, and for the fact that her job was more demanding as far as her having to be there, that it not only intruded on my job, but it also required me to do an awful lot more at home because I saw how beat up she was. … Yeah this will probably be one of the most key

	things that I've said on the entire thing that probably resonates to a lot of people, that's super chauvinistic sounding but it's honest to god true. In the environment that we are in today, if the man is expected to be the primary provider, and the woman chooses to have a work and career also, but that work and career forces the person who is not only expected to be the provider to bend and mold their schedule and also pick up a ton of slack at home, that's not fair.... And I don't think she would be happy staying home, and I'm happy with the amount of work that I have to do at home, now, with the job that she has, because she can still do 65 or 70% of it, and be happy being at work. And I can pick up a little extra slack and make a little of the extra money at work, but still be helpful to her at home. And we both kind of have our own identity both in and out of the home... if every minute she spends here doesn't force me to spend a minute there, then I think it's more fair. But her schedule dictated my life previously and I wasn't keen on that. 472 Janelle (does not want to be working, at least not full time): I find it difficult going back to work after [having our son]… well after [our daughter] was born but after [having our son] it was even harder. Um I don't want to be working. You know, so guilt about working and not being there and then if I wasn't working, I'm not contributing, kind of thing. ...so we're exploring the idea of moving back to his home area and becoming farmers of a sort... We still need income, at least one of us, while we try to do that. So we were discussing different options about if Ralph was going to get a good job, he would work and I would be the one at home with the kids and [fields]. 451 Sandra (describes a period when she did not feel like she was living up to her own role expectations and she ended up on sick leave): I literally drove home from the hospital and the next day, he took off and so I had a toddler and an infant and a teenager. I just felt really tired. When I went back to work, I was just surviving. I had gone to see my doctor about something unrelated and he was asking me how things were going and next thing I knew I was bawling my eyes out. He put me off work and put me on antidepressants and I ended up off the whole summer. Before I went back to work, I spent some time doing some counseling through our EHT at work. I went back in and sat down with my boss and said I had to make some changes. I can't keep this up, I can't balance being a mom and being an employee and being a wife. I'm failing miserably at this… in the summer I come home and I have a whopping two hours to try and get out and do something with them, and so this year I don't feel that pressure, whatever they want to do, we can pack up in the morning and go do it. I was failing, I think. When you have to drop your kids off at day camp, then I don't know, that look on their face that says they don't want to be there, and I find they get tired too. Now my middle one's

	in school, they and my little guys in preschool, they're tired, I find, this part of the year. They've had a lot of pressure on them too, and they're ready for a break. And then I'm just putting them into another program, so that pressure of thinking they're not getting a break, we're all exhausted. All of us.

Note: Consistent with the flow chart in Figure 1, the phrase “cues and routines” in Step A here refers to situational cues, existing work-family routines, and sometimes parenting role expectations.

APPENDIX F

Quotes Illustrating Non-Routine Decision Processes

Steps of the Decision Process	Illustrative Quotes
Does this activity need to be done? Is this something we (I) want to do? Decision cues: activity importance, financial impacts, parent identity	121 Jamie (immediate non-routine activity): But my kids always come first before anything else… 401 Sallie (immediate non-routine activity): …even if one of the kids had the flu, like I would probably send [our son] in to work with Tim and he'd lay on the bathroom floor, like it would take a lot [to keep me home from work], that's why - once I make a commitment I'm committed - so it would take a lot for me, like I won't miss [work]. 511 Hailey (immediate non-routine activity): … we usually get on the phone and say, "How sick are you? Because if you're not that sick… go back to class." The teachers know us because we're not the overly anxious parents. 491 Bruce (immediate non-routine activity): I have been asked to work an extra shift, overtime directly after one that ends for me and I have refused on both times. Simply because, I don't prefer, I just prefer to come home. The extra day's pay or something like that is not important to me. I'd rather just come home. 491 Shannon: (immediate non-routine activity): I would, if it is important, which it is actually because I do bereavement in the hospital. If somebody comes at 4 o'clock and they tell me that they have just lost their mom or dad, I'm not going abandon them. 231 Sheila (immediate non-routine activity): So it all depends on what's going on. So for example if it's month end, forget it. For me? Forget it. I needed to be in the office. I needed to be present at work. 451 Sandra (scheduled non-routine activity): We have evening events and things that happen but I'm always told ahead of time. Not very often. Convocation and orientation events, those types of things, maybe three of four times a year. Occasionally we'll have an evening group of students, a new group that comes in and they'll ask which one of us wants to cover. I have the choice of saying no.

