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The New Ideal Worker

Organizations Between Work-Life Balance, Gender and Leadership

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The New Ideal Worker

Organizations Between Work-Life Balance,
Gender and Leadership

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Part I
The New Ideal Worker

Introduction

Mireia las Heras Maestro, Nuria Chinchilla Albiol, and Marc Grau Grau

In the 70s, Coser (1974) defined the Greedy Institutions as those institutions who asked their members for an "exclusive and undivided loyalty". These institutions assumed that the "ideal worker" was the one who devoted long hours to their jobs with no family interference (Williams 2000). In some sense, this image of "ideal worker" still exists, but empirical evidence seems to suggest that far from being positive for the organizations, having old "ideal workers" may have a negative impact on the twenty-first century organizations (Reid 2015; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Stone and Hernandez 2013; Williams et al. 2013). Moreover, recent technological, social and demographic changes have reshaped the way people work and the way families organize themselves (Jacobs and Gerson 2001; Presser 2003). In a situation like that, where more employees ask for a real work-family balance/integration, it is timely and relevant to examine the "new ideal worker", and to understand how companies adapt to this new situation. Can we define a (new) ideal worker? If yes, are there cultural differences? Do companies offer new programs and policies for the (new) ideal worker? What role does technology play? The first goal of this edited volume is to answer these intriguing questions regarding the new ideal worker.

In parallel, a second goal of this volume is to create a vision and to build theory on women and leadership, as well as to provide empirical evidence not only for the academia, but also for organizations. Gender equality is a fundamental right

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(Eurobarometer 2015), yet still in many regions of the world reducing gender inequality is still a challenge extremely necessary for having a more humane society. In many countries inequalities between men are women are still the norm. Inequalities between men and women are still prevalent in organizations (Acker 1990) in political representation (Kenworthy and Malami 1999), and in the family (Craig and Mullan 2011) This edited book aims to focus on "Women and (new) leadership" acknowledging that the needs for leadership have changed, and that women contributions might be more relevant than ever to contribute to organizational needs. Interesting questions that we examine are: Who holds stereotypes of men and women? How do those affect men and women career progression? Do men and women cope with leadership challenges differently? Is it beneficial to have a higher representation of women in Boards, and if so why?

To answer all these relevant questions, this new collection is the result of a careful selection of articles presented at two conferences: (1) the seventh bi-annual International Conference of Work & Family (July 2017), which aimed to focus on the (new) ideal workers, as well as on their needs, desires and new forms of flexibility, and (2) the first bi-annual International Conference of Women and Leadership (July 2017), which paid special attention to women and leadership styles and stereotypes, women and careers, women and corporate governance and women and social networks. In total, around 100 scholars of more than 25 nationalities participated in one of the two conferences, both organized by the International Center of Work and Family and supported by Carmina Roca and Rafael-Pich Aguilera Women and Leadership Chair at the IESE Business School. This book, as with the conference, has a clear international focus. As the reader will see, the chapters in the book represent countries like India, Chile, Brazil, Germany, United Kingdom, United States or Canada. We also selected those papers that used different analytical approaches. Among others, the reader will find a qualitative study about work-family balance among male police officers in UK, a quantitative study among Millennials in Chile, or a theoretical chapter about flexibility-availability paradox for the new ideal worker. In summary, this book consists of 14 chapters divided into two parts: (I) The New Ideal Worker, and (II) Gender and Leadership.

Part I: The New Ideal Worker
In the second chapter, Worley and Gutierrez present in their conceptual chapter a very interesting paradox (flexibility-availability paradox). According to them, advances in technology increase the opportunities for flexible arrangements, and this flexibility also increases the potential availability of an employee, which imposes a more permeable boundary structure between work and family. Worley and Gutierrez also offer an innovative proposal for blending the concepts of ideal worker and ideal workplace and integrating performance management principles to guide boundary management across the changing landscape of organizational structures.

In the third chapter, Bünning and Bernhardt argue that today many fathers would like to work less, but they are not able to reduce their working hours. Using a sample of 711 German fathers, they reveal that working fathers are more likely to reduce

their working hours when formal, universal and transparent policies exist in their workplaces. Their findings are totally in line with the research grounded in Amartya Sen's capability approach, which argues that making use of the legal right to work shorter hours requires a sense of entitlement.

In the fourth chapter, Bosch and Hernandez explore the expectations, motivations and values of Millennials in Chile, using a sample of 358 young adults. They found that the new generations place a high value on the family. They want to play an active role in their own homes, and they care about having a life apart from work. These results are in line with the findings of the previous chapter. Thus, one of the challenges of contemporary organization is to offer a sustainable work-family balance to their employees.

In the fifth chapter, Senarathne Tennakoon makes a great contribution by expanding our understanding on the organizational reasoning behind flexible work arrangements. Her qualitative study with Canadian HR executives and university students reveals that most organizations are genuinely interested in creating an ideal organization for their ideal employees.

In the sixth chapter, Gutierrez and Worley set out to discuss the notion of the new ideal worker in the Academia, grounding examples of faculty work-life from research studies conducted in the United States. The authors first discuss the concept of all-access to technology as the premise that faculty work can conceivably be done anytime, anywhere as faculty see fit to do so. Next, a discussion of empirical research on faculty-work life in U.S. institutions is added to further the readers' understanding on some issues explored about the integration of faculty work-life aspects.

In the seventh chapter, Machado bridges a gap between the findings of psychology and other social sciences and the embedded beliefs in mainstream management theories about workers motivations and work values hierarchies. It presents Schwartz Values Theory and shows how the findings it has enabled in the last decades can open a much wider perspective for a scientifically plausible 'new ideal worker', motivated by self-transcendence values, as well as openness to change, self-enhancement and conservation values.

Finally, in the eighth chapter, Kring presents a general reflection about how we can learn to navigate work and private life in new ways in the twenty-first century. Kring introduces a very interesting concept "The Life Navigation", and presents the three necessary steps for preparing organizations and employees to make the final cultural shifts to become ideal organizations and ideal workers.

Part II: Gender and Leadership

The second part of this edited collection, Gender and Leadership, consists of six more chapters. In the ninth chapter, Bosch and her colleagues examine if gender bias affects the recruitment process for top managerial positions in Chile. Using conjoint analysis, they evaluate how recruiters, ranked a set of multi-attribute profiles, showing their preferences among profiles. In contrast to previous research, and surprisingly, their results show that gender is the less important variable in the recruitment process.

In the tenth chapter, Kaushiva and Joshi, argue that South Asian countries face a challenge of low labor force participation of women with the exit of women significantly high in middle and senior levels of an organization. Their qualitative study with the experiences of 15 Indian women who left their jobs post child-birth and returned to the industry after a prolonged absence, present their work and family expectations and try to understand how they navigate these during their re-entry.

To increase gender equality, it's crucial to understand men in organizations. In the eleventh chapter, Bahadur explores the concept of work-life balance from a male perspective based on a case-study of the police sector with 30 face-to-face interviews. Her results present two types of work-family balance described by police officers: overall work-life balance and ongoing work-life balance. According to this study, while overall work-life balance can be achieved through work-life separation, ongoing work-life balance is achieved by minimizing work-life interference.

In the twelfth chapter, Salvaj and Kuschel, review the latest empirical evidence from 2009 to 2016 to identify, organize, and describe the factors that affect women executives and directors' career success (or failure). They integrate the 113 selected publications providing a novel framework of factors organized around (1) career persistence (staying at the organization) and (2) career advancement or mobility (getting promoted in the organization). Their framework organizes the factors at the individual, organizational and public policy level that affect both career persistence and advancement of women in top management positions.

In the thirteenth chapter, Hollanda examines the predictors and outcomes of work-family conflict and work-family enrichment in Brazil, using an app based daily survey measures during two workweeks. The results suggest that work-family conflict was negatively associated with awareness at work and organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) and positively related to absent-mindedness. In an opposite way, work-family enrichment was positively associated with awareness at work and OCB and negatively related to absent-mindedness at work.

Finally, in the last chapter, Kim and her colleagues, study the effects of the federal regulation Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) which followed one of the largest accounting fraud scandals worldwide. They also study the 2008 financial meltdown crisis (following the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers) on the position and pay of female CEOs. Using Standard & Poor's (S&P) Executive Compensation database (Execucomp) from 1992 to 2011, they found that SOX led to an increase in women serving as CEOs. However, neither the federal act nor the financial meltdown had an effect on the total compensation of CEOs. This evidence suggests that the gender pay gap remains constant regardless of particular events happening in the macro context.

In summary, all these chapters provide very rich empirical evidences across the globe, as well as innovative conceptual frameworks to help practitioners and academics to go beyond the classic notion of ideal worker and greedy institutions, and to put a solid base for building ideal organizations for the new ideal workers, with no discrimination between men and women.

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Hope for the (New) Ideal Worker: Resolving the Flexibility-Availability Paradox

Jody A. Worley and Kathrine J. Gutierrez

Abstract This paper aims to integrate work-life border theory and boundary spanning with performance management principles to contextualize the needs and desires of the (new) ideal worker in the (new ideal) organization. The reality is that performance management systems are rarely implemented in an ideal way. There may be organizational- or country-level constraints that prevent the implementation of a good performance management system. This paper offers a proposal for blending the concepts of ideal worker and ideal workplace and integrating performance management principles to guide boundary management across the changing landscape of organizational structures. As such, the integration of border theory with performance management principles provides valuable insights for resolving the flexibility-availability paradox.

This paper aims to integrate work-life border theory and boundary spanning with performance management principles to contextualize the needs and desires of the (new) ideal worker in the (new ideal) organization. Slaughter (2015) notes that millions of workers "still have day jobs with fixed hours, fixed locations, and bosses who expect fixed amounts of work. How can we change *that* economy to make room for care?" (p. 212). If we are now looking to redefine or rethink what is the ideal worker, then we also need to propose a new view or rethink what is the ideal workplace.

A contributing factor includes the technology advancements in recent decades that make it possible for approximations of the ideal worker or ideal workplace to be realized. Current technology and connectivity influences the many ways in which employees perform their jobs and the kinds of jobs that workers perform. Technology developments have functioned to allow for flexibility in work scheduling in ways that were not previously available. The ability to work remotely and stay connected enables new flexible work arrangements. This is a benefit for many

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employees and organizations. The costs are generally associated with the blurring of boundaries between domains of work and life (Nam 2014; Piszczek and Berg 2014; Piszczek et al. 2016; Piszczek 2017). As such, images of the ideal worker and the actual worker have evolved from a nine-to-five commuter to the 24/7 "always available" prospect.

1   The Flexibility-Availability Paradox

How has this changing landscape shifted the professional identity development for those who find themselves struggling to navigate the organizational pressures that characterize the flexibility-availability paradox? To be clear, the flexibility-availability paradox is this: Advances in technology increase the opportunities for flexible schedules and telecommuting. Generally, this also means the work- and nonwork-life boundaries are more integrated. However, that same level of flexibility also increases the potential availability of an employee, which imposes a more permeable boundary structure between work and life domains—thus, the paradox (Table 1). The intended flexibility increases availability, which restricts flexibility and threatens boundary control when one is expected to always be available (Fig. 1).

Table 1 Factual considerations in practice

Fact: The ability to work remotely and stay connected enables new flexible work arrangements
Fact: Flexible work arrangements combined with the availability of mobile technology communication translate into increased accessibility
Fact: In practice, increased accessibility via technology is often interpreted as increased availability
Herein lies the flexibility-availability paradox
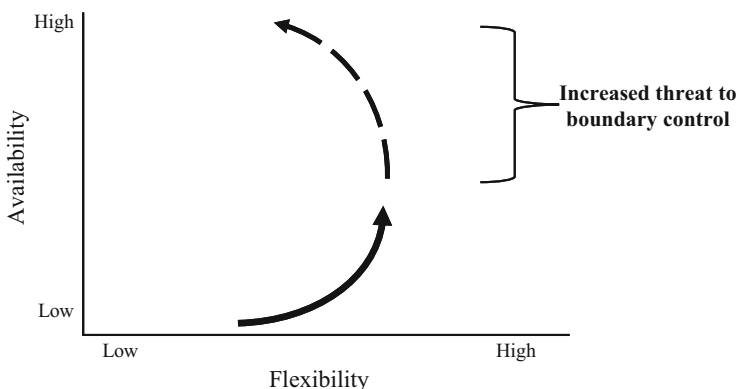
Fig. 1 The flexibility-availability paradox

The notion of paradox in organizations is not new, but applications of the concept to issues related to work-life integration are relatively recent. Lewis (2000) explored the notion of paradox in organizations with a focus on conflicting demands in general among alternative and sometimes opposing perspectives for managing those demands. Emphasis was on learning from organizational tensions and developing a refined understanding of distinctive organizational features and organizational behaviors. Smith and Lewis (2011) also suggested that adapting to tensions is necessary for organizations to accommodate competing demands. Likewise, Johnson (2014) described paradox in organizational context as interdependent pairs of values. Therefore, understanding paradox offers insight into frameworks for examining the management strategies for addressing underlying tensions and processes for improvement (cf. Lavine 2014). Törner et al. (2017) also focuses on the paradox of demands for productivity in organizational climate. Although special attention was directed toward understanding occupational health and safety, Törner et al. do not specifically address paradox in the context of work-life demands. In fact, much of the academic work on paradox in organizations has focused on issues at the management level with regard to productivity and operations within a company (Figelj and Biloslavo 2015). The use of technology among employees to increase flexibility and the paradox of managing the availability of ideal workers is a relatively unexplored domain.

The prevailing notion of the ideal worker has been characterized by high devotion to work in organizations and highly segmented work- and nonwork-life (Dumas and Sanchez-Burks 2015; Munn and Greer 2015; Williams 2000). Work-family or work-life border theory is a framework for understanding and explaining how individuals negotiate and manage work and nonwork responsibilities and the boundaries between them. Central to the theory is the notion that work and nonwork responsibilities are interdependent domains of a worker's life. Clark (2000, p. 751) defined "balance" between the work and nonwork borders as "satisfaction and good functioning. . .with a minimum of role conflict." As such, Clark proposed that when work- and nonwork-life domains are similar, weak borders will facilitate work-life balance. Alternatively, when domains are different, stronger borders will facilitate balance.

Work-life border theory (Clark 2000) and related research on boundary spanning (cf. Glavin et al. 2011; Voydanoff 2005) consist of two key concepts—segmentation and integration at the boundaries of various life domains (e.g., work, nonwork, family, leisure, etc.). There is evidence to support *segmentation*—referring to the personal-professional boundary. Individuals who segment domains of work- and nonwork-life reinforce the boundary between personal and professional life. Several studies document a widely held belief that overt expression of personal values is not appropriate at work (i.e., segmentation) and that organizations discourage the display of personal items in work space, as well as references to nonwork roles while at work (e.g., Dumas and Sanchez-Burks 2015; Sanchez-Burks 2002; Uhlmann et al. 2013). However, changes in workforce demographics and available technology have made integration a more likely pathway for the management of boundaries between life domains (Kossek et al. 2012). Organizational practices that encourage *integration* of personal-professional boundaries include company-sponsored activities, work-family policies that provide on-site childcare facilities, and personal self-disclosure (e.g., Dumas et al. 2013; Fleming 2005; Kreiner et al. 2009; Rothbard et al. 2005). Therefore, the

management of boundaries has become more precarious for new ideal workers as well as for the ideal organization due to the flexibility-availability paradox.

Perhaps the needs and desires are not new, but the (new) ideal worker is better positioned than ever before to negotiate that those needs and desires are met. They have more opportunity and flexibility in personal life to choose when and where they work. Furthermore, the new ideal worker has greater command at navigating the workplace landscape with new technology. While devotion and commitment to professional identity remains high for the new ideal worker, technology advances make remote and virtual navigation of the workplace increasingly possible (work anytime/anywhere). The new ideal worker is one that has adapted to advances in mobile communication technology to efficiently and effectively produce expanded results for the workplace unencumbered by their nonwork-related responsibilities. Therefore, boundary management practices have evolved in an environment where boundaries are increasingly more permeable.

Perhaps more importantly, the new ideal worker prompts a need for revision in the new ideal organization. The new ideal organization is one that recognizes the needs and demands of ideal workers in all domains of life and adapts to those needs and desires as a strategy to recruit, select, and retain star performers (cf. Aguinis and O'Boyle 2014; Aguinis and Bradley 2015; Aguinis et al. 2012, 2013). This means that performance management practices might require some modification. This does not mean that performance standards must change. However, ideal performance management practices should consider boundary-spanning behavior that includes access and utilization of flexible schedules, telecommuting, etc. Management of boundary spanning in the new ideal organization becomes integrated into informal performance management in much the same way that citizenship behavior, extra-role behaviors, and absenteeism have been considered in previous generations of employees.

The reality is that performance management systems are rarely implemented in an ideal way (McAdam et al. 2005). There may be organizational or country-level constraints that prevent the implementation of a good performance management system. The general principles of performance management will be discussed in a later section. As such, this paper offers a proposal for resolving the flexibility-availability paradox by blending the concepts of ideal worker and ideal workplace and integrating performance management principles to guide boundary management across the changing landscape of organizational structures.

Slaughter (2015) describes societal expectations for an "always available worker" that is brought about by the immediate access to anyone, anywhere through the use of communication technology. Advances in technology may be shaping societies' perception of the ideal worker—this flexibility-availability image that may be compounding the stressors of work-family integration. These new ways of working with increased flexibility in scheduling, telecommuting, and the availability of communication technology (smartphones, e-mail, videoconference, etc.) share the advantage of reducing costs for companies while increasing the potential for engagement and performance.

A conceptual model illustrating the tensions and reinforcing cycles of paradox is presented in Fig. 2. Exploring the flexibility-availability paradox offers a framework
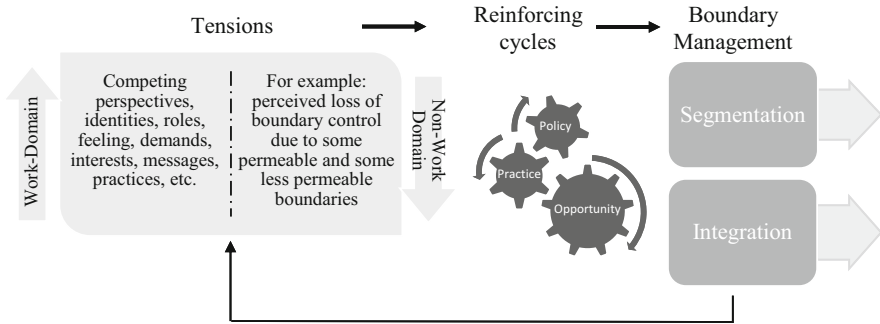
Fig. 2 Flexibility-availability framework. Adapted from: Lewis, M. (2000). Exploring paradox: Toward a more comprehensive guide. *Academy of Management Review, 25,* 760–776

for understanding divergent perspectives and disruptive experiences associated with attempts to maintain boundary control among new ideal workers. In general, a paradox may denote a wide variety of competing elements: perspectives, identities, feelings, demands, interests, messages, or practices. Paradox is also constructed as people attempt to create meaning out of ambiguity and change. The paradoxical tensions, such as the perceived loss of boundary control, are perceptual. An ideal organization composed of a variety of flexible arrangements to allow for autonomy among ideal workers may use highly formalized and centralized procedures for employee control. Over time, such tensions may become objectified within goals or reward systems for performance. The reinforcing cycles perpetuate or worsen these tensions. A reinforcing cycle might be any policy or organizational practice that prevents an aspiring ideal worker from maintaining a sense of boundary control while simultaneously preventing the worker from boundary flexibility necessary to recognize or enact boundary management strategies (integration or segmentation). Providing opportunities for flexible arrangements may initially reduce frustrations or discomfort with work-to-family interference (WIF) (Allen et al. 2013; Frone et al. 1992). However, these same opportunities may eventually foster opposite unintended consequences that intensify the underlying tension if the flexibility in scheduling is translated into expectations of increased availability during nonwork hours.

One study has found that the positive relationship between work engagement and new ways of working (specifically, flexible working arrangements) is fully mediated by efficient and effective communication (Brummelhuis et al. 2012). However, there is a positive relationship between flexible work arrangements and exhaustion due to increased interruptions during the work process (Brummelhuis et al. 2012). Positive relationships have also been observed between increased after-hour electronic communication and work-home interference (Derks et al. 2015) and emotional exhaustion (Piszczek 2017). Therefore, the cost of increased flexibility in scheduling and availability of employees is often associated with the blurring of boundaries between domains of work and life.

Research on outcomes of particular work-life boundary management strategies have provided evidence that increased integration of work and nonwork roles is associated with an increase in the number of hours that employees spend on work and an increase in the number of role transitions (switching roles) and role conflict (Desrochers et al. 2005). Evidence also suggests that increased integration also leads to an increase in family-to-work conflict (Kossek et al. 2009) and that boundary flexibility was generally associated with increased interference (Bulger et al. 2007).

Available evidence suggests, then, that flexibility in scheduling, telecommuting, and available work-related communication technology is not inherently problematic in terms of work-life interference. Rather, individual differences in the ways that workers enact boundary management control strategies seem to influence the observed outcomes associated with flexible scheduling, technology use, employee engagement, and well-being. Despite the individual differences, however, expectations for after-hour electronic communication use and the availability of the ideal worker have shifted with the expanded notions of workplace and work time. Informal organizational norms may influence after-hour technology use by employees by having certain performance expectations or rewarding such behaviors (Duxbury et al. 2014; Fenner and Renn 2010). Mazmanian et al. (2013) explain how organizational norms in knowledge work, for example, have made after-hour technology use critical to success as a sign of motivation among ideal workers. Research in industrial relations also suggests that unpaid after-hour work is associated with and motivated by anticipated future earnings (Song 2009). Therefore, there is compelling evidence for a flexibility-availability paradox that is further complicated by prevailing notions of a new ideal worker who is increasingly flexible and available through the use of communication technology.

2 Boundary-Spanning and Mobile Communication Technology

Boundary theory (Ashforth et al. 2000; Clark 2000) addresses how people construct, maintain, negotiate, and cross the borders between work- and nonwork-life. Boundaries are "the physical, temporal, emotional, cognitive and/or relational limits that define entities as separate from one another" (Ashforth et al. 2000, p. 474). The various physical and metaphorical borders serve to structure the individual roles that people play and maintain in the different domains of their lives.

Boundary control is the ability to enact boundaries consistent with one's personal preferences (Kossek and Lautsch 2012) and has been linked to lower psychological distress and work-family conflict (Kossek et al. 2012). Boundary permeability and boundary control are distinct in that boundary permeability refers to how easily role boundaries might be disrupted by thoughts or behaviors. Boundary flexibility, on the other hand, is the capacity of a role boundary to be moved in time or location, that is, where and when a role might be enacted. The level of role interference is generally

less when there is boundary flexibility, whereas permeability of boundaries is generally associated with more role interference (Bulger et al. 2007).

The permeability of boundaries and perceived loss of boundary control vary with adoption of mobile communication technology depending on the boundary management strategies enacted by different employees (Duxbury et al. 2014). Recall that integrators combine or blend the roles of personal and professional boundaries, while segmentors reinforce the demarcation of personal and professional boundaries. Integrators are more likely than segmentors to use mobile communication technology as a way to minimize the impact and interference of work on their family and nonwork time. However, while segmentors recognize ways that technology enhances work-related communication and efficiency, they are less likely than integrators to see how work-related communication technology offers any advantages to the management of their family or other nonwork roles (Duxbury et al. 2014). Piszczek (2017) also found that after-hour communication expectations predicted technology use among segmentors and integrators but more strongly for segmentors because they are less likely to engage in technology use if the organizational context does not demand it.

Derks et al. (2015) observed that work-home interference increases with more work-related smartphone use in general. This relationship between smartphone use and work-home interference was stronger among workers who are expected by their employers to be available online after work hours and among employees with low work engagement. Considering the differences in the impact of technology use observed between segmentors and integrators (Duxbury et al. 2014), this finding by Derks et al. has significant implications for supervisory management with regard to the communication of work expectations after hours, especially among workers who are less engaged and enact segmentation as their strategy for boundary control. Segmentors report lower technology use overall, which is consistent with their preference, but after-hour electronic communication expectations can compel segmentors and integrators to exhibit higher levels of technology use (Piszczek 2017).

There is an interplay, therefore, between boundary management among individual workers (in the form of segmentation or integration) and performance management practices among supervisors and managers in the organization. This interplay becomes increasingly clear when taking into consideration the "information and communication technology user role (ICTU)" that is "highly flexible and permeable and therefore can be engaged in many locations and at any time" (Piszczek et al. 2016, p. 5) and therefore overlap with other roles. This interplay between technology use and boundary management is confounded when considered within an organizational context where human resource management practices and performance management systems also influence individual work behaviors. Hence, this leads us to offer Proposition 1 considering when the interplay between technology use and boundary management becomes or is confounded.

Proposition 1 The same organizational human resource policy for flexible arrangements or expectations for after-hour technology use will not have the same influence over work behavior after taking into account performance management practices.

After-hour electronic communication expectations may influence segmentors and integrators to exhibit higher levels of technology use, but with different outcomes. Specifically:

Proposition 1a After-hour electronic communication expectations are expected to be associated with more negative results for segmentors who prefer to keep work- and nonwork-life separate.

Proposition 1b After-hour electronic communication expectations may be associated with positive results for integrators who have more permeable boundaries and use mobile communication technology as a way to minimize the impact and interference of work on their family and nonwork time.

3   General Principles of Performance Management

Although the independent effects of performance management (PM) and human resource management (HRM) are well established in the respective literature on those practices, the effect of their interaction has also been observed on firm performance (Pavlov et al. 2017). The interaction between PM and HRM is also a reasonable influence on individual work behavior in the context of after-hour technology use for the ideal worker.

HRM practices affect performance through their influence on the organization's social climate for trust, cooperation, and opportunity to share knowledge (Bowen and Ostroff 2004; Collins and Clark 2003; Collins and Smith 2006). Performance management systems, on the other hand, are designed to achieve several objectives. The diverse objectives of performance management can be summarized into two broad categories, namely, *strategic* and *tactical* goals (Armstrong 2000; Aguinis 2009).

Performance management can be used to achieve strategic goals by linking organizational goals with individual goals as a way to reinforce work behaviors that are consistent with the attainment of organizational goals. Employees understand which attitudes and behaviors contribute to organizational operations when performance efforts are aligned, and there is a clear sense that everyone is working to achieve a common mission. Tactical goals may be achieved when performance management is used to inform human resource decision-making (e.g., salary adjustments, promotions, employee retention and termination decisions, recognition or reward for superior performance, or identification of low performance). Employees understand the values of the organization when they are aware of the information that is used to make decisions about recognition- and performance-based rewards.

The principles of a successful performance management system include congruence with strategy, meaningfulness, thoroughness, fairness and acceptability, and discriminability (Cascio and Aguinis 2005, p. 86). These principles align with strategic and tactical organizational goals and will continue to characterize a successful organizational performance system. However, the integration of boundary management strategies will require that leaders manage the system with a different perspective to resolve the flexibility-availability paradox. The principles of meaningfulness and

congruence with strategy are aligned with achieving strategic performance management objectives, whereas thoroughness, fairness, and discriminability are principles that guide tactical performance management objectives.

Congruence with Strategy and Specificity Congruence with strategy and specificity are two principles that can be integrated into boundary management when leaders implement flexible and proactive perspectives in interpreting the ideal worker and ideal workplace. Leaders need to implement flexible and proactive perspectives in boundary management with keeping the focus on achieving the organizational goals. For example, employee recruitment selection measures should refrain from setting traditional criterion and emphasize the capability of achieving specific results. This should be accompanied with higher specificity in communicating expectations and the provision of resources to meet expectations. Consequently, employees' goals will be aligned with organizational goals while allowing employee control over boundaries (Cascio and Aguinis 2005). In addition to performance and productivity, this also contributes to meaningfulness in performance management systems.

Meaningfulness The implementation of performance management principles often works best when they are viewed as important to everyone's job. Likewise, employees are often more motivated and engaged at work when the work is meaningful. Therefore, engagement is another area in performance management that attracts researchers and influences the interpretation of boundary management for ideal worker and ideal workplace. Engagement is important for employees and organizations because higher levels of engagement yield higher employee productivity, improved quality with fewer errors, higher profitability, and higher likelihood of business success (Stairs and Galpin 2010). Engaged employees work with passion (Macey et al. 2009). For employees to be engaged, however, the work environment should promote information sharing, offer learning opportunities and foster a balance in people's lives (Macey et al. 2009).

Crawford et al. (2014) identified autonomy as one of the drivers for engagement. Therefore, to increase perceived boundary control, organizations could allow employees the autonomy to schedule their own work and develop individualized work plans for completing their work. Moreover, from the perspective of strategic resource management, fostering ideal workers in an ideal workplace creates the greatest likelihood for highly engaged employees and increased productivity. There is evidence that employees are more likely to have an increased sense of control over work outcomes when they have higher levels of autonomy (Cascio and Aguinis 2005; Crawford et al. 2014).

Thoroughness The system thoroughness depends on evaluating the performance of all employees across all their job responsibilities. With flexible boundary management, the performance evaluation process will have to integrate new methods that motivate performance and focus on measuring results and promoting effective communication methods instead of measuring activities and evaluating traditional means of communication (Cascio and Aguinis 2005). Another performance

management principle that can be integrated to guide boundary management is fairness and acceptability.

Fairness and Acceptability Although integrators and segmentors react to boundary management differently, workers who enact either of these boundary management strategies view the process as being fair and acceptable. Performance management practices may be perceived as fair and acceptable when performance is based on results rather than activities (American National Standards Institute and Society for Human Resource Management 2012, p. 13). This includes helping workers focus on what they need to do to perform (CIPD 2016) and ensuring that workers contribute positively to the organization's business objectives (Gifford 2017). Successful flexibility scheduling practices are also measured on the basis of performance results, despite the physical location of the employee when the work activities are performed. For new ideal workers, particularly from younger generations, flexibility scheduling is often viewed as a nonmonetary benefit that communicates organizational support. Therefore, flexibility may be viewed not only as a fair and acceptable performance management tool, but it may also translate into higher levels of work engagement and result-focused performance. This, of course, depends on the principle of discriminability in performance management.

Discriminability An effective performance management system provides a mechanism for distinguishing good performers from the bad performers (Cascio and Aguinis 2005). Discriminability between effective and ineffective performance should also be integrated into the implementation of boundary management. The limit of autonomy and flexibility offered under boundary management should be justified with performance results. The objective of performance management is to guide resources and operations to achieve organizational results. Therefore, boundary management should be seen as a process that contributes to meeting that objective rather than a barrier. Given this perspective, we introduce Propositions 2 and 3.

Proposition 2 The relationship between enacted performance management practice and positive work-related behavior outcomes will be moderated by the preferred boundary management strategy of individual workers. Specifically:

Proposition 2a Performance management practices that integrate boundary management preferences of workers will facilitate greater work-related behavior outcomes that will be more pronounced for integrators.

Proposition 2b Performance management practices that are incongruent with the preferred boundary management strategies of workers will impose limits on work-related behavior outcomes that will be more pronounced for integrators.

Proposition 3 The perceptual tensions associated with work-to-family interference among integrators may be mitigated by performance management and HRM practices that account for the boundary management of ideal workers.

4 Old Ideal Versus New Ideal Thinking: Resolving the Flexibility-Availability Paradox

As promised, this paper offers a proposal for resolving the flexibility-availability paradox by blending the concepts of ideal worker and ideal workplace and integrating performance management principles to guide boundary management across the changing landscape of organizational structures.

Effective strategies for motivating workers may require laying new foundations. The goal for managers and supervisors, as well as employees, is to engage in meaningful and purposeful work while sustaining productive behavior and managing performance. Boundary management research focuses on the individual approaches one uses to organize and separate role demands and expectations into specific realms of home and work (Kossek et al. 1999). Successful boundary management depends on the development of a strategy to manage the flexible arrangement (e.g., mobile communication technology device; flex schedule; telecommute) prior to adoption.

Successful boundary management also depends on the ability to change one's strategy to respond to concerns at home. The development and implementation of specific workplace policies around mobile technology outside of regular workday, for example, are not expected to contribute in significant positive ways toward resolving the paradox for employees who struggle to control boundaries through segmentation and therefore might ask for and need flextime or telecommuting benefits. Struggling segmentors do not appear to effectively enact the implementation of such workplace policies (Duxbury et al. 2014).

Finally, there are implications for theory and research. Successful boundary management depends on self-control. According to self-concordance theory (Downes et al. 2017; Sheldon and Elliot 1998), the individual pursuit of goals for intrinsic or identified motive aligns with personal values and fulfills the individual need for autonomy. This is in contrast to the relative number of controlled motives or goals pursued for extrinsic reward.

Based on the review of available research on boundary management and employee use of mobile communication technology, what follows are evidence-informed recommendations for leaders and managers in organizations who are considering work engagement and performance in the context of flexible work arrangements. These recommendations are particularly relevant for better understanding how to develop a work context (culture and climate) that is conducive to engaging ideal workers and capitalizing on the resources that those employees have to offer. First and foremost, employers should formally endorse employee boundary control to avoid the development of informal workplace norms that might contribute to higher work pressure. Other important considerations include:

1. The way that an individual chooses to integrate or segment work-life issues has implications for the quality of fit with organizational expectations for time use while at work as well as when a person is doing work away from the physical workplace.
2. Organizational HR practices are not necessarily supplies (benefits), but rather opportunities that ideal workers may use to enhance the ideal work environment.

3. Performance management practices are important contributors to an individual's actual ability to behaviorally enact his or her existing boundary management preferences. The performance management practices set a minimum standard for the employee's ability to integrate and segment by granting additional supply opportunities through organizational mandates and raising the floor for strategically formulated practices.

4. Assess the alignment between organizational goals and goals of the ideal worker by assessing employee perceptions of the organizational expectations for performance and time use when doing work away from the workplace relative to the employees' preferred boundary management strategy (integration or segmentation).

Bolman and Deal (2013) describe the organizational perspective of human resources where the complementary work arrangements would be ideal if both the organization and individual see a "fit" for each other. Essentially their premise is that there should be cooperation, motivation, and participation that support both the organizational goals and the individual's (worker's) goals/needs. The worker and/or the organization will face consequences that are likely to be less than positive if the "fit" is poor. This perspective is consistent with our proposed recommendations for resolving the flexibility-availability paradox. The (new) ideal relationship between workers and organizations will be one in which both the needs of the organization and the needs of the individual are met.

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Fathers' Working Times in Germany: The Role of the Ideal Worker Norm in the Context of Other Cultural and Structural Workplace Conditions

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Abstract Many fathers would like to work less, but they do not reduce their working hours. Studies on the role of workplace organisations for work-family balance point to adverse working conditions as a major obstacle. Quantitative studies, however, are still rare due to the lack of data resources. This paper uses a representative survey of 711 parenting couples in Germany from 2015 to study the relationship between cultural and structural workplace conditions and fathers' working times. We differentiate between part-time work, contractual and actual working hours. The results show a robust relationship between fathers' inclination to work reduced hours and the extent to which formal, universal and transparent policies exist in their workplaces. Perceptions of a strong ideal-worker norm and access to substitutes at short notice are particularly relevant for whether fathers manage to comply with their contractual working hours. Surprisingly, fathers have longer contractual working hours the more they feel supported by their supervisor. The results also indicate that favourable cultural conditions are possible for shorter working hours of fathers in many industries and establishments of different sizes.

The majority of fathers in Germany wish to spend more time with their families (Väter gGmbH 2012; Allmendinger and Haarbrücker 2013; Gründler et al. 2013) and want to work fewer hours (Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach 2013; Statistisches Bundesamt 2015; Bernhardt et al. 2016). Yet despite these preferences, many continue to work full time, a phenomenon that is not well researched, especially in the German context. The Act on Part-Time and Fixed-Term Employment of 2001 created a framework that grants all employees the right to work part time. But unlike mothers, fathers have thus far rarely made use of this right. In 2012, just 5.5% of fathers worked part-time, while 69.1% of mothers did so (Keller and Haustein 2013).

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Qualitative studies show that cultural and structural conditions in the workplace can have a decisive influence on whether fathers put their working-time preferences into practice or hesitate to do so because of possible negative implications for their careers (Epstein et al. 1999; Gesterkamp 2007; Hobson et al. 2011; Richter 2011; Sallee 2012; Galea et al. 2014). A series of predominantly experimental studies on the so-called "flexibility stigma" (Williams et al. 2013) indicates that these concerns are justified: like mothers, fathers who make their care obligations visible, for example, by reducing their working hours, are penalised at the workplace (Wayne and Cordeiro 2003; Leslie et al. 2012; Vinkenburg et al. 2012; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). This research discusses deviations from the ideal worker norm, which expects workers to prioritise work demands over all outside obligations, as the driving force of the flexibility stigma and as a potential cultural barrier that limits the effectiveness of flexible workplace arrangements.

However, robust empirical evidence on the relationship between workplace conditions and fathers' working hours is still lacking. Workplace case studies and qualitative studies on parents indicate that the ideal worker norm is by no means equally prevalent in all companies; instead, it is related to other workplace culture factors that can encourage or prevent fathers from making use of their right to reduce their working hours (Botsch et al. 2007; Holter 2007; van Echtelt et al. 2008; Den Dulk et al. 2011; Hobson et al. 2011; Brinton and Mun 2016; Bernhardt et al. 2016; Väter gGmbH 2012). In addition, studies on working time policies offered by companies (Fagan and Walthery 2011) and on the use of parental leave (Bygren and Duvander 2006; Lappegård 2012) suggest that fathers' working hours are also linked to workplace structures such as establishment size or sector.

This article seeks to identify what workplace conditions enable fathers in Germany to work shorter hours. Based on a representative survey of parenting couples from 2015, we take a closer look at four facets of workplace culture: first, the extent to which there are formal and transparent workplace policies that fathers feel entitled to use; second, the extent to which fathers perceive an ideal worker norm; third, the extent to which they feel supported by their supervisors when it comes to balancing family and career; and fourth, how easily they can find a substitute among their colleagues at short notice. With regard to workplace structures, we take into account the establishment size, the sector, whether it is part of the public sector and whether there is a works council or a staff representative council.

We examine the working hours of fathers using three different indicators: fathers' self-reported employment status (distinguishing part-time and full-time employment), their contractual working hours, and their actual working hours. We decided to use all three indicators because weekly working-time policies vary according to organisation and industry, so it is not possible to clearly separate part-time and full-time employees using one uniform value. Furthermore, if part-time employment is used as the standard for shorter working hours, this may be setting the bar too high (Cyprian 2005). If a particular organisation has a strong full-time norm, it may be difficult for fathers to request part-time employment. But more minimal adjustments to working hours can already help fathers to organise their family life, for example, if they can slightly reduce their contractual working hours or ensure that they can

complete their workload within their regular working hours, thus avoiding overtime or at least compensating for it through leisure time (Dommermuth and Kitterød 2009; Björk 2013).

1 Workplace Conditions and Fathers' Working Hours

Fathers' working hours are not solely determined by the negotiation processes with their partners. The workplace is another central location where work-family balance is negotiated. Workplaces are where decisions are made on whether employees face professional consequences for pursuing their working-time preferences and what these consequences are. Particularly for fathers, the decision to avail of their legal right to part-time work or workplace work-life balance policies seems to be dependent on organisational cultural factors.

Based on Amartya Sen's capability approach, Hobson and colleagues argue (Hobson and Fahlen 2009; Hobson 2011; Hobson et al. 2011) that asserting and making use of legal rights, for example, to work part time, requires a sense of entitlement that is often lacking in fathers. According to the authors, this is largely due to the persistence of traditional gender norms in organisations, which limit the possibilities for fathers to work shorter hours and become more involved in care work. Gender norms manifest themselves in various dimensions of organisational culture.