	111 Shani (scheduled non-routine activity): I sit on the governing board of my school so every second Tuesday of the month. … I can't coach a team because who's gonna' pick up my kid? All that stuff is after school. So that's why I joined the board, because it's in the evenings when I know - I want to give back to my school in the capacity that I'm able to. 17 Shirley (scheduled non-routine activity): [our daughter] had a breakfast for parents this morning but it was only between 7:30-8:00 am and I drop her off at 7:15, so I felt guilty about the whole you know, well other people's parents are gonna be there and I'm not gonna be there and I want to be there but I can't be there because I have to be at work.
Do I have control over scheduling the activity? Decision cue: control over scheduling If there is control over scheduling, then schedule the activity for the least disruptive time	481 Sharon (scheduled non-routine activity): …we have a couple coming up that we tried to put off and schedule in July, like some follow up pediatrician appointments and stuff because Addison will be off during the summer so he can take him. 451 Sandra (scheduled non-routine activity): I try to schedule [doctors appointments for the children] on days where Roger is off work. 151 Tony (scheduled non-routine activity): Yeah and that is also something easy to manage. My calls sometimes, they can be scheduled two days before they happen, but in her case, it's one year and she knows when she's going to an event, in which case I just wrote the times in my calendar and say guys I can't call anyone.
Does it the activity interfere with another activity? If it does interfere, does it interfere with the usual routine or with another non-routine activity/special event?	**The activity does not interfere with the usual routine or another activity:** 471 Janelle (immediate non-routine activity): but because I'm not the one who does the pickups on most days, it wouldn't necessarily be too much of a problem on my end. I know there's one or 2 days I've had to stay late because of a client coming in last minute but it's not really a huge deal for me. 471 Janelle (scheduled non-routine activity): Again, I'm lucky I work for the government so we have fairly good leave. All the stat holidays and stuff [the office is closed], so that's not really an issue [when the daycare is closed for a holiday].

	371 Sampson (scheduled non-routine activity): And if school is closed or whatever, I'll take her somewhere, run her until she's ready to collapse or whatever, yeah, and she would be with grandma in the morning and then Daddy would come home [after his night shift] and take care of her. **The activity interferes with the usual routine:** 481 Addison (immediate non-routine activity): …and if I had an unforeseen obligation arising in the day, I can, I'm usually pretty forthright about saying I have to go get my son but I wanted to touch base with you, so I can still kind of have a bit of a dialogue with parents or other teachers if I needed to leave, and I can still get there [for pick up routine]. I'd have to hustle but I could get there in time. 361 Jocelyn (immediate non-routine activity): …most recent when we were preparing a case and there were documents that we needed to send to whoever it is, and we had to do it urgently, which required that we'd spend an extra 45 minutes. And on those days I'd work through lunch, and not take my lunch break in order to get the thing done. But yes, it would mean that if I were to spend more than that 45 minutes, it would mean that I'd miss the train, and then another inconvenience. I think that the last train leaves [the city] at 6:20, and if I miss that then I'd have to take the bus, and I don't park where the buses arrive and then it goes all around, and you spend an hour from [the city] and then another hour going around until I get to where I parked, so… 481 Addison (scheduled non-routine activity): …even if I had a staff meeting then it would be ideal if Sharon was able to pick him up, otherwise I'd have to leave the staff meeting early, if I had to get him, but that hasn't been a problem yet. Yeah, because I know far in advance when my staff meetings are… 471 Ralph (scheduled non-routine activity): …you'll usually know well in advance. There's been yeah, a couple um if there's something at night or we're doing sessions like the online sessions or something like that. It probably happens… no it hasn't happened lately but I think maybe only 3 or 4 times since I've started and that's in 19 months. Then usually I might be able to take the time to do… depending what it is, the actual work is, I might be able to take an hour just to pick them up and take them home. **The activity interferes with another non-routine activity:**