In the growing number of predominantly qualitative and experimental studies, four workplace culture factors have emerged that could be particularly relevant for fathers' working hours: the commitment of organisations to formal, universal and transparent policies for balancing family and working life, informal expectations regarding worker availability (the ideal worker norm), support from supervisors and the availability of substitutes (Lewis 1997; Williams 2000; Botsch et al. 2007; Pfahl and Reuyß 2009; Lewis and Den Dulk 2010; Hobson et al. 2011; Gärtner 2012; Sallee 2012; Vinkenburg et al. 2012; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013; von Alemann and Oechsle 2015; Bernhardt et al. 2016). The decisive factor here is fathers' subjective perceptions: their knowledge of workplace policies, their sense of entitlement to use them and their feeling of being supported by the working environment without having a guilty conscience or worrying about negative professional consequences (for an overview, see Booth and Matthews 2012).

In addition, fathers' working hours could also differ according to the structural characteristics of organisations. For instance, it could be easier or more difficult to put employees' desired working times into practice depending on establishment size or industry sector, as suggested by some studies on the contextual factors in workplaces that influence working times and parental leave (Döge et al. 2005; Bygren and Duvander 2006; Fagan and Walthery 2011; Escot et al. 2012). Another possibility is that the cultural workplace conditions with regard to fathers' working hours are also related to the structural characteristics of organisations (Fagan and Walthery 2011).

For the first time, we now want to examine these factors and interrelationships for Germany using quantitative data. The following sections outline the arguments and hypotheses for the subsequent empirical analyses.

1.1 Theory and Hypotheses on the Relationship Between Workplace Culture and Fathers' Working Hours

Family-friendly workplace policies can be an important resource for fathers to demand and legitimise shorter working hours. However, as previous studies suggest, the specific design of these measures is important. An important prerequisite is the establishment of binding and transparent rules that fathers can refer to and that cannot be withdrawn at will (Russel and Hwang 2004; Botsch et al. 2007). If workplace policies offer too much scope for individual negotiation, fathers, according to a Norwegian study, make use of them less often than they would if such policies are clearly regulated (Brandth and Kvande 2001). The authors ascribe this to the fact that a clear, formalised regulation provides normative orientation on what kind of behaviour is appropriate; they thus reduce the risk of negative sanctions.

Furthermore, fathers also need to feel that they are a target group for existing workplace policies (Hobson and Fahlen 2009). If such policies are aimed at all employees and not only at mothers with small children, fathers have less of a feeling that they are putting their masculinity at risk when they make use of them (Lewis 1997; Russel and Hwang 2004; Klenner et al. 2010; Escot et al. 2012). Directly addressing fathers via various information channels can increase their awareness of policies and convey a sense of entitlement (Väter gGmbH 2012).

If fathers have the sense that there are clear rules for reducing working hours in their organisation that apply equally to all employees, this should increase their likelihood to ask for and actually work their desired working times. Our first hypothesis is therefore:

H1 Fathers have shorter working hours the more they perceive clear, universally valid and transparent policies on work-family balance in their workplaces.

However, the effectiveness of formal policies in the workplace may be restricted by informal expectations regarding worker availability, which make it more difficult to take advantage of workplace policies and even legal rights (Hobson 2011). As Acker (1990) has shown, organisational structures are not gender neutral, but are instead shaped by expectations, policies and practices that are typically oriented towards a male breadwinner. For decades, an ideal worker norm (Williams 2000) has become established in organisations. An ideal employee works full-time and is always available to the organisation without any time restrictions for family or private reasons. This extensive availability goes hand in hand with the assumption that fathers have a partner at home who takes care of the children and the household.

This norm is incompatible with a gender-egalitarian division of labour and makes it difficult for fathers to become more committed to their families (Sallee 2012).

Empirical studies assume three mechanisms by which the ideal worker norm influences the behaviour of fathers. First, fathers are under pressure to comply with the ideal worker norm because performance is often equated with availability. As data on working hours in management positions suggest, long working hours are a prerequisite for career advancement (Klenner et al. 2010). Fathers who reduce their working hours must fear that they will damage their careers because they are seen as less efficient (Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Second, Williams et al. (2013) argue that the ideal worker norm also has a work-ethic dimension. Those who deviate from the usual availability standards risk having their professional commitment, motivation and willingness to work questioned (Vinkenburg et al. 2012). Third, fathers who deviate from the ideal worker norm risk being devalued because their behaviour is perceived as unmanly (Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013).

If fathers have the impression that the ideal worker norm is strongly established in their organisation, they may therefore be afraid of reducing their working hours so that they are not punished as "time deviants" (Epstein et al. 1999) and will instead work even longer than contractually agreed (Bernhardt et al. 2016). Our second hypothesis is accordingly:

H2 Fathers have longer working hours the more they perceive availability expectations in line with the ideal worker norm in their organisation.

Independent of formal policies and the general working-time culture in the organisation, specific workplace actors can also support or hinder fathers in putting their working time preferences into practice (for an overview, see e.g. von Alemann and Oechsle 2015). Many studies indicate that social support plays a central role in reconciling family and career (Abendroth and Den Dulk 2011). Supervisors have a key role to play here. As a study by Gärtner (2012) shows, supervisors are usually the first point of contact when fathers want to reduce their working hours; they act as gatekeepers. Through their influence on fathers' professional advancement, they can, on the one hand, counteract existing workplace policies and make it difficult for fathers to reduce their working hours or to stick to official working hours. On the other hand, if they are sympathetic to fathers' concerns, they can also find informal solutions, even if there is not any workplace policy to justify it (Döge et al. 2005; Botsch et al. 2007; Bernhardt et al. 2016).

Another factor that plays a role here is how fathers assess their supervisor's family orientation and gender conception and the kind of behaviour the supervisor exemplifies in this regard. If a father's supervisor works late into the evening and is in the office for an almost unlimited amount of time, he will expect less sympathy for his situation than if his supervisor leaves the office early to pick up his/her children from daycare. If fathers expect a negative reaction, they even hesitate to bring their working time preferences up in the first place (Döge et al. 2005; Pfahl and Reuyß 2009; Gärtner 2012; von Alemann and Oechsle 2015). We therefore expect fathers

to more often express and put into practice their desire to work fewer hours if they feel that their supervisor supports them. Our third hypothesis is therefore:

H3 Fathers have shorter working hours the more they feel supported by their supervisor.

We also expect fathers' working hours to depend on the support they receive from their colleagues. If they are prepared to stand in for and substitute for each other, it could be easier for fathers to come to work later if necessary, to go home early or to leave the workplace in between and thus achieve shorter (actual) working hours. A contractually agreed reduction of working hours also depends on how it is being practised in the workplace. Without additional staff, any reduction in working hours must be compensated for by additional work—by employees doing the same amount of work in a shorter time or by colleagues doing some of the work. Under such circumstances, fathers may decide not to reduce their working hours because they do not want to burden their colleagues or they expect team conflicts (Döge et al. 2005; Holter 2007; Pfahl and Reuyß 2009; Lewis and Den Dulk 2010; Gärtner 2012; von Alemann and Oechsle 2015). Shorter working hours should therefore be more likely to be observed among fathers who can easily find colleagues to substitute at short notice. Our fourth hypothesis is therefore:

H4 Fathers who can easily find a substitute if necessary have shorter working hours than fathers who find it difficult or impossible to find a substitute at short notice.

1.2   Theory and Hypotheses on the Relationship Between Workplace Structure and Fathers' Working Hours

It is plausible that differences in fathers' working hours are not just related to the cultural characteristics of their organisations; they may also be linked to the structural conditions of their workplace. Although little is known in quantitative terms about how this plays out in Germany, qualitative and international studies suggest that certain structural conditions in organisations could make it easier or more difficult for fathers to work shorter hours: the size of the organisation, the sector, whether the organisation in question is part of the public sector and whether it has a works council.

It has been argued in previous studies that larger organisations have more scope for manpower planning, as they can reallocate work more easily and more easily find staff to substitute because of the higher number of employees. They are also more likely to have developed routines to deal with such concerns (Fagan and Walthery 2011). This suggests that workers in larger organisations are more likely to be able to put their working-time preferences into practice than in smaller ones (Bygren and Duvander 2006; Lappegård 2012). This assumption is further substantiated by the fact that small organisations are exempted from the Act on Part-Time Work and Fixed-Term Contracts; a legal entitlement to part-time work exists only in

organisations with at least 15 employees. However, small organisations might be able to react more flexibly due to a lower degree of formalisation (Buchmann et al. 2010; Hipp and Stuth 2013). A survey study shows, for example, that employees of small organisations rate their workplaces as more family friendly than employees of medium-sized and larger organisations (Klenner and Schmidt 2007). In line with these two alternative hypotheses from the literature, we expect the following relationship between organisation size and fathers' working hours:

H5 Fathers in large and small organisations have shorter working hours than fathers in medium-sized organisations.

The possibilities for shorter working hours may also differ between different sectors. Previous studies (Fagan and Walthery 2011; Hobson et al. 2011; Escot et al. 2012) indicate that fathers in sectors with a high proportion of women may find it easier to balance family and working life than fathers in male-dominated sectors. Since being able to successfully balance family and working life has long been regarded primarily as a women's issue, organisations in these sectors are more likely to have established family-friendly policies and to have experience in dealing with part-time preferences than organisations in sectors with few women. This makes it easier for fathers in these industries to put their desire to work reduced hours into practice. Areas with a high proportion of women include administration, healthcare and social services (Escot et al. 2012). Therefore, we expect the following hypothesis:

H6 In the administrative, healthcare and social service sectors, fathers have shorter working hours than in other sectors.

In addition, previous studies on the uptake of family friendly policies suggest that there are differences between the public and private sectors. Since the public sector does not aim to maximise profits, economic considerations may be a less important argument against reducing working hours. Another argument is that the public sector offers more secure jobs, meaning that employees who reduce their working hours have fewer career consequences to fear (Bygren and Duvander 2006; Escot et al. 2012; Lappegård 2012). This gives rise to the following hypothesis:

H7 Fathers in the public sector have shorter working hours than fathers in the private sector.

Another relevant criterion could be whether the organisation has a works council or staff representative council. In accordance with the Works Constitution Act, works councils are tasked with promoting a balance in work and family life. Works councils can take action in different ways, for example, by supporting the introduction and implementation of working time arrangements. For example, Fagan and Walthery (2011) find, based on European data, that organisations with works councils are more likely to facilitate switching between full-time and part-time work options. According to the German Employee Representation Act, applications for shorter working hours in public administration can only be rejected with the approval of the staff representative council (Scheiwe 2007). This provides a legal

basis for employee representative bodies to support fathers who want to reduce their working hours. Employee representative bodies are also expected to ensure that existing policies are addressed to all employees and not only to certain groups—such as mothers (Brinkmann and Fehre 2009). We therefore expect:

H8 Fathers in organisations with works councils or staff representative councils have shorter working hours than fathers in organisations without employee representative bodies.

In summary, we expect that fathers should have shorter working hours if they work in organisations with a high degree of regulation regarding fatherhood-related work-family policies, a paternity-sensitive working time culture and a high degree of support from their supervisors and colleagues. Shorter working hours should also be more feasible in large and small organisations, in administrative, healthcare and social service organisations, in the public sector and in organisations with works councils or staff representative councils. In addition, the remarks above on the relevant structural features point to possible connections with cultural conditions. For example, the degree of family-friendly workplace regulation, including the fathers' feelings of entitlement to avail of such policies, could be more pronounced in large organisations, in the public sector and in organisations with works councils.

In addition, we expect to see different relationships when using different indicators to measure working hours. As explained at the beginning, the hurdle for fathers to work part time seems to be so high that we also want to take into account minor adjustments to working hours within the scope of full-time employment. For this reason, we investigate the relationships between part-time work, contractual working hours and actual working hours. In the following sections, we address these questions empirically.

2 Data and Methods

2.1 Sample

This study is based on an individual telephone survey of 878 parenting couples in 2015. The data were collected by the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) in 2015 as an add-on to the German AID:A—survey ("Growing up in Germany") which is collected on a regular basis by the German Youth Institute.[1] The aim of the survey was to close an important data gap in current research on the influence of workplace conditions on working hours and parental leave for mothers and fathers. To this end,

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[1]AID:A is a panel study of a sample drawn from population registration data in 300 municipalities (Alt et al. 2011). In 2009, 25,000 persons born between 1954 and 2009 or their legal guardians were interviewed. This study is based on the second wave, surveyed between 2013 and 2015 (AID:A II).

cohabiting couples were asked about the structural and cultural characteristics of their workplaces.

The target population consisted of different-sex couples who, at the time of the survey, (a) lived with at least one child under 13 years of age in a shared household and (b) had at least one parent in dependent employment. In order to be able to study issues such as part-time work of fathers, rare employment constellations (both parents part time, both full time, women full time/man part time or not employed) were oversampled compared to their actual occurrence in Germany. Within these individual constellations, a random selection was performed. By using weighting factors based on the 2013 Microcensus, we can obtain a sample that is representative with regard to the following characteristics: the couples' employment constellation, marital status, number and age of children in the household, state of residence, gender, age and level of education.

The data set consists of 763 fathers in dependent employment. Of these, 36 cases (4.78%) were excluded from the analyses because the fathers stated that they did not have contractually agreed working hours. Another five cases were excluded because they lacked information on actual working hours. In addition, we excluded eleven fathers who stated they did not have a supervisor. This leaves 711 cases for the analyses. Due to stratification, the unweighted sample contains a comparatively high proportion of fathers in part-time employment (14%); the average contractual working time of 37.5 h per week and the actual working time of 42.6 h are, however, close to the German average (Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung 2014).[2]

In 108 (15.2%) of the 711 cases fathers had missing values on at least one explanatory variable. In particular, the items relating to workplace culture had a higher number of missing values; this occurred in up to 53 cases (3–7%; see Table 1). These were imputed in Stata using *multiple imputation by chained equations* (MICE) (Azur et al. 2011). As recommended by White et al. (2011), 15 imputed data sets were generated, since 15% of the cases have missing values. Missing values were imputed for the individual items on the structural characteristics of the workplace and the scales were created after the imputation to make optimal use of all available information (Gottschall et al. 2012). In addition to the model variables, we used additional workplace cultural characteristics, information on conflicts between work and family life, net income and the Big Five personality traits for the imputation in order to estimate the missing values as precisely as possible.[3]

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[2]Comparing the analysis sample with and without the use of weighting factors, we find that fathers who have completed tertiary education and those in management positions, in public sector organisations, in administration/healthcare/social service jobs and in organisations with works/ staff representative councils are still over-represented. However, this misrepresentation is not detrimental to the multivariate analyses as we control for these characteristics and for the stratification characteristics of the sample (Cameron and Trivedi 2005: 105ff).

[3]Analyses that limit the sample to those cases for which valid values are available for all variables (complete case analysis) come to similar results, although the effects are, as expected, somewhat weaker. Also with regard to the scales, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients from the 15 imputations and the unimputed calculation (complete case) are almost identical.

Table 1 Overview of variables, descriptive statistics and number of imputed values

Variable	Description	Median (SD)/Share	Number imputed values
Dependent variables			
Part-time work	Self-reported employment status	0.14	0
Contractual working hours	In weekly hours	37.5 (5.4)	0
Actual working time	Hours actually worked regularly per week incl. Overtime	42.6 (8.1)	0
Workplace culture characteristics			
Degree of family-friendly workplace regulation (scale)	1. Balancing family and work is a private matter. (inverted) 2. The management is committed to the needs of employees and their families. 3. There are official policies on balancing family and work. 4. Policies, for instance, on working from home or flexible working hours, apply to all employees. 5. Employees are informed about family-friendly policies. 0 = do not agree at all, 10 = agree completely	5.18 (2.51)	53
Ideal worker norm (scale)	1. Employees who are highly committed to their personal lives cannot be highly committed to their work. 2. It is assumed that the most productive employees are those who put their work before their family life. 3. The way to advance is to keep non-work matters out of the workplace. 4. Attending to personal needs, such as taking time off for sick children is frowned upon. 0 = do not agree at all, 10 = agree completely	3.98 (2.47)	21
Support from supervisor (scale)	1. My supervisor respects my private life. 2. My supervisor has a lot of understanding for my family situation. 3. My supervisor assists me in advancing my career. 4. My supervisor demonstrates how a person can jointly be successful on and off the job. 0 = do not agree at all, 10 = agree completely	6.83 (1.97)	32
Substitute at short notice	It's easy to find a substitute if I have to take time off. 1 = mostly/often, 0 = rarely/ never	0.38	0

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Description	Median (SD)/Share	Number imputed values
Workplace structural features			
Sector	Administration/healthcare/social services	0.33	4
	Production	0.24	4
	Retail/hospitality	0.08	4
	Scientific services	0.11	4
	Other sectors	0.24	4
Establishment size	Up to 10 employees	0.09	6
	11–249 employees	0.47	6
	250 and more employees	0.44	6
Public sector	1 = yes, 0 = no	0.33	4
Works council	1 = exists, 0 = does not exist	0.76	0
Work-related and sociodemographic characteristics			
Occupational position	Worker	0.08	0
	Employee	0.79	0
	Public servant	0.13	0
Management position	1 = yes, 0 = no	0.46	0
Education	1 = tertiary degree, 0 = vocational degree or lower	0.60	2
	None	0.63	1
Unemployment experience	Up to 1 year	0.31	1
	More than 1 year	0.06	1
Gender role attitudes	Men are better suited to some jobs, women to others. 1 = do not agree/ do not at all agree, 0 = fully agree/ tend to agree	0.32	3
Characteristics of the partner (respondent-provided information from partner interview)			
Education	1 = tertiary degree, 0 = vocational degree or lower	0.59	0
Employment status	Not employed	0.17	2
	In part-time employment	0.54	2
	In full-time employment	0.29	2
Gender role attitudes	Men are better suited to some jobs, women to others. 1 = do not agree/do not at all agree, 0 = fully agree/tend to agree	0.43	0
Characteristics of the household			
Number of children	1	0.21	0
	2	0.52	0
	3	0.21	0
	4 and more	0.07	0
Age of youngest child	1 = under 6 years, 0 = aged 6 years or more	0.45	0

Table 1 (continued)

Variable	Description	Median (SD)/Share	Number imputed values
East	1 = couple lives in eastern Germany, 0 = couple lives in western Germany	0.21	0

Source: Telephone couple survey based on AID:A II, standard deviation (SD) in brackets, unweighted data
Sample: Fathers in dependent employment with at least one child up to 12 years of age in the household with their partner (N = 711)

2.2 Variables

Table 1 provides an overview of the variables used, descriptive statistics and sample size. As dependent variables, we use (1) fathers' self-assessments as to whether they work part time or full time, (2) their contractual weekly working times in hours, and (3) their information on the hours they actually work on average per week, including overtime.[4]

The four workplace cultural conditions—the degree of family-friendly workplace regulation, the ideal worker norm, support from supervisors and arrangements regarding substitution—were measured as follows (see also Table 1): For the degree of family-friendly workplace regulation, we generated a scale based on the company case studies by Botsch et al. (2007) consisting of five items on management's commitment, formalisation, scope and communication of workplace policies (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.79). The perception of an ideal worker norm is also represented by a scale, consisting of four items adapted from Booth and Matthews (2012) (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.83). We operationalise supervisors' support following various studies (Hammer et al. 2009; Harrington et al. 2011; Pfahl et al. 2014) on a scale of four items (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.80). To capture existing arrangements regarding access to substitutes at short notice, we use a dummy variable to determine whether the interviewed fathers can easily find a substitute if they cannot get to work at short notice or have to leave early.

As workplace structural characteristics, we include the sector (administration/ health/social services, retail, scientific services, production, other), establishment size (small: maximum 10 employees, medium: 11–249 employees, large: 250 and more employees), whether the organisation is in the public sector (dummy variable) and whether it has a works council (dummy variable). In the multivariate analyses, we also control for various work-related and socio-demographic characteristics of the fathers as well as for their partners' characteristics (respondent-provided information from the mothers' interviews) and information on the household context (Hobson 2011).

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[4]Since we do not have sufficient information on the extent to which overtime is paid or compensated for by time off, a direct analysis of overtime is not possible.

2.3   Methods

In the multivariate analyses we used binary logistic regressions for the part-time work calculations and OLS regressions for the calculations on contractual and actual working hours. In the logistic regression models, we calculated *average marginal effects*.[5] All models used Huber-White standard errors to account for possible violations of model assumptions by using more conservative confidence intervals. A number of alternative specifications (see Sect. 3.3) indicate, in fact, a high robustness of the results.[6]

3   Results

3.1   Multivariate Analyses on the Relationship Between Workplace Culture and Fathers' Working Hours

The results of the multivariate analyses are shown in Table 2. The first model shows the average marginal effects (see above) of the model variables on fathers' probability of working part time; the second and third models show the non-standardised coefficients from the OLS regressions for contractual or actual working times of fathers.

Across all three models, it is evident that fathers work less if they perceive clear workplace policies on work-family balance that apply equally to all employees and are communicated regularly. With each unit increase in the 10-point scale of family-friendly workplace regulation, fathers' probability of working part time increases by two percentage points; their contractual working hours are on average 20 min shorter (-0.34×60) and their actual working hours are 30 min shorter. The magnitude of those coefficients is considerable. Fathers with the maximum value (10) on the scale measuring family-friendly workplace regulation have a 20 percentage points higher

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[5]*Average marginal effects* (AME) indicate the change in the average probability of the dependent variable (here: working part time) when the explanatory variable changes by one unit, while all other variables are kept constant at their respective person-specific values (Williams 2012). In the case of dichotomous variables, AME are calculated from the difference of the predicted average probabilities between two groups. Unlike in logistic regression models, the AME were calculated with weighting factors due to the stratified sample selection (see Cameron and Trivedi 2005, 105–109, 339–340).

[6]The coefficients and standard errors remain robust even when controlling for age, tenure, migration background, satisfaction with household income, marital status and age groups of the children. In order to keep the models parsimonious in terms of case numbers, we have not included these variables in the final models. Due to the small number of cases, it was not possible to provide a more differentiated picture with regard to fathers' education and training and their professional positions. In addition, we have not controlled for individual income because the level of income is directly dependent on the length of working hours (reverse causality) and the effect of income on working hours would not provide valid information due to this endogeneity problem.

Table 2 Results of the multivariate analyses of relationships between workplace cultural and structural characteristics and the working hours of fathers

	Part-time		Contractual working hours		Actual working hours	
	AME	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Degree of family-friendly workplace regulation	0.02***	(0.01)	−0.34***	(0.10)	−0.50***	(0.13)
Ideal worker norm	−0.00	(0.01)	0.15	(0.10)	0.30*	(0.13)
Support from supervisors	−0.02**	(0.01)	0.42**	(0.14)	0.12	(0.17)
Substitute at short notice	0.03	(0.02)	−0.49	(0.43)	−1.41*	(0.59)
Public sector	−0.01	(0.03)	0.22	(0.58)	0.41	(0.82)
Works council	−0.01	(0.03)	0.13	(0.53)	−0.87	(0.88)
Establishment size (Ref: medium)						
Small	0.15**	(0.06)	−2.08*	(0.83)	−1.82	(1.23)
Large	−0.01	(0.02)	0.48	(0.46)	0.59	(0.61)
Sector (Ref: administration, healthcare, social services)						
Retail	−0.08[+]	(0.05)	1.84*	(0.80)	3.58**	(1.32)
Scientific Services	−0.11*	(0.04)	1.42[+]	(0.76)	3.33**	(1.18)
Production	−0.10*	(0.04)	0.86	(0.70)	1.93[+]	(1.03)
Other	−0.08*	(0.04)	1.34*	(0.64)	1.79[+]	(0.96)
Occupational position (Ref: Dependent employee)						
Worker	−0.10**	(0.03)	−0.89	(0.74)	−1.52	(1.03)
Public servant	−0.07**	(0.03)	0.46	(0.87)	1.98*	(0.99)
Management position	−0.14***	(0.02)	2.17***	(0.39)	4.72***	(0.58)
University degree	−0.04	(0.03)	0.23	(0.49)	2.25***	(0.71)
Partner with university degree	0.16***	(0.03)	−1.32**	(0.44)	−2.15***	(0.64)
Unemployment experience (Ref: None)						
up to 1 year	0.02	(0.03)	−0.39	(0.41)	−0.29	(0.62)
>1 year	0.28***	(0.07)	−4.11***	(1.17)	−5.14**	(1.59)
Partner's employment status (Ref: Not employed)						
Part-time	0.13***	(0.03)	−1.41**	(0.50)	−1.88*	(0.79)
Full-time	0.03	(0.02)	−0.95	(0.60)	−1.07	(0.95)
Gender role attitudes	0.02	(0.02)	−0.62	(0.44)	−0.78	(0.61)
Partner's gender role attitudes	−0.02	(0.02)	0.51	(0.41)	−0.37	(0.57)
Number of children (Ref: 1 child)						
2 children	0.07**	(0.03)	−0.60	(0.42)	0.15	(0.62)
3 children	0.09**	(0.03)	−0.99[+]	(0.56)	−0.63	(0.82)
4+ children	0.13*	(0.05)	−1.68[+]	(1.01)	−2.44[+]	(1.26)
Child under 6 years old	0.02	(0.02)	−0.35	(0.39)	−0.13	(0.57)
East	−0.01	(0.03)	0.92*	(0.45)	0.19	(0.72)
Constant	./.	./.	36.56***	(1.60)	42.49***	(2.19)
N	711		711		711	

[+]$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

probability ($0.02 \times 10 \times 100$) of working part time than fathers with the lowest value on the scale (0); their contractual working hours are on average 3 h and 24 min shorter (-0.34×10) and their actual working hours are even 5 h shorter (-0.50×10). The results thus support Hypothesis 1.

For the other indicators of workplace culture, there are differences between the various indicators for the working hours of fathers. Fathers who perceive a strong ideal worker norm have longer actual working hours than fathers who do not perceive a pronounced ideal worker norm in their workplace. Fathers who assign the highest value on the scale work about three hours more per week than fathers who assign the lowest value. Yet there is no evidence in the models that a strong ideal worker norm goes hand in hand with longer contractual working hours or a lower likelihood of working part time. The results thus only partially support Hypothesis 2.

Contrary to our expectations, there is also no evidence that fathers work less if they are supported by their supervisor. In fact, compared to fathers who do not feel supported by their supervisor (scale value 0), fathers who feel strongly supported (scale value 10) even have an average 20 percentage points lower probability of working part time and have contractual working times that are 4:12 h longer. Yet the relationship with fathers' actual working hours is small and not statistically significant. Hypothesis 3 can therefore not be confirmed.

A good availability of substitutes at short notice, on the other hand, goes hand in hand with shorter actual working hours for fathers, but, like the ideal worker norm, it is not related to contractual working hours or the probability of working part time. Fathers who state that they can easily find a substitute work on average an hour and a half less per week than fathers who have difficulty finding a substitute. Thus, Hypothesis 4 is also only partially supported by the data.

All in all, it is evident that the four workplace culture factors are relevant in different ways for whether fathers work part time, how many working hours they have contractually agreed upon and how many hours they actually work. While formal reductions in working hours for fathers (part-time work, lower contractual working hours) are more likely in organisations with a high degree of formalisation of family-oriented policies, informal customs relating to working time culture (the ideal worker norm) only play a role for informal working time adjustments (actual working hours). Thus, the results suggest that there is a need for more transparent formal arrangements to allow fathers to adapt their working status or contractual working hours, while actual working hours are also linked to perceived informal resources or barriers.

3.2 Multivariate Analyses of the Relationship Between Workplace Structural Characteristics and the Working Hours of Fathers

Contrary to our expectations, we do not find any empirical evidence for the partial hypothesis that fathers in large organisations have shorter working hours because such organisations are expected to have greater scope for manpower planning (Hypothesis 5). Fathers in small organisations, on the other hand, have shorter contractual working hours (approx. 2 h) and have a 15 percentage points higher probability of working part time compared to those in medium-sized organisations. The results thus support Hypothesis 5 in that it could be easier for fathers to reduce their formal working hours in small organisations with more flexible structures and flatter hierarchies. However, there is no correlation between the size of the organisation and the actual working hours of fathers. Especially in small organisations, it is therefore questionable to what extent part-time work is actually voluntary and helps fathers to increase their time with their family.

In line with our expectations, we do indeed find connections between the sector and the working hours of fathers. Fathers working in administration, healthcare and social services tend to have shorter contractual and actual working hours and are more likely to work part time than fathers in all other sectors. This may be attributed to the fact that organisations in these sectors have a high proportion of women and have therefore developed more family-friendly working time arrangements than in other sectors (Escot et al. 2012). The differences in contractual working hours between the other sectors are rather small. However, there are noticeable differences in the actual working hours, with particularly long working hours in the retail sector (approx. 3:30 h longer than in administration/healthcare/social services) and in the area of scientific services (approx. 3:20 h longer). The results thus support Hypothesis 6.

There is, however, no link between employment in the public sector or the presence of a works council or staff representative council and fathers' working hours. Hypotheses 7 and 8 are therefore not supported by the data. This finding tends to point more in the direction of studies that conclude that works councils and staff representative councils are not yet making sufficient use of their scope to facilitate work-family balance (Döge et al. 2005; Brinkmann and Fehre 2009).

3.3 Robustness Tests

In a series of alternative specifications, we tested the relationships between workplace cultural and structural factors and the working hours of fathers for their robustness.

Table 3 shows the results of a reduced model that does not contain information on workplace structural characteristics. Unlike the fully specified model, this model

Table 3 Relationships between workplace cultural characteristics and the working hours of fathers (without controlling for workplace structural characteristics)

	Part-time		Contractual working hours		Actual working hours	
	AME	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Degree of family-friendly workplace regulation	0.02***	(0.01)	−0.29**	(0.09)	−0.52***	(0.13)
Ideal worker norm	−0.01	(0.01)	0.19*	(0.10)	0.32*	(0.13)
Support from supervisors	−0.02**	(0.01)	0.38**	(0.14)	0.11	(0.17)
Substitute at short notice	0.05*	(0.02)	−0.62	(0.43)	−1.78**	(0.60)
N	711		711		711	

Control variables in all models: occupational position, management position, father and/or partner with tertiary degree, unemployment experience, partner's employment status, father's and partner's gender role attitudes, number of children, pre-school children and region (east/west)
$^{+}p < 0.10$, $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$

allows us to investigate the extent to which the relationships between an organisation's cultural characteristics and fathers' working hours are robust in relation to the influence of the workplace's structural factors.

Overall, the results of these reduced models reveal very similar relationships to those from the complete model described above. However, there are two additional correlations between an organisation's cultural characteristics and fathers' working hours that were not statistically significant in the full model. First, fathers who can easily find a substitute if necessary have a five percentage points higher probability of working part time. Second, fathers who perceive a very strong ideal worker norm in their workplace (scale value of 10) have a contractual working time of nearly 2 h longer than fathers who do not perceive an ideal worker norm in their workplace (scale value of 0). Using interaction models we checked whether the two effects of the substitution situation and the ideal worker norm, which disappear when controlling for workplace structural characteristics, only occur in certain industries, size structures, etc. We find no empirical evidence for this.

This suggests the possibility of mediation effects (instead of moderation effects): particular industry-specific and workplace-specific structural conditions may support particular working cultures. Descriptive analyses of the relationships between an organisation's cultural and structural characteristics partially support this hypothesis. In particular, the organisation's degree of family-friendly regulation is significantly higher in the public sector, in large organisations and in those with works councils, whereas it is lower in the retail sector than in other sectors.[7]

In Table 4, we therefore also examine the question of correlations between workplace structural characteristics and the working hours of fathers (without controlling for workplace cultural characteristics). The results are very stable compared to the overall model; the coefficients are only slightly larger. This robustness

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[7]Results of interaction models and descriptive analyses can be obtained on request.

Table 4 Relationships between workplace structural characteristics and the working hours of fathers (without controlling for workplace cultural characteristics)

	Part-time		Contractual working hours		Actual working hours	
	AME	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Public sector	0.01	(0.03)	0.04	(0.59)	0.18	(0.84)
Works council	0.01	(0.03)	−0.17	(0.53)	−1.29	(0.89)
Establishment size (Ref: medium)						
Small	0.15**	(0.06)	−2.05*	(0.83)	−2.17[+]	(1.26)
Large	0.01	(0.02)	0.24	(0.44)	0.19	(0.61)
Sector (Ref: administration, healthcare, social services)						
Retail	−0.09[+]	(0.05)	2.07*	(0.81)	4.34**	(1.37)
Scientific Services	−0.12**	(0.04)	1.53*	(0.76)	3.77**	(1.23)
Production	−0.11*	(0.04)	0.98	(0.70)	2.37*	(1.06)
Other	−0.08[+]	(0.04)	1.43*	(0.64)	2.07*	(0.98)
N	711		711		711	

Control variables in all models: occupational position, management position, father and partner with tertiary degree, unemployment experience, partner's employment status, father's and partner's gender role attitudes, number of children, pre-school children and region (east/west)
[+]$p < 0.10$, *$p < 0.05$, **$p < 0.01$, ***$p < 0.001$

test also indicates that cultural and structural relationships with fathers' working hours are relatively independent of each other.

Furthermore, there are no robust interactions among the variables of workplace culture, for example, as suggested by the hypothesis that the effectiveness of formal policies depends on a family-friendly culture in the workplace (Lewis 1997). A significant interaction would suggest that the lower the ideal worker norm in the organisation is, the stronger the correlation between the degree of formalised, universal and transparent regulation and fathers' working hours. However, we do not find any empirical evidence for this.

Nor do we find any evidence for selection effects in relation to fathers with egalitarian attitudes. Fathers with egalitarian attitudes could make family-friendliness and the possibility of part-time work a decisive selection criterion when looking for a job. In the analyses, we would then have to observe a stronger relationship between workplace characteristics and working hours for these fathers. This is not the case. However, since we only have one indicator of gender role attitudes, further research is needed to back up this finding.

4   Discussion and Conclusion

Many fathers in Germany want shorter working hours but still work full time and often more hours than contractually agreed. A growing number of primarily qualitative and experimental studies indicate that workplace conditions are an important

obstacle for fathers who wish to put their preferences for working shorter hours into practice. However, we still lacked evidence from quantitative studies due to a lack of data. Based on original data on couples from 2015, the present study aimed to contribute to closing this important research gap and to investigate how the working hours of employed fathers in Germany are related to the cultural and structural characteristics of their workplaces.

In particular, the results show a robust correlation between the extent of formal, universally applicable and transparent rules in the workplace and fathers' working hours. The stronger the fathers' confidence is that there are family-oriented workplace policies they are entitled to use and that are regularly communicated and supported by the management, the lower the contractual and actual working hours of fathers and the greater the probability that they will work part time. It should be noted that our indicator for workplace policies goes far beyond merely offering family-friendly policies. It is essential that fathers also feel that the organisation's management is behind it and that, as a part of the target group for family-friendly policies, they are being addressed and regularly informed.

At the same time, the results indicate that the other cultural workplace conditions considered in this study are of particular importance for the actual working hours of fathers, but less so for adjustments to formal working time. A low prevalence of the ideal worker norm and good access to substitutes at short notice are associated with shorter actual working hours. Thus, these workplace culture factors could explain to what extent fathers succeed in minimising overtime and adhering to their contractual working hours. This finding reinforces previous research suggesting that in a paternity-sensitive working time culture, fathers feel less under pressure to demonstrate performance and motivation for career advancement by working long hours (Vinkenburg et al. 2012; Rudman and Mescher 2013; Vandello et al. 2013). Surprisingly, however, fathers' contractual hours are not related to their perceptions of an ideal worker norm in their workplace. This finding contradicts our hypothesis that fears of being punished as "time deviants" (Epstein et al. 1999) may discourage fathers from officially working reduced hours.

These findings offer new insights for the conceptual and empirical research grounded in Amartya Sen's capability approach, which argues that asserting and making use of the legal right to work shorter hours requires a sense of entitlement (Hobson and Fahlen 2009; Hobson 2011; Hobson et al. 2011). Our study indicates that workplace cultures influence this perceived entitlement and that formal and informal rules of workplace support for fathers matter in different ways for their formal and actual working times: In the absence of a strong ideal worker norm, fathers feel entitled to limit their actual working hours to contractually agreed hours. However, it needs proactive workplace policies to convey a sense of binding entitlement for fathers to demand, legitimise and realise shorter contractual working hours or part-time work.

Our results also contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between workplace policies and working time norms. We find only limited evidence for the argument that the effectiveness of formal workplace policies may be restricted by the informal working-time culture in organisations (Lewis 1997; Hobson 2011). Even

though the results indeed show that a family-unfriendly working-time culture partially offsets the limiting impact of workplace regulation on fathers to work long hours, both factors seem to operate independently from each other. We find no evidence that a strong ideal worker norm weakens the supporting effect of workplace regulation on fathers' working hours.

The results for supervisor support are somewhat unexpected. They show that fathers have longer contractual working hours and are less often in part-time work if they feel supported by their supervisors. Roeters et al. (2012) come to similar conclusions and assume that the motivation to work increases when fathers feel supported by their supervisors, with the result that they work more instead of less. Another possible explanation is that understanding supervisors enable fathers to adapt their working hours flexibly to their needs and leave early or work at home if necessary. Thus, these fathers may find sufficient time for their family in spite of longer contractual working hours. This interpretation is supported by the fact that their actual working hours do not differ from those of fathers who receive less support from their supervisors. As a result, these fathers may even work less unpaid overtime. Based on our data, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that there is an inverse causal relationship and that supervisors support those fathers who comply with the full-time norm.

The analyses also provide initial indications that regulations and practices that support shorter working hours for fathers are possible under various workplace structural conditions. It is true that fathers in the administrative, healthcare and social services sectors have shorter working hours than fathers in other sectors. In small organisations, too, fathers have formally (but not actually) shorter working hours. However, there is no connection between employment in the public sector or in an organisation with a works council or staff representative council and fathers' working hours. In addition, the interrelationships between workplace culture characteristics and the working hours of fathers have proven to be robust and independent of the influence of workplace structural features. Overall, the results therefore suggest that it is more about a commitment to creating a family-friendly work environment within organisations than structural barriers such as sector characteristics or a lack of resources in smaller organisations.

However, it should be noted that the data do not allow us to distinguish between different forms of overtime based on the available data when there are deviations between contractual and actual working hours. Unpaid overtime, unlike overtime with time off as compensation, could occur more frequently in organisations with a low degree of family-oriented regulation, a strong ideal worker norm, a lack of support from supervisors, or a lack of substitution options. The payment of overtime, in turn, could provide countervailing incentives to family-friendly conditions by encouraging more work. Furthermore, it is not possible to use the data to determine the causal direction of the correlations found between workplace conditions and fathers' working hours. It is alternatively conceivable that the relationships could be due to selection effects: fathers who consider it important to get involved in the family and therefore want to work less often may choose organisations in which these wishes can be put into practice more easily. In this study, we could not find any

evidence that fathers with egalitarian gender role attitudes work in disproportionately large numbers in certain organisations. However, the question of how workplace policies and cultural practices influence fathers (and mothers) in their employment and working time decisions can only be investigated in longitudinal studies. This would also make it possible to investigate to what extent family-friendly conditions in workplaces open up potential for mothers to work more extensive hours. In the long term, integrating workplace culture characteristics into existing panel surveys would have the potential to close the research gap on the role played by workplaces in gender inequalities in the labour market and in the family.

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A Closer Look to Millennials in Chile: How They Perceive the New i-deal Worker

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Abstract Companies are facing changes from different perspectives. On one hand, talent is becoming more relevant for their success, therefore is a critical to attract and retain them. On the other hand, this same talent is changing, new generations are entering the work force and it is important to understand their expectations, motivations and values.

In this study, we will explore the expectations, motivations and values of new generations (born in or after 1987) and associate them with the decision they make related to work. We will differentiate between men and women. The data for our study was collected in March 2017 using a ten-question semi-structured survey focused on young people between 19 and 30 years of age in Chile.

Results show that work family balance is a very important aspect for new working generations. One of the explanations is that new generations place a high value on the family. Men and women want to play an active role at their homes.