	121 Jamie (immediate non-routine activity): The only way it would have been different was if I had been somewhere really far away for some reason and he was closer, he would probably hop in the car and get the kids, but I don't disrupt, I learned not to disrupt him… 241 Francine (immediate non-routine activity): …it used to be you wake up in the morning, [our child] has a fever, "Great, are you staying home? Am I staying home? Like, I have a meeting!". What do we do? 241 Francine (immediate non-routine activity): [Now] If my kids are sick, I can say, "You know what? I'm not [going to work today]" Unless it's like month-end and I have to get financial statements out and people are waiting on stuff then it becomes a little bit more of a headache. 151 Tony (scheduled non-routine activity): For instance, tomorrow morning we take him to the doctor, it's a scheduled appointment, but unfortunately I have a call to Mexico planned at that time, because in the team I'm the hispanophone one, and I had to give that call to one of my teammate who doesn't speak Spanish, but she's going to do that call with someone else from the company who speaks Spanish and English. So that would be less fluent than if I had done it, but it will be doable anyway…
Can the routine be skipped? Decision cues: situational cues (e.g. organizational policies, practices and culture); parent identity	121 Jamie (immediate non-routine activity): … so if I had to I would just postpone something [at work] if I couldn't get it done. 241 Francine (immediate non-routine activity): And that was sort of the deal from the get-go, when we had [first child]. I was fine, I'm more of a home person, I tend to the kids, I'm more maternal and more, you know, so I had no problem leaving work to come get the kids when they were sick… Now, if a kid gets sick, you know, I can say, "Ok, I'm not going to work today, I'll do it tomorrow" 471 Janelle (immediate non-routine activity): It usually means I'll take a day off work. Um, we do um [have those] sort of provisions for unforeseen school closures. 461 Alan (immediate non-routine activity): There's times I've worked past five o'clock. I'm just answering emails past five o'clock as well. It depends. If someone was really pressing, then I would probably wait to go pick him up. Our moms are flexible and... Giving him dinner and stuff like that. The worst case scenario is if he had to stay overnight. I mean, it wouldn't be an issue.

	431 Garret (scheduled non-routine activity): …because over Easter we were both wondering, what if the day closed over the holidays? Fortunately, it didn't. So nothing we had to change then, but yeah, there are days that it will be closed, and we'll have to deal. We have to plan for that. We're both lucky in the sense that we've been at our companies for a long time at this point, and both get good vacation. In the sense we can pick weeks. We have those days to play with. 421 Owen (scheduled non-routine activity): We have them in advance and then one or the other of us - I mean sometimes we have to switch off like you know, I'll take the afternoon and Sadie will take the morning or vice versa. Um or it's a day when I can just be home or it's a day when Sadie can be home, but it's usually manageable.
Is it possible to do both activities? Decision cues: split shift, multitask	231 Sheila (immediate non-routine activity): Luckily with both our jobs, luckily, like I have some flexibility. I could work from home in times like this. He did too…I was able to work from home and even when your kid's sick, you're not getting all that much time, so I'd maybe get 50% of my work done like when they took long naps. 171 Jonathan (immediate non-routine activity): I'll go over and I'll pick him up. Like I said, 10 minutes. We'll come back, I'll give him a bucket, put on Netflix and go back to work if it's not really bad. 421 Owen (immediate non-routine activity): I would get the call and I'd go pick him up or her up and bring them home and then put them up in their room with a bucket to throw up in and then… Try to get something done. 231 Michael and Sheila (immediate non-routine activity) Michael: …the last couple months at that job, I was overwhelmed like… it was tons and tons of work Sheila: Basically he was still leaving to pick up [our son], come home, and he'd do his workout. Michael: But then I'd work here. Sheila: He was working until 4 or 5 in the morning like nuts. 161 Stacy (immediate non-routine activity): I told that to somebody at work yesterday. He called me into a meeting until 4:15 and I said my lift leaves at 4 and he says well I really need you there… I said no, there's something you don't' understand, I've told you several times now—my daughter goes to bed