1 Introduction

A multigenerational work force exists today wherein different generations coexist in the same organization: Baby Boomers, Generation X, and Millennials (Stephey 2008). This phenomenon leads to increased diversity and a richness of expectations, experiences and motivations, as well as other factors. This coexistence of generations is expected to continue to grow, given that the active working population between 55 and 64 years of age is increasing. Companies face the challenges: on the one hand, the retirement of older employees, and on the other, the hiring and retention of young talent (Twenge et al. 2010).

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In addition, in recent years, a significant number of new generations have entered the workforce, which in today's world has given them the power to influence workplace dynamics (Smola and Sutton 2002; Twenge and Campbell 2008). This phenomenon is changing the way we work, and work, family and personal life balance is one of the main change areas companies need to keep in mind in setting about to attract new talent (PwC 2011).

The objective of this research is to look work, family and personal life balance of the last main group that entered the work force, known as Millennials. This is a topic of great interest in management and administration (Cennamo and Gardner 2008) because studies show that new generations are demanding more work-family balance at each stage of their professional career (Corporate Leadership Council 2005; McDonald and Hite 2008). By understanding their motivations, family compositions, and other personal characteristics, we can help companies to reduce possible conflicts and adapt their HR policies to attract and retain the talent of this new work force.

Previous studies exist on the work-related and professional expectations of young workers in different countries, for example, in the United Kingdom, Belgium and New Zealand (Terjesen et al. 2007; Dries et al. 2008; Cennamo and Gardner 2008). However, research on this topic from Latin American countries remains scarce (Poelmans et al. 2005). On the other hand, empirical research has not been carried out that seeks to explain the expectations Chileans have in relation to their jobs, organizations and work environment.

2 New Generations in the Chilean Context

Our focus is to describe and understand this new generations on the Chilean context. Therefore, we will start by describing the generations discussed. The context is very important; therefore we will describe the family in the Chilean context. After this, we will describe two lines of research that affect work life balance, conflict and enrichment. Then, to understand the value of work life balance in these new generations we will explain the values and motivations that affect the perception of work life balance. After this, the importance of the topic in terms of hiring and retention of these new generations is given. Finally, some demographic data on these new generations is provided at the national level to place the age group studied in context.

2.1 Definition: Generations

First, it is important to define *generation*. According to Ogg and Bonvalet (2006) this refers to "an age group that shares throughout its history a set of formative experiences that distinguish its members from their predecessors" (Ogg and Bonvalet 2006, p. 2). It should be noted that the definition of the different generations mentioned is not unanimous among researchers. Ogg and Bonvalet (2006)

distinguish four generations that currently coexist in the labor market. These are: The Baby Boomers: born between 1951 and 1964, Generation X: born between 1965 and 1983, Generation Y: born between 1984 and 1990, and Millennials: born between 1991 and 1995.

For our research we adopt the framework proposed by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015) Their study is about new generations entering the work force, focusing on people born between 1987 and 1998. They developed their framework in a Latin American context, particularly in Argentina, that is very similar to Chile. These two countries are ranked very high in the Gender Inequality Index, and also very high in the Human Developed Index. Both have very similar GDP per person (Argentina = US$12.921 and Chile = 13.485).

2.2 The Importance and Influence of the Chilean Family

Chile is an interesting case of study. On one hand it has a promoted several pro-market modern reforms, on the other hand it has a very low female participation rate (Bosch et al. 2018). Different studies show that one of the main reasons is the lack of work-life balance (Berlien et al. 2016). Also, Chile is a very conservative society with very family centered values (UN 2014), where people keep close relationship with their families. Additionally, Chile is facing fast changes in its demography. The fertility rate has dropped more than 30% in the last decade (Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) 2017) reaching 1.8 in 2017 and the life expectancy has grown 10.5% in the last three decades. These characteristics make companies aware of the importance of work-family policies and the changes that the Chilean work force is facing, mainly through their new generations.

As a family centered society, in Chile is the family represents the core of the social order. It is the context wherein the human being can fully develop. Therefore, the family is the best place to develop both personal and professional competencies, and it is these competencies that one later makes use of in both professional and social spheres of activity (Bosch et al. 2016).

When we speak of the influence that the family has during childhood and adolescence, we refer to what children perceive and observe from their parents, which in turn is appropriated as their own example to be followed (Valencia 2012). Children are great imitators throughout their childhood, and by the time they reach adulthood they have internalized patterns of behavior that will be decisive for the rest of their lives. In fact, the family environment has a significant formative influence on one's personality. Relations between household members determine values, affections, attitudes and ways of being that are progressively assimilated from birth (Valencia 2012). Moreover, the values and attitudes that have been lived out in the home can influence the choices one makes regarding entering long-term committed relationships or having children. In general, this is related to the family model lived out during childhood and adolescence. For this reason, what one experiences at home and the degree of perceived satisfaction regarding the same will leave their mark on future decisions related to work-life balance (Debeljuh and Destéfano 2015).

2.3   Balancing Work, Family and Personal Life

Work-family balance reflects and individuals' orientation across different life roles, an inter-role phenomenon (Greenhaus et al. 2003, p. 511). It is a perception that people have that work and non-work activities are compatible and promote personal growth (Kalliath and Brough 2008), in other words, that it is possible to complement work-related obligations and interests with their family and personal responsibilities and interests.

Work-family balance is a topic of growing interest (Cennamo and Gardner 2008) and highly valued by many employees (Kossek et al. 2014). Therefore, it is important to mention that this balance must be understood in terms of co-responsibility, that is, in terms of shared responsibility between men and women, as well as between companies and society (Bosch et al. 2014). On the one hand, this multiplicity of roles creates conflict, that is, stress and social instability (Goode 1960). On the other hand, it is a source of enrichment and benefit, that is, of gratification (Sieber 1974).

2.4   Work, Family and Personal Life in Conflict

Kahn et al. (1964, p. 19) have defined role conflict as the "simultaneous occurrence of two (or more) sets of pressures such that compliance with one would make more difficult compliance with the other". This is a personal situation in which the demands of work or an excess of the same make it difficult, or even impossible, to maintain a satisfactory relationship with one's family, as well as spend time developing other relevant aspects of one's personal life (Chinchilla and Moragas 2007). This also occurs when paternity and maternity are, in effect, penalized, or the need to care for the elderly or people with special abilities is not taken into consideration, or simply if the benefits that the family contributes to the proper functioning of society are disregarded (Bosch et al. 2016). This type of conflict gives rise to a series of consequences, at both an individual and organizational level, such as stress (Allen et al. 2000), job dissatisfaction (Kossek and Ozeki 1998), reduced performance and commitment, as well as turnover (Kossek and Ozeki 1999). It should be noted that there is great interest in studying policies and practices that promote work, family and personal life balance to reduce the conflict produced between these different roles.

2.5   Work, Family and Personal Life Enrichment

On the other hand, there are benefits to maintaining different roles, which in turn outweigh the disadvantages of having them. Researchers posit that the resources

acquired in one role are applied in the other role, thereby bringing about a reciprocal enrichment between the two (Sieber 1974).

Greenhaus and Powell (2006, p. 72) define work-family enrichment "as the extent to which experiences in one role improve the quality of life in the other role". What this leads to is that the person experiences a sense of satisfaction with the way they are managing the needs of both work and family. This satisfaction is achieved in large part by the resources that the organization gives the individual to carry out her work in an autonomous and flexible fashion, and in such a way that she can contribute at work without negatively affecting her family life (Bosch et al. 2016). Consequently, this enrichment reduces intentions to leave the company (Balmforth and Gardner 2006).

2.6 Job Expectations

To understand job expectations, it is important to first understand the theory of "the psychological contract." This theory is defined as the beliefs that the employee has about a future employer, what they are willing to give and what they expect to receive in return. It is the relationship between an employer and its workers it refers specifically to mutual expectations of contribution and retribution (Rousseau 2001).

Organizations must understand and meet the expectations of their employees to fulfill the organization's part of the contract. This being the case, because of doing so, employees will evidence a series of attitudes and behaviors such as commitment to the organization, the intention to remain with the company, as well as satisfaction and increased job performance (Conway and Briner 2005).

2.7 Values

Values are determinants of a person's actions and decisions (Rokeach 1973). They are what individuals believe to be fundamentally "right." Therefore, one could say that work-related values are the employee's attitudes about what is "right," as well as his attitudes regarding what he should expect in the workplace. Moreover, work-related values are the result of what people want and feel they should achieve by means of their work (Brief 1998; Frieze et al. 2006).

Different authors make a distinction between two types of work-related values: extrinsic and intrinsic (Porter and Lawler 1968; Ryan and Deci 2000).

Extrinsic values: are the consequence of work, i.e., tangible rewards, for example, status, salary and opportunities for promotion.
Intrinsic values: are produced by means of the work process itself. They are intangible rewards and include, for example, challenge, the potential to learn, and the opportunity to be creative.

It is worth mentioning that work-related values play a role in employee prefer- ences in workplace, attitudes, and behavior (Dose 1997) as well as work-related decisions (Judge and Bretz 1992). In addition, an understanding of work-related values helps organizations to structure work, as well as create benefit packages, policies and practices that will attract these new generations (Twenge et al. 2010).

2.8 Motivations

Motivation is what drives people to achieve an action. Motivation influences behav- ior, potentially leading to high performance and effort (Mitchell 1982). According to Pérez López (2004), work-related motivation has three coexisting dimensions, namely, intrinsic, extrinsic and transcendent motivation.

Extrinsic motives: include the search for recognition or retribution from the envi- ronment for actions carried out. These include, for example, the salary we receive or the prestige that owning a certain type of car gives us, among others.

Intrinsic motives: are those related to the satisfaction that a certain action produces in us. For example, the learning that comes about as a result of carrying out an activity, the pleasure of playing an instrument or playing a sport, among others.

Transcendent motives: are those related to the effect our actions have on others. In this case, we are pleased to know that someone else will benefit and as such, these motives are not focused on ourselves. This type of motive depends on the relationship we have with others, for example, helping a co-worker or doing the best job possible to provide customers with better service, among others.

All the people who work in the same company have a shared common objective. However, the reality is that each member of the organization has their own moti- vators that lead them to work in any given company. This being the case, serving as a catalyst, enjoying one's work or helping others all serve to determine the nature of motivation and the criteria employed for making work-related decisions.

2.9 Attraction and Retention

Talent management (TM) is the ability of the organization to attract, select, develop and retain talent (Stahl et al. 2007), which implies that practices carried out by the human resources department of the company focus on the attraction and retention of a talented group of people (Lewis and Heckman 2006).

Organizations must be an option for these new generations and at the same time be able to preserve the skills and knowledge of older employees. Therefore, under- standing and managing cross-generational differences is a major challenge in TM (Benson and Brown 2011; Schuler et al. 2011).

Management and recruitment techniques that were once useful may not now work for every new generation that enters the workforce (Twenge et al. 2010). However, one of the strategies explored in the academic literature to retain talented employees is to strive to maintain work-life balance, which has significant implications for employee well-being and productivity (Lyness and Judiesch 2014). In addition, this is related to employee attitudes, such as commitment to the organization (O'Neill et al. 1991) and job satisfaction (Cegarra-Leiva et al. 2012; Zhao and Namasivayam 2012).

2.10 Context

Chile is traditional, family centered Latin American country, with a total population of 18,373,917 people (INE 2017). The number of young people between 19 and 30 years old is 19% of the total population, of which, 51% are women and 49% are men. The majority of this age group (83%) work full-time, and 17% work part time.

3 Methods

To carry out the research, we use the survey originally created by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015). It is a semi-structured survey, made up of ten questions, and survey items are evaluated using a five-point Likert scale and multiple-choice questions. On average, the survey took 10 min to complete. In terms of data collection, survey responses were collected electronically using Qualtrics, and a part of the study was administered in person. Convenience sampling was employed using electronic and physical surveys sent out to different databases and posted in the social networks Facebook and Twitter. The final sample, from March, 2017, is made up of 358 young adults between 19 and 30 years age.

3.1 Variables

The following are the variables used in the study:

Family as Model To measure the respondent's family as model we used the measures developed by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015). Each item consists of a five-point scale (1 = totally disagree to 5 = totally agree). Example items include (1) "When establishing my own personal life plan, I would use my parents' example as a model," and (2) "In a situation characterized by conflict, I seek support and advice from my parents," among others.

Type of Parents' Work To measure the type of work respondents' parents were involved in we used the measures developed by Conlon (2002). This question seeks to differentiate the type of work respondents' parents had during their childhood and adolescence into four groups, (1) full-time, (2) part-time, (3) did not work, and (4) does not apply.

Perceived Parent Difficulty in Balancing Roles To ask respondents regarding this perception we used the question developed by Conlon (2002) which states, "In your opinion, how difficult was it for your father/mother to balance their work and family roles? The question is asked separately for the individual cases of both the respondent's mother and father.

Distribution of Housework and Childcare Among Parents To measure this perception, we used the alternatives proposed by Conlon (2002), which are, (1) My parents shared responsibilities, (2) My mother was mostly responsible, (3) My father was mostly responsible, (4) My mother was responsible without the help of my father, (5) My father was responsible without the help of my mother and (6) I only lived with my mother/father.

Valued Life Aspects To measure these, we used the items proposed by Kleinbeck (1990): family, study, friends, community activities, work, leisure time, and religion, using a five-point scale (1 = totally disagree to 5 = totally agree).

Children To measure the intention of having children, we used the alternatives proposed by Hernández Ruiz (2008), (1) I do not plan to have children, (2) I do not have children, but I plan to have children someday, (3) I have children who do not live with me, and (4) I have children who live with me.

Motivations for Working To measure motivations for working, we used the measures proposed by Grant (2008). Response items include (1) produce an income, (2) enjoyment of work, and (3) helping others through work, among others.

Professional Development To measure professional development, or the place where respondents would like to work, we used the alternatives proposed by Hernández (2008), (1) in a large company, (2) in an SME (Small or Medium-sized Enterprise), (3) on my own professional project as an entrepreneur, (4) in a government/public entity, (5) in an NGO (non-governmental organization), and (6) I have not thought about it yet.

Criteria for Choosing a Job To measure the criteria for choosing a job, we used those proposed by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015): (1) the salary and economic benefits offered me, (2) the form of hiring is established and consistent, (3) the professional training offered me, (4) a good work environment, (5) possibilities for professional development, (6) the challenges and difficulties I will need to overcome, (7) the possibility of travel, (8) the possibility of applying knowledge, (9) the opportunity to help others and (10) the possibility of balancing my personal, family and work life.

Outlook Regarding Work and Family Balance These measures were conceived based on the items proposed by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015), as well as others by Gilbert et al. (1991). Some of the considerations include: (1) If my parents need me when they are older, I would be willing to postpone or cut short my professional development or work-related time commitments, (2) I will be the main provider in my home, and I will try to be the only one who works full-time, among others.

Family-Friendly Culture These measures were built based on the items proposed by Thompson et al. (1999). Some of these are: (1) to move up in the company, one must work more than 50 h a week, either at work or at home, (2) to be well-regarded by management, employees must constantly put their work ahead of their family or personal life, among others.

Intention to Leave the Company To measure the intention to leave the company, we used only one item from among those proposed by O'Reilly et al. (1991), and used by Debeljuh and Destéfano (2015), wherein respondents were asked to answer a question using a six-point scale (1 = Never to 6 = Always).

Control Variables Control variables were included such as age, gender, nationality, number of siblings, current marital status, highest level of educational attainment, current job status, type of job (contractual/self-employed), and length of time in current position.

3.2 Data Analysis

The present study is descriptive of the new generations in Chile. The analysis will involve a comparison of men and women, and the two generations under study. The data for our study was collected in March 2017 using a ten-question semi-structured survey focused on young people between 19 and 30 years of age in Chile.

4 Results and Discussion

The questionnaire was distributed to 358 young adults. Table 1 provides information about our sample.

Table 2 provides detailed information about our sample.

Table 1 Summary table

	N	Average age	Percentage women (%)	Working full-time (%)	Contractual work (%)	Percentage married (%)
Total	358	26.07	61	58	63	14

Table 2 Comparison table

	Males	Females
Number of siblings	3.22	3.30
Married (%)	9	17
Children	1.31	1.19
Full-time work (%)	61	55
Contractual work (%)	85	88
Length of employment in the company	2.36	2.23

4.1 Family Model

In general, the experience lived out in the home, and satisfaction regarding the same influence future decisions with respect to work, family, and personal life balance, to the extent that the way respondents' parents worked and how housework was shared could affect how new generations will be predicted to behave as well.

The family is important in the formation of the individual. It is the place where mistakes can be made, and in which there will be many and repeated opportunities to do so (Pezoa et al. 2011). The family environment is where one seeks acceptance and in effect, represents an individual's first school (Kim and Las Heras 2012). This is corroborated by the sample data, where more than 50% of respondents said they sought support and advice from parents when faced with a situation characterized by conflict. However, women (68%) indicated that they agree with this statement to a greater degree in comparison to men (55%). On the other hand, a significant number of these new generations claim that the way of solving problems that they learned from their parents allows them to resolve conflicts outside the home. Fifty-six percent of men and 60% percent of women (60%) stated this to be the case in similar fashion.

On the other hand, the data also shows the change that is taking place in the family, where respondents are no longer looking to keep roles separate, but rather to shared responsibilities between the individual members of the couple.

During the childhood and adolescence of these new generations, in general their fathers worked full-time (86%), with a very low percentage (7%) working part-time, (2%) did not worked) and (5%) did not answered.

On the other hand, when asked about the perception respondents had of their fathers in terms of the level of difficulty they had in balancing work and family roles during their children's childhood and adolescence. Most of their fathers experienced a certain level of difficulty (53%), as shown in Fig. 7. On the other hand, respondents answered in similar proportions that they perceived their fathers had no difficulty (26%) or great difficulty (21%) balancing both roles.

When asked about the form their mothers' work took, a wider distribution of perceptions is evident. The majority worked a full-time job (35%). At the same time, 29% of respondents' mothers had a part-time job. More mothers than fathers engaged in part-time work. In addition, a significant number of mothers did not work outside the home at all (35%) during the children's childhood and adolescence. However, 64% of mothers worked.
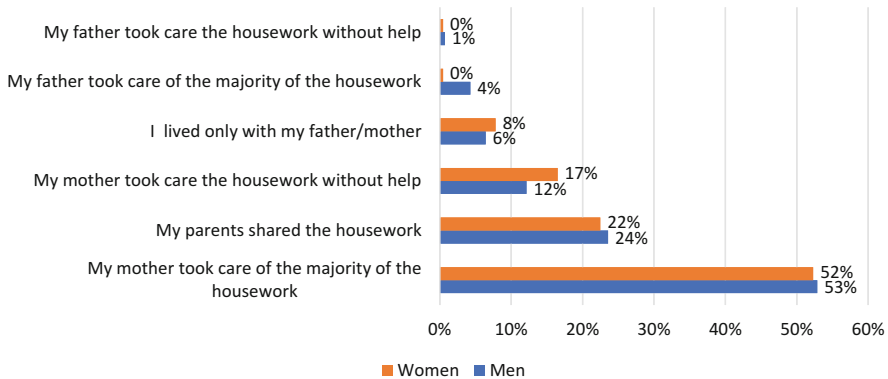
Fig. 1 Distribution of housework and childcare between parents

When asked about their perceptions of the difficulty that their mothers had in balancing both roles, a similar distribution is observed to that which was obtained with respect to the difficulty that their fathers experienced. There is an increased perception that their mothers had some difficulty (48%) in balancing their work and family roles, even though a greater number of mothers were engaged in part-time work.

When asked about how their parents divided up housework and childcare during their children's childhood and adolescence, as shown in Fig. 1 in general (over 50%) the mother took care of most of the housework, but the father helped out sometimes.

Even though more women are working, the family role (housework and childcare) continues to be primarily the responsibility of the woman. In Chile women spend 3.21 more hours in housework than men and also 0.49 h less to leisure and social life (ENUT 2015). Also, the average difference in workforce participation between men and women in Chile is higher than the average of OECD countries by 15 percentage points (Bosch 2016). Almost half of all women in Chile have a dependent who required care by an adult, and an important number of women (37%) do not enter the workforce, because they do not have anyone to leave those dependent on them with (Bosch 2016).

Men have not yet taken on responsibilities for helping out with home-related tasks to a corresponding degree (UNDP 2009). In summary, what has taken place is that women have been incorporated into the labor market without ceasing to do housework: in general terms, the responsibility for caring for children, caring for the elderly, and housework falls mainly on women.

4.2   Personal Expectations Regarding Family Composition

For both men (96%) and women (98%), the family is the most valued aspect of personal development, coming in first place, followed by leisure time (91%), studies (90%) and friends (87%).

The importance of the family is also evidenced at a national level, where it continues to be the arena of life most valued by the population in general. To note, 84% of Chileans say they have an interest in keeping in touch with their close family, and 70% state that their family relationships are the most satisfying of all the relationships they have (UC and Adimark 2010).

In recent years, the family has undergone significant changes. On the one hand, the birth rate has decreased, and life expectancy has increased, which has led to a reduction in the number of family members, resulting in increasingly smaller families. Also, a generalized aging of the population is taking place, wherein dependent older adults are still mostly cared for by their own family. On the other hand, women have been incorporated into the labor market, which has led to new ways of sharing tasks at home. In summary, this has led families to experience two main changes, at the level of family composition and family organization, respectively.

Having children entails, on the one hand, giving them the proper care, for which time is needed. On the other hand, it is necessary to provide them with economic stability, to be able to give them everything they need. When asked about this expectation, the majority the new generations expressed an interest in having children in the future (Fig. 2).

That said, the number of people who say they do not want to have children is noteworthy. This number is higher amongst Millennials (11%). There are no significant differences between men and women. It should also be mentioned about the aforementioned percentages that this is happening to an increasingly greater extent at a national level. In 2002, 39% of women of childbearing age did not plan on having children in the future, and by 2006, this percentage had increased to 47% (Universidad de Chile). This directly affects the birth rate, which, as mentioned, has been decreasing over time. As a result, this is reflected in the low proportion of young adults who are fathers or mothers today: Millennials (1.3%).

Regarding young adults who reported to have children, the majority (79%) had two. Two main phenomena stand out with respect to young adults with children. Firstly, in both generations there is a greater proportion of fathers and mothers who do not live with their children in comparison with those who do. Secondly, there is a greater proportion of women than men who have children and do not live with them.
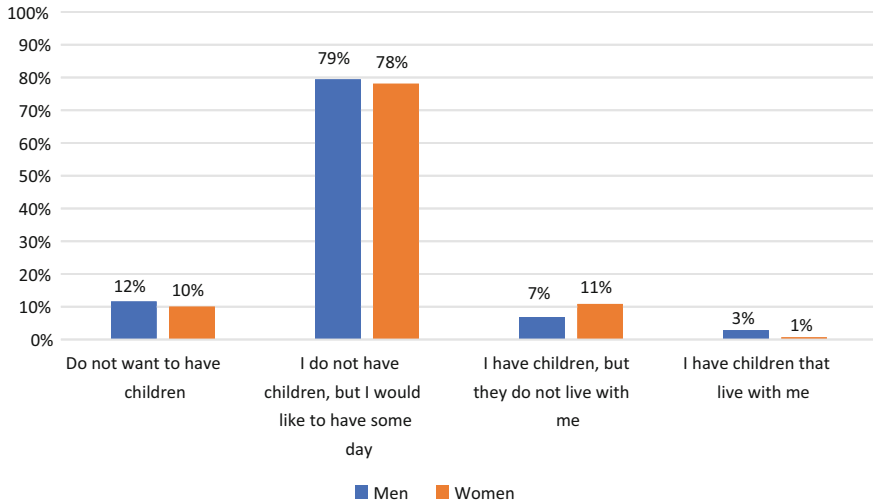
Fig. 2 Interest in having children

4.3   Work-Related Expectations

In order to anticipate a possible conflict between work and family, it is important to understand the aspects of life that these new generations value, as well as the professional motivations they have, which in turn will be what these new generations look for in organizations. We researched the motives they have for working with this in mind.

As can be seen in Fig. 3, it is relevant to the study at hand to observe the differences in motivations to work based on the type of motivation that is involved: intrinsic, extrinsic or transcendental. In general, intrinsic motivations are the most valued by these new generations. This is to say, the majority are in search of growth opportunities from which they can derive satisfaction. When observing the differences between men and women, they have a higher extrinsic motivation, which suggests that they are seeking compensation for the work they do. On the other hand, in the case of women, transcendental motivations take on greater importance. In general, women look for opportunities to contribute to others.

Respondents were also asked what employment sector they saw themselves working in in the future. As can be seen in Fig. 4, the majority said that they would like to develop professionally in the future as entrepreneurs working on a project of their own creation (30%). A significant difference between men and women can be seen in this regard, as more men see themselves working in this entrepreneurial capacity in the future (40%) in comparison to women (24%).

Secondly, and in similar proportions, both men and women see themselves working in a large company in the future. This fact invites organizations to develop corporate family responsibility to a greater extent to meet the personal and
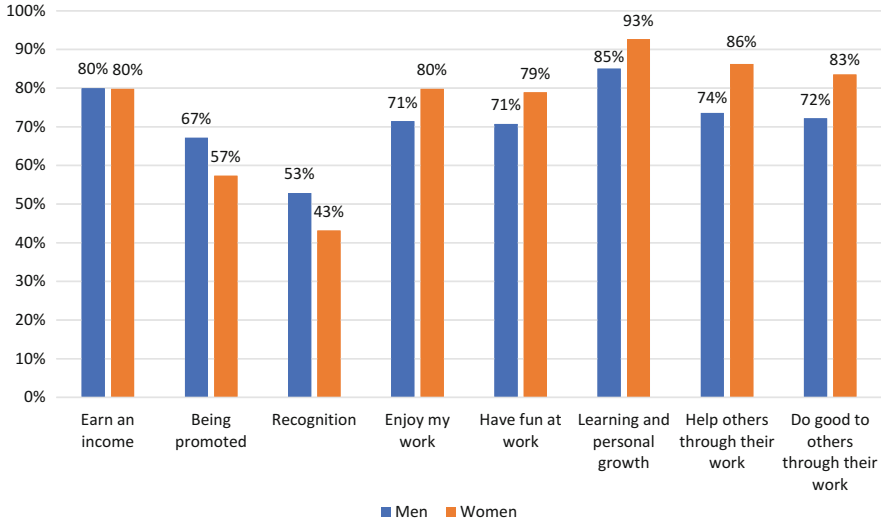
Fig. 3 Motivations to work. Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who consider aspects referred to as Important or Very Important
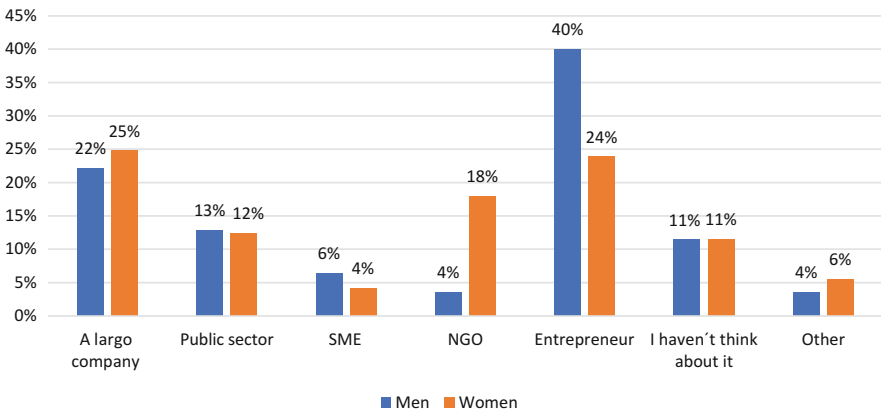
Fig. 4 Workplace where respondents want to work

professional expectations of these new generations by avoiding possible conflicts between these expectations.

Another key aspect was to discover the most relevant criteria for these new generations when choosing a job. Upon further investigation, as evidenced in Fig. 5, the salary and economic benefits offered by the company (22%) were the most important criteria mentioned. However, the possibility of balancing personal, family and work life is a close second (19%), followed by a good working environment (18%).
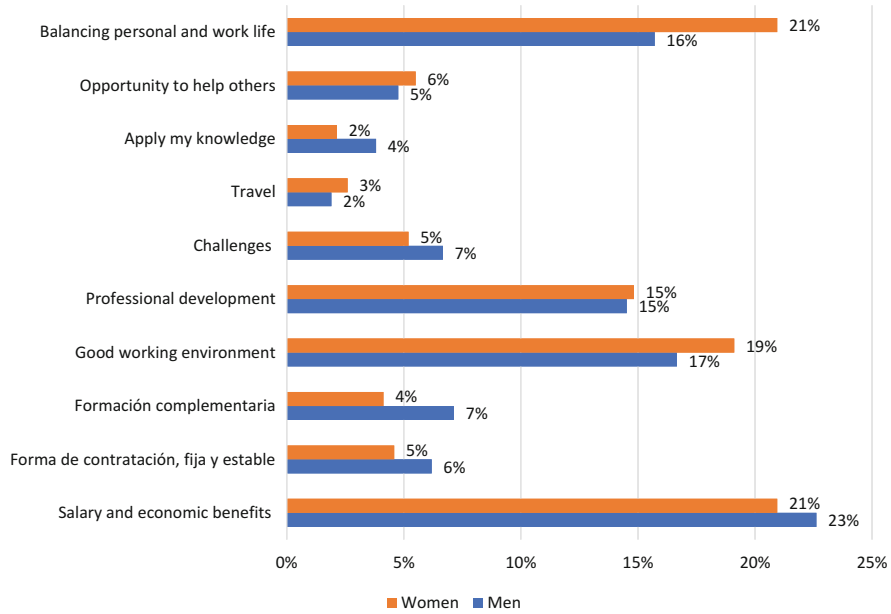
Fig. 5 Criteria for job choice

Upon observing differences between men and women, it is evident that the criteria they employ for choosing a job are quite similar. However, where the greatest difference can be seen is in balancing personal and work life.

The data reveal that the work-related expectations these new generations have are different. They look for organizations where they can learn and develop, and which, at the same time, are places where they receive salary and economic benefits, and where one's personal and family life are taken into consideration. This challenges companies to rethink their professional development policies and practices in order to attract and retain these new talents.

4.4 Expectations for Balance

In order to understand the expectations that these new generations have regarding their personal and professional development, it is important to analyze the work-life balance strategies that they hope to employ in the future, since these will give an indication of the workplace practice and policy guidelines that they will look for in organizations, and consequently, which the companies will have to implement in order to attract and retain these new talents.

Family is very important for these new generations. It is because of this that they seek a balance between their personal and work lives. This is reflected in the information presented in Fig. 6.
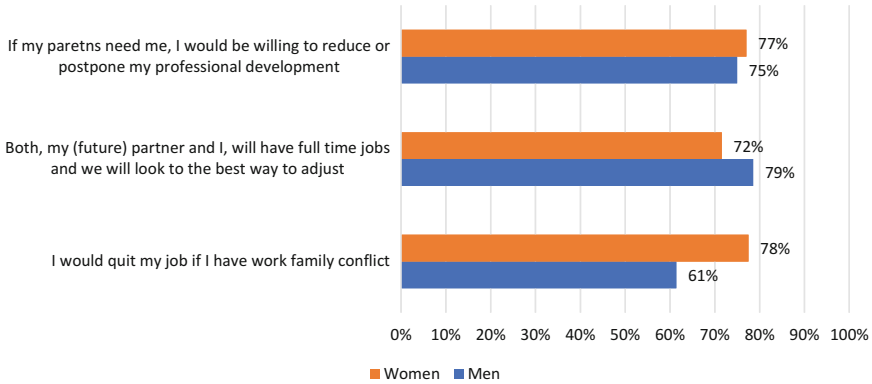
Fig. 6 Outlook regarding work-family balance. Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents that agree with these statements
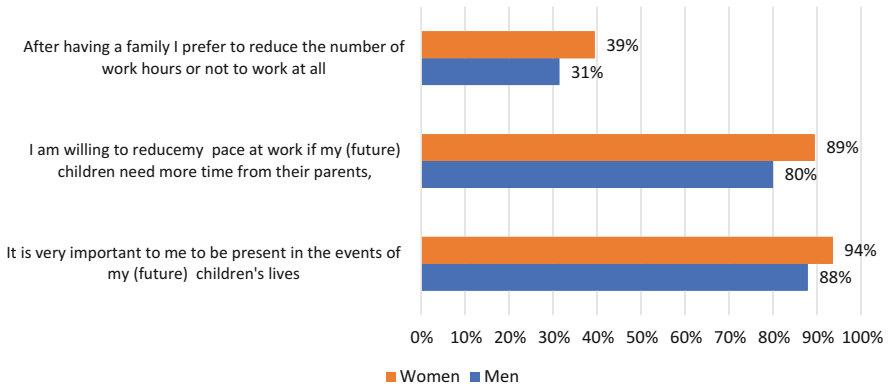
Fig. 7 Outlook regarding work-family balance (cont.). Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who agree with these statements

Figure 7 shows that both men and women will prioritize family responsibilities over and above those of their jobs.

Upon taking a closer look at Fig. 8, it is evident that, despite the changes that have taken place among these new generations, two realities can be seen: first, that several ideas associated with more traditional roles are still present since half of the male respondents expect to be the main breadwinner and full-time worker (51%). However, the other half would not like to assume this role. This being the case, this finding suggests that a significant number of male respondents do *not* want to continue bearing this responsibility. In addition, in the case of women, a high percentage (78%) of them do not agree with being the main provider for the home or with being the only one who works full-time, which also reflects ideas associated with traditional roles, that is, placing most of the responsibility as provider to the man.
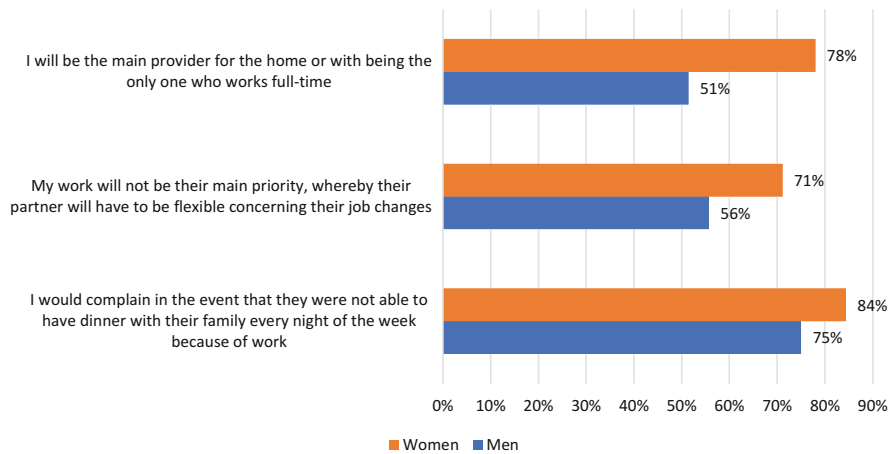
Fig. 8 Outlook regarding work-family balance (cont.). Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who do NOT agree with these statements

On the other hand, the second reality that can be inferred from the data is that, again, for these new generations, spending time with family is important. They hope to balance their work, family and personal lives. This can be observed from the data, where more than half of the sample state that their work will not be their main priority.

It can be seen from the information presented that these new generations have a vision of life wherein work-family balance is possible. Women are more willing to be flexible than men in order to achieve this balance and, despite the changes that have taken place at a societal level regarding a vision of co-responsibility between members of a couple, the vision of traditional roles, namely, that the man is the provider and the woman the caregiver, remains, albeit to a lesser extent.

4.5 Work Environment

At this point in the study, expectations regarding workload and work hours were measured, including, for example, if one must work in excess of contractually-established hours to advance in one's career within the company. Information regarding the worker's perception in this vein includes if they think they have to put in significant overtime in order to get ahead in the organization, if they have to put work before family, and if, to be well-regarded within the company they must constantly put their work before their personal and family life (Bosch and Riumalló 2012).

Finally, in this study we sought to understand how the new generations saw their work environment. To do this, it is important to understand that an organizational
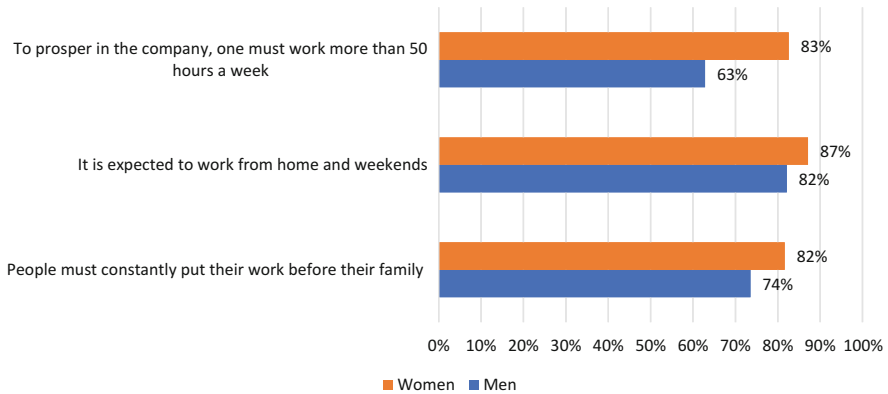
Fig. 9 Outlook regarding the working world. Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who do NOT agree with these statements

culture with an ethos of corporate family responsibility in place is one that favors work, family and personal life integration, wherein people are valued who make use of flexibility policies regarding the contribution they will make to the company without penalizing them for so. This includes respecting workers' established workloads and avoiding creating the expectation that people must constantly put their work before their family (Bosch and Riumalló 2012).

To begin with, several stereotypes were investigated in greater depth which associate professional success with one's hourly workload. As shown in Fig. 9, in general, the new generations do not agree with these stereotypes: more than 60% do not agree with statements that support these stereotypes. This being the case, we can infer that their expectations regarding how they will get their work done are based on management by objectives, since these are perceived to be those which most facilitate being able to maintain professional and personal balance.

In general, the proportion of respondents who do not agree with these statements is between 74% and 87%, with the possible exception of the statement that in order to prosper in the company, one must work more than 50 h a week, be it at work or at home, where 63% of men do not agree.

However, although they do not agree with these stereotypes, including the idea that the ideal employee is one that is available 24 h a day (79%), they know that they are still seen as "successful" within their work environment, which sometimes leads to taking on a greater hourly workload thereby reducing the time they have available to devote to family and personal time, and this in order to succeed professionally. This is reflected in Fig. 10, where most think it is unprofessional to resolve family and personal issues at work (59%), and that practically 50% of respondents think that taking work home is often the only way to meet all their work-related obligations.

On the other hand, we can see that motivations surrounding developing a professional career go hand in hand with being able to have personal, family and work life balance. This is shown in Fig. 11, where more than 60% of respondents would consider accepting a lower salary in exchange for greater flexibility.
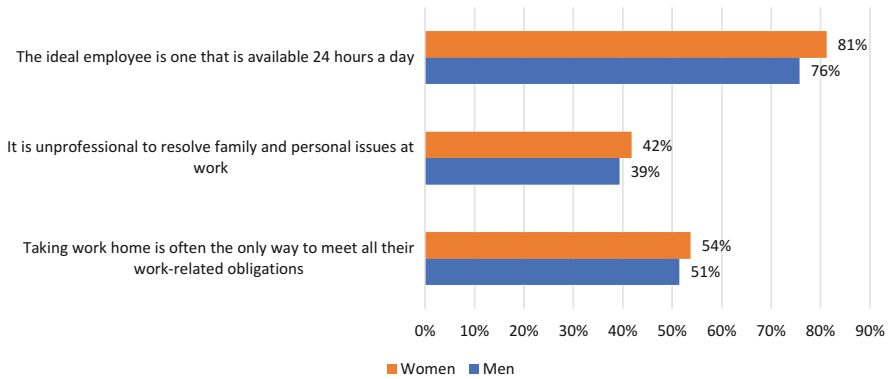
Fig. 10 Outlook regarding the working world (cont.). Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who do NOT agree with these statements
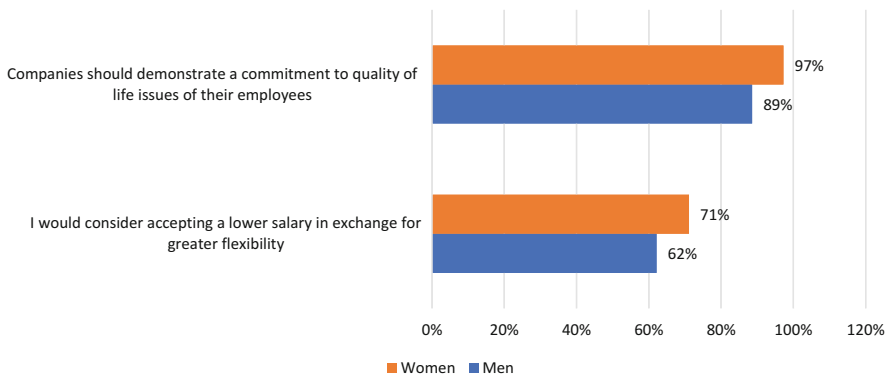
Fig. 11 Outlook regarding the working world (cont.). Note: This figure shows the percentage of respondents who agree with these statements

The data make clear that these new generations do not agree with traditional stereotypes regarding hourly workloads, but are at the same time aware that they continue to exist. In addition, the data reveal how important it is for these generations that organizations, as well as placing demands on them in the professional sphere, are at the same time concerned about quality of life issues as they relate their employees. The data also reveal how important it is for them to be able to reconcile their work roles with their family roles, and how willing they are to take measures to achieve this balance.
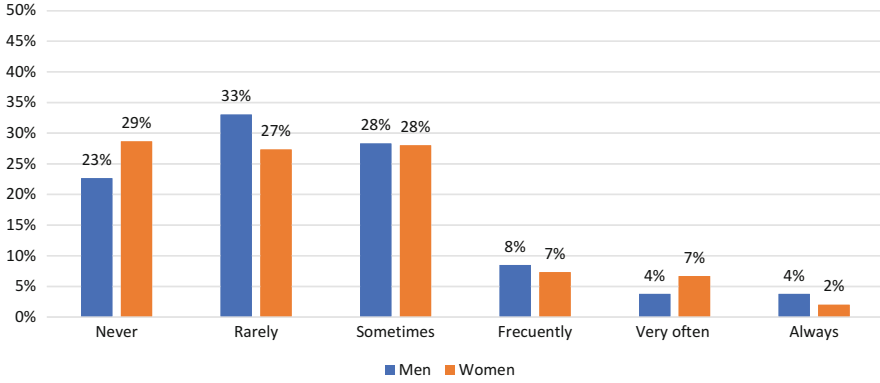
Fig. 12 Intention to leave company

4.6 *Impact on Organizational Outcomes*

The intent to leave a company is an extremely important variable given that employee turnover is very expensive for companies. Moreover, a desire to leave the company, assuming the external environment allows for this, has a negative impact on the organization. The better the working environment, the less employees will express the intention to leave the company, and greater will the company's ability to retain talent be.

Figure 12 shows intention to leave the company by these new generations. This shows that, to a certain extent, companies are satisfying the expectations of these new generations. However, at the same these findings also reveal opportunities for improvement for organizations wishing to hire these new talents.

5 Conclusion

From the research carried out, we can conclude that the new generations place a high value on the family. They want to play an active role in their own homes, and they care about having a life apart from work.

On the other hand, those aspects they value in their personal lives are reflected in their work-related expectations, which is why they look for and support companies that have work-family balance policies, leadership, and cultures in place.

It is worth mentioning that this desire for work-life balance is stronger in the case of women, who are willing to place limits on, or even set aside their own professional development.

5.1 Managerial Implications

Companies are facing new challenges, one of them is attract and retain talent. As we can see in this study, work life balance is becoming more relevant for new generation, due to several factors. Companies should incorporate work-life balance policies and practices so that they are in alignment with the interests of both the company and the new generations, taking the personal and family life of their employees into consideration.

5.2 Limitations of the Study

Some limitations of the study include the possible lack of representation of the general population since a convenience sample was used and data were obtained from a single source. Regarding future lines of research, it would be interesting to compare the data obtained here with that of other countries to analyze differences and similarities between them, and by so doing analyze possible cross-cultural variation. Additionally, additional sources of data could be included. Finally, it would be interest to study employers' perception of workers from these new generations.

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Ideal Organizations for the New Ideal Workers: Exploring the Role of Life-Friendly Work Practices

Uthpala Senarathne Tennakoon

Abstract The increased interest of modern employees to balance competing demands between work and life has driven organizations to rethink the profile of the ideal worker. Life-friendly work practices (LFWP), which commonly include flexible work arrangements, compressed work weeks, teleworking, job sharing, family leave programs, organizational support for dependent care, and other life-related benefits, have evolved as a means to create workplaces which appeals to this new breed of workers. With limited resources at their disposal, it is important for organizations to be intentional about the selection and offering of LFWP. This interview study with 16 HR executives and 16 post-secondary university students as future employees, explores the organizational reasoning behind LFWP and future employee attraction criteria in relation to LFWP. The findings reveal that most organizations are genuinely interested in creating an ideal organization for their ideal employees. It may be beneficial for organizations to be more expressive of the organizational LFWP initiatives in their employer branding message to create awareness and attract the future ideal workers. The multi-perspective examination of LFWP provided useful insights for practical applications, and directions for further research.

1 Introduction

The increased interest of modern employees to balance competing demands between work and life has driven organizations to rethink the profile of the ideal worker (Williams 2000). There is also pressure on organizations to appear as ideal workplaces to attract and retain this new breed of employees who value both work, and life outside work. Life-friendly work practices (LFWP), which commonly include flexible work arrangements, compressed work weeks, teleworking, job sharing, family leave programs, organizational support for dependent care, and other

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life-related benefits, have evolved as a means to create a workplace which appeals to this new breed of workers (Firfiray and Mayo 2016). Signaling theory (Ehrhart and Ziegert 2005) suggests that the presence of LFWP could signal to job seekers attributes about the organization which go beyond the obvious benefits, possibly enhancing the attraction factor. From an organization's point of view, being considered an ideal workplace brings in the benefit of attracting and being able to select the best employees to suit their needs. Since all organizations have limited resources to be distributed towards various employee initiatives, including LFWP, it is important for organizations to be intentional about the selection and offering of LFWP.

While there are many studies focusing on the employee benefits of LFWP (e.g., Kossek and Nichol 1992; Kossek et al. 2011, 2012; Lambert 2000; Roehling et al. 2001) there is limited research on specific benefits to organizations. Also, there is limited knowledge about which LFWP are highly valued by potential employees, and why these practices are considered highly valued.

Therefore, this paper aims to explore,

1. What are the motivation for organizations to offer LFWP? What are the mechanisms through which organizations currently assess the effectiveness of such practices?
2. What perceptions and value propositions do potential employees hold towards LFWP?
3. How well-aligned are organizational and future employee perceptions of LFWP?

2 Literature Review

The traditional ideal worker is defined by their devotion to work, prioritizing work over everything else, including family and personal needs (Reid 2015). However, the norm of the ideal worker is evolving today. The social norms are changing, and both men and women try to manage the realms of work and life activities simultaneously (Blair-Loy 2009; Williams 2010). In addition, the multi-generational workforce, especially with the millennials replacing the baby boomers, bring in the need for different approaches to attracting, managing and motivating this new wave of employees (Deal et al. 2010; Ehrhart et al. 2012; Hershatter and Epstein 2010; Twenge 2010).

Many studies have examined these generational differences, specifically towards work attitude. Summarizing the generational differences in work values, Twenge (2010) reported that over the three generations of Boomers, GenX and Millenials, work centrality and work ethics have shown a reduction, while leisure values have shown an increase. Twenge (2010) also reported that altruistic values (e.g., helping and volunteering) and intrinsic values (e.g., meaning and using talent) were similar across generations. Others scholars supported the notion that there are, indeed, generational differences, but some could be more complex than simple visible trends (Kowske et al. 2010; Meriac et al. 2010). Today's workplaces comprising of individuals from five generations working together, are challenged when creating an ideal workplace that attracts and retains the best talent from diverse groups of

individuals. LFWP can be considered as a tool that organizations use in their attempt to create this ideal workplace.

Resource-based view of the firm (Barney 1991; Barney et al. 2011) provides a rationale for firms to provide LFWP to their employees. An organization's adoption of LFWP provides employees with unique value, which in turn could positively contribute towards workforce performance, productivity, and workplace citizenship behavior (Lambert 2000). Such a group of policies combined with a positive work-life culture and managerial support can be considered a unique internal resource that is difficult to imitate by a competing firm. Therefore, according to the resources based view (Barney 1991; Barney et al. 2011), such a resource can be considered a source of sustained competitive advantage that can lead to higher levels of firm performance.

In some instances organizations are driven to introduce such policies due to external pressures and institutionalized norms (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). Possible reasons are the conformity to industry standards to attract and retain talent in a booming economy (Sweet et al. 2014), and/or the need to be recognized as one of the best (Kossek et al. 2014). For example, most organizations topping the lists of "ideal workplaces" usually have an abundance of LFWP, adding pressure on others to follow the best practices (Jermyn 2014). Thus, while implementing LFWP provides an advantage for employers to be considered "ideal employers," these competitions and perceived benchmarking exercises put added pressure on organizations to adopt such practices and conform to industry norms.

Studies from diverse academic disciplines have examined different aspects of implementing LFWP (see reviews in Beauregard and Henry 2009; Kelly et al. 2008; Lambert 2000). The majority have focused on individual-level analysis exploring the relationship between LFWP and individual outcomes (e.g., Kossek and Nichol 1992; Kossek et al. 2011; 2012; Lambert 2000; Roehling et al. 2001). However, considerably a few have examined organizational-level outcomes such as perceived organizational performance and the impact on firm's market value (Arthur and Cook 2003, 2004; Perry-Smith and Blum 2000).

While many organizations believe in the value of LFWP, there is little hard evidence to support and guide the decision makers in selecting and implementing LFWP (Kelly et al. 2008). For example, different flexible work arrangements have been incorporated into strategic human resource models (Huselid 1995; Van Dyne et al. 2007), but there have been limited attempts to investigate which are the best strategies to impact business profitability and shareholder value. Summarizing the current state of knowledge in the field, multiple scholars call for studies to better scrutinize the formal managerial rationale for adoption of LFWP (Beauregard and Henry 2009; Kossek and Friede 2006). They argue that the business case needs to be modified to reflect multiple routes by which work-life policies can influence organizational performance.

This paper helps in building the business case by examining LFWP from both employer and potential employee perspective. By understanding organizational reasoning for LFWP, and what potential employees seek in LFWP, the paper

explores the effectiveness of the current strategies by organizations, and offer suggestions for improvement.

3   Data and Method

The unique multi-source data comprise of two sets of interviews (32 in total) with participants from Calgary. Calgary, Alberta is an economic hub of Canada. At the start of data collection in late 2014, Calgary had the lowest unemployment rates and highest wages and salaries per employee in Canada (Calgary Economic Development 2015b).[1]

Initial participants were selected based on personal contacts, followed by a snowballing technique (Martins et al. 2002), whereby earlier respondents suggested additional participants for the study. Participants were first contacted through e-mail describing the purpose of the study. Interviews lasted approximately an hour and were held at a location chosen by the interviewees. A semi-structured interview guide provided structure, while allowing sufficient flexibility to explore unique characteristics of individuals and organizations. The two-way face-to-face communication approach allowed a rich flow of ideas.

Sixteen interviews were with senior HR managers from diverse organizations. The questions inquired about organizational LFWP, focusing on areas such as reasoning for offering LFWP, utilization patterns, and measures of return on investment regarding LFWP, organizational cultural norms, and other employee characteristics of the organization. The participating organizations included seven private sector, three government, four nonprofits, and two education institutions. The industries represented included the energy sector, banking, insurance, airlines, education, social welfare, and recreational services. The employee base ranged from around 100 in the smallest nonprofit to 17,000 employees in the largest government organization. All the organizational personnel interviewed held senior positions with decision making authority in human resources management in their organizations.

The 16 student participants, as future employees, were mostly millennials currently enrolled in post-secondary programs of three leading post-secondary institutions in Calgary. There were six males and 10 females, who were in various post-secondary programs, including supply chain management, human resources management, health and physical education, and engineering. The interview questions focused on their future job search plans, characteristics sought after in an employer, knowledge, planned utilization and value placed on LFWP. The student interviews were conducted by two student research assistants while the senior HR manager

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[1]This was the situation when most of the interviews were conducted. However, the low oil prices have affected the Calgary economy tremendously and the labor force statistics have shown dramatic changes since 2015. The economic outlook has improved over the years 2017/2018.

interviews were done by the principal investigator. Each interview lasted about an hour and was recorded, and later transcribed. Principal investigator and the research assistants individually reviewed and coded transcript data using standard techniques of thematic qualitative analysis. Consistent with previous qualitative studies, analysis of the data moved from the particular (a detailed analysis of language in each transcript) to the general (a comparison of patterns and themes across all the transcripts).

4   Results

In this section, the results are presented from the lenses of organizational point of view and future employee perspective. In the discussion section, these findings are analyzed for the interrelatedness and the fulfillment of the requirements of both parties.

4.1   *Creating the Ideal Organization: Organizational Reasons for Offering LFWP*

4.1.1   Keeping up with the Competition

At the time of data collection in 2014, Calgary boasted some of the lowest unemployment rates in Canada (Calgary Economic Development 2015a) creating a labour market favourable to job seekers. While many organizations genuinely cared for the wellbeing of the employees, for some organizations, the primary motivator for offering LFWP was to remain competitive in attracting and retaining talent. All employers stressed the need to remain competitive in the labour market, and this was specifically mentioned by one energy sector employer, who prided themselves as an organization with lean operating expenditure compared to their counterparts.

> Our principal shareholders believe in lean operations and strategic cost savings. Therefore, as the HR team we had to make a strong case to offer some of the family-friendly practices. One of the main arguments was that we cannot attract or keep the best employees if we don't offer what others are offering in this Calgary market.

Thus, it is evident that some have been driven by the need to "keep up with the Joneses" or follow the institutional norms of the industry (DiMaggio and Powell 1983).

4.1.2 Recognizing that the Ideal Worker Comes from a Diverse Workforce

Most employers were intentional about not only recognizing the diverse workforce, but also catering to their diverse needs. This was done by appreciating different needs and creating policies and practices to address them. For example,

> We have taken the approach that it is not our judgment to how [employees] choose their benefits from our flexible options. What's suitable for one employee could be very different for another employee.

Benefit packages, including the LFWP, offered by the participating organizations varied in their spread, depth and customizability. Some had fixed plans where all employees were offered the same set of benefits, while others offered extremely flexible plans where employees had the option of taking the whole benefit allocation as cash; many organizations ranged in between these extremes. A senior manager from the energy sector explained their benefit plan, highlighting its ability to cater to multiple demands of a diverse workforce.

> With the 18% of salary in the benefit bucket, people can use that pretty much anyway they want. It is in dollars. We allow people to buy equipment if they want. They can use it for skiing or golf memberships, or to pay for daycare. Therefore, the plan appeals to all levels of employees in diverse ages, life stages, and personal needs.

Even when there are no formal policies governing specific LFWP, for example, flexible work arrangements or working from home, many employers indicated that they work with individual employees to meet their needs.

> We don't have organization-wide teleworking policies. However, most unit managers work with individual employees to provide them with flexible start times, or working from home arrangements. We cannot do it for all jobs, but when it is possible, as the HR department we work with the unit managers to make it happen.

Such individualized plans were used as a strategy to retain good employees, creating a win-win situation for both the employer and the employee.

4.1.3 Creating a Culture of Caring: It is "A Family"

Most HR managers highlighted the importance of organization culture as an integral part for their organizations, and thus were intentional about "caring for their employees." Some used the term "caring" while few others emphasized that they treat employees as "family." These themes resonated with many employers as seen by the variety of quotes. It should be noted that the notion of "family" was more prominent with the nonprofit employers.

> Without appearing to be cheesy, I would say that—[company culture] is like a family.

> We are almost like a big family;" and "we do look after each other like family.

All these organizations were serious about achieving the organizational objectives and maintaining a professional workplace. However, this collegial, "family-like" environment, portrayed through both formal and informal policies, fostered a culture where employees feel they belong and fit-in with the organization, thus helping the retention of employees.

Some of the participating nonprofit organizations were in the "business of caring for individuals in need," and caring for their employees came naturally as part of the organization culture. But, the HR managers pointed out that they are very much focused on the results and employee performance, which is also crucial for the positions filled by the employees of these organizations. For example, a senior HR manager who joined the nonprofit sector after a 20-year career in the private sector stated her own experience as follows:

> I find is that we here are . . . very focused on the business, as much as the private sector, but it is much more on the employee as much as the needs of the business. Whereas in the private sector, what I found was, we got these things for the employees, but the business comes first, and if there is choice between the two, then the business comes first, and you need to know that. Whereas here, while the business comes first, they almost go the opposite extreme of "how can I change things around in order to meet both business and personal needs of the employees?

4.1.4 Recognizing the Life Beyond Work

The new ideal worker is predicated on integrating work and personal life (Kelly et al. 2010). Thus, the organizations need to cater to the demands of this new ideal worker and the first step is recognizing that the employees have a life beyond work. A common theme heard from almost all participants is that the recognition of employees as individuals with lives beyond work duties. Providing opportunities for employees to manage their work demands as well as nonwork demands appeared as a prominent feature for these organizations. Many HR managers specifically mentioned the practice of treating employees as "a whole person":

> We treat the person holistically, and we don't say 'don't let your home life interfere with work at all'; we realize that the whole person shows up at work.

This respect for individual as "a whole person with a life beyond work" guided employee-related decision making of these organizations. They offered simple and unique value-adding LFWP for employees such as "a birthday holiday", where employees were given their birthday as a paid day off. In many instances these were initiated as retention strategies, which evolved to be great attraction strategies.

4.1.5 Intentional Means to Reduce Employee Costs by Creating a Healthy Workplace

On the one hand LFWP were instrumental in creating a culture of employee wellbeing. On the other hand, they had an impact on influencing the overall benefit

costs. Two participating organizations have actively introduced new initiatives targeting employee wellbeing with multiple objectives in mind. The following quote is from an HR executive in the energy sector;

> Our insurance provider has indicated that there is a high cost on prescription drugs in relation to diabetes and high blood pressure. We realized that this could be a far greater issue than the drug cost and we have initiated a healthy living campaign within our Calgary head office. We have education programs, exercise challenges where employees could compete against each other and healthy eating initiatives. We hope these will help us have healthier employees and also bring down some of the drug costs in the long run.

As identified by the HR executive, the benefits of these initiatives are not immediate, whether it is fostering a healthier workforce, retaining employees in the long run or, reducing insurance premium costs over time. The difficulty in quantifying the long term benefits in monetary terms was consistently identified as a challenge, especially when seeking approval from the upper management to introduce such LFWP initiatives.

4.2   Organizational Strategies in Measuring the Outcomes of LFWP

Whether it is the case of giving into the institutionalized norms or genuinely caring for the employees, all participating organizations had some form of LFWP implemented. However, almost all of them indicated that they didn't have proper matrices for measuring the effectiveness or the return on investment of such practices. Informal surveys or discussions to receive employee feedback on specific initiatives, employment engagement surveys, external sources such as insurance providers (e.g., specific drug costs) were the more common forms. There were a few instances where direct measures were used to identify the effectiveness of specific LFWP initiatives. Some of the participating organizations have been recognized as "best employers to work for in Canada" competitions, validating organizational efforts in providing "an ideal" work place. Therefore, all senior HR managers were keen about having a better understanding of how to measure the effectiveness of their LFWP.

4.3   Ideal Organization for the Ideal Worker: Exploring the Needs of the Future Ideal Worker

Post secondary students participated in the study as future employees. The majority of the participants were between 20 and 25 years and taking a full course load in one of three post-secondary institutions in Calgary. Almost all students had part-time employment to support their education and living expenses, and in many instances,

were currently not employed in their area of study. They all had plans for different career paths upon graduation. The following section reports the findings based on the themes emerged from the interviews with the student participants. One of the interesting insights in the findings is that there was as much diversity as there were similarities, in the needs and expectations of these future employees.

4.3.1   Pay is Still Very Important

For many participants, money still held a significant attractiveness in looking for their first "real job" post-graduation. Most participant have been working menial jobs to support themselves and get through university, and the prospect of having more money with a "real job" was very appealing. Many had plans to settle student loans, and have a dwelling of their own, which demanded a stable income. While the importance and emphasis placed on a "big salary" varied, this was still a "top of the list" item for many participants.

> Honestly, I am just greedy and care about the money. As long as the people who work there aren't miserable and don't drag me down with them, I think I am ok.

> I guess I could sacrifice salary a little bit, in order to get the benefits, although I don't agree with all the benefits. So salary is still very important.

> Most important attraction would be rate of pay.

Almost all the participants had a realistic estimate of what they would like to earn as their first position post-graduation, based on industry norms, personal research and also from what they have heard in their classrooms.

4.3.2   The Match of Company Values with the Individual Values

One of the recurrent attraction themes was the match of company values with those of the individual. Many were interested about organizations' corporate social responsibility initiatives as much as the other perks the company had to offer.

> I look at the company's corporate social responsibility. I have to believe in what they are doing to want to work there.

> Their corporate social responsibility would be really attractive to me, as much as their flexibility with hours and flexibility with time off.

There were few who specifically avoided certain industries as they felt that there was a clash between personal and corporate values. For example,

> I rather not work for an oil and gas company because I do not believe in pollution and I am very environmentally friendly.

It is possible that these individuals have not given full consideration towards facts in their decision making, or perhaps it is simply a perception about the whole industry with insufficient information about specific organizational initiatives. Considering

that some of the oil and gas companies were operating with talent shortages, differentiating themselves from the pack with regards to social and environmental sustainability initiatives may be a way to tap into some individuals who may share similar sentiments to our interviewees.

4.3.3 Emphasis on Organization Culture

A common thread of interest was the emphasis on company culture. Envisaging an ideal place of work, the majority of the participants specifically mentioned the work culture and collegiality:

> Working in an environment when I really enjoy the people.

> The work culture is really important to me. I need to work in a place where I feel part of a team where I am valued.

These future employees used their current jobs as a way to gauge the cultural experience. Working in entry level minimum wage jobs in serving and retail, some participants felt that they were not truly valued by their employers. They were seeking for a real change in their future employment opportunities upon graduation.

The participants who were seeking employment in small companies were driven by the assumption that the organization culture would be better in a small company. It seemed that the future job seekers had pre-conceived associations between good company culture and organization size, perhaps based on their personal experiences or what they have heard from peers.

4.3.4 Company Size: Big or Small?

What attracts potential employees into their new organization had a certain amount of diversity in all areas related to organization, including the size. For many participants the organizational size was not a decision factor, but for some there were specific needs for it to be either big or small with reasons. Few participants were interested in big name companies as they were "*known for what they can offer.*" However, few others specifically wanted to work for a small company to "*feel belonged*" or for learning opportunities.

> I would prefer a small-sized company because then you get more all around, hands on, learning skills of all different departments, because in a large scale business, your job is very specific.

There was concern about the organizational stability and job security, for organizations both big and small. As some of the student interviews were conducted after the collapse of the oil prices, the participants were well aware of the impact it had on Calgary economy for all forms of organizations. While the participants understood the business case for layoffs that followed the economic downturn, most participants were less sympathetic towards big-name companies and their approach towards "*caring for their employees.*"

4.3.5   Balancing Work and Life at the Same Time

All student participants had a clear idea of what work-life balance meant for each of them. For some, it was a clear separation between work and life, and for some others the border was more fluid. They defined and identified facets of work-life balance as follows:

> A healthy balance between work and personal life, where work does not interfere with my personal time. Say you are on vacation, you shouldn't be checking your emails. Work is totally independent from your personal life.

> Being able to enjoy my life, and not take work home with me. So when I leave the office or whatever, I don't have to answer phone calls or send emails on my own time, there is a definite separation of the work and life. When I'm at home, I'm enjoying my time, and when I'm at work, I'm work.

> Working with the organization you are employed find a balance that works for you. It will be different for each individual.

> If there is something important to me I need to be able to balance that with the job. If I want to work extra hours, and take off a few hours the next day, I need a job that allows for that.

It appears that all the participants placed a great value in their ability to manage both realms of work and life. Thus, they were conscious of their personal needs and the characteristics required from their job to facilitate their work-life balance.

4.3.6   Limited Knowledge about Available Life-Friendly Work Practices of Organizations

Our future employees had clear idea about what they meant by work-life balance, however, there was little understanding about what LFWP are normally available in organizations. When inquired about the benefits, most of them were familiar with the typical offering of organizations such as medical and dental benefits, and some vacation options. However, considering the wide variety of LFWP options offered by organizations, most of the participants could think of only a few examples; more commonly cited were child care and maternity leave. This is quite interesting considering that most organizations didn't offer childcare options and most participants associated LFWP with family and child care obligations.

The limited knowledge of LFWP could be due to multiple reasons. First, the majority of these students so far have held part-time, menial jobs where they were not entitled to most of the benefits offered by organizations. Second, due to low level of obligations beyond themselves, they didn't have the need to negotiate for additional benefits, perhaps, other than the need for flexibility to attend university. When inquired about what would be the most preferred LFWP in organizations (after providing possible available options) most participants had great interest in flexible work schedules, vacation, time off, and developmental opportunity.

4.3.7 Changes over the Life Course

Many student participants alluded to possible changes to the value placed on different types of LFWP over their life course. This change of focus was evident from two folds. First, the participants were asked about whether they anticipated any changes in their preference patterns over 5 years and 10 years. Many participants in their early twenties attempted to forecast what they may be doing, or what they are planning with their life at such a futuristic time. Second, the anticipated expectations were corroborated by relatively older participants, who were in their mid-to late twenties. For example, a mature male student who is currently in fulltime work and following courses to earn a business degree explained,

> When I started working, all I cared about earning more money. But once I had the earnings to meet most of my needs I realized I needed more things. For example, for me now, I would take work flexibility over anything. I don't have kids, but I care for my dad. Therefore, time and flexibility is more important to me than anything now.

While many participants didn't have any care obligations now, they anticipated that they would be attracted to family-oriented benefits later in life. One noted element was the gendered view of LFWP. Both female and male participants emphasizing the value of certain LFWP (e.g., childcare benefits) to female employees.

> A female may value childcare more than a male.

> Because as a guy I am probably never going to take parental leave. I mean I could take it, but guys aren't expected to take, they are expected to work while the wife has the baby. Like it matters less to me than if I were a woman.

While this may not be the majority view, it is interesting to see such strong gendered view towards LFWP with this younger generation. Perhaps this could be still driven by broad societal biases (Duncan et al. 2004; Poortman and Lippe 2009) or individual perceptions. It is possible that these notions could evolve as the participants mature and have their own experience (e.g., become parents). Employers also indicated somewhat similar gendered notions towards the use of LFWP. In many instances even with liberal employers, most male employees didn't fully utilize some of the LFWP such as parental leave. The long standing employers however indicated that there is more uptake of these benefits compared to the past.

5 Discussion

One of the main objectives of this study was to have a better understanding of how organizations can use LFWP as a means of creating a workplace to attract and retain "ideal" workers. Results demonstrated that potential employees have certain expectations when identifying their ideal workplaces. Organizations seeking ideal employees may need to cater to these expectations to attract the right candidates that suit the organizational needs. The section below will discuss the themes that are

in harmony for both parties and where there are certain gaps to be filled, with suggestions for improvement.

5.1 Strategizing LFWP

5.1.1 Value of Intentionally-Created Organizational Culture

Individuals were purposeful about selecting an organization which portrayed certain characteristics (Firfiray and Mayo 2016). Some of the highly valued attributes included a satisfying work environment, ability to contribute as a valued team member, and appreciation of employees work-life balance. Some organizations were intentional about crafting LFWP to portray these elements as part of the organization culture, while some others had a basket of LFWP simply as a means of having some LFWP. The intentionality has delivered positive results for the organizations assessed through employment surveys, and in multiple instances with recognition as "the best places to work" awards.

Further, organization culture has a considerable impact on actual utilization of certain LFWP. For example, even when organizations had policies with flexibility and additional parental leave options, there were instances where employees didn't fully utilize such benefits due to the fear of negative job implications. Thus, while the mechanisms were set for offering LFWP, the organizational cultural norms were not clearly established to facilitate the effective use of the LFWP. In organizations where the culture supported the utilization of LFWP, the success resulted from the senior management endorsement and organization-wide awareness creation.

Emphasizing about the facets of company culture may be a good way for organizations to differentiate themselves and attract the employees for the best person-organization fit. It is important to understand that the description of an ideal employee could differ from one organization to another, and it is the responsibility of both the organization and the potential employees to strive to get this match right. Since future employees have limited access to specific information about the organization culture, there is a greater responsibility placed on the organization to convey the information about their culture so that the potential employees can make informed decisions.

5.1.2 Highlighting Organizational Values through CSR Initiatives

In many instances, organizations' LFWP such as volunteering opportunities, community engagement, and wellness programs are closely linked to their multi-faceted corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives. However, CSR activities are not always utilized as an element of the recruitment message (Aggerholm et al. 2011). Potential employees used employer's track record of CSR endeavours as a means of gauging the match between personal and organizational values. Since Person-

organization fit is known to be important for both attraction and retention of employees (Lauver and Kristof-Brown 2001), providing opportunity for potential employees for self-selection based on the alignment with corporate values is in the best interest of organizations. Therefore, employers would benefit from conscious inclusion of their CSR initiatives in their employer branding (Aggerholm et al. 2011; Martin et al. 2011; Wayne and Casper 2012; Wilden et al. 2010).

5.1.3 Creating Alignment with the LFWP Value Proposition of Employees

The results suggested a mismatch between the most valued LFWP from employee and employer perspective. Potential employees ranked work flexibility and time off options as the most valued LFWP. However, work flexibility arrangements were one of the least formalized and most inconsistently adopted LFWP. Flexibility arrangements were mostly offered at the discretion of individual departments or managers, and in many instances negotiated case by case basis. With the lack of formal policies, the sustainability of the program and uniform application of the practice could be affected, leading to employee frustration and dissatisfaction (Sweet et al. 2014). Therefore, organizations should be mindful about these highly-valued LFWP and have consistent and fair practices to create that ideal work place.

5.1.4 Capitalizing on Available LFWP

Post-secondary students as future employees had limited knowledge on the available LFWP, possibly due to lack of exposure in their current part-time positions and minimum wage, menial jobs held during their school years. Important attracting criteria for them were company culture, pay, time off, and schedule flexibility. Many organizations offer a broad range of LFWP which could be attractive to wide range employees. For example, some organizations had extremely flexible benefit packages where each employee were allowed a percentage of salary to be utilized towards the benefits of their choice or to be taken as pure cash. However, such information was not mentioned in job advertisements, nor the careers page, which could have been attractive to individuals who are interested in monetary rewards as much as their preference towards LFWP. Thus, it appears that organizations should be mindful about providing more information to potential candidates about these attractive LFWP options already in existance. Further, as noted, our future employees anticipate their life needs to change over time, and the attraction of LFWP changing along with evolution of life stages. Organizations with flexible options would benefit from elaborating on these as part of their employer branding message to both attract and retain the ideal workers (Wayne and Casper 2012; Wilden et al. 2010).

Future employees had a clear idea of what work-life balance meant for them. While some were adamant on keeping segmented domains, others were open to

more fluid interactions across work and life. However, there was the consistent requirement that employers recognize employees as individuals with lives outside the work domain. It is important to note that most of our employers have evolved from the "traditional ideal worker" norms (Reid 2015) to accepting their employees as individuals with multiple demands on their time. Most employers implemented their LFWP because they genuinely cared for the employee wellbeing and to demonstrate their understating of the demands of the new ideal workers. The alignment from both employers' and potential employee perspective would foster better attraction and retention.

5.1.5   Gendered View of LFWP

Even with our limited participant pool, there was clear evidence about the gendered perspective towards LFWP. It was somewhat surprising to see this notion that LFWP are primarily for the benefit of working moms, especially with the younger group of participants. Perhaps, it could be due to the lack of knowledge of the wide range of LFWP that are available, or it could simply be that the societal gendered norms are well established even with these millennials (Kushner et al. 2017). While most organizations offered their LFWP to *all* employees, there were certain benefits which were mostly used by female employees such as flexibility options and parental leave. According to some HR managers, male employees may shun from taking parental leave (even when they are available) to avoid possible negative repercussions to their job status. This is not uncommon even in situations where organizations are actively promoting the utilization of LFWP (Kelly et al. 2010). Therefore, organizations may need to be intentional about their message and creating the culture where employees don't feel penalized for utilizing the available benefits.

5.1.6   Creating a Strong Employer Brand

The sections above discussed multi-faceted approaches for creating the ideal organization to attract and retain ideal employees with a focus on LFWP. They can be simply summarized as being intentional about creating LFWP that align with organizational values, and foster a culture that enables the effective utilization of LFWP by employees. This would help the employees feel valued and connected to the organizational goals. An important element in the recruitment of the ideal employees is to convey this message to the potential employees by creating an effective employer brand.

Ambler and Barrow (1996) first conceptualized employer branding as a unique bundle of economic (monetary remuneration), functional (developmental or useful activities) and psychological benefits (a sense of belonging, direction and purpose) an organization can offer individuals. Delineating these different dimensions helps organizations to set themselves apart from competing firms (or even industries) when drawing potential employees (Backhaus and Tikoo 2004). Building an

attractive employer brand requires both instilling an image in the minds of potential employees that the company is a great place to work (Ewing et al. 2002), and continually delivering on that promise with existing employees. The more attractive and clear this image is, the more enticing and fulfilling its employer brand (Berthin et al. 2005). Thus, it is important for organizations to be conscious about the creation of their employer brand, and effectively highlight and capitalize the already embedded elements (e.g., LFWP, great company culture, and CSR initiatives etc.). In alignment with the signaling theory, this intentionally created employer brand, encompassing a realistic organizational image will act as a form signaling the organization as an ideal employer to the comparable ideal employees (Connelly et al. 2011; Ehrhart and Ziegert 2005).

5.2 Limitations

The current study focused exclusively on post-secondary students as future employees. Organizations would benefit from a similar understanding of the individuals currently in the workforce. Also, the small number of participants as future employees limits the generalizability of the findings. Therefore, the future studies should broaden the scope to have a more holistic view of the needs and aspirations of all levels of employees.

6 Conclusion

This interview-based exploratory study examined the role of Life-Friendly Work Practices (LFWP) as a way of creating an organization that would be considered as an ideal workplace by potential employees. The multi-source data from sixteen human resources managers and sixteen post-secondary students revealed several unique themes from employer and potential employee perspectives.

The sample of future employees was exclusively millennials. They were intentional about maintaining good work/life balance and had specific criteria when selecting an "ideal workplace." However, many lacked an in-depth awareness of the diverse spread of LFWP available. Student participants envisioned an evolution of the perceived value of LFWP over their life course, indicating the need for organizations to be mindful about diversity of their workforce. The job seekers placed great importance on organization culture, learning opportunity and pay. Still, they were willing to trade off high salary in lieu of preferred LFWP. They sought the alignment of personal and corporate values, evaluating it by company reputation and CSR initiatives.

Many employers genuinely cared for the wellbeing of their employees and used LFWP as an intentionally crafted strategy to address employee needs. Some other organizations were forced to adopt the practices to be competitive in the labour

market. The breath, availability, and the utilization of LFWP ranged widely among organizations. Irrespective of the reasoning, almost all organizations were not effectively measuring the derived benefits from LFWP.

The multi-perspective examination of LFWP provided useful insights for practical applications, and directions for further research. Key recommendations highlighted the importance of strategic selection of LFWP, and proactive use of organizational strengths (e.g., LFWP, CSR initiatives, and culture, etc.) to consciously create a strong employer brand to attract ideal employees.

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Pondering an Ideal Worker in Academia and Consideration of a 'New' Normal of Faculty Work-Life

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Abstract This chapter sets out to discuss the notion of what is the perception of faculty work-life in academia, grounding examples of faculty work-life from research studies conducted in the United States. Specifically, the discussion ponders if there is an understanding or an inherent understanding of a 'new' normal of faculty work-life and offers recommendations for practice and suggestions that may guide policy considerations for faculty work-life in academia. The authors first discuss the concept of all-access to technology as the premise that faculty work can conceivably be done anytime, anywhere as faculty see fit to do so. This discussion anchors the premise that a 'new' normal of faculty work-life is predicated on engaging in time for work that can vary from a so-called typical 8 am to 5 pm schedule. Next, a discussion of empirical research on faculty-work life in U.S. institutions is added to further the readers' understanding on some issues explored about the integration of faculty work-life aspects. The concept of "work-family boundary management styles" (Kossek & Lautsch, Organizational Psychology Review, 2(2), 152–171, 2012) is also discussed to further our notion in understanding a consideration of a 'new' normal of faculty work-life, whereby the authors of this chapter extend assumptions made for a 'new' normal of faculty work-life and higher education institution's role in defining and shaping the 'ideal worker in academia'. The chapter proffers some suggestions for practice and plausible considerations for policy as a means to further understanding and acknowledging a 'new' normal of faculty work-life as it relates to reflective questions and responses particular to pondering a 'new' normal of faculty work-life. Lastly, a summary discussion considers the notion of technology as part of understanding the 'new' normal of faculty work-life and recommendation is extended for research consideration.

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1 Introduction

This chapter will consider faculty work-life dynamics through support literature that have explored how faculty work-life is perceived primarily by faculty at higher education institutions in the United States and the working dynamics of faculty in terms of their work-life integration or as some literature refer to as work-life balance. Faculty work is discussed in this introduction as linked to use of technology and time spent engaging in work through technology applications as opening discussion to consider the technological aspect of doing faculty work. An extended discussion is added in the chapter summary to further consider in part of research forward on faculty work-life integration. The concept of "work-family boundary management styles" (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, pp. 152–171) is also discussed herein this chapter to extend our assumption to understand a 'new' normal of faculty work-life and higher education institution's role in defining and shaping the 'ideal worker in academia'. The chapter further proffers some suggestions for practice and plausible considerations and concludes with a summary discussion on understanding a 'new' normal of faculty work-life and recommendation for research.

1.1 The Context of Technology as Influencing Faculty Work-Life

Given the use of technology, this opening discussion explores Milligan's (2016) concept of "flexibility-paradox" as we reflect on this notion to faculty work. Is there an ideal worker in academia given the "flexibility- paradox" (see: Milligan, 2016) and the 24-h work syndrome of being tethered to all-access technology platforms that consumes faculty work-life? Milligan (2016) writes "Smartphones, e-mail, FaceTime and other technology can free up employees by allowing them to work from home or finish tasks after hours so they can tend to personal matters during the day. But these technologies can also cause people to feel they must be available constantly" ("Technology: Lifesaver or Life-Killer?", para. 1). Given the ubiquitous nature of integrating technology into faculty work as a daily tool, are faculty workers by nature of technology use tethered in or tethered to "the office" by virtual 24-h access? Boushey (2016, p. 98) writes "Professionals, of course, put in long house to bring home those big paychecks... Their employers often demand that they be "all in," and they are frequently tethered to the office at all times via mobile phones, email and cloud servers." The reality is institutions of higher learning have become reliant on technology as a normal and daily part of faculty work for research, teaching and service—the three (3) big evaluation criteria of faculty work. Institutions have embraced technology not only for faculty work but for the work expectations for students and staff too. Learning management systems (LMS) are platforms used in higher education as a tool for teaching and learning, research, and useful for collaborative service work. Institutions offer online courses or

blended/online courses. Many faculty tenure evaluation systems have moved to online submissions. Technology in higher education has become a necessity for the way in which faculty work gets done. Is the 24-h access or "flexibility-paradox" (see: Milligan, 2016) to perform faculty work anytime, anyplace become the 'new' normal of faculty work-life? In 1998, Baldwin wrote about the diversification and fast-paced faculty work as a result of changes in technology to perform academic work. He describes:

> . . .Teaching, scholarship, and service remain the primary faculty functions; but each is being broadened and diversified by technology. . . .Technology has likewise quickened the pace of change in faculty life. An outcome of this process may be role overload or role conflict as faculty seek to perform each of their traditional duties effectively while accommodating the rapid changes in pedagogy, research methodology, and service delivery that technology stimulates. (Baldwin, 1998, p. 12)

Perhaps Baldwin's (1998) insights into technology's effect on faculty work was in a sense the 'writing on the wall' for the current day realities and perceptions of balancing or integrating faculty work demands with life matters. Or can we speculate that faculty work-life integration can be merely deduced to an understanding of work-life flexibility couched in terms of how well faculty 'fake balance' (a phrase used in the writing of Davidson, 2015 as "faking-balance") in order to do well in teaching, research and service. Technology is certainly assumed as the norm in terms of the tool for doing faculty work. The point for consideration of a 'new' normal of faculty work-life integration as linked to technology use is discussed in part in sections of this chapter, but primarily as an anchor point to the summary discussion of understanding a 'new' normal of faculty work-life that rests in regular and assumed use of technology inherent in the faculty role.