	between 6:30 and 7:30 and I said I go home at 4 so I can see my daughter as long as I possibly can that day and then will work again that night. 291 Brad (immediate non-routine activity): …you can say well I can't stay I have to pick up my kid, but I can work on it at home. 291 Brad (scheduled non-routine activity): And I have the flexibility to work from home too. Between uh Christmas and New Years last year, my uh corporate site is closed. Like they just close it for the holidays. Well, I gotta either a) take vacation which I don't have that much, or b) work from home. And I did, I worked from home during that time. And I had her one day a week, one of those days by myself, she was fine. Plopped her in front of the Netflix for a while. And she'd come up here and I'd interact with her and that but yeah, she was good, she was fine. 331 Janet (scheduled non-routine activity): …we have busy seasons and stuff like in January it was around the clock almost, so that was pretty exhausting, so we basically, we get [our son], we do our routine with him, and then as soon as he went to bed I went back to work until midnight, that's what I was doing all of January.
Can someone else help? Decision cues: availability of friends, family or other help	111 Shani (immediate non-routine activity): I'd probably call my mother, "Are you free?" and if she is - My parents live right near us but they work on the road. So their schedule is very flexible. They work together. Some days they're available and other days they're not. So nothing is fixed. They do help out a lot. 391 Evelyn (immediate non-routine activity): It depends on [the Nanny]'s mood and how she's feeling, but she's been a lot better with it lately, but like lately she'll take [our son] to the doctor without problems, it used to be a problem, but now she's more open and I just kind of told her that's what we need from her because of our jobs. Like I'm an hour away, I'm not, maybe during that time of the day it might not be as bad, but if [our daughter] needs immediate assistance lets go ahead and take care of it. 401 Sallie (immediate non-routine activity): I try not to ever do it but I have over the years asked my mom for a favor a few times.

	481 Addison (immediate non-routine activity): Well yeah, if the daycare is closed we don't really have any other options because we're not from [this area] originally, so we don't have much of a network here in terms of having someone last minute to watch [our son], so if I'm able to stay home I would be doing that. 451 Sandra (scheduled non-routine activity): On Thursday - my mother's off Thursdays and Fridays – [our daughter] doesn't have school so she's going to my mom's house for the day, on that day. They jump in where they can to make life a little bit easier for us. 441 Angie (scheduled non-routine activity): No, our schedules are not the same for PD days, so that does cause a problem, like we had a couple in January and February, I think my parents did one but Jim had to take a day off for one of them. 291 Mariah (scheduled non-routine activity): And so, if daycare is closed, because they do close a couple times a year, um, my mom will come from [two hours away], she goes with Nana for two days, and then Brad's dad's wife will take her one day or his dad will take her one day, so when its daycare is closed, the family chips in…
Is the other activity important? Can an activity be rescheduled? Decision cues: activity importance, control over scheduling	311 Roland (immediate non-routine activity): There's been times where she had her meeting after work or had her meeting in the morning so she knew she had to be there or she had um her, she had her evaluators coming in the other day. That happened last year… he got sick right after Sunday, we knew Monday he wasn't going to go to school but she knew she had an evaluator… 391 Evelyn (immediate non-routine activity): So I wasn't supposed to go, I didn't have plans to go, but I had to, so I worked it out and I don't even know what happened that night. Oh, I think I had already arranged for a sitter that night, but I had to cancel my other plans. 151 Tony (scheduled non-routine activity): For instance, tomorrow morning we take him to the doctor, it's a scheduled appointment, but unfortunately I have a call to Mexico planned at that time… In that case I wanted to reschedule, but it would have been three weeks given the relationship that we have with these people. They're hard to get ahold of, so yeah.