The next section discusses literature from studies in the United States on faculty-work life to explore an understanding of the integration of faculty work-life aspects. Three specific empirical studies conducted in the United States were reviewed and key aspects of these studies are discussed and some issues quoted for emphasis of ideas. After a discussion of these empirical works, the concept of "work-family boundary management styles" (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, pp. 152–171) is presented as we relate it to our understanding and assumption of a 'new' normal ideology of faculty work-life.

2   Literature Understandings on Faculty Work-Life

Particular dissertation studies and also empirical works have explored faculty work-life roles (see: Drago & Colbeck, 2003; Ehrens, 2016; Gardner, 2012; Key, 2013; Marshall (Ed.), 2012; Mukhtar, 2012; Trower & Gallagher, 2008; Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2005; Watanabe & Falci, 2016; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006). This section discusses recent research works conducted in the United States on faculty work-life issues as it relates to understanding the integration of faculty work-life aspects.

Ehrens (2016), explored faculty work-life integration across three domains: academic discipline, role identity and cultural norms in a college in the United States. The findings purported "faculty's understanding of work-life integration at the college was shaped by the culture of the college administration, which created the context in which social interactions took place" (Ehrens, 2016, p. 115). Ehrens' (2016) discussion further purported, "Faculty members do not expect the administration to help to mitigate their issues related to balancing work and life demands" (p. 116), and alluded faculty in her study had "this perception of workplace flexibility" as formed through college social and organizational features (p. 116).

Ehrens (2016) further made claims that faculty struggle for balance comes from the absence of promulgated institutional policies that can ameliorate faculty work-life integration. Distinctly noting "In the absence of policies that support work-life integration, faculty find creative ways to problem solve. They devise alternatives by bringing the kids to work, scheduling one day free to stay home to babysit, and watch each other's children on campus. In the resolution of one problem another is created" (Ehrens, 2016, p. 122). Ehrens (2016, pp. 132–137) emphasizes several reflections on the realities of faculty work-life integration tensions/issues based on her study findings. Directly quoting Ehrens' (2016) thoughts in the following statements, as we have enumerated simply for presentation of ideas, she noted:

1. "In the modern day world of academic work, as in many other professions, the ability to balance personal and professional demands is not only desirable, it is a necessity." (p. 134)
2. "The use of the term work-life balance implies separate and equal domains of roles. This separation is difficult to realize in the world today. [For instance] I am out to lunch with my children and I get a text or e-mail from a student, which requires an immediate answer. A separation of roles is very difficult if not impossible to achieve, especially in light of technology." (p. 135)
3. "...[T]here is not a distinct line between where work leaves off and life picks up. We can imagine an intersection where one role intersects with another. The conflict does resolve at the intersection, as one identity will assume prominence over the other. However, this resolution is temporary and sometimes fleeting." (p. 136)
4. "Successful work-life integration ensures the quality of one's life and the effectiveness of one's work for the benefit of the college and the students it serves." (p. 137)

In consideration of Ehrens' (2016) reflections on faulty work-life integration, it points institutions to consider not only the value of faculty to the institution's success but prompts the call for policy to assist faculty with navigation of their academic role and life role as has become blurred—and certainly technology has complicated this conflict of defining or promoting a healthy work-life integration for faculty.

In the empirical study by Key (2013), he investigated faculty work-life 'balance' issues from faculty working in a community college in the US. He grounds his study in literature that clearly purports that faculty across the different types of institutional settings (4-year, 2-year institutions) do struggle with maintaining 'balance' between

the competing time elements of work and family life. Based on his findings, Key (2013) noted in his conclusion:

> . . . Community college faculty are more influenced by issues such as teaching and grading, workload, and the diversity of student preparedness. Additionally, faculty often face an abrupt reorientation as they are socialized to community college norms that may give rise to work/life stressors not evident during their graduate training. (p. 109)

More so, Key's (2013) study was clear to express that institutional culture is important to undergird institutional policy on faculty work-life matters. Specifically noting:

> While policies are important, it is vital they are derived with faculty input. Effective institutional change will only occur if faculty are allowed to help shape college culture. Problematic, however, is that faculty members often become organizationally socialized to unhealthy norms and standards. Accordingly, it is important that faculty are educated about work/life issues and their root causes so they do not consistently transmit the discipline specific cultural stressors that often inhibit their work/life balance. (Key, 2013, p.104)

From Key's (2013) research, we can consider and unpack the statement "unhealthy norms and standards" (p. 104) and extend this phrase and relate it to understanding the overlay of technology use in faculty work as it pertains to teaching and learning in higher education institutions. This extension of the phrase an "overlay of technology use in faculty work" reinforces the ideology that faculty work can funnel from the global perspective to a local context given the virtual access to information and people anytime, anyplace; and also rooted to the advancement of situating faculty work in the context of a 'global technology laden' workforce environment.

In Mukhtar's (2012) study, faculty work-life balance issues was explored at one specific U.S. higher education institution, Iowa State University. The study is an interesting one that illuminated several key findings and conclusions on how faculty make sense of their work-life balance. The study, overall, claimed "[W]ork life balance is significantly associated with job satisfaction" (Mukhtar, 2012, p. 91) and "[The] study focused primarily on analyzing work life balance by job satisfaction across disciplines while controlling for a variety of demographic and professional variables" (Mukhtar, 2012, p. 93).

Mukhtar (2012) noted the study findings can encourage institutional policy making at this one select U.S. university particularly "to improve faculty members work conditions, managerial and acculturation processes, guidance for personnel selection and retention, and inform about valuable aspects of organizational change. In a broader sense, the study also revealed that faculty work environment is not only related to how they feel in their workplace, but also how they think about their life" (p. 94).

All of the above research works conducted in the United States alludes to the tensions of navigating faculty work-life roles in an ever changing and growing higher education institutional landscape, an institutional landscape that rests in using technology, and a landscape that premises on best serving the students and institution in faculty roles—whether these faculty roles are in 4-year institution or a community college context.

3 Understanding and Assumptions of a 'New' Normal Faculty Work-Life

In this section, we consider the concept of "work-family boundary management styles" (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, pp. 152–171) as we relate it to our understanding and assumptions of a 'new' normal ideology of faculty work-life.

Kossek and Lautsch's (2012) work situates our understanding of the competing time demands of work and life matters and our assumptions as it applies to consideration of a 'new' normal faculty work-life. In particular, Kossek and Lautsch (2012) write about how an individual's perceptions of work-family roles and conflict between allocating time for such manifests in placing boundaries to manage and attend to work-family matters. Their work (2012) considers the blurring of work-family roles and an individual's effort to demarcate work time and family time that is challenged by technology as one of the factors in the conflict to set boundaries between the two aspects. They write: "Boundaries between work and family are increasingly blurring, as many employees are self-managing informal flexibility by responding to personal email, texts, and calls at work, or by working during personal time on weekends or during vacations" (cited in and quoted from Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, p. 153).

Kossek and Lautsch (2012) further express that technology has added to the conflict of setting boundaries for work and family time, rather than facilitating to minimize the stressors related to time and place bound of work constraints. They note:

> [M]any employees who originally embraced new technological tools like Blackberries, cell phones, or laptops, or flexible work arrangements that make boundaries between work and home more porous are finding that instead of eliminating work–family conflicts, these technologies and flexible policies can turn homes into electronic work cottages, expanding work into family time, and the reverse (cited in and quoted from Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, p. 153).

Kossek and Lautsch (2012) also indicated "unless [individuals] actively seek to manage boundaries" (p. 153), it becomes difficult separating from work or separating from family (p. 153). The essence of Kossek and Lautsch's (2012) model is clear that managing work-family matters is not solely the individual's responsibility nor purely the organization's responsibility but in tandem or as they note "*in situ*" (p. 153) considering individual preferences in relation to the social/cultural context (p. 153). In which they aptly note about their model:

> . . . work–family boundary styles are a function of individual boundary-crossing preferences and identity, along with the organizational work–family climate for boundary control. Linkages between style types and work–family outcomes such as work–family conflict are moderated by individual perceptions of control over boundary management styles and the organizational climate for boundary control. (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012, p. 155)

In consideration of the findings of the select empirical literature discussed in the previous section on faculty work-life integration/balance and juxtaposing those few studies' conclusions to Kossek and Lautsch's (2012, pp. 152–171) model of "work-

family boundary management styles", we offer a few assumptions for a 'new' normal of faculty work-life and the higher education institution's role in defining and shaping the 'ideal worker in academia'.

1. Faculty advancement in their research, teaching, and service work is enhanced by the incorporation and reliance of technology. Wherein institutions of higher learning promote and supply access to various technology tools to support faculty work for these three main work domains.
2. Faculty may perceive the availability and endorsement of technology within their institution as the acceptable and promoted means of how and when they are to do their work. Hence, the notion of blurring the boundaries between work-life time and the propensity for faculty to easily work anytime, anyplace that can create the mindset of the socially acceptable or encouraged work behavior.
3. Institutional culture and practices made clear in family-work policy may assist to alleviate some of the conflict or expectations of faculty 'work time' situated in the technology whirl of being available to do work anytime, anyplace.
4. Realities of faculty job satisfaction and the call for a 'healthy or satisfactory' integration of work-life matters can be encouraged or supported if the institutional context is mindful of faculty work-life time demands and specific processes or resources for support are clear in institutional policy. Such policy can have implications for faculty recruitment, retention, and promotion.

As a point of emphasis, current general literature expresses the need to 'define the time' for work-life integration that purport to aid productivity and enhance individually defined happiness in both work and life (see work by: Rubin, 2015; Schulte, 2015; Slaughter, 2015).

4 Practice Suggestions and Plausible Considerations for Policy

Suggestions for practice and plausible considerations for policy are offered for understanding and acknowledging a 'new' normal of faculty work-life as it relates to the following questions and reflective responses.

Question 1 What are the perceptions and realties of work-life balance/integration for faculty?

Reflective response for Question 1: Based on the literature of faculty work (Ehrens, 2016; Gardner, 2012; Key, 2013; Marshall (Ed.), 2012; Mukhtar, 2012; Trower & Gallagher, 2008), it resonates a clear emphasis that situational matters impact faculty consideration of making time for both work and life matters. Further the literature suggests (as noted specifically in Ehrens' (2016) study) that technology in academia further complicates the decision-making for when, where, and how to integrate or balance faculty work-life issues. As Ehrens' (2016) expressed in her research "The use of the term work-life balance implies separate and equal domains

of roles. This separation is difficult to realize in the world today. I am out to lunch with my children and I get a text or e-mail from a student, which requires an immediate answer. A separation of roles is very difficult if not impossible to achieve, especially in light of technology" (p. 135).

Question 2 What are the practice implications moving forward for higher education policy (see: Tower, 2015) and shaping organizational culture of expectations for flexible time demand and to promote efficient, productive, happy, healthy faculty?

Reflective response for Question 2: Suggestion from the literature is that it is most advantageous to both the faculty and the institution if work-life policies were in place and clearly communicated as to the availability of support to faculty. Several institutions in the U.S. have adopted family-friendly policies applicable to faculty (Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, 2005). The University of Michigan (U.S.A) has available a document called "Family-Friendly Policies in Higher Education: Where Do We Stand?" published by The Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan (2005). The document beckons U.S. higher education institutions to further develop family-friendly policies, and to examine current policies and also to consider the policies eligibility for the different faculty groups "(e.g., non tenure-track, tenure-track, tenured, research faculty)" (Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, 2005, p. 10). Noting: "While family-friendly policies are being implemented in many individual educational institutions, it is clear that academic employers need to continue developing and offering such policies in order to support their faculty, to enhance their institutions, and to remain competitive." (Center for the Education of Women, University of Michigan, 2005, p. 10).

Question 3 Is the ideal or 'new' normal faculty worker one who is to succumb and sanely accept, combine or integrate the two high demand time spheres of their lives—work and life?

Reflective response for Question 3: Although the outcome of faculty work for research, teaching, and service rests in the academic freedom of faculty to pursue individual interests and opportunities to develop his/her work, both the quality and quantity of the work has value to the academic institution. Given this point, it is reasonable to say both 'yes' and 'no' to the question—Is the ideal or 'new' normal faculty worker one who is to succumb and sanely accept, combine or integrate the two high demand time spheres of their lives—work and life? Perhaps a consideration is to reflect how one can stick to confines for work and life matters. Kossek and Lautsch (2012) emphasized that it is "*in situ*" referring to their view of managing work-family boundaries, whereby they note "*in situ*" means "that whether individuals' boundary management styles relate to positive work and family outcomes such as reduced work–family conflict may be a function of individual preferences in relation to the social contexts in which these styles are enacted" (p. 153). Hence, we proffer that institutional practices and policy must lookout for and support the 'ideal academic worker' in the context of a technology dependent institutional environment that seemingly encourages the 24-h access or "flexibility-paradox" (see: Milligan, 2016) to perform faculty work anytime, anyplace as the 'new' normal of faculty work-life.

5 Summary Discussion

As emphasized in the introduction of this paper: Is there an ideal worker in academia given the "flexibility-paradox" (see: Milligan, 2016) and the 24-h work syndrome of being tethered to all-access technology platforms that consumes faculty work-life? The reality is institutions of higher learning have become reliant on technology as a normal and daily part of faculty work for research, teaching and service—the three (3) big evaluation criteria of faculty work. Institutions have embraced technology not only for faculty work but for the work expectations for students and staff too. Learning management systems (LMS) are platforms used in higher education as a tool for teaching and learning, research, and useful for collaborative service work. Institutions offer online courses or blended/online courses. Many faculty tenure evaluation systems, particular to understanding faculty tenure processes in the United States, have moved to online submissions. *Technology in higher education has become a necessity* for the way in which faculty work gets done. Is the 24-h access or "flexibility-paradox" (see: Milligan, 2016) to perform faculty work anytime, anyplace become a 'new' normal of faculty work-life? In light of the discussion presented in this chapter, an emphatic "YES" resonates in response to this question.

Given the normal use of technology inherent in the role of a faculty member, we focus to recommendation that considers the work-life time for faculty and suggest that future research perhaps explore: what specifically will be critical implications or repercussions for faculty and institutions that do not come to a mutual understanding of the need to provide support for faculty time to attend to life matters? Given that separating academic work and life matters has become complicated to do so in an academic environment that promotes and provides the "all-access technology platforms" for faculty work of research, teaching, and service. Interestingly, in New York City (USA), described in a 2018 writing by Criss (2018), noted a legislative bill "Disconnecting From Work Bill" for consideration would make it illegal for businesses to reach out to employees through email or text after work hours (Criss, 2018). "[The bill] would only apply to businesses with 10 or more employees and forbid communication when workers are off duty, on vacation, using personal days or off sick" (Criss, 2018, para. 4). This action although not specific to higher education institutions definitely draws the attention for both organizations and employees to recognize the need to consider the importance of time devoted or compartmentalized for both work and life matters.

A call for continued research on faculty work-life integration matters, and research comparisons of faculty perceptions and their lived experiences of work-life integration in national and international settings can illuminate further understanding on ways to address faculty work-life demand differences/stressors that span national and international higher educational settings (see the work of: Kaiser et al., 2011). Specific questions for empirical research exploration can further gather evidence for determining: Does technology complicate or add to the stressors of how to manage or balance time for work and life matters for faculty members in the United States and/or other countries? What are the perceptions and realties of work-

life balance/integration for faculty? Are there faculty work-life demand differences/ stressors that span national and international higher educational settings (see: Kaiser et al., 2011), but specifically in terms of what a 'new' normal faculty work-life looks like and/or how do faculty describe what is their perception of a 'new' normal faculty work-life in light of technology use? What are the literature and practice implications moving forward for higher education policy (see the work of: Tower, 2015) and shaping organizational culture of expectations for flexible time demand and to promote efficient, productive, happy, healthy faculty?

In summary, the notion of all-access to work anytime, anyplace paradox while not isolated to faculty work, is very well an inherent flexibility for the 'where and when' faculty do and can work. Reemphasizing back to the earlier question, we can continually ponder: Is the ideal or 'new' normal faculty worker one who is to succumb and sanely accept, combine or integrate the two high demand time spheres of their lives—work and life—especially in light of technology use for work? A practical response to this question could be to reference the notion to just enjoy life in general, as Milligan (2016) aptly notes: "At the end of the day, the best advice you can give to today's workforce may not be 'work harder' but rather 'get a life'" ("Be flexible about flexibility", para. 5).

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Work Values Hierarchies: What Motivates Workers

Ana Machado

Abstract How to achieve a self-regulated and strategically aligned workforce? In the 'old paradigm' it would be an impossible quest, as it is dominated by "*the assumption of Homo Economicus—a model of people as rational self-interest maximizers*" (Ghoshal, *Academy of Management Learning and Education, 4*(1), 75–91, 2005). For the workforce to be aligned with the strategy of the organization, human resources systems would deeply depend on control elements because of the insurmountable divergence between the interests of 'principals' and 'agents', as agency theory tells us.

Characteristics of the 'new ideal worker' have to be aspirational, but for this 'ideal' to drive policies and organizations, people must be convinced that 'real' workers are capable of behaving accordingly to those characteristics.

This chapter bridges a gap between the findings of psychology and other social sciences and the embedded beliefs in mainstream management theories about workers motivations and work values hierarchies. It presents Schwartz Values Theory and shows how the findings it has enabled in the last decades can open a much wider perspective for a scientifically plausible 'new ideal worker', motivated by self-transcendence values, as well as openness to change, self-enhancement and conservation values.

1 Values: Conceptual Framework

Rokeach (1973) maintains that "*the concept of values, more than any other, is the core concept across all social sciences. It is the main dependent variable in the study of culture, society and personality, and the main independent variable in the study of social attitudes and behaviour*". But 'values' is a 'broad spectrum concept', so it is not odd Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) note that "*when one reads about values across the*

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*disciplines of sociology, psychology, philosophy, and political science, the balkan-
ized nature of the research is striking. There is little coherence between the different
approaches used across conceptualization and measurement of values.*"

This study departs from Schwartz Value Theory, "*which is the most widely-used
and most well-developed value theory*" (Parks and Guay 2009). One example of its
usage is the 'European Social Survey', run every 2 years since 2002, which includes
a questionnaire called 'The Human Values Scale', developed by S. H. Schwartz and
designed to classify respondents according to their basic value orientations.[1] More
recently, Gollan and Witte (2013) observed that "*in the field of psychology, the
circumplex theory of values by Schwartz (1992) has become the standard model in
values research.*"

Schwartz (2012) presents values as *beliefs* which refer to desirable *goals* that
motivate *action*. It is important to notice that people may behave according to their
values without being consciously aware of them when acting (Bardi and Schwartz
2003).

It is essential to distinguish 'values' from other closely related concepts. Follow-
ing Hitlin and Piliavin (2004), we look at three of them:

1. *Traits*: Values relate to enduring goals, while traits are enduring dispositions
   (conceptualized as fixed aspects of personality). Values, but not traits, serve as
   standards for judging others' (and one's own) behaviour; people refer to values
   when justifying behaviour as legitimate. Traits may be positive or negative;
   values are considered primarily positive. One who has a trait may not value it;
   for example, one may have a disposition toward being aggressive (a trait) but may
   not highly value aggression. Values-based behaviour suggests more cognitive
   control over one's actions than traits-based behaviour.
2. *Attitudes*: Values are more abstract and focus on ideals, while attitudes are usually
   applied to specific social objects. The way values and attitudes are measured is
   different: the core characteristic of an attitude is its variation on an evaluative
   dimension (favourable–unfavourable) and the distinctive aspect of a value is its
   variation in importance. Because values are abstract, they have the potential to
   influence different attitudes. However, in many circumstances, relations between
   values and attitudes are weak, as attitudes may or may not assume the function of
   expressing a value (Maio and Olson 1995).
3. *Norms*: While norms are situation based, values are trans-situational. Norms
   capture an 'ought' sense; values capture a personal or cultural ideal. People acting
   in accordance with values do not feel pushed as they do when acting under
   normative pressure. Values serve as guides for self-regulation, whereas norms
   need to be accompanied by a control element.

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[1]See http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/data/themes.html?t=values
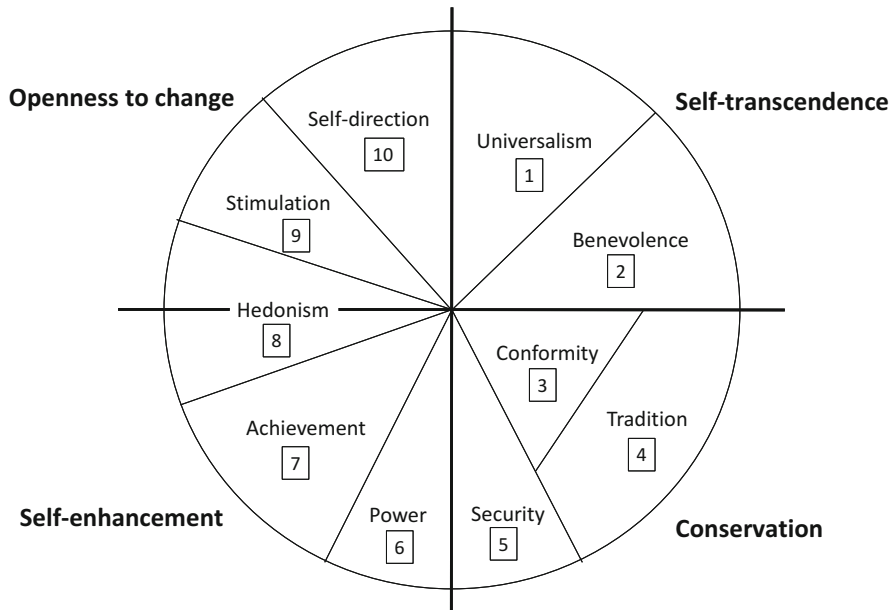
Fig. 1 Circular continuum of ten value types grouped in four higher order categories. Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1992)

2 Schwartz Value Theory

A value is something people believe to be good, which makes the desirability of a specific situation increase once a value is identified. According to Schwartz, what distinguishes one value from another is the type of goal or motivation it expresses. Although almost every person appreciates every type of value identified by Schwartz, the intensity with which each person prizes each value can be very distinct. Values are ordered by importance relative to one another, and it's the relative importance of multiple values that guides action.

Schwartz postulates an adaptive evolutionary origin for values. He assumes that the set of distinct motivational goals is due to three universal requirements of human existence: basic needs of the individual as a biological organism, requirements of successful interaction among people, and requirements for the survival of groups and societies. For individuals to coordinate their pursuit of these goals, they must express them as values.

Schwartz's initial theory identifies ten motivationally distinct types of values and specifies the dynamic relations between them. Those values are organized around a circular continuum and are grouped in four higher order values (FHOV), according to the conflict or compatibility among the motivations they express (see Fig. 1 and Table 1).

The theory concerns basic human values recognized by people from all cultural backgrounds. In 2012, studies had already assessed it with data from hundreds of

Table 1 FHOV's motivational expressions and dynamic relations

FHOV	Types of values	Motivation	Conflicts with
Self-transcendence	Universalism and benevolence	Preserve and enhance the welfare of others	Self-enhancement
Conservation	Conformity, tradition and security	Preserve and protect the *status quo*	Openness to change
Self-enhancement	Power, achievement and hedonism	Promote self-interest	Self-transcendence
Openness to change	Hedonism, stimulation and self-direction	Explore, discover, approach novelty	Conservation

samples in 82 countries. The samples included highly diverse geographic, cultural, linguistic, religious, age, gender, and occupational groups, with representative national samples from 37 countries. Some of these studies analysed participants' responses to the Schwartz (1992) Value Survey, which asks respondents to rate the importance of 56 value items (e.g., freedom) with a 9-point unipolar scale. The others were based in the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ), which includes short verbal portraits of 40 different people; each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that point implicitly to the importance of a value. As Schwartz (2012) explains, "*We infer respondents' own values from their self-reported similarity to people described implicitly in terms of particular values. Respondents are asked to compare the portrait to themselves rather than themselves to the portrait. Comparing other to self directs attention only to aspects of the other that are portrayed. So, the similarity judgment is also likely to focus on these value-relevant aspects.*"

Schwartz (2012) says that "*in these analyses, the oppositions of self-transcendence to self-enhancement values and of openness to change to conservation values are virtually universally present*". That is, adjacent values tend to be positively correlated, orthogonal values tend to have less positive or null correlations, and opposing values tend to have null or negative correlations.

Those studies usually collect data from individuals' self-reports on the importance they attribute to values, which might reflect lip service to values rather than true endorsement. Schwartz and Bardi (2001) discuss it and sustain that collected self-reported values reflect real priorities rather than mere verbalizations.

Value items that represent the same value type share a motivational goal. Yet, as noted by Bardi et al. (2009), "*values on opposite sides of the value circle are not antonyms; thus, there is no lexical contradiction between them (e.g., the value item* freedom *that measures self-direction and the value item* obedient *that measures conformity are located on opposite sides of the circle, but they are not antonyms). Rather, their contradiction is based on their conflicting motivations. Motivations are considered conflicting if they often lead to opposite behaviours or judgment, and they are considered compatible if they often lead to the same behaviour or judgment.*"
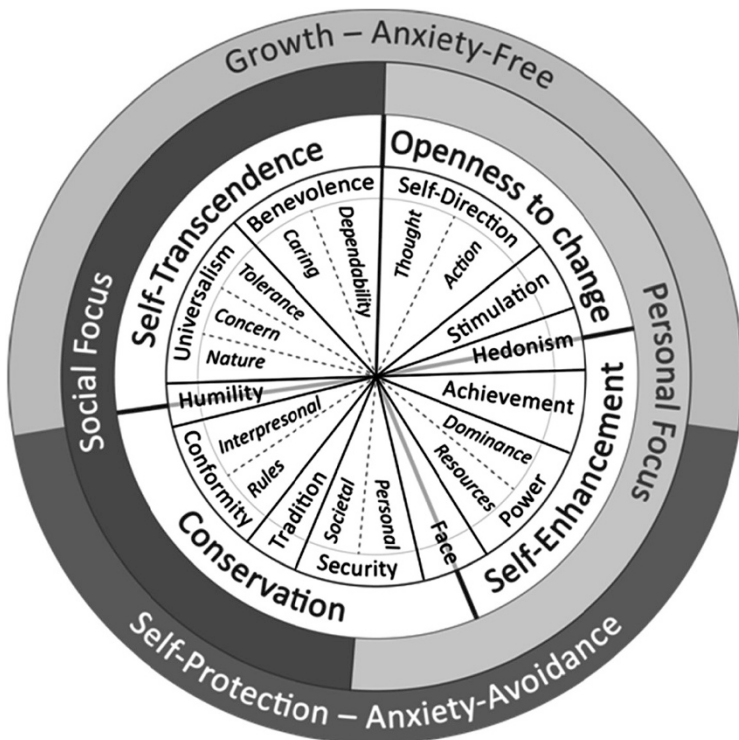
Fig. 2 The motivational circle of values according to the refined theory of basic values. Source: Schwartz and Butenko (2014)

Even though the aim of this theory is not to specify every single value but to identify broad motivational goals recognized and discriminated across cultures, as studies went on Schwartz et al. (2012) presented a refined theory that identifies 19 basic values (see Fig. 2), arguing that "*partitioning this continuum into a finer set of meaningful values can yield increased heuristic and predictive power*" (Schwartz et al. 2017).

Findings of early theory remain valid, as "*the inner circle combines the values into four higher-order values that form two bipolar dimensions of motivationally incompatible values, self-transcendence versus self-enhancement and conservation versus openness to change*" (Schwartz et al. 2017). Nevertheless, universalism and benevolence (self-transcendence values) change place: the first is now closer to conservation values, while the second stands nearer to openness to change values.

New insights appear in the second circle, which "*distinguishes values concerned with personal outcomes (right) from values concerned with outcomes for others or for established institutions (left)*", and in the third circle, that singles out "*values that concern ways of coping with anxiety and protecting the self (bottom) from values that concern relatively anxiety-free ways in which people grow and expand the self (top)*."

There are other lines of research that reach similar conclusions, such as Grouzet et al. (2005), who present a two-dimensional circumplex model in the study of personal goals. There, the two primary dimensions underlying the goals are intrinsic (e.g., self-acceptance, affiliation) versus extrinsic (e.g., financial success, image) and self-transcendent (e.g., spirituality) versus physical (e.g., hedonism). Their study found evidence that money and a sense of community are personal goals that serve opposing motives in their circular model, a finding that fits the contrasting positions between the values of wealth and helpfulness in Schwartz's model (Fig. 2).

3 Findings on Values Hierarchies

It is manifest that people differ in their personal value hierarchies, that is, in the relative importance with which they hold different values. Nevertheless, using data from 63 countries, Schwartz and Bardi (2001) showed that the importance ranks for the ten value types are quite similar around the world. There is a high level of pan-cultural agreement regarding the hierarchy of importance of the ten values, despite a distinctive African value profile.

In the general value profile (Fig. 3), benevolence was the most important value type, followed by self-direction, universalism and security (those three did not differ significantly from one another in importance), while in Africa conformity was the most important value type and unusually little importance was attributed to self-direction values. The study concluded that "*the observed pan-cultural similarity in*
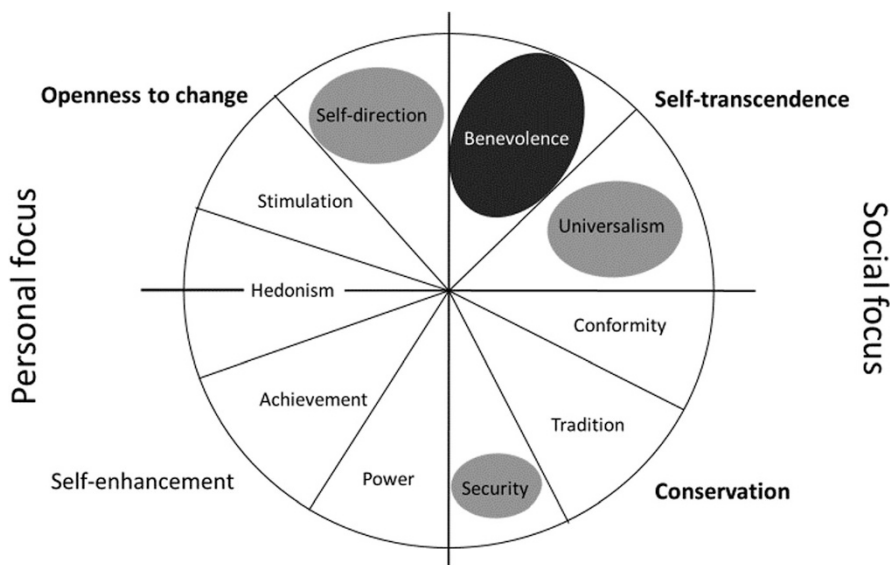
Fig. 3 Types of values more appreciated in the pan-cultural general profile

value hierarchies implies that there are shared underlying principles that give rise to these hierarchies."

This pan-cultural agreement refers to value *hierarchies*. Schwartz and Bardi (2001) mention that, even when values are ordered similarly, value *ratings* may differ meaningfully and reliably across cultures.

In a study across 70 countries, Schwartz and Rubel (2005) concluded that sex differences in basic values priorities are small,[2] but consistent: men attributed more importance to self-enhancement and openness to change values than women did, whereas women attributed more importance to self-transcendence values than did men. Though less consistently, women tended to attribute more importance to security. Women and men did not differ on tradition and conformity values.

4   Acquisition and Change in Values

Bardi and Goodwin (2011) recall evidence that supports values "*develop as a joint product of the individual's needs, traits, temperament, culture, socialization, and personal experiences*." Schwartz and Bardi (2001) sustain that value acquisition occurs first in the family and later in other primary and secondary groups. Parks and Guay (2009) also observe that values are learned: they develop initially through social interactions with role models such as parents and teachers.

Döring et al. (2015) assess self-reported values of over three thousand 7 to 11-year-old children from six countries and deduce that "*the broad value structures, sex differences in value priorities and pan-cultural value hierarchies typical of adults have already taken form at this early age*". The study provides "*clear support for the distinctiveness of the four higher order values and even considerable evidence that the motivational differences among the ten basic values are at least implicitly recognized*." Also, "*girls ascribed more importance to self-transcendence and conservation values, whereas boys ascribed more importance to self-enhancement values. In those countries with larger sample sizes (Germany, Poland, Italy, and Bulgaria), these sex differences were statistically significant*." Besides, "*in five countries, children considered self-transcendence values most important and self-enhancement values least important*."

This early primacy of self-transcendence values is coherent with the usual situation of family as the dominant social group in childhood. Schwartz and Bardi (2001) recall that "*benevolence values (helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility) provide the internalized motivational base for cooperative and supportive social relations*" and "*positive, cooperative social relations, the basic requirement for smooth group functioning, are especially important in the context of the family, with its high interdependence and intense interaction*".

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[2]Sex differences typically explain less variance than age and much less than culture.

Values are usually viewed as 'relatively stable' (Rokeach 1973). Arieli et al. (2014) claim this is due to "*their central role in the self and their trans-situational nature*". An important value serves as a guiding principle across situations and over time: Krystallis et al. (2012) argue that "*values are stable constructs that do not change easily, even when investing considerable effort. As a result, values can serve as predictors of behaviour over extended periods of time, and they are of particular importance for marketing decisions.*" Bardi and Goodwin (2011) present values as 'stable by default': "*people often hold values that they do not think about in-depth. As they do not devote much thought to their values, they do not normally challenge their values, rendering values as stable by default.*"

Still, individual value hierarchies and ratings can go through significant, lasting modifications. Some life experiences can change one's values in a predictable way, even if it is not positively intended. Krishnan (2008) presents the impact of 2-year residential fulltime MBA program on students' values; results show that self-oriented values like a comfortable life and pleasure became more important and others-oriented values like being helpful and polite became less important over 2 years. Other changes can be more dependent on deliberate personal reflection. Arieli et al. (2014) argue that "*because values are inherently desirable, when people reflect on the importance of a given value and then advocate for the importance of this value, they may convince themselves to care more about that value*".

Maio et al. (2009) consider "*the most relevant research has used* Rokeach's (1973, 1975) *well-known value self-confrontation procedure to examine value change experimentally.*" In this procedure, participants "*receive feedback that makes them feel dissatisfied with the extent to which one of their values fulfills their self-conceptions of competence or morality*" and "*reduce this self-dissatisfaction by changing their value priorities.*" However, it is important to distinguish a process of values change from one of attitudes change. As mentioned before, values focus on ideals, while attitudes are usually applied to concrete social objects: when confronted with an attitude that is not coherent with a person's value system, a change in attitude doesn't necessarily mean a change in values: it can just show a more conscious behaviour that is consistent with previously held values.

5   Instilling Values in Group Members

As we've seen, the second circle in Fig. 2 distinguishes values concerned with personal outcomes (personal focus) from values concerned with outcomes for others or for established institutions (social focus). Schwartz and Bardi (2001) propose that "*the observed pan-cultural value hierarchy can tentatively be understood as reflecting adaptive functions of values in meeting three basic requirements of successful societal functioning*" and advocate that this is a reason for the importance of benevolence in the pan-cultural value hierarchy profile: a group will succeed if the goal of preserving and enhancing the welfare of group members is highly motivating.

Parsons (1951) defended that the basic social function of values is to motivate and control the behaviour of group members. For Schwartz and Bardi (2001), "*the most critical focus of value transmission is to develop commitment to positive relations, identification with the group, and loyalty to its members*". They present two mechanisms for the transmission to be effective: "*First, social actors (e.g., leaders, interaction partners) invoke values to define particular behaviours as socially appropriate, to justify their demands on others, and to elicit desired behaviours. Second and equally important, values serve as internalized guides for individuals; they relieve the group of the necessity for constant social control.*" That way, "*socializers consciously and unconsciously seek to instill values that promote group survival and prosperity*". Otherwise, "*life in the group would be filled with conflict and group survival would be at risk.*"

Schwartz and Bardi (2001) also notice that "*power values are located at the bottom of the pan-cultural hierarchy (10th), with very high consensus regarding their relatively low importance*" and attribute it "*to the requirement of positive relations among group members. Power values emphasize dominance over people and resources. Their pursuit often entails harming or exploiting others, thereby disrupting and damaging social relations*." Their research doesn't establish a causal relation, it is just a hypothesis that power values have a low importance 'in order to' permit a good functioning of the group, but it turns out that in a group where power values are dominant, social relations are more difficult and group cohesion—and, in the end, survival—becomes precarious.

Bardi and Goodwin (2011) claim that the accumulation of single, value-challenging experiences can lead to long-term value change and propose a theoretical model of planned value change. Their approach assumes that people know what their values are (although values may often operate without consciousness) and that values can be measured by asking people directly to rate their values. They define value change as "*a change in the importance of a value, evident in a change in the rating or ranking of a value on a questionnaire*". Their study identifies five facilitators of value change:

1. priming, or activation of a motive-relevant concept from memory;
2. adaptation, or adjusting to a new group or culture;
3. identification, or identification with a group;
4. consistency maintenance, or resolution of inconsistencies;
5. direct persuasion attempts (e.g. media messages, education programs, programs of value socialization in organizations).

Adaptation and identification depend on specific groups, such as societies, work organizations, or education systems. Priming, adaptation and identification may work on an automatic way. An effortful path to change in values can be walked with the help of four of the facilitators (all except priming). An initial value change can be transformed into a long-term value change when the subject repeatedly evaluates situations according to the new value system.

In the 'effortful path', people change their values through deliberate epistemic processes, carefully evaluating what is important to them. It's well known that "*a*

variety of individual and situational factors will determine how much cognitive effort a person devotes to processing a message" (Petty and Cacioppo, 1984). Petty and Cacioppo designed the Elaboration Likelihood Model of persuasion (ELM) and concluded that attitude changes can result from a person's careful attempt to evaluate the true merits of the advocated position (the 'central route' to persuasion) or may occur because the person associates the attitude issue or object with positive or negative cues or makes a simple inference about the merits of the advocated position based on various simple cues in the persuasion context (the 'peripheral route' to persuasion). We could say that the 'central route' corresponds to a 'effortful path' to values change and the 'peripheral route' to an 'automatic path'.

If values are correlated (see Table 1), when there is variation in importance in one value, there should also be variation in the importance attributed to some other values (specifically, adjacent and orthogonal values in the circular continuum). Maio et al. (2009) studied systemic effects in value change and value priming. As "*circular models indicate that each type of intervention should have consequences that go beyond the effects on the specific values or personal goals that have been changed or primed, because of the impact of these interventions on underlying motivational tensions that connect the values or personal goals*", they reasoned that "*if values are related through the motives that they serve, then changing a value should cause changes throughout the whole system. Values that serve the same motives as a promoted value should increase in importance, whereas values that serve conflicting motives should decrease in importance.*" For instance, "*the activation of achievement-promoting values would introduce a self-enhancing motivational focus that subtracts from the motivational orientation underlying the opposing, benevolent values (e.g., helpfulness), which instead rely on a motivational focus that transcends the self. This would make people more likely to construe a subsequent behavioural opportunity in terms of an achievement motive and less likely to construe the behaviour in terms of a benevolent motive.*" Their five experiments conducted with undergraduate students pointed to the existence of systemic change in values as predicted by Schwartz value theory.

6   Values and Behaviour

There is no agreement in the literature regarding the actual connection between values and behaviour (Maio et al. 2003). Yet, as noted by Gollan and Witte (2013), "*in the last decades, it became widely acknowledged in social science research that values play a central role in understanding and predicting attitudinal and behavioural decisions.*" Arieli et al. (2014) also observe that "*considerable research has provided evidence for the impact of values on a wide variety of cognitive processes, attitudes, and behaviour.*"

Other things equal, people try to act consistently with their values (Rokeach 1973), but there is no necessary link between specific values and behaviours.

Relations between values and behaviours are not univocal: on the contrary, they usually are rather complex. Actions in pursuit of any value have consequences that may conflict or be congruent with the pursuit of other values and, in many occasions, there are distinct actions that lead to the strengthening of the same value. Furthermore, one may highly 'value a value' (e.g. power) as a guiding principle in her life and be unable to act accordingly, due to personal characteristics (e.g. weakness of character) or to external circumstances (e.g. personal role in the firm).

Roccas et al. (2002) show some evidence indicating that values predict deliberate behaviour better and traits predict affective, automatic responses better, and conjecture an indirect influence of values on automatic responses through traits.

Values vary in their importance as guiding principles, ranging from at least minimally to supremely important: it's the relative importance of multiple values that guides action. As explained by Arieli et al. (2014), values "*are ordered by subjective importance, thus forming a hierarchy of value priorities. The higher a value in the hierarchy, the more it is likely to affect the way people perceive and interpret the world, as well as their preferences, choices, and actions*".

Schwartz et al. (2017) "*sought to assess whether each of the 19 values in the refined theory predicts behaviour distinctively. It examined relations of values to behaviour, measured by combined self-reports and other-reports, in four socioeconomically and culturally diverse countries.*" Recalling Baumeister et al. (2007) warning on the problems of measuring just reported behaviour and not observed behaviour, they stress that "*combining other-reports with self-reports improved the behaviour indices.*" The hypotheses that express the theoretical view that each of the 19 values has unique positive associations with their *a priori* corresponding behaviour received substantial support for 18 of the 19 values. The study also provided some support to the hypothesis that behaviour is a product of tradeoffs between values that propel it and values that oppose it, suggesting that research on the relations of behaviour to values should include both type of values.

To better understand the relation between values and behaviour, it would be important to discern if there is a causal relationship. Schwartz et al. (2017) clearly state that their study "*did not test the implicit assumption that at least some of that association is causal*". The causal link from values to behaviour would presumably be through motivational and cognitive processes. The first one, through increased attractiveness—"*as expressions of underlying motivations in the form of goals, values make behaviour that promotes these goals more attractive and motivate such behaviour*" –, and the second, through mental associations—"*as mental representations of desirable abstract goals, values promote behaviours that are cognitively associated with and instantiate these goals.*"

Boer and Fischer (2013) maintain that "*values are predictive of attitudes and behaviours due to their higher order cognitive representation of human motivations and life orientations*" although "*the predictions of attitude-value links are constrained or facilitated by environmental and cultural factors*". One of the most frequently appointed moderators of the strength of the value–behaviour association is social pressure, whether explicit (e.g., law) or implicit (e.g., peer pressure). In line with this, Lönnqvist et al. (2006) test the hypothesis that conformism values can

moderate the relations between (other) personal values and behaviour: "*individuals high in Conformism might be easily compelled to behave in a way that is inconsistent with their other personal values. Observing such people might lead one to conclude that personal values do not predict behaviour. But the opposite conclusion could be reached if one studied those people low in Conformism instead, whose value-consistent behaviour would not be so readily suppressed by social norms.*" Their study of the moderating effects of conformism values on the ability of self-transcendence values to predict altruistic behaviours supported the hypothesis.

According to Boer and Fischer (2013), "*conformity and social norm adherence vary systematically across cultures. Hence, the moderating influence of conformity values is likely to have implications for societal variations in attitude–value links.*" This is consistent with Schwartz et al. (2017) findings on normative pressure: the correlation was as predicted and significant for Italy (value–behaviour associations were weaker for behaviours that group members frequently perform and for values that the group endorses highly), but not for the other countries in the study (Russia, Poland and USA). More research is needed to understand the personal and social conditions under which normative pressure does or does not undermine value–behaviour relations.

7   General Life Values and Work Values

Values transcend specific actions and circumstances, i.e., 'general' or 'basic' values are relevant across virtually all situations. Elizur and Sagie (1999) recognized that "*general life values and work values have traditionally been investigated independently*"; moreover, "*a major limitation of the traditional structural approach to the study of work values has been its near isolation from streams of research on general life values*". This 'near isolation' is partially responsible for an important gap identified by Hollensbe et al. (2014) when they say that "*we need to allow our best values to be brought to work and ensure those values can be aligned with business purpose*".

Porto and Tamayo (2003) referred that "*in spite of the growing number of research in the field of work values, we lack solid theoretical models to understand it*". In recent years, Schwartz's theory of human values has been applied to the study of values held in specific life contexts, revealing stimulating insights. For example, Schwartz et al. (2014) concluded that "*basic values account for substantially more variance in political values than age, gender, education, and income*", which "*strengthens the assumption that individual differences in basic personal values play a critical role in political thought.*" Many studies on consumer research apply Schwartz value theory particularly in food-related contexts where strong empirical support has been found for the link between values and food choice (see Krystallis et al. 2012). Furthermore, as "*values are a useful basis for segmenting consumers because they can be closely related to motives and behaviour, and because they are limited in number and central to the consumer's self-concept*" there is a growing body of research about the strategic marketing value derived from value-based

segmentation, to a point that Krystallis et al. (2012) consider that "*a good marketing strategy requires an understanding of the value basis of each strategically important segment.*"

Nevertheless, some authors have already studied work values applying Schwartz's theory of human values, such as Ros et al. (1999) who sustain that work values are "*specific expressions of general values in the work setting*" and "*like basic values, work values are beliefs pertaining to desirable end-states (e.g. high pay) or behaviour (e.g. working with people)*"; as a consequence, "*the different work goals are ordered by their importance as guiding principles for evaluating work outcomes and settings, and for choosing among different work alternatives*".

Ros et al. (1999) remark that "*most work researchers appear to identify the same two or three types of work values: (1) intrinsic or self-actualisation values, (2) extrinsic or security or material values, (3) social or relational values*", and relate those types to Schwartz's higher order categories of values: "*intrinsic work values directly express openness to change values—the pursuit of autonomy, interest, growth, and creativity in work. Extrinsic work values express conservation values; job security and income provide workers with the requirements needed for general security and maintenance of order in their lives. Social or interpersonal work values express the pursuit of self-transcendence values; work is seen as a vehicle for positive social relations and contribution to society.*"

Although self-enhancement values, such as achievement and power, are common in empirical research on work values, authors usually include them in the intrinsic/extrinsic types, so they are seldom recognised as a distinct category of values (Fig. 4).
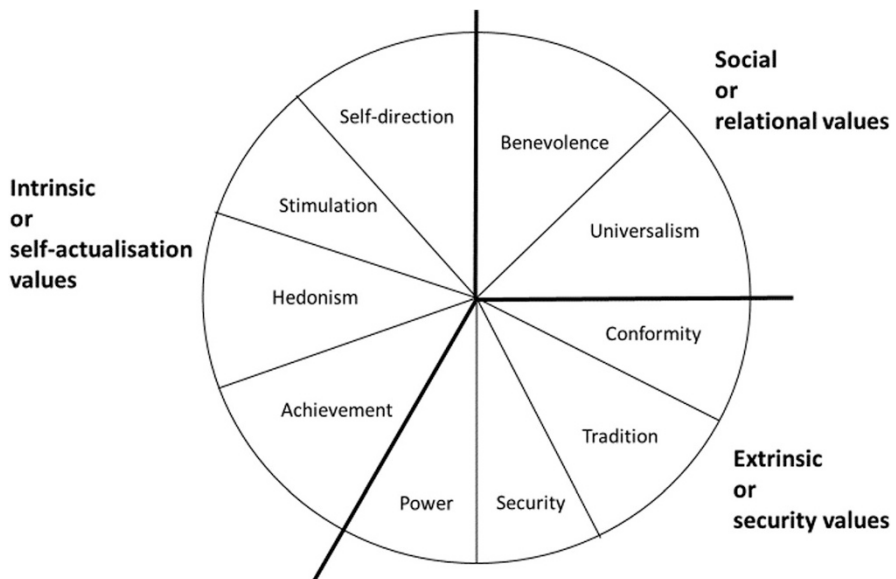
Fig. 4 Schwartz's circular continuum with the 'traditional' division of work values

Therefore, the 'near isolation' of work researchers from streams of research on general life values is not difficult to solve, as it is quite straightforward to represent the 'traditional' division of work values in Schwartz's circular continuum.

The advantage of applying Schwartz's classification of four higher order values (FHOV) to work values, instead of the 'traditional' division, is mainly due to the dynamics of opposition between self-enhancement and self-transcendence values, by one side, and conservation and openness to change, by the other, which can be very useful to identify and strengthen different types of organizational cultures.

8 Motivating 'Rational Self-Interest Maximizers'

Ghoshal (2005) considers that "*Friedman's version of liberalism has indeed been colonizing all the management-related disciplines over the last half century*" and its roots "*lie in the philosophy of radical individualism articulated, among others, by Hume, Bentham, and Locke*". Those disciplines are then dominated by "*the assumption of Homo Economicus—a model of people as rational self-interest maximizers*", manifest for example in the "*denial of the possibility of purposeful and goal-directed adaptation in behavioural theories of the firm*". This brings us back to Hollensbe et al. (2014) and helps to understand why many theories and models don't "*allow our best values to be brought to work and ensure those values can be aligned with business purpose*".

Ghoshal (2005) alerts to a vicious circle affecting management today. Using Schwartz's insights, we can describe it that way: mainstream economic theory says economic agents are 'rational self-interest maximizers'; in line with it, human resources policies rely on goals that activate self-enhancement values (Fig. 5), which, due to the negative correlation between orthogonal values, decreases the importance attributed to self-transcendence values in working context (a result similar to the one identified by Krishnan (2008) for MBA students, to whom others-oriented values became less important). That process is a 'self-fulfilling prophecy', because the result corroborates initial theories.

Schwartz et al. (2012) list the items that represent each of the 19 value types in the PVQ5X Value Survey, the questionnaire used for their studies. For 'Achievement' the items are '*He thinks it is important to be ambitious*', '*Being very successful is important to him*' and '*He wants people to admire his achievements*'. For 'Power-dominance', we have '*He wants people to do what he says*', '*It is important to him to be the most influential person in any group*' and '*It is important to him to be the one who tells others what to do*'. For 'Power-resources', the items are '*Having the feeling of power that money can bring is important to him*', '*Being wealthy is important to him*' and '*He pursues high status and power*'.

This could be a quite accurate profile of the person promoted by many corporate cultures, with the support of most human resources policies (Fig. 5). Culture and policies priming power, as we've seen, implies difficult social relations and precarious group cohesion. Control is essential for survival.
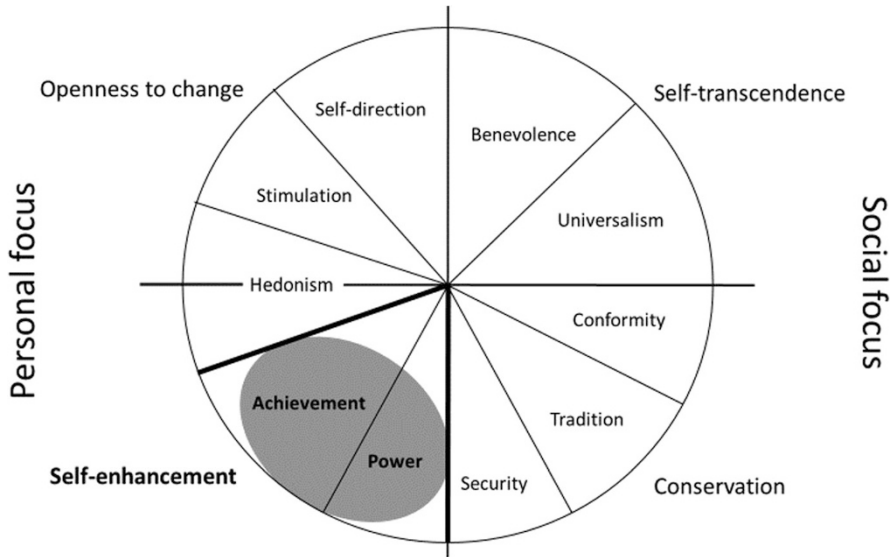
Fig. 5 Types of values mostly primed by managerial cultures

Power and achievement are the least shareable goals: what one gets is in expense of what other loses. Even when human resources systems rely on more intrinsic motivators (see Fig. 4), they usually prime achievement (self-enhancement). In the light—or shadow—of agency theory and the like, for the workforce to be aligned with the strategy of the organization, human resources systems must depend on control elements, and self-direction (openness to change) can't be motivated that way. In that context, it is contradictory to intend a self-regulated and strategically aligned workforce.

9 Motivating 'Real' Workers

Although self-transcendence values are usually seen as unrealistic as motivations of the workforce by mainstream economics, Schwartz theory, corroborated by hundreds of empirical studies, tells us that there is a high level of pan-cultural agreement regarding the hierarchy of importance of human values, and that benevolence is the most important value type, followed by self-direction, universalism and security.

So, can it be reasonable to believe that 'real' workers' behaviour may be oriented by a similar hierarchy of values? Or is there something in work (the activity, the organizational context, …) that prevents 'real' workers from being significantly motivated by those values? In that case, as goal conflict situations are expected to arise as the integration of life values and work values decreases, are most people

doomed to experience persistent goal conflicts in common situations in everyday life?

The 'self-fulfilling power' of the limitations we assign to the ones that work for organizations may help to solve the enigma. According to Melé (2012) "*a manager's ability to build communities is significantly constrained by prevailing assumptions of an economism-based managerial ethos.*" Drawing from Aristotle, he proposes a different view: "*the social order is not based on social contracts, as the individualistic view of the society suggests, but on the existence of human communities the roots of which are in human sociability*". Moreover, following Edith Stein, a phenomenologist, Melé sustains that "*the human condition is not individuality, but inter-human sociability*", and with Spaemann he declares "*person entails both an individual and a relational meaning.*"

Melé (2012) also acknowledges that there are "*companies with a strong sense of community based not only on the unity given by contracts and interests but also on commitment, loyalty and a sense of belonging, shared beliefs and values, and cooperation towards common goals. There are also companies in which the presence of such elements is very weak*" and leads us back to Schwartz values theory by remarking that "*acting with a sense of benevolence (wishing do good) and care does not mean lack of attention to provide goods and services in an efficient, competitive, and profitable way.*"

Here we recall Bardi and Goodwin (2011) and Fig. 2. If the organizational context explicitly or implicitly directs the facilitators of value change (priming, adaptation, identification, consistency maintenance, and direct persuasion) to those values that 'concern ways of coping with anxiety and protecting the self' (conservation and self-enhancement values), human resources policies must heavily rely on control elements.

On the other hand, if we assume that 'the human condition is not individuality, but inter-human sociability' and that workers are capable of being motivated by the four higher order values (FHOV), human resources systems are free to reasonably integrate policies whose motivational power is directed to openness to change or self-transcendence values. In that case, it is not contradictory to have—to a certain degree—a self-regulated and strategically aligned workforce.

Such a system is not easy to construct. Like any human resources system, to be effective and efficient, it must be consistent and credible. Consistency here means not only that different policies send coherent motivational messages (from recruitment and selection to training and development, from reward systems to performance management), but also that the values primed are not at odds with the values of the organizational culture. Credibility, in many cases, will have to struggle against the prejudice of the 'rational self-interest maximizer', applied to individuals but also to entities, from a department to the organization itself.

10   Conclusion and Future Research

This chapter provides theoretical background to existing classifications of work values (extrinsic, intrinsic and relational), showing how they are compatible with Schwartz's findings for basic human values, and to remarks such as that priming money can decrease helpfulness (Vohs et al. 2006). Furthermore, it proposes a classification of work values based on Schwartz's four higher order values (FHOV); due to a well established dynamics of oppositions, this classification can be very useful to identify and strengthen different types of organizational cultures.

Schwartz's studies on values help to understand what motivates people in their daily life and how are organizations leveraging such a small part of their motivational power in working contexts. Most organizational environments prime self-enhancement values and, to a certain extent, conservation values, but are not exploring the potential of openness to change and self-transcendence values. One example of this lost potential is that reinforcement of benevolence values would increase group cohesion and the chance of survival of the organization, so important in troubled times.

Future research could be directed to the design of a framework for a human resources system capable of strengthening specific values in line with the strategy of the organization—either self-transcendence values, openness to change, self-enhancement or conservation ones.

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The New Ideal Worker Is a Super Navigator

Camilla Kring

Abstract This chapter presents a general reflection about how we can learn to navigate work and private life in new ways in the twenty-first century. Historically, the ideal worker was a man with a stay-at-home wife, and the ideal worker devoted long hours to their jobs. Our clinging to the ideal worker norms of industrial society when we talk about "going to work" is therefore paradoxical, as more and more work is now an activity that takes place all the time for many people. The Life Navigation concept punctures the idea that work is something that only can take place at the office during regular business hours. The employees are set free from their own and colleagues' confining expectations, and are given the opportunity to design their own schedule and work location. The time battle in the industrial society was about work time and free time. The new time battle requires that we find new ways to break with the old concept of "9 to 5" work. The new time battle is about working in sync with your inner, biological clock. It's a call for a new ideal worker: a super navigator.

1 Introduction

In the agrarian society there was little separation between the domestic and production spheres. Work and home were not conceptually separate categories (Davies and Frink 2014). The industrial revolution changed the relationship between home and work. In the industrial workplace, physical labour was visible and immediately quantifiable in the production process, and the role of management was to uphold the same rhythm and speed among workers because the physical labour required this. In the industrial society, approximately 80% of a company's value was tangible valuables. The value was in machines and buildings, while the industrial worker was simply viewed as a necessity for keeping the wheels in motion. Industrial workers were to meet at the same time and place, as assembly line work had to be synchronized. They were paid by the hour. The employers fought for work time, whereas the

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employees fought for more free time. Historically, the ideal worker was a man with a stay-at-home wife, and the ideal worker should have a singular focus on work (Dumas and Sanchez-Burks 2015).

In the knowledge society more and more work is becoming invisible in its characteristic processes. Today, over 80% of a company's value is intangible values according to the credit rating bureau, Standard & Poor's (Ocean Tomo 2017). That means that the value in a modern company is found in knowledge, network, brands, customer relations, processes, and so on, and results in work situations that can increasingly be executed across time and space. This means that a large percentage of work is now independent of time and place. It is no longer necessary for the majority of the population to work between 9 and 5. The new time battle requires that we find new ways to break with the old concept of "9 to 5" work. How do we unlock the industrial clocks? Although most of us take our relationship with time for granted, it has changed throughout history. If we look back across history, we find that we have not always structured our lives based on clock time.

2   Caesar, Augustus and the Time Battles

I have always been fascinated by time and the role time plays in the organization of our lives. Every society has a time system in the form of a calendar that keeps social order in society, and this order would implode if all individuals lived based on their individual systems of time (Asplund 1985; Hall 1983). Imagine that you organized your life after a calendar with 427 days in the year, and I organized my life after a calendar with 286 days in the year. How would we meet? In practice, it makes sense for us all to follow the same calendar with 365 days to the year, 7 days in the week, and 24 h in the day. We take the calendar for granted even though it is the result of much negotiation and many power struggles. For example, Julius Caesar implemented a calendar reform, naming July after himself. After this, emperor Augustus implemented a new reform, naming August after himself. Of course, August had to have as many days as July, because emperor Augustus was a powerful man.

Imagine living in the Middle Ages, when sunrise and sunset shaped people's lives. Back then, a person's daily rhythm was decided by concrete tasks: work time, market time, dinner time, lamp lighting time, and bed time. Time was a loose concept in Medieval society, where religious festivals, markets, and changing seasons were used to mark time and to structure a person's daily life (Castells 2003).

In Medieval times, work rhythms in the countryside were dictated by the needs of the plants and animals, and an hour in the summer was longer than an hour in winter. It was a cyclical time in which nature provided the framework for human life. There was no clock time here, and it would not have made sense to inquire about the time. Have you ever considered the origin of the word "clock"? It comes from the Medieval Latin word "clocca," which means bell. This is because man's first meeting with time was auditory. Time was something that could be heard, and the bell was what "told" time.

3   The Battle Between Clock Time and Inner Time

With the invention of the mechanical clock in 1283, the clock began to ring, and monks became the first to organize their lives after the clock by dividing the day into time and rituals. To the sound of the clock, monks divided the 24 h of the day into parts: work time, study time, prayer time, meal time, and bed time (Kring 2017). Clock bells became more and more common in Europe during the thirteenth century. Town hall bells offered towns an audible identity by marking hours, fires, funerals, work times, meetings, and curfews. The larger the town hall tower the more powerful the town. Town hall clocks were not very precise, but people obeyed the bells, and so time discipline spread from the monasteries to the common populace. In less than 100 years, clock time defeated people's biological time. An example of this can be found in *In praise of slowness (Honoré* 2004), in which the Canadian journalist, Carl Honoré, describes how the temporal organization of work life changed for the population of Cologne between the years of 1374 and 1398:

> In the course of one generation, people in Cologne went from never knowing with any certainty what time of day it was, to allowing a clock to dictate when they worked, how long they ate lunch, and when they went home every night.

People lost an important time battle back then; a battle that has had a large impact on the way we organize our lives today. Imagine living in Cologne in the 1300s and suddenly having to obey a town hall bell that rang when you had to work, when you should eat lunch, and when you had to return home. The person who rings the bell has the power. Who was ringing the bell? And why do we still obey noiseless clocks ringing within us? It is remarkable that we still organize our lives to follow the bells that disciplined our forefathers in time. As a matter of fact, our culture is still deeply rooted in the agricultural society, despite the fact that fewer and fewer people are working in the farming industry today.

4   Say Goodbye to Your Inner Farmer

We have become knowledge farmers, still more or less unconsciously celebrating the early riser, while looking down upon and devaluing the B-person (late riser), who does not fit into the rhythm of early nights and early mornings. Moralizing ditties remain alive: "The early bird gets the worm," or "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." Along with songs like "Good morning," "Are you sleeping," and "Rise and shine, sleepy Joe," these all reflect a normative ideal guiding how a person should organize the day. In the eyes of society, the ideal person goes to bed early, rises early, and meets early for work. Getting out of bed early has become synonymous with being a good person. Many social cultures continue to celebrate the A-person (early riser), a preference which is reflected in moral phrases from France and Italy:

À qui se lève matin, Dieu aide et prête la main (God helps he who rises early)

Chi dorme non piglia pesci (He who sleeps, catches no fish)

There are many similarities between the phrases celebrating morning culture and promoting early rising. Imagine an Italian family whose only source of nourishment is the fish in the sea. If they do not get up early to catch fish, they will have no food. In this context, getting up early is necessary for survival. In several of the sayings, the role of religion in inspiring self-discipline regarding appropriate times for sleeping and waking is apparent. Specifically, God rewards those who rise early.

It made sense to reward A-persons in the agricultural societies, where productivity depended on activity during daylight hours, but why should A-persons have a competitive advantage in a knowledge-based society, where an increasing number of work tasks can be solved with or without sunlight? We need to reassess the 9 to 5 culture and its lack of respect for the B-person's circadian rhythm.

5 Be in Sync with Your Inner Clock

Chronobiology is the study of humans' internal clock; circadian rhythms. A circadian rhythm is all about when humans prefer to be awake and when they prefer to sleep. Professor Till Roenneberg, a leading researcher in chronobiology at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, has mapped the circadian rhythms of more than 250,000 people. The distribution of circadian rhythms (chronotypes) ranges from extremely early types (early chronotypes) to extremely late types (late chronotypes), just as human height varies between short and tall. An A-person may, for example, be awake from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m. and have most energy in the morning. B-persons, on the other hand, have most energy in the afternoon and evening, and may, for example, be awake from 9 a.m. to 1 a.m.

A study from the University of Washington Foster School of Business shows that the time window in which office hours are placed greatly influences performance evaluations. Leaders tend to favour A-persons—those who arrive at the office early. A later meeting time made managers consider the employee less conscientious. Researchers concluded that employees who worked from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. were considered more conscientious, and received higher performance evaluations than employees who worked from 11 a.m. to 7 p.m.—all despite the fact that both groups worked the same number of hours. Managers who are B-persons (late risers), however, are less likely to judge harshly those employees who prefer a later meeting time (Yam et al. 2014).

Productivity and quality of life can be improved by letting people synchronize their work lives with their biological clocks. In a knowledge-based society getting up early in the morning is no longer what is important. Instead it is about working when you are most productive. Before we look into the new time battle, we will look into the battle between work time and free time in the industrial society.

6 The Battle over Work Time and Free Time

In the beginning of the twentieth century, labourers protested in the streets of Copenhagen. They demanded more free time and established work hours under the slogan: "8 h of work, 8 h of rest, and 8 h of free time." At the collective bargains in 1919, 8 h workdays were introduced on Mondays through Saturdays. The 8-8-8 model and collective work model, where everyone had identical work hours, a set work location, and the same work rhythm, fit perfectly with the optimization of industrial labour. At the factory, the workday was timed by bells and whistles that clearly marked the start and stop of each shift at the assembly lines (Davies and Frink 2014). In Taylor 1911, Frederick W. Taylor formulated the world's first theory of management, *The Principles of Scientific Management*. The theory was based on the idea that, "Workers are dumb and lazy, therefore rules, control, systems and discipline are necessary." Furthermore, he wrote that, "In the future the system must be first," with the implication that people should conform to the system. Taylor conducted precise time studies of workers' movements on assembly lines, with the goal of optimizing work by doing away with unnecessary motions. Work should be standardized to greatest possible extent, and the work process was divided into small components, where each labourer became a specialist in one small component. Taylor's management theory was employed by car manufacturer Henry Ford in order to create more efficient automobile factory assembly lines. As a result, industrial society primarily required people to work at the same times and in the same places. It was normal to divide life into parts referencing physical space, which made it easy to follow norms dictated by a spatial classification of life. When you were at home, you were "home" or "off work," and when you were at the workplace, you were "working" or "at work."

7 The New Time Battle

In the knowledge society we can sense the acceleration as globalization and technological developments obliterate national boundaries from work life. Likewise, the boundaries in our individual lives are being displaced, so that our work lives increasingly seep into our private lives. The majority of us may still physically go to work, but when we come home, we often continue to work. Globalization and technological developments make it possible and necessary for people to have greater freedom to choose their work times and work locations. The world has become interconnected to an unprecedented extent. Technology is the driving force behind this development. In 2008, there were 3 million iPhones in the world. In 2013, there were more than a billion smartphones, including more than 420 million iPhones. Facebook had a million users in 2004, 100 million users in 2008, and has over a billion users today (Deloitte 2014). And the trend is continuing. It is projected that 5 billion people will be online in 2020 (Ismail et al. 2014). That means that

people and companies are increasingly more mobile, and thus much less dependent on the office as a work location. We can use our cell phones to check e-mails, or our laptops to continue working on a project. The greatest challenge in this decade therefore will be to avoid stress or burning out. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), stress is predicted to be one of the most significant factors contributing to illness by the year 2020. In the publication "Workplace Stress: A collective challenge" from 2016, the United Nations' International Labour Organization outlined the findings of its most recent studies on workplace stress from around the world. They found that the estimated cost of work-related stress in the European Union alone is 617 billion euros a year.

However, a workplace without boundaries also offers fantastic possibilities. When we experience boundaries being removed from our work lives we may also remove boundaries from our private lives, and this allows personal time to enter the traditional work interval, which previously was defined by the boundaries of "9 to 5".

The new time battle is about working at the right time. The 8-8-8 model does not match the differences of modern family constellations, work forms, or circadian rhythms. We should therefore create an individual work design and life design for each individual employee, respecting employee's family constellation, work form, and circadian rhythm. *The new ideal worker is a Super Navigator.*

8   The Ideal Worker Norms Are Barriers to a Flexible Work Culture

Seventy years ago the balance point between work and family life was more or less a given, because the woman was oriented towards the needs of the home and family, and the man towards work and career, or "providing" for the family. "From the hours of 9 to 5, the father belonged in the workplace. Evenings and weekends, his place was with his family" (Davies and Frink 2014).

Today, however, there are many different kinds of families and working methods. This means that there is no longer any stable balance point between work, family and leisure time, with the result that new balance points continually need to be found through individual choices. Because these choices exist in a complex ecology of social life and culture, the situation calls for new modes of personal and professional conduct from the society at large as well as the corporate world if we are to make the most of our potentials for productivity and life quality. The current and predominant perception of work-life balance is also subject to the influence of the industrial work culture, which perceives work and life as two competing aspects that are adapted to social rhythms. That is, the industrial work culture strives to establish a clear separation between the two, where work is conducted at the office from 9-to-5 and where the optimal enhancement of work-life balance is conceived of as "working less." This is exemplified by the dominant use of "part-time, parental-leave, and sick

leave," which all offer options that represent a "one-size fits all" perception of work-life balance. A generic definition of work-life balance has been imposed on employees, which ignores the individual's interpretative evaluation of work and life, and how their interdependence relates to the choices in individual lifestyles.

9 Set People Free from 9 to 5

Let us do away with the idea that work only takes place in the office from 9 to 5. Some workplaces have a strong culture dictating that everyone must work in the same way, at the same time, and in the same space. Work is judged based on when and how long you are physically present at your office. A daily ritual of pole-sitting is taking place and being viewed as symbolic of productivity. This way of keeping tabs on attendance leads to strong social control among colleagues, and that is not something that is revealed on company websites or in the personnel policy. It must be sensed or felt in the culture. Often, the signs of twentieth century work practices are revealed in the way colleagues address each other or talk about each other. Any employees who are not in the office at the proper times will doubtless receive a sarcastic comment along the way in order to inspire guilt or shame, and to teach them to conform to the collective work rhythm. Is the tone at your workplace sarcastic?

In my Life Navigation courses, I often hear comments along the lines of, "You decided to join us!" aimed at anyone who meets after 8 a.m. or, "I did not know you started working part time," if someone leaves work at 2:30 p.m. I have also witnessed several workplaces where B-persons (late risers) feel guilty to meet as the last person at 9:10 a.m., and feel the need to explain away their arrival time with the fact that they work part time.

The sarcastic comments hit home in an already guilty conscience, and as a result job satisfaction and Work-Life Balance satisfaction fall noticeably. But who feels the need to judge when people are coming to the office and leaving the office? These workplaces include people who are so busy noting colleagues' movements that they themselves forget to work. Their thoughts are, "If I work 8 hours, so should you, and the only way I can keep track of your work hours is if you are at the office the same time as me. I see you, ergo you are working." But sitting in the office does not necessarily mean that you are working. We are trapped in ideal worker norms about when to come and go.

It is therefore not enough for us to let go of our own ideal worker norms. We must also have the courage to release the judgements placed upon each other.

Let us do away with the flex time with fixed hours, meaning the set hours during which an employee who is hired to work flex time has to be in the office. "We are flexible, but we expect employees to be in the office between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.," many companies say. That view is in no way representative of flexibility. The worst imaginable time to meet is between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m., when everyone else is on the way to work.

Another barrier is the limitation of home workdays to one day every second week. What is the rationale for rules dictating the number of days a person can work from home? And why are we only able to discuss work as something that either takes place in the office or in the home? Once, the workplace was the field, then it became the factory, and today more and more people work many different places. The world is our workplace.

Which work spaces do you have in your life? Think outside the box! Go to a cafe, the library, or a museum. Get out of the office before it's too late! Unfortunately, we still have an idea that we must go to work, and that work is something that takes place in the office. Companies could benefit from replacing their workplace policy with a work-anywhere policy, or at the very least begin to shift focus to results rather than office attendance hours.

10   The Concept of Life Navigation in Brief

The Life Navigation concept punctures the idea that work is something that only can take place at the office during regular business hours. The employees are set free from their own and colleagues' confining expectations, and are given the opportunity to design their own schedule and work location. It's hard to change without social acceptance, and therefore the Life Navigation concept is a collective journey for developing individual work-life designs. Life Navigation is about creating a flexible working culture—one with social acceptance of different work hours and workspaces. The Life Navigation course for management and employees creates a shared social acceptance of the new work culture. Effective training sessions need to have a dual focus: clear support for the individual's transformative process, and a complementary focus on fostering the shared experience of collective reflection and acceptance. This stimulates teams, allowing individual team members to inspire and motivate one another, while simultaneously creating greater understanding, acceptance and respect for individual differences.

11   The Three Levels of Implementation

The Life Navigation journey consists of three steps, each step preparing the individual and the organization to make the final cultural shifts. It is a practical process, with each phase being a step that requires a different focus and approach. Naturally, the process is further adapted to the specific organizational needs and necessities, allowing for an individual design.

Step 1. Management Creates the Space of Navigation
Laptops and smartphones for all your employees. Set your employees free from 9 to 5 and that work is something that only can take place at the office.

Step 2. Life Navigation Courses
Educating Super Navigators. It's a collective process for developing individual work times and spaces for work—when and where do you want to work? What are the necessary tools to navigate in a flexible world? A Super Navigator has overview, focus, rhythm and calmness.

Step 3. Life Navigation Implementation
Anchoring a flexible working culture in personnel politics, e-mail culture, meeting culture, work place branding, value integration etc.

Step one places a focus on establishing acceptance from the management, permitting the employees to take actual control of the management of their individual times and spaces for work. Once given this permission, the employees also need to be provided with opportunities to learn and adopt the perspectives that can facilitate social acceptance and tolerance emerging organically from within the organization, and not only as dictated to them from the top. Following that, the essential tools for self-management of the increased flexibility in a new work culture are provided in the second step, which centre on the individual's ability to create an overview, to focus on the important targets through prioritization, and to choose the optimal time and space for work, thereby evolving into a true super navigator. Together these first two steps represent the "soft" change that the organization undergoes. To ensure organizational support, and to legitimize and encourage social acceptance of the new work culture and common language, the Life Navigation principles should be incorporated into companies' policies, standards, branding materials etc., all of which can be utilized as a powerful tool in the branding and recruitment process. This latter step represents the step of grounding and embodying the shift, i.e. the "hard" change, which is more tangible and visible compared to the soft change, which occurs primarily on a psychological and cultural level.

12   The Organizational Benefit

By implementing Life Navigation and creating a new work culture, organizations will benefit in the following areas:

1. Work-Life satisfaction: By developing a work culture that reconciles top performance with life quality, a much higher degree of employee satisfaction will emerge. High levels of work-life satisfaction ensure recruitment and retention of talents, and reduce sick leave and related costs. Most employees conclude, after experiencing the flexible work culture and its associated advantages that they would not want to work anywhere else.
2. Unique differentiation: as an international company, working across different time zones, flexibility is a keyword for the organization as well as the customers. Also, the new work culture is a means to attract the best talents, providing for unique differentiation from industry peers.

3. Higher efficiency: As employees learn to prioritize and focus on the projects and tasks that create the greatest value, the organization becomes more efficient. There is less time wasted on unimportant tasks and unproductive meetings, while the quantity of time-consuming e-mail decreases and employees become more motivated, energized, and productive, all of which leads to better business results.

13 AbbVie Norway: Best Place to Work in Norway

At AbbVie Norway, not only managers can meet late. There are no mandatory core hours, and employees can come and go as they please. Employees are only measured by whether they achieve results and whether they are thriving.

AbbVie Norway has faced the consequence of people's different circadian rhythms, and HR Director Marte Fjelle finds that employees are much more efficient if they can work while they are at their peak. "Part of our personnel policy is that it is strictly prohibited for A-persons (early risers) to look at the clock or make sarcastic comments to B-persons (late risers) that arrive later at the office. The same of course goes for B-persons in the opposite situation, where A-persons leave the office early", says Marte Fjelle.

In 2007, the company had high employee turnover and high sick leave at over 5%, and surveys showed that 61% of employees did not feel that they had a good balance between their work lives and private lives. In response, AbbVie Norway implemented the Life Navigation concept the next year. When asked about well-being in 2014, 97% of employees said they were encouraged to balance their work lives and private lives, and that the freedom of the Life Navigation culture was the most unique and attractive thing about their workplace. In 2014, 2017 and again in 2018, AbbVie Norway was named the best workplace in Norway in the competition Great Place to Work.

In lines of business where talent is always in high demand, companies can create flexible work cultures that accommodate A-persons and B-persons. Knowledge-based workplaces can become more productive and healthy by altering work hours to match the employee, simply because A-persons and B-persons are different, and thus will tend to perform best during different times of the day. The first step towards a more productive work life is to accept each other's different needs and wishes concerning work times.

We need to make it possible for A-persons to work early in the morning, and allow B-persons to work after 10. If A-persons and B-persons both arrive at 8, it may result in B-persons wasting their own time, as well as disrupting A-person-colleagues during their most productive hours of the day. Every time a colleague's deep concentration is interrupted, it takes 20–45 min to regain the concentration level (Spira and Feintuch 2005). The workplace could therefore benefit by offering A-persons an uninterrupted period of time during the morning to solve complex assignments. After this, there could be a shared period of time for meetings between

10 and 3, and in the afternoon or evening, B-persons could have an equivalent period of uninterrupted work time for complex tasks.

Companies can increase productivity by accommodating and making visible the different circadian rhythms of their employees. Do you know when your colleagues peak? Have you mapped out your department's circadian rhythms and how you can actively use employees' different rhythms to increase productivity in your company?

For instance, a team with whom I once worked discovered that they were active 22 of the 24 h in the day. By making our work hours visible, we can create more efficient teams where we work together or individually when our energy levels peak. It does not make sense for A-persons to take phone meetings in the evening, and it is unproductive for B-persons to meet at 8 a.m.

It's about time to break with the old concept of "9 to 5" work. The new time battle is about working at the right time. We should therefore create an individual work design and life design for each individual. We spend most of our waking hours working. Let us give people more freedom in times and spaces for work. The new ideal worker is a Super Navigator and the Super Navigator is working in sync with her or his biological clock. It's about time to think different about how we navigate our work and private life in the twenty-first century.

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Part II
Gender and Leadership

The Use of Conjoint Analysis in Revealing Preferences for Hiring: The Gender Bias Effect

María José Bosch, David Kimber, and Ricardo Leiva

Abstract This study examines if gender bias affects the recruitment process for top managerial positions in Chile. Using conjoint analysis, we evaluate how recruiters, a sample of 114 business postgraduate students, ranked a set of multi-attribute profiles, showing their preferences among profiles and the trade-off among attributes they are willing to do.

Results show that a female prospect is less preferred to a male one, but also that that there are other variables that affect recruitment decisions. Recruiters preferred a married prospect to a single or divorce one, and better if she/he has children. Also, results show that the age of the recruiters is an important variable and affects their preferences. For young recruiters' job experience is very important, while for elder recruiters age is the most important variable. In contrast to previous research, and surprisingly, our results show that gender is the less important variable in the recruitment process.

1 Introduction

The lack of balance between women and men in the upper echelons of management is not very new, but the interest in why this difference persists has become more relevant in recent years (Burke and Richardsen 2016; Eagly and Carli 2003a, b). This phenomenon is worldwide, and has multiple explanations. The presence of women in higher levels of management has benefits for the organizations: first, organizations need the best-qualified people to overcome the challenges of an increasingly competitive international environment, and women increase the pull of talent in the market (Burke and Richardsen 2016). And second, there is enough evidence that a higher participation of women in the upper levels of corporations has economic

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benefits for organizations themselves and for their countries overall, especially because women introduce a bigger variety of viewpoints in decision-making and more transparency in the higher echelons of the management hierarchy (Conyon and He 2017; McKinsey and Company 2014; Milliken and Martins 1996; Roseberry and Roos 2014; Thornton 2015; Upadhyay and Zeng 2014). Even so, the global participation of women on higher hierarchical positions is very limited (Catalyst 2015; Credit Suisse 2014; OECD 2012; World Economic Forum 2016).