Does the situation come up frequently?	251 Doug (immediate non-routine activity): It was problematic the first year because when you introduce them to daycare, they're sick every week. Every week there was something, so that was problematic and I didn't realize, and now they're not sick that often. 511 William (immediate non-routine activity): I think it's once every two years because I have to take the day that I wasn't expecting. 331 Janet (immediate non-routine activity): …through the fall we were sick all the time. Like I think there were maybe, not all together in a row, but altogether I think it was 4 weeks we weren't healthy. 371 Sampson (immediate non-routine activity): Oh yeah, almost every day. Because technically I'm in there everyday late. Technically I'm off the clock at 8 in the morning. 281 Travis (immediate non-routine activity): I could easily at the end of the day… I work in manufacturing. I could have a machine go down, I could have a tool break, I could have a situation that's out of control that needs attention and it needs attention now. Fortunately, we haven't been stuck too many times with that. 491 Shannon (immediate non-routine activity): It has happened, they have been terrible situations before that I have been with patients for an hour, an hour and a half but it is really once in a year type of thing. 391 Evelyn (immediate non-routine activity): Oh, it has happened... Yeah, but that's rare for me. 371 Christie (scheduled non-routine activity): … but for the most part the days they have off in the preschool, because its in our building, its pretty much set to our schedule. I think in the whole year there will be two, not that they're closed, they're closed 3 in the whole September to June, one is the same day that my building is closed, it's a teacher's convention. So they're closed one day for pictures, but Sampson brought her for pictures and then took her home with him, then the other day is later in the year and it might still correspond with a PED day for me. But again its something that we know way in advance… 351 Kevin (scheduled non-routine activity): …so until [our son] started Kindergarten and I had Fridays off I tried to keep him at home as often as I could on Fridays knowing that that was going to run out.

	When he started school, for better or worse, he has to go to school. For better, I have time back for myself, for worse, well it's time that we did have together. But there's tons of PED days. It's not that hard to find things to do. But the PED days have interesting activities… 291 Mariah (scheduled non-routine activity): And so, if daycare is closed, because they do close a couple times a year… 371 Christie (scheduled non-routine activity): staff council I do after school, but that's once a month, and upcoming I'll be tutoring after school once a week… 111 Shani (scheduled non-routine activity): Once a month we have early morning staff meetings, I sit on the governing board of my school so every second Tuesday of the month.

APPENDIX G

Table of Decision Cues by Couple Type

Color code for couple types	
Neo-traditional Couple: Blue	Outsourced Couple: Green
Non-traditional Couple: Red	Family First Couple: Yellow
Egalitarian Couple: Magenta	

Table G

Decision Cues by Couple Type

Cues	Drop-offs	Pick-ups	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work Overflow
Situational (Work) Cues					
Organizational policies and practices			111 361 141 371 151 401 161 421 171 441 281 451 291 461 311 471 331 481 351 491	111 351 151 361 161 441 171 461 261 471 281 481 311 331	111 401 151 451 161 461 171 471 261 481 311 491 371 511
Financial impacts				161 461 281 471 311 481 331 491	141 411 261 451 311 461 351 481 391 491 401
Organizational culture	231	231	111 351 121 391 151 411 161 421 171 431 231 441 241 451 251 461 261 481 281 511 291	111 431 151 441 171 451 311 471 331 491 351 511 401	111 281 121 291 161 311 171 331 231 431 261 471