Women as managers and senior employees face several barriers, being gender stereotypes one of the most prevalent ones (Alutto and Hrebiniak 1970; Eagly and Carli 2003a, b, 2007; Catalyst 2007; Hamilton 1981; Rocheblave-Spenlé 1964; Rodler et al. 2001; Rosenkrantz et al. 1968). There are still characteristics associated with successful management skills that are related only to men and not to women (Alutto and Hrebiniak 1970; Heilman 1983; Schein 2007; Ishibashi and Kottke 2009). The lack of opportunities for talented women (Heilman 2001), insufficient mentoring and segregation from informal career networks (Burke and Richardsen 2016), and discrimination in wages and opportunities are still present (Freire and Silva 2016; OECD 2012; World Economic Forum 2016). In the management field is expected that women would show a coherent behavior with gender stereotypes: being assertive, dominant, self-confident or self-promoting is rewarded when you are a man, but punished when you are a woman (Costrich et al. 1975; Linehan and Seifert 1983). Most people have internalized these stereotypes unconsciously and men and women are not aware of their "natural" preference for men in detriment of women (Steinpreis et al. 1999).

An important barrier to break through the glass ceiling is recruitment, because the selection process is a filtering out point for women (Powell 1987), as both men and women tend to recruit men instead of women with identical records (Steinpreis et al. 1999). Researchers have shown that several factors related to gender can have an impact on the recruitment process. For instance, people can adjust their behavior based on the biological sex of their counterpart, having this a two-way effect on the recruitment process: (a) it can affect the recruiters' responses to applicants, and (b) it can affect the applicants' responses to recruiters, companies, or job opportunities (Powell 1987). In addition, men and women are more likely to recruit a man than a woman with the same record (Steinpreis et al. 1999), being gender a key element to reproduce gender segregation (Teigen 2002; Van den Brink et al. 2006).

The present study focuses on the recruitment process in Chile for top managerial positions, and the gender bias that could affect that recruitment process. Chile is a very interesting case study, because it has very few women on top managerial positions, being President Michelle Bachelet the most relevant exception at this regard. In spite of that, Chile is situated at the highest levels of the Human Development and the Gender Inequality indexes (World Bank 2017; PNUD 2017; World Economic Forum 2017). Also, Chile is an under-studied context, thereby this study addresses the call for future research on gender bias in non-US context (Campbell and Mínguez-Vera 2008).

Based on the Gatekeeper and the Role Congruity theories, and using conjoint analysis (Luce and Tukey 1964), we looked for determining the possible existence of discrimination towards female applicants in favor of their male counterparts, and

which variables could cause this behavior. Based on a full profile approach, we tested the importance of gender in the recruiting decision, when employers must choose among different applicant's profiles. This multivariate technique is usually utilized in marketing (Green and Srinivasan 1978; Gustafsson et al. 2013), and has also been tested at observing the recruiting of high quality students for college education (Sohn and Ju 2010). In Human Resources Management, conjoint analysis has helped to understand the relative importance of different attributes in recruiting process (Ruetzler et al. 2010). Despite its widely and validated use in marketing for revealing preferences, conjoint analysis has been scarcely utilized in research for uncovering negative attitudes about others affecting the recruiting process.

2   The Context: The Chilean Society and the Women's Glass Ceiling

Chile is a small country with a developing economy. Its population is almost 18 million people (OECD 2016a, b), and its gross domestic product at market prices was \$247 billion in 2016 (World Bank 2017), far behind the biggest domestic markets in the region: Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. However, Chile exhibits the highest GDP per capita in Latin America (US\$22,254) thanks to a long and stable financial and economic performance that "has improved the well-being of Chileans and reduced poverty dramatically" (OECD 2015a, p. 2). The percentage of the Chilean population living below the national poverty line has decreased significantly from 29.1% in 2006 to 14.4% in 2013 (World Bank 2017), but many international reports concur with this conclusion coming from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: "despite strong economic growth, Chile remains a highly unequal society in terms of income, wealth and education" (OECD 2015a, p. 2).

   Although Chile has been extraordinarily successful in its efforts to reduce poverty, sustain growth, and promote democratization in recent decades, it has not been so successful at reaching equality, especially in terms of gender (Fort et al. 2007; Kristjanpoller and Olson 2015). Many domestic and international reports confirm that economic opportunities continue to be limited for Chilean women (Kristjanpoller and Olson 2015; Fort et al. 2007; OECD 2012, 2015a, b, 2016a, b; SVS 2015; Tokman 2011; WEF 2015). For that reason, the OECD (2015a) has concluded: "growth [in Chile] needs to become more inclusive, especially for women" (p. 2).

   Considering the economic ambit, the last Gender Gap Report by the World Economic Forum, WEF (2016) ranked Chile 119th among 144 countries in economic participation by, and opportunities for, Chilean women. The detrimental situation faced by women in Chile can be observed in many business and economic domains. For instance, Chile was ranked 92nd due to its workforce gap (WEF 2016). The female workforce in Chile reaches 48%, considering the whole population of

Chilean women available to work, compared to 72% for men, not including work within the household (OECD 2015b). Chilean women are 23% less likely than men to get a paid job, compared to an OECD average of 12% (OECD 2015a, b). Chilean women are more commonly employed in the informal sector, obtaining low-paid jobs (OECD 2015a, b). About 40% of poorest women in Chile, those in the lowest income quintile, have not signed a labor contract, compared to 22% of poorest men (OECD 2016a, b).

As more women have informal jobs and incomplete contributory periods in the private pension fund system of Chile, they cannot claim a full pension and have lower retirement benefits (OECD 2016a, b). When women retire in Chile, they typically receive a pension equivalent to half of their earned wages, compared to men who receive a pension roughly equivalent to 70% of their wages (OECD 2016a, b). As women retire with lower pensions and live several years longer than men, they face a greater risk of falling below the poverty line (OECD 2016b).

The gender wage gap is also substantial in Chile, because men earn an average $29,846 per year whilst women receive $14,981 for doing similar work (WEF 2015). Based on these data, Chile appears in the 133rd position of the World Economic Forum ranking in terms of gender income differences (WEF 2015).

Even at the top of the labor hierarchy, women's situation is not better: only one out of five of the companies traded on the Chilean stock exchange has at least one woman participating on their board of directors, and 3% of board directors in Chile are women (Tokman 2011). Among the 40 companies listed on the selective index of Chile's stock exchange, only 6% of board members were women in 2015 (SVS 2015), far behind the OECD average: 10.3% (OECD 2012). In 2010, for example, 90% of most traded companies in the stock exchange had no women on their boards in Chile, while the figure was 57% for New Zealand and 42% for Canada (OECD 2012). Although Chilean women are aggressively entering the job market (Bosch 2016), they are not reaching senior management positions. Only 8% of these senior positions are held by a woman in Chile (IMAD 2017).

Notwithstanding former data, Chilean male directors do not seem very concerned about the evident marginalization of women of the highest levels of the corporate hierarchy, especially when they are compared to businessmen in other Latin American countries. In Colombia, for instance, all board directors (100%) say gender diversity in the boardroom is an important goal and 75% declare that gender diversity is on the board's agenda. At a regional level, 72% of board members say gender diversity in the boardroom needs to improve. However, Chilean board directors shrink those percentages considerably: in Chile, only 33% of board directors (97% of them are men, as it was highlighted above) think that gender diversity in the boardroom is relevant, and only 21% of them say gender diversity is on the corporate agenda (Egon Zehnder 2016). Whilst 20% of Latin American board directors declare that their companies have special plans or policies to promote women in management positions, in Chile that share is 0%, making it the least interested country in promoting corporate female leaders in all the region (Egon Zehnder 2016).

Based on these and other data, the WEF (2015) concluded that in Chile most senior-level jobs are performed by men and not by women (72 vs. 28%). This explains why in the last Gender Gap Report by the WEF (2016) Chile received a poor classification, ranking 70th among 144 countries, along four main dimensions: (a) economic and social opportunities (ranked 119th); (b) educational attainment (38th); (c) health and survival (39th); and (d) political empowerment (39th).

Despite having electing Michelle Bachelet as the President twice, different polls show that the Chilean society is still very male chauvinist. For instance, when Chilean people is faced with next assessment "Having a job is fine, but what most of women actually want is a home and children", 45% agree, and 30% disagree (the rest do not answer/do not know) (CEP 2017). In addition, 61% of Chilean people agree with next sentence: "Considering all the good and all the bad things, life family suffers when the woman works full time". Other 46% of Chileans agree, versus 26% of Chileans who disagree, with next sentence: "A couple may have problems if the woman earns more money than the man" (CEP 2017). All these data seem to confirm that male chauvinism and gender stereotypes are still prevalent in the Chilean men and women.

Next, we will analyze which variables may affect this unbalanced outcome.

3 Theoretical Background

3.1 The Gatekeeper Theory, Gender Stereotypes and Prejudice

In his seminal paper, Lewin (1947) defined gatekeepers as those individuals or groups "in power" for making the decision between 'in' or 'out' (p. 145). Indeed, according to this very influential German Psychologist, gatekeepers play a fundamental role within organizations, because they allow some subjects to go through the *gate*, or being excluded from the organization's area. How fair is this gatekeeping process? The answer is not always evident, because the gatekeeping process can be highly subjective: "Organizations which discriminate against members of a minority group frequently use the argument that they are not ready to accept individuals whom they would be unable to promote sufficiently" (Lewin 1947, p. 145). In consequence, understanding the gatekeeping process within an organization becomes equivalent to recognizing those factors determining the decisions of the gatekeepers. "Discrimination against minorities will not be changed as long as forces are not changed which determine the decisions of the gatekeepers" (Lewin 1947, p. 145). This author was extremely clear at the time of considering that most of decisions by gatekeepers to accept or refuse some subjects from entering organizations could be highly idiosyncratic: "Their decisions depend partly on their ideology, that is their system of values and beliefs which determine what they consider 'good' or 'bad', and partly on the way they perceive the particular situation" (Lewin 1947,

p. 146). Discrimination within organizations then is basically a consequence of the entity's management, "with the actions of gatekeepers who determine what is done and what is not done" (Lewin 1947, p. 146).

In the management field, the gatekeeper has been defined as anyone who stands between you and the person who might want to recruit you (Mitchell 2003), and his or her decisions can be strongly biased by individual attributes of applicants, as race, although recruiters tend not to admit their biased selection (Wells 2013). Worse, they tend to replicate their biased decisions, because it is extremely difficult to recognize them: "the behavior of the gatekeeper can persist because there appeared to be no visible mechanism or process in place to monitor their activity. In short, they do because they can" (Wells 2013, p. 8).

So far, the gatekeeping process at the time of recruiting employees has been studied in order to evaluate how personal characteristics or ideology can influence the recruiting techniques, and can have a bearing discriminating some subjects at the time at applying for a job based on their race, their gender or their socioeconomic segments (Van den Brink et al. 2006). Gatekeepers could consider that their personal characteristics, such as their gender or race, do not influence their decision of recruiting some people instead of others. However, Tversky and Kahneman (1973) showed that people tend to believe that they think rationally and make decisions logically, but many of their supposedly rational and conscious decisions are based on impressions and thoughts that commonly lead them to mistakes. Some of these impressions and thoughts are stereotypes.

It was Lippman (1922) who firstly applied the stereotype concept in the field of social sciences, defining it as a set of *pictures in our heads*, needed to memorize, store and interchange knowledge. According to him, stereotypes are necessary to save time when people deal with the world and assume their social roles (Lippman 1922). Since then, the construct has been extensively revisited. For instance, Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) coined a very parsimonious definition of a stereotype naming it "a set of beliefs about the personal attributes of a group of people" (p. 16). For Rodgers and Thorson (2003), stereotypes are "an oversimplification of a sub-group or subculture in society" (p. 660).

Some years later than Lippman (1922), Adorno et al. (1950) linked stereotypes with prejudices. Since then, stereotypes have been associated to authoritarian people, and have mostly a negative connotation that was not clearly established by Lippman (1922). This negative approach was later reinforced by Allport (1954), who assured that stereotypes and prejudices, these were defined as bad thoughts about others without rational reasons, are *social constructs* commonly and extensively diffused by the media. Some years after Allport, Rosenkrantz et al. (1968), gave a great boost to the gender stereotypes research. They defined gender stereotypes as "consensual beliefs about the differing characteristics of men and women in our society" (p. 287). They discovered that in our society men are commonly associated with traits as "aggressive", "independent", "unemotional", "objective", "dominant", "active", and "competitive", whilst women are commonly associated with traits as "talkative", "tactful", "gentle", "religious", "neat in habits", and "quiet" (Rosenkrantz et al. 1968).

Differences among men and women would not be based only on different traits associated to them, but also on different competences fields. In effect, scholars have researched extensively about the supposed trend of female leaders to deal with some issues whilst men would be likely to handle others (Burrell 2004; Iyengar et al. 1997; Kahn 1993, 1994; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Kahn and Gordon 1997; McDermott 1997; Meeks 2012; Norris 1997; Rule 1981; Tuchman 1978). For instance, a typical masculine competences field would be crime control, whilst a typical female one would be education (Iyengar et al. 1997). Other masculine competences fields would be: foreign policy, defense, economy, and agriculture (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, b; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Sanbonmatsu 2002). Other feminine ones would be: arts, civil and minority rights, family, AIDS, health, in-house and private life, ecology, abortion, drugs, poverty, aged, women's rights, and social programs (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Burrell 2004; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993a, b; Kahn and Goldenberg 1991; Kahn and Gordon 1997; Sanbonmatsu 2002). In general, women would be more likely to deal with *compassion issues* (Burrell 2004; Shapiro and Mahajan 1986).

Based on all these differences, there is an increasing interest in understanding how prejudice affects the evaluation of men and women, and how this affects their career opportunities (Garcia-Retamero and Lopez-Zafra 2006; Heilman and Eagly 2008). In most of these studies, women are the center of attention. This is natural, because social perceivers usually focus on the non-prototypical members of categories (Eagly et al. 2003). In general, leadership has been predominantly a masculine skill, and women remain quite rare as elite leaders and top executives. Therefore, most research on the impact of gender on leadership is centered on female leaders (Carli 2001; Eagly and Carli 2003b, 2007; Karau and Eagly 1999).

The environment and specific task women perform are very important to study and understand female prejudice. For example, there is evidence that women face more prejudice when they work in an industry incongruent with their gender role than when they work in industries that fit with their gender role, like hospitals or schools (Garcia-Retamero and Lopez-Zafra 2006). Prejudice results from the inconsistency between gender stereotypes and leadership stereotypes (Hoyt et al. 2009). The problem for female leaders is that gender stereotypes are automatically activated (Kunda and Spencer 2003) especially where leadership roles are characterized with male and not female attributes. The male attributes of leadership results in people having similar beliefs about leaders and men, but different beliefs about leaders and women (Eagly and Karau 2002). Commonly, characteristics associated with leadership roles have been related more to men than to women (Eagly and Karau 2002). Therefore, it is assumed that leadership is more similar to the male gender role than to the female gender role (Eagly and Carli 2007). Consequently, women that apply to leadership positions face more prejudice and therefore are evaluated worse than their male counterpart.

When people hold stereotypes about someone, they expect this person to show characteristics and behaviors consistent with those stereotypes (Eagly and Carli 2003a, b). One possible mechanism to understand this phenomenon is the role congruity theory. This theory suggests that, when a perceiver finds incongruent

behaviors from a stereotype group member, this inconsistency lowers the evaluation of the group member (Eagly and Karau 2002). In general, social roles are central to how we think and make judgments about people (Kidder 2002), and affects our assessment others' performance. More specifically, gender roles focus on consensual beliefs that describe qualities and desirable behavioral tendencies for each sex (Eagly and Karau 2002). Role congruity theory extents social the role theory of sex differences and focuses on the incongruity between female gender role and leadership roles.

Furthermore, research focused on the relation between gender and leaders' behaviors has determined that perceptions of leader's behaviors are affected by socially constructed gender roles (Kidder and McLean Parks 2001). Also, role congruity theory suggests that women showing male behaviors are devalued compared to their male counterparts, because there is an incongruity between the two roles (Eagly and Karau 2002). This difference causes female leaders to be perceived less favorable than equivalent male leaders, because by fulfilling expectations concerning leadership, they violate conventions concerning appropriate female behaviors (Eagly et al. 1995; Johnson et al. 2008).

Consequently, even if a woman shows a similar performance than a man, this could be evaluated higher than the woman. Therefore, in a society like the Chilean one described above, we expect stereotypes will affect the decision process of the recruiter, expecting men to perform better than women in a leadership position. We are interested in determining if gender affects the recruitment of candidates. Then, we propose following hypothesis:

H1 A female prospect is less preferred to a male one for a leadership position.

3.2 Conjoint Analysis

Conjoint analysis (CA) (Luce and Tukey 1964) is a multivariate technique, which helps to understand people' reactions and evaluations regarding a set of objects representing different attribute combinations (Hair et al. 2009). In this sense, an object can be a product, a service, or a professional profile. It assumes that people evaluate an object "combining the separate amounts of value provided by each attribute" (Hair et al. 2009, p. 392), revealing "how people make complex judgements" (Popović et al. 2012, p. 19), as they do in real situations. Through ranking or rating a set of multi-attribute profiles, individuals show their preferences among profiles and the trade-off among attributes they are willing to do. One profile may have the most preferred level of one attribute and the less preferred levels for others, but other alternatives will have different combinations of levels of attributes, making people to trade-off among attributes when comparing the set of alternatives (Lilien et al. 2012). As a result, utility scores (also called part-worth values) are obtained for each level of attribute, disclosing the relative importance of each attribute in decision. Through CA, it is possible to measure people' preferences about the object's

attributes and to know how attributes interrelationship influences these preferences (Popović et al. 2012). Finally, based on attribute's preferences, people' segments with similar preferences can be found (Popović et al. 2012).

CA is usually utilized in marketing research (Green and Srinivasan 1978; Gustafsson et al. 2013), but has also been applied in other fields (Hair et al. 2009; Sohn and Ju 2010). In Human Resources Management, CA has helped to understand the relative importance of different attributes in selection process (Baker and McGregor 2000; Ruetzler et al. 2010). For instance, researchers have found that professional attire affects perception of competence and capabilities (Ruetzler et al. 2012), that generic competences are more valued than field-specific ones by employers (Biesma et al. 2007), and that weight is a very relevant variable when people choose a teammate, revealing a pattern of discrimination in this situation (Caruso et al. 2009), which "could not have been found by directly asking people" (Scase and Turnbull 2013, p. 100).

Regarding recruitment process, previous research has utilized diverse approaches to analyze the selection process such as semi-structured interviews (Harris 2002), quantitative content analysis (Van den Brink et al. 2006), or questionnaire surveys (Fox and Lawless 2010). However, these approaches do not resemble the real decision-making process that recruiters face every day. Usually, decisions are not based on one single factor, but in a conjoint of them (Wu et al. 2014). Recruiters do not evaluate isolated attributes, they evaluate every individual's professional profile as a whole. They compare a set of profiles among them, eliminating some of them, ranking the rest, and choosing one or more at the end of the process (Dipboye et al. 1975). In this process, the comparison is based on both the set of attributes and the different levels of attributes each profile possesses. Due to this, Conjoint analysis (CA) is an excellent alternative to evaluate the selection process with a more realistic approach, helping us to understand the relative importance of every attribute in the decision process. In addition, this technique can help us to uncover conscious or unconscious biases based on the trade-off among attributes done by respondents, in this sense, stereotypes could be revealed in a way that other techniques cannot do it (Caruso et al. 2009).

4 Method

The present study focused on determining the possible existence of discrimination towards women applicants in favor of their male counterpart in selection process. In order to do this, we performed a conjoint analysis (Luce and Tukey 1964).

4.1 Sample and Data Collection Process

The sample was composed by 114 postgraduate students from different programs offered by a Chilean graduate business school. All of them have managerial

positions, which include recruiting responsibilities. The share of men and women was 81.6% and 18.4% respectively that is consistent with the share of men and women that participate in Business School programs in Chile. They ranged in age from 30 to 66 (mean = 41.9; sd = 8.0), around 82% was married, and 81% has children, 2.3 kids on average. They worked in different industries as Banking, Energy and Construction; and in different areas as Marketing, Finance, Supply, and Human Resources, counting a total of 40 industries and 27 areas.

The experiment was conducted through a paper-based survey. Respondents were contacted at the beginning of one of their classes and were asked to do a voluntary task, not offering any incentive to participate. The task consisted in ranking a set of 16 professional profiles from most to less preferred to occupy a managerial position, which was previously described to respondents. The managerial position description was neutral and very general in its content, looking for not affecting the results. The description said: "*Managerial position: we look for a person who has the competencies for the position, can motivate his/her team, helps them to achieve company's goals, encouraging a quality work.*"

In addition, they were asked about some demographics data: gender, birth year, marital status, if they have children, how many children they have, and which industry/area they work. In order to facilitate the task, all materials (instructions, description, profiles, answer sheet, demographics data form) were printed in separated sheets.

4.2 Research Design

In order to design a CA study, it is necessary to define the set of profiles, which will be evaluated by the individuals. Because a profile is a combination of attributes' levels, the first step is to state the relevant attributes and their levels.

The definition of relevant attributes is usually based on research objectives, expert opinions, and research literature (Kuzmanovic et al. 2013). Regarding levels, their range must describe real competitive alternatives, being narrow enough and providing enough variation (Biesma et al. 2007). In addition, it is necessary to have a balanced number of levels among the attributes, because attribute's importance is higher when the attribute has more levels (Hair et al. 2009). Finally, looking for designing realistic, precise, practical and readable profiles, some authors have recommended to utilize no more than 2–4 levels (Kuzmanovic et al. 2013; Orme 2009; Popović et al. 2012). In fact, the more number of attribute/levels there are, the more complex the task is to respondents. When there are more profiles to evaluate, factors such as cognitive limitations, time constrains, boredom, or fatigue will affect reliability of results in CA.

Consequently, and based on previous research, we defined the variables and their levels: gender (man or woman), marital status (single, married, and divorce), and if they have children (yes or no). In addition, we included three control variables and their levels: managerial experience (2 years, between 2 and 4 years, more than

4 years), education (public or private university), and age (between 28 and 30 years, between 31 and 35 years, older than 35 years). All these attributes are meaningful in a professional profile, are independent of each other, and are possible to combine in practical, realistic profiles.

The second step is to define how to perform CA, because there are different methods, such as full profile, adaptive or choice-based approach, but its use depends on the way preferences are elicited from respondents (Rao 2014). In this research, we performed a full profile approach based on rank-order information. We utilized this approach because it resembles the way recruiters classify prospects' curriculums. In addition, full profile is an excellent approach when researchers utilize six or less attributes and paper-based surveys (Orme and King 1998). Lastly, those attributes such as gender or weight, which could lead to social desirable answers from respondents, are not evaluated in isolated way and directly asking people. Therefore, its relative importance is derived from the trade-offs among all attributes made by individuals when they rank the profiles, obtaining a more real and non-bias answer (Scase and Turnbull 2013).

Finally, the profiles must be created. If we had applied a full factorial design to respondents, they would have had to evaluate 216 different profiles (all possible alternatives). Evidently, this number of profiles was not possible to evaluate meaningfully for any individual in any circumstances (Hair et al. 2009). Therefore, utilizing a pre-established routine in SPSS, we diminished the number of stimuli using a fractional factorial design, obtaining 16 orthogonal profiles. This procedure allowed to minimize the number of stimuli, maintaining relatively balanced profiles and no correlation (orthogonality) among attributes and levels (Hair et al. 2009). At the same time, it is possible to estimate the main effects of the attributes (Wu et al. 2014). Table 1 shows the 16 profiles utilized in this study.

5   Results

Collected data was analyzed through conjoint analysis procedure in SPSS software. First, it was estimated the part-worth utilities (similar to regression coefficients) for all attribute levels previously defined. Table 2 shows the results by attribute level:

In conjoint analysis, levels with higher part-worth values are preferred to those with lower ones (Caruso et al. 2009; Hair et al. 2009). Therefore, in the case of gender and as expected, a female prospect is less preferred to a male one. However, the respondents prefer a married prospect than a single or divorce one, and better if she/he has children. In addition, a prospect between 31 and 35 years is preferred to a younger or older one, more job experience is preferred to less, and a public university is preferred to a private one. This is consistent with the local status of Universities in Chile, where public Universities have a higher status and rank higher than the private ones. Our results showed a high level of correlation between observed and estimated preferences, Kendall's tau = 0.895 (p = 0.000), signaling the high quality of the obtained data (Popović et al. 2012). Finally, on average, the

Table 1 Alternative profiles

ID	Gender	Marital status	Children	Managerial experience	Education	Age
1	Woman	Married	No	2 years	Private Univ.	Between 31 and 35 years
2	Woman	Single	No	More than 4 years	Private Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
3	Man	Married	No	Between 2 and 4 years	Private Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
4	Woman	Divorced	Yes	2 years	Private Univ.	Older than 35 years
5	Man	Single	No	2 years	Public Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
6	Man	Single	No	2 years	Private Univ.	Older than 35 years
7	Woman	Single	Yes	More than 4 years	Private Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
8	Man	Divorced	No	More than 4 years	Public Univ.	Between 31 and 35 years
9	Man	Divorced	Yes	Between 2 and 4 years	Private Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
10	Woman	Divorced	No	2 years	Public Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
11	Woman	Single	Yes	Between 2 and 4 years	Public Univ.	Between 31 and 35 years
12	Woman	Single	No	Between 2 and 4 years	Public Univ.	Older than 35 years
13	Man	Single	Yes	2 years	Private Univ.	Between 31 and 35 years
14	Woman	Married	Yes	2 years	Public Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
15	Man	Single	Yes	2 years	Public Univ.	Between 28 and 30 years
16	Man	Married	Yes	More than 4 years	Public Univ.	Older than 35 years

most preferred prospect would be a married man with children, from a public university, between 31 and 35 years of age, and with more than 4 years of similar job experience.

Second, it was evaluated the relative importance of the attribute in the recruiting decision. The importance is computed dividing the range of utility values for an attribute by the sum of these ranges across all attributes (SPSS 2001). Figure 1 shows the averaged attribute importance among all respondents. According to this, job experience is the most important attribute when people decide who to recruit, followed by age and marital status. Surprisingly for a male dominant culture like Chile, and although our sample was composed 80% by men gender is the less important attribute, representing just 8.9% of the sum of all ranges of utility.

Finally, we also analyzed the existence of segments with different preferences. To do this, we performed a cluster analysis based on individual part-worth utilities,

Table 2 Averaged part-worth utilities

Attribute	Attribute level	Part-worth utilities	Std. error
Age	Between 28 and 30 years	−0.308	0.180
	Between 31 and 35 years	0.259	0.211
	More than 35 years	0.049	0.211
Job experience	2 years	−2.215	0.180
	Between 2 and 4 years	0.241	0.211
	More than 4 years	1.974	0.211
Gender	Man	0.029	0.135
	Woman	−0.029	0.135
Education	Private	−0.493	0.135
	Public	0.493	0.135
Marital status	Single	−0.179	0.180
	Married	0.782	0.211
	Divorced	−0.603	0.211
Children	No	−0.578	0.135
	Yes	0.578	0.135
Intercept		9.176	0.156
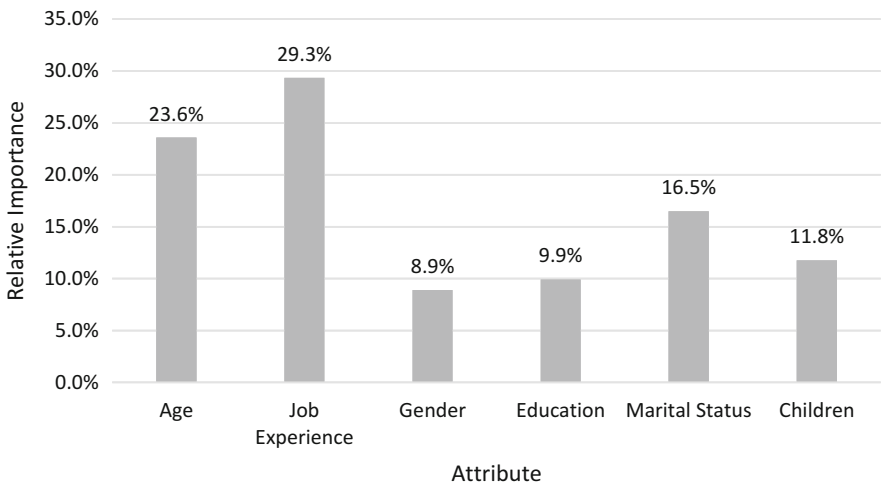
Fig. 1 Averaged attribute importance values

respondent's age and respondent's number of children. We found three clusters, their results are showed in Table 3 and Fig. 2.

The main difference between clusters is age. We can distinguish three groups, the younger ones with an average age of 35 years with one child, a second group with an average age of 45 and 2–3 children, and the eldest group with an average age of 57 years old and 3.1 children in average. These three clusters evaluate the candidates attribute differently.

Table 3 Averaged part-worth utilities and demographic data by cluster

Variable		Cluster		
		1	2	3
Age	Between 28 and 30 years	−0.95	0.27	−0.31
	Between 31 and 35 years	0.44	0.27	−0.35
	More than 35 years	0.51	−0.54	0.65
Job experience	2 years	−2.36	−2.25	−1.64
	Between 2 and 4 years	0.48	0.07	0.09
	More than 4 years	1.88	2.18	1.55
Gender	Man	0.09	0.01	−0.09
	Woman	−0.09	−0.01	0.09
Education	Private	−0.50	−0.54	−0.29
	Public	0.50	0.54	0.29
Marital status	Single	−0.16	−0.14	−0.38
	Married	0.44	0.96	1.23
	Divorced	−0.28	−0.82	−0.85
Children	No	−0.95	−0.14	−0.96
	Yes	0.95	0.14	0.96
Respondent's quantity of children		2.4	1.0	3.1
Respondent's age		45	35	57
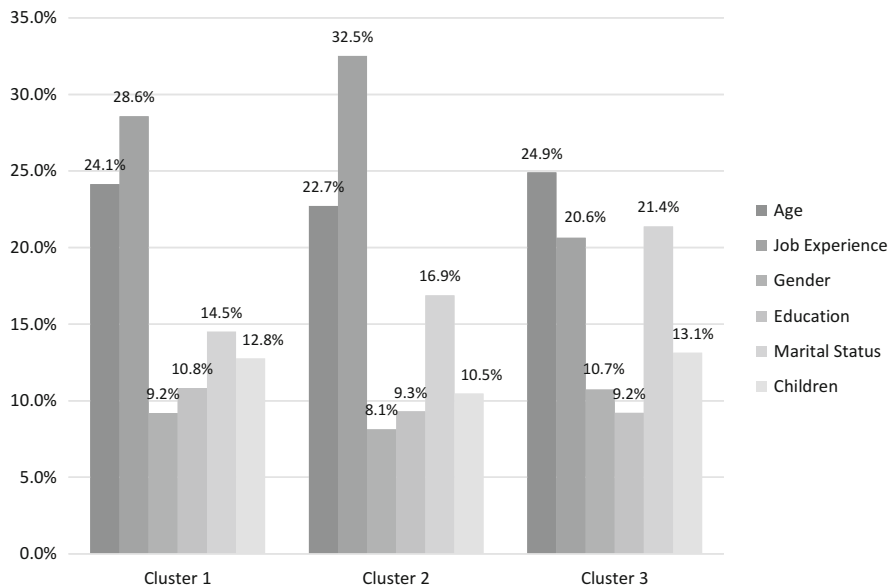
Fig. 2 Averaged attribute importance values by cluster

Cluster 1 are people with an average age of 45 years, and older than 36 years old. When they recruit someone, job experience (28.6%) is more important than age (24.1%). The rest of variables are slightly similar in importance, being gender the less important, but preferring men than women. In sum, for them, the older and more experienced the prospect is, the more preferred will be.

Cluster 2 are the younger respondents, with an average age of 35 years and 80% younger than 37 years old. For them, job experience (32.5%) is extremely important versus the rest of variables. After that, they focus on age (22.7%) and marital status (16.9%), being the rest of variables similar. However, they prefer married, younger and more experienced male prospects than others.

Finally, cluster 3 are the older ones (48 years old or more), with an average age of 57 years. In contrast to the other two groups, age (24.9%) is the most importance variable, similarly followed by marital status (21.4%) and job experience (20.6%). The rest of variables are slightly similar; however, gender is not the less important. In addition, they prefer female prospects to male ones. In fact, they prefer an older, married with children women from a public university with 4 or more years of experience than any other prospect. For all groups, having children and coming from a public university are preferred to their alternatives.

6 Discussion

Professionals put emphasis on different characteristics when deciding whom to recruit. We proposed that a female prospect is less preferred to a male one for a leadership position, but results show that the decision process is more complex and that other elements also affects the attractiveness of a candidate. Stereotypes are important, and facilitate the decision process, but usually we assume that gender has a greater impact specially in a mail dominant culture like Chile, and we minimize the influence of other characteristics.

The present study shows that, in equal conditions, a female prospect is less preferred to a male one for a leadership position, but the present study also shows that other characteristics such as the job experience or the type of university the candidate attended, are more important than gender in the decision process of recruiting a candidate, in the Chilean context. Therefore, other variables can mitigate the effect of being woman in this context.

Another finding of this study is that people use stereotypes to make decisions, but these stereotypes may vary between groups. Our results show that the age of the recruiter affects the decision-making process. Younger recruiters give more importance to experience, while elder recruiters give more importance to the age of the candidate. While all of them preferred candidates with children and coming from a public university. These characteristics show that, although we may find differences between recruiters, the context is more relevant, because stereotypes are built on social construct. Our sample shows that in Chile, having children and a degree of a

public university gives enough information to gatekeepers to let candidates in or out. While gender, although it is important, it is the less important variable of all.

Also, the methodology proposed in this study shows that decision making process is more complex, and that decision makers take several variables into consideration at the same time. In addition, recruiters' characteristics also affect the decision, increasing complexity. Conjoint analysis, not commonly used in this field of study, has an important advantage in this type of research, because it helps to reveal complex preferences about objects simulating real decision-making processes. CA put together several variables that affect the recruitment process, and can differentiate among the recruiters about their preferences and importance of variables in the decision. This information is very useful to understand and differentiate the biases that take place in this type of decision making.

6.1 Conclusions

Gatekeepers influence organizations by allowing some candidates to go through the *gate*, but what we thought was the most important characteristics to choose who goes in and who stays out, is not gender. The decision process is more complex, and it is not only affected by the characteristics of the candidates, but also by the ones of the recruiter.

Previous research has showed gender as an important factor in recruiting decisions, however our results challenge that premise. Gatekeepers do not face just gender, but people with all their characteristics. When they should decide about a managerial position, they evaluate several job profiles conformed by different variables. So, the decision is based on the profile, not just looking at one variable. According to this, in Chilean context, it is more important job experience, age and marital status before than gender. Then, even though gender still has a negative impact, this could be mitigated for the importance of the other variables in the recruiting decision. For example, a woman applying for a managerial position could be recruited if she possesses more job experience and/or is older than male prospects.

Traditional ways to evaluate the impact of gender in recruiting decisions do not allow to understand the complexity of this decision. CA is a technique which help us to simulate a more real situation than alternative methods do, especially in situations where multiple variables interact at the same time. As a result, it allows us to understand more clearly the importance of each of these variables in the decision and to reveal hidden or unconscious pattern of behavior. Additionally, based on their preferences, it is possible to segment decision-makers, understanding the relationship between decision-makers' characteristics and their recruiting preferences.

Finally, CA appears as an innovative tool for supporting in different human resources decisions. First, it could help in recruiting decisions revealing applicants' job preferences and comparing them against company's preferences. Second, it could help in performance evaluation processes, giving information about cognitive

maps utilized by executives (Priem 1992). Finally, revealing negative stereotypes, generating training and development opportunities inside a company.

6.2 Future Research

Results shows that the low presence of female leaders in Chile is not explained only by gender stereotypes, therefore future research should evaluate if the experience showed by men and women are equally evaluated.

In addition, it is interesting to comment next situations. First, there could be a quadratic relationship between preference and prospect's age, which was not considered in our model. Then, more research is needed.

6.3 Limitations

Utility scores depend on both the particular combination of attributes and the personal characteristics of individuals (Biesma et al. 2007). Therefore, two limitations emerge. First, in order to evaluate our hypotheses, it is necessary to test different profiles in similar samples. Second, it is necessary to evaluate the original profiles in other samples, such as head-hunters or human resource managers. If we find similar results, we will obtain robust conclusions.

To isolate the possible effect of number of levels on estimation, it is necessary to test the impact of all variables with just two levels. Despite our results, the three-level variables: age, job experience and marital status could have a bigger impact due to have one more level than gender, education or children. Therefore, more research is needed.

Finally, it is necessary to compare these results against similar simulations about lower management levels in a company. This could help to analyze the existence of differences in recruiting decisions depending on the company level evaluated.

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Women's Re-entry into Workforce: Experiences from India

Pavni Kaushiva and Chetan Joshi

Abstract Working lives face several interruptions, either due to employers' decisions, new regulations or individuals' choices, resulting in breaks, slumps, stagnations or even exits. Several types of job seekers thus arise due to such interruptions, of which one category comprises individuals seeking to re-enter the workforce after a period of voluntary exit. Most South Asian countries face a challenge of low labor force participation of women with the exit of women significantly high in middle and senior levels of an organization. The Indian workforce reports a reduction in the number of women at higher organizational positions. While the percentage of women employees hired at the entry level across industries is 21, it shrinks to 15% at higher positions; of these 28% quit their jobs at the executive levels. One of the primary reasons for women leaving the workforce is child-birth. However, recent years have seen such women seeking to return to full-time work after a voluntary exit. This chapter shall focus on the experiences of women who left their jobs post child-birth and returned to the industry after a prolonged absence. We use the term re-entry women to describe such women and seek to understand their experiences of re-entry. Based on interviews with 15 women in various professions, we present the work and family expectations as perceived by women and try to understand how they navigate these during re-entry.

1 Introduction

Working lives face several interruptions, either due to employers' decisions, new regulations or individuals' choices, resulting in breaks, slumps, stagnations or even exits. Re-employment candidates could arise as a result of such interruptions ending in either involuntary or voluntary turnover. Out of the job seekers thus created, one category is that of individuals seeking to re-enter the workforce after a period of voluntary exit. The reasons for such exits could be medical, self-employment or

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family-related such as re-location of spouse, marriage, elder-care and child-birth. Of the various family-related reasons, childbirth is the most prominent factor of turn-over among women employees (Glass and Riley 1998; Hirsh 1992; Park and Kim 2015; Rajesh 2013; Ravindran and Baral 2013). Most South Asian countries face a challenge of low labor force participation of women (International Labour Organization 2015). The exit of women is significantly high in middle and senior levels of an organization (Catalyst 2013; Confederation of Indian Industries 2015a, b). The striking under-representation of women in senior corporate leadership positions continues to attract a great deal of scholarly and policy-making attention (Catalyst 2013; Confederation of Indian Industries 2015a, b). While the percentage of women employees hired at the entry level across industries is 21, the percentage shrinks to 15 as one moves up the ladder. Of these remaining few, 28% reportedly quit their jobs at the executive levels (Catalyst 2014). According to a 2014 report by World Economic Forum on BRICS nations, India was seen to be a poor performer with respect to handling gender diversity. According to a survey by World Economic Forum, the ability of women to rise up to enterprise leadership positions in India is 3.9 on a scale of 1–7 which is reflected in the statistic of women forming only 7% of the members on the boards of listed companies (Singh 2015).