Cues	Drop-offs	Pick-ups	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work Overflow
Nature of the work		431	141 411 231 421 261 431 351 461 371 511 391	171 351 411 421 451 461	111 391 121 411 141 421 151 431 231 441 251 451 281 461 291 471 311 481 351 511 371
Work hours	111 351 121 361 141 371 151 391 161 411 171 431 231 441 241 451 261 471	111 371 121 391 151 401 161 411 171 421 231 432 241 441 261 451 281 471 311 481 361		371 401 421 451	
Workload variations/cycles			121 141 241 261 351 421	231 241 261 331 351	111 331 141 351 171 421 231 441 241 461 261 481 281 511 311
Additional Employment	141	141 281	121 291 141 411 231 421 261 491		121 281 141 291 261
Self-Employment	121	121 241	121 141 241 351	121 351 141 401 241	
Situational (Family) Cues					
Spouse's work hours	121 361 141 371 151 401 161 411 171 431 231 441 261 451 281 471 311	111 361 121 401 141 421 151 441 231 451 241	111 401 141 411 151 421 231 441 261 451 281 481 331 511 351	371 451	141 411 151 431 231 471 241 481 281 511 351

Cues	Drop-offs	Pick-ups	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work Overflow
Children's school hours/school bus	111 121 141 171 241 261 281 311 351 361 401 411 421 441 451 511	121 171 241 261 311 361 371 401 421 451	121 141 241 261 371 401 421 441 451 511		171 311 371 401
Childcare hours/type of childcare	261 361 371 391 411	281 291 391 481	281 391 411 481 511	261 281 331 391 411 461	281 291 411
Children's activities	401 511	281 361 401 421 471 511	281 401 421 511		421
Coaching children's activities	401		241		241 311
Situational (other) cues					
Geographic/transportation	121 151 161 171 261 331 461 471 481 491 511	121 151 161 171 281 331 361 371 411 451 461 471 481 491	441	161 251 291 361 371 391 441 491	121 351 361 371 481 511
Availability of family, friends or other help		421 441		111 141 231 251 261 281 291 371 401 411 441 451 461 481	241 251 371 401 411 441 461
Activity Cues					
Activity importance				141 261 401 421 461 511	111 121 141 231 251 261 281 351 371 391 411 421 441 451 461 491 511

Cues	Drop-offs	Pick-ups	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work Overflow
Comparison of work tasks to spouse's work tasks	511	511 351	511	111 121 141 151 161 231 251 261 281 311 331 351 361 391 421 431 441 471 511	151 161 231 281 351 411 421 441 481 511
Activity interferes with routine				111 121 141 151 161 171 231 241 251 261 281 311 331 351 361 371 391 401 411 421 431 441 451 461 471 481 491 511	121 141 151 161 231 241 251 261 281 291 311 331 351 361 371 401 421 451 461 471 481 491 511
Activity interferes with another non-routine activity				121 141 151 231 241 261 311 331 351 431 471	141 151 311 391 411 421 431 451
Known in advance, scheduled				151 511	111 151 171 231 241 251 261 291 311 331 351 371 391 401 421 431 441 451 461 471 481
Control over scheduling					151 171 231 251 421 471 481

Cues	Drop-offs	Pick-ups	Work Hours	Sick Kid	Work Overflow
Split shift/multitask (able to work in the evening or work while caring for a child)	171 441	141 151 161 171 231 331 351 421 461 511	141 161 171 231 311 331 351 391 411 421 441 461	141 161 171 291 351 401 421 441	141 151 161 261 291 311 331 351 391 411 421 441 461 481 511
Role-Related Cues					
Fairness (171, 421, 231 as a general cue)	511 351	281 351 411 511	511	161 231 281 331 351 431 511	281 411 511
Priority Career (151 and 261 as a general cue)		231 241 391	231 391	121 241 391	121 231 241
Parent identity (361, 401 and 511 as a general cue)	141 241 431	111 121 231 241 251 351 421	111 121 141 161 231 241 261 311 331 351 401 421 431 511	121 241 421 461 491	111 121 161 261 311 461
Work identity		231	231 241 261 371 391 411 421 441	281	231 281 371

Note: Counts are made by couple. If one or both of the spouses said this was a cue they used in a decision-making situation, then the couple was counted as using that cue.