However the last few years have seen a positive trend of such women returning to work. Studies on re-employment after involuntary or voluntary breaks have focussed on successful re-employment of individuals. Theunissen et al. (2011) found gender as an interacting factor such that family leaves and unemployment were more harmful for re-employment success of men than women. Koch et al. (2015) showed the significant presence of gender congruity bias of employers in various experimental studies on hiring decisions. Andersson (2015) cited gender as the most significant predictor of re-employment in a study of blue-collar employees where males were seen to have greater success in getting reemployed as compared to women. The experience of seeking re-entry by women thus becomes an important area of exploration in gender diversity literature. This manuscript supports the call for research in gender diversity to include barriers to women's advancement that lie outside the scope of organizations and yet have important implications for gender integration within these organizations (Joshi et al. 2015). Few studies have focused on experiences of voluntary exit by women and their effect on women's re-employment (for exception, see Arun et al. 2004; Glass and Riley 1998; Houston and Marks 2003). In this chapter, we seek to understand the experiences of "re-entry women" who had made a conscious decision of quitting their organizations, instead of availing leaves on the grounds of medical conditions or pregnancy. For instance, Indian law mandates firms to provide women with 3[1] months of paid maternity leave. Some firms with favourable policies also allow women to extend their maternity leave beyond the 3-month period with a loss of pay. However, a woman

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[1]Under a recently passed Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Act, 2017 in India paid maternity leave has been increased to 24 weeks (as against the previous 12 weeks limit) in case of women having less than two surviving children.

on maternity leave may view her situation and opportunities differently. Use of even the full 3-month leave may call for a stigma at the workplace by creating an image of a person who places family before work and is thus not as committed to her career as a woman without children. Such anticipations are not unfounded as many studies regarding women and career have focused on the effect of pregnancy on managers' perceptions (Hoobler et al. 2009; Leslie et al. 2012), identity management by the pregnant employee (Little et al. 2015), discrimination faced at the work place (Berdahl and Moore 2006; Halpert et al. 1993), gender harassment (Raver and Nishii 2010) and hiring discrimination (Rajesh 2013). The consequences studied include stigma of using flexi policies (Blair-Loy and Wharton 2002), issues faced by pregnant employees, wage gaps, effect on women employees' performance and organizational commitment (Raver and Nishii 2010). Stereotypical beliefs and attitudes towards pregnant employees feed the motherhood penalty that women face when they later come back into the professional workspace.

In India, over 80% respondents of a survey believed that "changing diapers, giving kids a bath, and feeding kids are the mother's responsibility" (Sabnavis 2015). Even in countries with numerous organizational and national support policies, the issue of gendered domestic responsibilities affects women's career as the majority of gender-neutrally presented flexibility options tend to be taken by the mother (Seierstad and Kirton 2015). Inflexible gender roles increase the workload on such women who have to manage child-care, elder-care and house-keeping responsibilities in an environment that lacks or even downplays the importance of supportive facilities for child and family care. Males and females are situated differently in the Indian society, and workplaces reflect this societal structure. Bringing in the societal context of workplace experience is thus essential to understand why women may be facing these dilemmas and hurdles, especially in countries like India where traditions and culture are held in high regard (Ravindran and Baral 2014). Impact of the societal structure on workplace experiences indicates a need to adopt a socio-organizational perspective to understand workplace dynamics in a better manner. The manner and process of re-employment require further understanding in the cases of such women re-entrants. The study by Arun et al. (2004) reported higher wage penalty for women if they had taken a career break in order to care for their young. Arun and colleagues also highlight the effect of reason for the break on the likelihood of women planning a return to work, such that a child-related was more likely to lower the likelihood of return to work. No study to our knowledge has focused on the period away from work and the experience of re-employment in the overall process of re-entry of a mother. The experience during re-employment provides a mother the first instances of interacting with and understanding her potential employers. It will affect her attitude towards joining and strategies as a new employee after joining. We address this gap by explaining the role of gendered expectations on the tactics used by women to re-enter. By analysing the effect of normative expectations of gender-based social roles on professional women's re-entry, this chapter offers an understanding of barriers to women's advancement that lie outside the scope of organizations to the body of knowledge on gender diversity.

The Indian context with its traditionally gendered norms is likely to have a major impact on a mother's process of re-entry. The focus of the current study was on the experience of women who exited after child-birth and returned to the industry after a prolonged absence. We use the term re-entry women to describe such women and seek to understand their experiences of "re-entry." "Re-entry woman" has been defined in previous studies as someone who is re-entering the workforce after a prolonged absence, or a modification of the same as a woman who still has children at home and is returning to work after 2–10 years (Ericksen et al. 2008). Based on 15 interviews with women in various professions, this chapter seeks to explain their re-entry experiences and how they navigate the different expectations of family and work.

2   Literature

Good mothers are typically present for their children, nurture and care for others, put needs of their family before their own and do not prioritize work over family (Powell 2010). They may also take a few years of break from full-time paid work to be with their children till they are old enough to join pre-school. These conflicts become significant if the woman has to navigate more traditional cultural settings (Maheshwari 2014; Pedulla and Thébaud 2015). Maheshwari (2014) analysed the experiences of women during the motherhood phase through a grounded approach and reported the conflicts experienced by professional women due to their social and work roles, wherein women experience negative changes in the attitude of superiors, colleagues and even subordinates at work while also experiencing change in identity due to motherhood. Many studies have explored the dilemmas that may arise out of a conflict in identities of working mothers who want to continue their professional journey alongside motherhood. Kanji and Cahusac (2015) presented the 'work-life' balance chosen by women in the light of their continuous struggle to reconcile professional and maternal identities before and after workplace exit. The decision to exit has been debated by scholars to reflect the choice of family over work or a resultant situation due to various external constraints faced by the women (Cahusac and Kanji 2014; Stone and Lovejoy 2004). Social roles comprise of expectations that originate from membership in social groups such as gender or ethnicity, or from work and domestic roles. Of these, the normative expectations can be seen to have a major role in women's career growth. We propose the use of Social role theory (Eagly 1987) and Role Congruity Theory (Eagly and Karau 2002) to understand the effect of the period of break and re-employment in the development of women's understandings of their roles as mothers and professionals and the reported conflict between these roles.

Social role theory (Eagly 1987) describes the self to exist only through the interaction with others by which the social-self develops. Consequently, there are multiple selves. A person also develops a sense of generalized other that defines what people, in general, would expect and how they would evaluate his or her

actions. Within this context, roles are particular behaviors and expectations tied to particular positional labels. Actions are built into ordered systems which affect an individual's interpersonal as well as societal behavior. A position in the social system is thus simply a collection of rights and duties attached to it, and social roles are the behavioral enactment of these rights and duties by an individual.

Social roles of men and women, which are defined on the basis of sex, and the division of labor that has been seen to exist between them are gender roles. While roles developed due to this division over the ages, stereotypes around them formed due to expectations that arose for the role, incorrectly ascribed to the sex of the individual and hence have extended beyond those positions to any and every behavior of the individual. Due to these traditional roles, women are often expected to be more warm and nurturing while men are expected to be dominant and competitive. Thus, social role theory treats the differing assignments of women and men into social roles as the fundamental underlying cause of sex-differentiated social behavior. It suggests a double bind for women managers, as the stereotypes of nurturing, communal social roles in addition to "think leader, think male" stereotype leads them to be negatively evaluated by colleagues, affecting the quality of manager-subordinate exchanges and job-based resource outcomes. Among these evaluations, women majorly face perceptions of being too emotional, less committed, not being capable of finishing tasks and of not planning to return to work after childbirth. As such, categorization of mothers (women employees) by managers (Hoobler et al. 2009) affects mentoring, pay decisions and performance evaluations (Halpert et al. 1993) which are important workplace experiences for women. Such experiences, especially during and post pregnancy, play a major role in their decisions regarding work. One of the few studies on career breaks and re-entry of Indian professional women was carried out by Ravindran and Baral (2013) in which they identified factors contributing to women's exit and their decisions regarding return. The study reported the effect of workplace support factors such as policies, work-family culture and diversity climate on the job attitudes and behaviors of women. Expectations faced by women in the domestic and work sphere were captured as individual level differences of perception of demands that moderate the relationship between workplace support factors and job attitudes and behaviors of women returners leading to dilemmas of being a good employee and a good mother.

Like other social roles, gender roles have descriptive norms that are expectations about what people do, as well as injunctive norms that are expectations about what a person would ideally do (Eagly et al. 2000). While descriptive norms are guidelines for reference, a deviation is generally met with surprise. However, injunctive norms tell a person what is desirable and morally approved by significant others, a deviation from which produces emotions tinged more strongly with moral disapproval. Eagly and Karau's Role Congruity Theory (2002) explains the prejudiced behavior of employers towards women leaders who do not display the characteristic feminine traits of care and nurture by evaluating them poorly in their role as leaders. It has been used to describe approval of certain behaviors and resulting prejudice against incongruent individuals (Diekman and Goodfriend 2006; Eagly and Diekman 2005).

Gender roles can also induce differences in the behavior of men and women regardless of any inborn psychological difference between them by punishments and rewards. The expectation that women should be the caregivers and other-oriented may thus underline women's actions within the family as well as their work in terms of preference for particular job types, likelihood of extended absence from work, etc.

Eagly and Karau (2002), provided evidence of the mechanism through which social roles and gender categories interact to produce bias. They showed that incongruities between social role prescribing women as communal and the social roles of leaders which should be individualistic and agentic, lead to prejudice against women relative to men within leadership roles. This mechanism of role congruity also highlights how information regarding a social role informs social judgments. For example, the presence of others and fear of normative discrimination may increase the salience of gender roles and their conformity for the individual. While social role theory has been used in extant literature to describe stereotypes and discriminatory behavior (Koenig and Eagly 2014), role congruity provides an analysis of the way social roles impact behaviour. For example, gender normative goals of men and women have been reported to have an impact on the kind of careers chosen by them (Diekman et al. 2010; Evans and Diekman 2009). The congruity perspective extends the social role framework to understand how social roles influence goal selection and progress towards goals (Diekman and Steinberg 2013).

Social roles and normative expectations can be used to understand an individual's behavior under specific conditions. For our study, Social role theory and Role congruity can be used to understand how the contrast between expectations from a working professional and those from a mother may impact the behavior of women after childbirth. In what follows, we use gender role congruity and social role theories to understand how a woman navigates the immediate role of a mother and the aspired role of a professional when she seeks to re-enter the workforce after a period of voluntary break from full-time employment. We thus aim to understand the process of re-entry by women after a career break due to child-birth.

3 Method

An interpretive qualitative approach using in-depth, semi-structured interviews was used to understand women's expectations, anticipations and behavior during the period of their absence from work as well as the period of search for re-employment. In-depth interviews are useful in capturing experiences of those who have lived the problem of interest. It is also the preferred method to use in research exploring personal and sensitive issues (Rubin and Rubin 2011). We used semi-structured interviews that provided a guiding structure to focus on the particular period of re-entry while also allowing flexibility to probe for more details. This helped in capturing insights from the participants (Fontana and Frey 1994; Patton 1990).

Participants were broadly approached through a combination of "snowball" and "purposive" techniques (Miles and Huberman 1994; Patton 1990). We tried to capture maximum variance within the sample (Patton 1990). We started the preliminary round by approaching women attending executive management programs at an esteemed management institute in eastern India to interview women who have children and have re-entered the workforce after a previous exit from work. In addition, the focus was on private sector jobs as public sector jobs[2] may not require the employee to quit due to availability of different policies of leave. The aim was to interview women who are married, have children and have re-entered the workforce after a prolonged absence from work. We then asked these women if they could get us in touch with someone they knew who'd be willing to share their experience for our research. A period of 5 years at home is seen to result in career re-orientation in women (Lovejoy and Stone 2012). Moreover, in the case of new mothers the first 2 years have been seen to be more demanding (Leibowitz et al. 1992). We thus tried to interview mothers with younger, school going kids and who had recently come back to work (One participant was appearing for job interviews at the time of this study). We discuss findings based on interviews with 15 women who had left their previous jobs (including one woman who took a year-long sabbatical leave). The duration of break from professional work was mostly 2–3 years with only one woman who had an 8-year gap before her re-entry. The participants were from different regions of India (viz. National Capital Region (NCR), Hyderabad and Mumbai) and were working in different industries (see Table 1).

These cities are major metropolitan areas and industrial hubs of India with many people migrating from different states to work in organizations located here. Hyderabad and NOIDA (in NCR) host several companies from the IT sector. Mumbai, Delhi and Gurugram[3] (in NCR) are majorly known for finance and banking industries. Due to migration for work, most of our participants (12 out of 15) had a nuclear set up at home with frequent visits by in-laws and parents. Another aspect bringing diversity in their experiences was the time of exit; while 11 of these women had left their jobs while on maternity leave, 4 of the participants had quit before the pregnancy.

The interviews were conducted in person unless under exceptional circumstances (only one participant was interviewed telephonically as a face-to-face meeting could not be set up). The interview durations varied from 45 min to about 2 h and were conducted either at the women's homes or cafes near their workplaces. Interviews were audio-recorded (with the interviewee's permission) and later transcribed verbatim. The interviews focused on their exit from work, period away from work, decision to return and experiences post return. We asked the women general

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[2]Public sector jobs in India refer to positions in companies in which the Union Government or State Government or any Territorial Government owns a share of 51% or more. Other companies comprise the private sector.

[3]Gurgaon, a city in the Indian state of Haryana is part of the National Capital Region of India. It was officially renamed 'Gurugram' in April 2016. However, many companies continue to use "Gurgaon" in their addresses or signage.

Table 1 Participant details

Participant[a]	Domain of work before exit	Domain of work after exit	No. of children	Age at time of interview	Whether already returned to work	Work exp. before exit (months)	Duration of break (months)	Time since re-entry (months)	Staying with in-laws	Interviewee's city	Interview duration (min)	Transcript length (words)
Neha	Finance	Finance	1	36	Yes	86	6	60	Yes	New Delhi	80	9934
Niharika	IT	IT	2	39	Yes	108	12	24	No	New Delhi	45	3129
Nisha	IT	IT	2	38	Yes	21	12	72	Yes	Noida	72	8079
Nishtha	IT	IT	1	35	Yes	36	34	58	Yes	Noida	50	4252
Hema	IT	IT	1	33	Yes	96	18	12	No	Hyd	94	13,923
Henna	HR	NGO	2	33	Yes	60	36	72	Yes	Hyd	95	11,597
Himanshi	Nil	Self-venture	2	37	Yes	54	24	30	Yes	Hyd	90	8565
Harleen	HR	HR	2	38	Yes	84	48	72	No	Hyd	136	13,242
Swati	IT	IT	2	32	Yes	72	24	12	No	Hyd	120	9986
Shikha	IT	IT	2	39	Yes	147	32	12	No	Hyd	77	7820
Sana	IT	IT	2	32	Yes	72	72	12	No	Hyd	109	14,967
Megha	Law	N.A. (appearing for job interviews at time of interview)	1	27	No	60	24	0	No	Mumbai	59	7110
Mitu	IT	IT	1	31	Yes	90	18	20	No	Mumbai	61	8927
Mona	Education counsellor	Media and Advertising	1	36	Yes	12	18	96	No	Mumbai	128	11,793
Mansi	NGO	Media	1	29	Yes	44	20	18	No	Mumbai	90	6351

[a]Order in which author met the participants

questions about their experience in the current jobs and their decisions to exit the previous jobs. We also asked them to describe a typical day during the period of their absence from work, what they did, who they interacted with and the manner of work at home. We then asked questions related to their job search, their decision of going back to work, preparation for re-entry, discussions with family members or others and who they had approached for advice or guidance.

Our approach for analysis is influenced by the work of Braun and Clarke (2006) and Silverman (2000). Using methods recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006), interviews and conversations were first documented and coded using detailed line-by-line coding. We then identified key themes using inductive thematic analysis to discover the patterns in our data. The responses shed light on various areas affecting the women's experiences of their break, manner of re-entry and the resultant experiences post re-entry. However, when the participants of this study spoke of their experiences during the period of job search, application for jobs and hiring interviews for re-entry, almost all women spent time on why they had exited in the first place, and their change in preferences for certain kinds of job profiles or organizations. Therefore, we believe that work expectations based on previous work experiences, along with motherhood expectations play an important role in the women's decision to re-enter. Our analysis includes their previous, personal as well as vicarious, experiences at work and how they may be major factors in the re-entry of the women. Interviews highlighted the impact of societal norms of gender and related expectations from women on their systems of child care.

4 Findings

In this section, we present the results of thematic analysis of the interviews in the form of four themes that explain decisions regarding re-entry taken by the women:

(a) Perceived work expectations
(b) Unequal share of childcare
(c) Perceived loss of job opportunities
(d) Re-entry tactics

4.1 Perceived Work Expectations

The experience of women at the workplace, especially during their pregnancy plays a significant role in their decision to continue or quit their jobs. These experiences could involve interactions with supervisors and peers as well as organizational and environmental variables such as organizational policies or organizational culture. The most common concern among the participants of this study regarding work was the seemingly unsurpassable set of expectations from employees. Many companies

have a minimum number of hours of work required per day. However, overtime is generally evaluated positively, creating an informal norm of working late hours. Another factor which may contribute to this norm is that most service sector firms cater to international clients leading to new requirements arising after mid-day. This may require employees to stretch work hours to meet strict deadlines (10 out of 15 participants expressed anxieties over work expectations). Women spoke of the expectation from employees to spend time at work beyond office hours and on weekends as well. Physical presence in office, irrespective of productivity in terms of work was the perceived expectation as it was the most often brought up factor in evaluation discussions. However, such norms assume that spouses manage the employee's personal front. In such a scenario, use of flexible working hours appears as a cost borne by the company and an expression of reduced commitment of women post maternity. Such norms perpetuate stereotypes around women's reduced commitment and competence for work post child-birth as most women tend to avoid overtime to be with family.

While speaking about her decision to quit instead of availing her organization's maternity leave, Neha[4] recalls the only example of a woman employee in her firm who had opted for flexible working hours post maternity. Her reactions bring to fore the ingrained expectations from the ideal worker in most firms and the fear it can create about falling short and being penalized in an attempt to integrate family with work:

> She'd gone on a regular six-month leave (post maternity) and then she'd come back. So yeah all these conversations happened. Whether you really want to leave or not… And we'll give you a…you know, you'll get everything. But I didn't want to be in that flexi position…Of course it has an effect. And it's natural also that you aren't there. You are working at 60% along with others who are working at 100%. You know, you'll not be rated at par…Which is fine… Ya, so opting for fewer hours was never an option because it was available as an HR policy but we're all high performance oriented kind of people and we want to be rated the best. And if you're not available, then you're not rated the best. And if you take a flexi position so then obviously you're… just to be fair to the rest you're not putting in as much above average compared to what your colleagues are putting and hence you can't be asking, raising your hand for your next promotion and umm best grade.

Neha's justification of such norms on the grounds of a fair system of apparent merit also highlights the thought process of working women who feel that becoming a 'high performer' in an organization can be achieved if one closely ascribes to ideal worker norms. Workplaces continue to demand 'ideal workers', who put in long hours, and are on call at all times. Such demands can be fulfilled only if the employee's non-work domain is managed by a spouse, thus presenting the ideal worker to be the ideal male worker (Acker 1990). This leaves women employees striving to manage time between work and home post maternity which may cause anxiety regarding one's 'productivity' at work. Swati, an IT professional, experienced great anxiety regarding her perceived productivity post maternity as she had moved to a new company as a means for growth in her career. This led her to go back

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[4]We have used pseudo-names for names of all participants and organization throughout the chapter.

to her previous employer as she hoped her past performance would establish her credibility as a productive employee and not as a cost to the company due to her request for flexible working hours.

Swati   "*it was not easy especially immediately after coming back to work. You had to convince your manager that you will be available (at work) only for 5–6 hours and then go home and then maybe I (will) connect in the night and all that but things didn't work out for me and I quit and I joined ABC back. So back to the first company. . .so people are supportive but somewhere I think every woman has that feeling in her, of trying to do justice here and (emphasis by Swati) there. Guilt is there so that was more of an internal guilt that I was fighting with more than support from the organization. . .the organization could. . . guilt with respect to work. . .am I really doing what I would have done a year back you know, where I didn't have many responsibilities—the kind of work the effort I used to put in then am I able to do that or not*"

Participants felt unfairly evaluated and voiced their unhappiness at such norms of late and long hours at work. The expectation from the employees to ascribe to the 'ideal male worker' traits weakens any organizational initiative towards flexibility and work-life balance as it disallows them to integrate family with work.

Megha   "*You can't expect people to you know. . .and this is another thing. . .a lot of people who are single or who don't really have a family. . .they don't mind stretching hours. And that sets a very wrong culture in the organization. Stretching in the sense—if it's a necessity then it's okay but there are some who, even if there is no work they'll just sit around and browse. But they are there! Now I'm very worried about when I do join back it's gonna be very tough managing the whole thing. It's important to a good boss. Company is important but it's very important to have a, you know, cooperative boss. Cooperative in the sense that I don't expect to be granted leaves as and when and work from home. . .but at least there should be some reasonable expectations to be set.*"

We thus see the perceived set of expectations for a 'productive' employee to be very demanding and hence a major factor in women's decisions regarding re-entry.

4.2   Unequal Share of Childcare

The period away from work post maternity involves great uncertainties for a mother as she transitions from being a full-time working professional to a full-time care-giver. It involves a change in the woman's self-image with the gendered, social role of the mother becoming salient. The changes in environment, role and self-image affect the different actions taken by women in this phase and also their decisions during re-entry. A standard explanation given by women regarding their decision to

stay at home was the need for them to take care of the children till they joined school and the mutual decision taken by the women with their spouse. For example, Niharika mentions that the decision for her to leave her job was taken in consultation with her husband as that time spent in caring for the child is 'her' time.

Niharika   "*We are the ones who have to manage. You have to take a call. Like my husband...we decided that I have to be here. And also this is the time that I get to be with them (children). This is my time. After that these kids will grow and they will have a thought of their own and they'll start going to school. And this is the time that I have with them so I also wanted to be here. So that is basically how you manage.*"

This reflects an unquestioned acceptance of an irreplaceable role of a mother with her child. We thus see an acceptance and participation of both—the woman and her husband in traditional child care beliefs. The woman enacts the 'good mother' role by staying at home and performing all the tasks of childcare. Even on return to work, women's daily routine included feeding the family, taking care of household chores or even dropping and picking up the child up from daycare; thus conforming to the father's role as primary earner and that of mother's as care-giver. This provides a deeper understanding of role-congruent behavior of women leaving work for child-care and not just maternity.

Neha   "*I had decided that I'd rather be a good mom and you know, look back to this time that yes I was there for my son when he had no clue. And do that well than...*"

Nisha   "*So I was the one who was solely responsible for taking care of the baby. Yeah, they [family] gave me some domestic support system, but my main responsibility was to just clean, eat and drink with the baby, in the night and the day, and just have my routine with him...after a while he was so much dependent on me that after a while I could not leave him even for an hour and go to any place.*"

Both, the father and mother perform their roles according to prevalent norms such that the 'division of chores' is disproportionate with the father's chore limited to overseeing the child only when asked.

Neha   "*No, no I would do everything (smiling). Without being...so you know all the physical activity...I was only doing. I enjoyed doing it also and I was okay. Sometimes I would ask him to do but otherwise I was only doing it. I didn't need...want him. And you know, that's the reason also why I decided I'll only do it, I'll take a break. All of that. So I was only doing it. I've not seen a different side to it. I mean, in my head also. The issue is in my head also. I didn't see anything else in my time. That [division of chores] in fact we do that now. The last... end of month and end of quarter is extremely hectic for me [at work]. I have to sometimes get back by 9. Those days you know, he comes back home early. We divide that a bit. So even ...then on we're a team*"

This belief aligns with the societal expectations of women to be the primary caregivers in the family. In the absence of alternative practices of child-care in their immediate context, women may develop these beliefs. It is thus common for women to perform all activities around the child such as feeding, bathing, cleaning, etc. and have no expectations from their spouse in sharing the work. The norm of fathers continuing their jobs with no change in work pattern further lends support to our argument that gendered expectations and striving for congruity have a major impact on women's re-entry.

4.3 Perceived Loss of Job Opportunities

Based on the perceived workload and experiences (vicarious and self) of stereotypical biases against working mothers, women experience fear and anticipation of loss of jobs available after a break in career. Participants shared their experiences of rejections from employers and perceived bias against after the break mothers (11 out of 15 participants) and the resultant strengthening of their belief in the lack of opportunities for women who take a break for child-care.

Nisha   "*Ya so I started preparing…that phase again was difficult because in this particular field I had no experience so everything demands experience and I faced lot of issues also in the beginning because they were also offering me low-grade roles and low-grade salaries and many places they didn't even consider me because I was inexperienced and also because I had taken a break. So I was actually on a long break—break and then there was that school experience. So corporate job—now I was away for two years—so it was difficult.*" [Nisha had decided to apply to a different job profile within the IT industry to avoid working in a project based environment which generally had steep deadlines and called for long work hours at office.]

Megha   "*Another place, I was called for the interview, I gave the interview and towards the end you know, I think they missed the fact that I am currently not working…So they were like "Oh! So you are not working right now?!" I said I have a break of two years…So they said "ok, ok". (Shrugging) so the interview went very well then I didn't hear back (laughs). So probably because of the break—that's what I understand.*"

Mona   "*So the time just passed with all of that. But then when we felt that the need is there that even I will have to do a job so that's where I started looking out because I had that feeling that it shouldn't be too late you know, getting opportunity and all.*"

These women had limited opportunities for re-entry. A career break for family reasons is cause for a greater penalty during re-employment as compared to a career break on study or medical grounds. In sharing their experience of hiring interviews,

we see a common thread of concern amongst prospective employers regarding the woman's capability of managing childcare along with work responsibilities, as perceived by women. This lends support to prevalent studies on the effect of stereotypes on hiring decisions.

Hema   "*When they are hiring you maybe they have this kind of…in their mind…you're coming back from break and all. They'll not give you the role and all that you were previously playing. They'll probably give you a little less one so it is easy for you to get into the system. So like in my previous job I was Tech Lead. So I was leading a team but here when I joined, I was not hired at a lead role. I was hired at a lesser role. I mean here the ranks [hierarchical level of the job title in the organization] may vary but I'm just telling you the job.*"

Henna "*So 8 months (ago) I started searching, then I started preparing as it was a gap so I used to reread whatever data I had…the printouts HR…just to brush up myself… [Printouts related to work from her previous jobs] So on the phone they asked me about the gap [of 1 year]. It was like for 8 months I was applying. So I told that it was because of my son. Again the next question—now who will take care of your son? All these days you were taking care. All these days only… my mother is there so that's why I decided to join. But this was the question…So usually they used to ask about why is this gap and now who'll take care of your child…*"

Megha "*It (job interview) was technical but everybody does ask you: do you have a family? Do you have a kid? What do you intend to do with the kid when you go to work and you know, things like that. (Smiling)…So I was not prepared with answers in advance you know…so they asked me what do you plan to do? I had already of course planned because I can't go to work without planning for my kid. So I had planned to put her in day care and after day care, my parents are nearby so they can take care of her.*"

Such experiences then affect women's choice of firm/industry/work profile such that they are able to get back to work.

4.4 Re-entry Tactics

Most of our participants (11 out of 15) expressed their need and efforts towards 'managing' the hours spent at work in order to fulfill the added responsibilities of childcare. This theme captures instances in their narratives highlighting this struggle for time to fulfill a non-overlapping set of expectations. A woman may manoeuvre her work role by looking for jobs which reduce traveling distance such that she is able to pick up her child from the daycare, or apply to companies offering flexible hours of work.

4.4.1 Accept Lower Job Profile for a "Foot in the Door"

The perception of loss of job opportunities after a break in career may push women towards accepting job profiles which are lower than the ones they had before the break in order to return to work.

Nishtha   "*So one thought process was that now she's [her daughter] small and she needs me. That's the thing but when she grows up—12–13 years, she'll be completely busy with her studies and at time what should I do? If I don't work and take a long gap...already I was at home for two years! If it extends more than 2, like 3–4 then it's very difficult to find a job also. So that's what I thought about at that time that it was better to move on.*"

Megha   "*And now actually you know, after 2–3 months of searching, a lot of my seniors and peers were advising me to take up any job that came my way. Urging me to just get back into the industry somehow—that's what people are advising me....I don't want to totally compromise on the profile but now I am in the position that...a little bit (of compromise)...it's fine (voice lowers...shrugs)*"

Mitu   "*See earlier I had in mind that I want to look for something in Thane[5] only! I don't want to get out of Thane because reaching home would be easier. But then things didn't work, I didn't get something in Thane. So there are companies, but I didn't get a call. I had applied in companies on portals like Naukri[6] and other portal but...So I thought let's start...This is a good firm but what I am doing is not of a level of which I had worked earlier...It's better than doing nothing so let's start and then in 6 months we'll look. So after six months when I again started looking, so then also in Thane I didn't get anything. Again you have to travel all over Mumbai. So I thought this is a better job than traveling all over Mumbai.*"

4.4.2 Change in Nature/Place of Work

As described earlier, the gendered system of child-care does not change even when the woman returns to the industry, which has its own set of work norms as previously experienced by the woman. Participants shared their conscious search for jobs profiles or companies that would offer them more time for family.

Himanshi "*Ya I gave my resume even at a playschool as a playschool teacher! I thought I should go for a job! That and that timing should not disturb my kid.*"

Swati   "*ok so juggling 9, 8 hours in office going back home looking after the kids was really tough...no they (in-laws) were there but I wanted to get home, you're getting my point right; although they were there, I always*

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[5]Thane is an area in the Mumbai Metropolitan region.

[6]Naukri.com is a popular Indian job portal offering a platform for jobseekers, recruitment consultants and employers to meet. 'Naukri' is a word in Hindi language that means 'job'.

> wanted to be available for my child . . .it was not at all easy you know, let me tell you. I knew that I had to do justice to family as well as to work. You can't come, log in—log out and move because I had some commitments."

Mitu   "*It was a better option because I was getting flexibility. First thing is that flexibility in work is more required. What do I do if my daughter is ill? I can't go to office and sit when she's ill. I should get that flexibility to work from home. Or I should get the flexibility that I can take a leave and all. . . .So that was one of my first criteria—it should be around where I live. So at least half an hour travel is fine. But since that was not going very well, then I have expanded my search. I don't mind traveling although not to certain locations which are very far. So 1 hour [referring to travel time] was okay. . .*"

The woman's decision to resume work after childbirth and the manner in which she chooses to work are aligned with a mother's 'duty' towards child and family. In support of social role theory, we see women trying to manoeuvre their work role on re-entry in a manner that does not lead to much incongruity with the normative role of mother as the primary caregiver.

5   Discussion and Conclusion

Social role theory helps explain the set of expectations around a woman's role in the domestic sphere and the significance of a mother's role as the primary caregiver. It also helps support our argument of the ideal worker being primarily male, allowing him undivided resources to fulfill the primary role of earner. We describe the decisions taken by women to re-enter as attempts to follow these normative expectations, providing support to role congruity theory. Our results show the perception of expectations at work, based on women's previous experiences while working, to be a major factor in their decisions regarding job search for re-entry. While social norms inform women of their primary role in the domestic sphere, the use of flexible working hours as a means to accomplish the role while pursuing a career attracts penalty from the employer. This can be explained by using role congruity theory which postulates penalty for incongruity by women leaders who display agentic behavior. We extend the concept of the double bind by explaining it to be based in the incongruity with ideal worker role rather than female caregiver role such that returning mothers face being negatively evaluated at work post maternity while trying to integrate family and work expectations.

Previous experiences of work norms and level of family integration at work lead to the development of expectations from the professional self. The woman's unequal share in caregiving responsibilities and the norm of woman 'sacrificing' professional lives for the 'more important' family life shapes her understanding of expectations from the personal or 'family' self. These two, non-overlapping sets of expectations

from self, lead to dissonance which the woman seeks to reduce, bringing a sense of equilibrium to her life. The factor coming into play here is the set of constraints within which the women need to achieve reduced dissonance. The decision to permanently exit professional career and that of not having children at present form the extremes of the continuum of solutions for reduced dissonance. Organizational initiatives towards gender diversity offer flexible timings at reduced pay or profiles with lower work responsibilities as acceptable solutions for a working mother. Within these constraints, the woman endeavors to fulfill both sets of expectations, making decisions based on the salient significant self. The new role of primary caregiver can be seen to play a major role in her attitude towards full-time work. In the period away from paid work, the identity of the previously working mother is moderated by social role expectations and has an impact on her future career interest. In this manner, the Indian context, with its traditionally gendered norms can be seen to have a major impact on a mother's process of re-entry. Few studies have focused on the exit of Indian professional women (for exception, see Ravindran and Baral 2013) and the role of social norms on the dilemmas they face between being a good employee and a good mother (for exception, see Maheshwari 2014). Our findings describe the manner in which the period of job search and application for re-employment offers mothers a chance to interact with potential employers, which may affect her attitude towards joining and strategies as a new employee after joining. No study to our knowledge has focused on this phase in the process of re-entry of a mother. We address this gap by explaining the role of gendered expectations in the tactics used by women to re-enter. Anxiety regarding performance and perceived productivity at work results in a change in her manner of job search, looking for jobs and firms that offer the optimal solution for reducing her dissonance within self-images.

We also see a reference to the implementation of organizational policies, such as flexible working hours, affecting women's planning of child-care, ultimately affecting her intention to quit as well as re-enter. This can be empirically tested to extend the current literature on the effects of organizational policies on gender diversity. Further studies can be designed to test the efficacy of policies on women's career growth. It would also be interesting to study the attractiveness of organizations which offer such policies for women seeking to re-enter. Many companies in India (for a list, see sheroes.com 2015, 2018) have introduced support and re-entry programs targeted at these women, but their success in terms of the women's inclusion and experience at work remains unresearched and would be a promising area for future research. Our results highlight the need for more meaningful alternatives to parents in general. Apart from women-focused policies, organizations and governments should thus look towards initiatives that may alter the existing gender regime by strengthening opportunities and incentives for men to share domestic responsibilities and not reinforcing women's gender roles as primary care providers.

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Men's Work-Life Balance: A Case-Study of UK Police Force

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Abstract The aim of the research is to understand the concept of work-life balance from a male perspective by focusing on three objectives: (a) how work-life balance is perceived (i.e. its definitions and factors), (b) how work-life balance is achieved, and (c) what role does nature of work play in achievement of work-life balance. The results are based on a case-study of the police sector where, 30 face-to-face interviews were conducted with Officers, Staff, and Investigators. Work-life balance, as perceived by the police participants, has been identified as two types namely, overall work-life balance and ongoing work-life balance. While overall work-life balance can be achieved through work-life separation, ongoing work-life balance is achieved by minimising work-life interference. However, findings have suggested that the nature of police work entails an integration of work role into non-work roles thereby, preventing work-life separation and achievement of overall work-life balance. As work-life integration seems an inevitable part of the nature of police work, the article poses the following argument—that employees modify their definitions of work-life balance such that their idea of work-life balance doesn't interfere with their work circumstances hence, helping them in achieving an overall balance. Alternatively, by reducing work-life interference, an ongoing work-life balance can also be achieved.

1 Introduction

The phrase 'work-life balance' has gained widespread attention and is frequently used in strategic discussions by academics, consultants, management and HR experts and in common day language by employees. Research on work-life balance is primarily focused on parents (Duxbury and Higgins 1991; Emslie and Hunt 2009; Bianchi and Milkie 2010; Gatrell et al. 2013; Hill et al. 2004, among others) and their struggles with work-life issues as fathers and mothers. Although efforts have been made to conduct comparison studies to observe the effect of gender differences on

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work-life balance by studying both men and women (Doble and Supriya 2010; Galinsky et al. 2011; Misra et al. 2012 etc.), it has been claimed that focus on men's work-life issues is primarily used to explain either women's withdrawal from the workplace, or to understand the wider relationship between work and home (Gregory and Milner 2011). Therefore, men's participation in paid work and family life and their ability to juggle multiple roles in these domains is rarely the topic of discussion. It is with motivation that the present research seeks to understand work-life balance from a male point of view.

A reason for researchers in the field of work-life balance to overlook work-life issues of men could be attributed to the traditional gender stereotypes that govern a man's role in the workplace and at home. The socio-cultural expectations surrounding men, perceive their role in the family as a 'breadwinner' or one who works and earns a wage to take care of the family (Sheridan 2004). Since man is seen as the breadwinner, other tasks such as caregiving, child-raising, and household chores are perceived as the responsibility of the 'caregiver' or the woman (CIPD 2013). As a result, men may not be held responsible for managing family responsibilities therefore, it can be perceived that they do not require a work-life balance since their sole task is to engage in paid work. However, the notions about the role of a 'father' have since changed where, fathers are also involved in child-raising and other household duties (Graham and Dixon 2014). Moreover, it has been identified that men experience greater work-life conflict than women (Aumann et al. 2011) hence, have an increasing need to attain work-life balance. In the light of these developments and as majority of research on work-life balance is focused on studying men and women together in a dual-earner family unit, there is a need to devote attention to studying men's work-life issues separately.

The present research is based on a case-study of a police organisation with the purpose to understand and explain the nature of work-life balance from a male police perspective. Research indicates that UK organisations promote the 'long hours' culture such that more than 20% of the total workforce work more than 48 h a week (Sturges and Guest 2004). The effect of working long hours, as reported by a 2007 UK survey, can be seen in the form of negative spillover particularly, that of work strain into family life (Hughes and Parkes 2007). Although, a variety of flexible working options have been promoted by the UK government in the last decade, it has been argued that there is still a lack of childcare provisions towards employed parents in the country which causes a high level of work-life conflict (Ozbilgin et al. 2011). It would therefore, appear that on the work side of work-life balance, the UK organisations struggle to meet the demands of the workers making it imperative to understand the role of nature of work in achievement of work-life balance.

Nowhere is the working 'long hours' culture more prevalent than in the police sector where police work is often characterised as a round the clock job that can have an effect on their personal and family time (Mikkelsen and Burke 2004). In addition, police work is also characteristic of emotional suppression, also described as emotional labour, which affects police workers' work performance as well as causing personal and family problems (Schaible and Gecas 2010; Kumarasamy et al. 2016;

Schwartz and Schwartz 1975). These characteristics of the police job make the police sector an ideal case-study to understand the effects of nature of work on work-life balance. Moreover, limited research on work-life balance of the Police, in general, portrays the effect of police work on work-life balance as a potential gap in police literature.

The article is divided into four sections namely, literature review, research design, findings, and discussion. The first section commences with an exploration of the work-life literature on the definitions and factors of work-life balance before explaining the primary theoretical frameworks referenced in the present research. The second section examines the methods used for data collection and analysis of results as well as outlines the overall aim and specific objectives of the research. The third section presents the findings of the research centred around the perceptions and achievement of work-life balance. The fourth section discusses the major contributions of the research to existing work-life research. The article concludes with a summary of the key findings and highlights future research possibilities.

2 Literature Review

Work-life balance literature is divided on a single definition of work-life balance due to the confusion over the term 'balance'. A primary definition of work-life balance is simply a balance between work and life (Valcour 2007) however, the usage of the term 'balance' to explain work-life balance is debatable and produces two opposing arguments. The first argument describes 'balance' as something that denotes equality (Dictionary.com 2017) or as in the present context, where both work and life are considered equal. The second argument however, discredits the first argument that balance denotes equality between work and life, as Cohen (2016) suggests that work and life are not equally weighted hence, equilibrium between the two can seldom be achieved. This debate over the terminology of the word 'balance' makes it difficult to produce a generic definition of work-life balance. The present research therefore, identifies the different definitions of work-life balance in an attempt to move beyond the perceptions of 'balance' as equality.

The factors affecting work-life balance have been identified in literature through two theoretical approaches—the demands-resources approach, and the multiple-roles approach. The demands-resources approach perceives the interaction between work and life as an interplay between demands and resources which is affected by individual, work, and family factors (Ryan and Sagas 2011; Crooker et al. 1999). The multiple-roles approach posits that individuals play different roles/identities within the work and life domain and that these roles/identities interact and influence one another (Bielby and Bielby 1989; Aryee and Luk 1996; Burke and Stets 2009). In addition, factors related to the worker, the job, the family, and the society can affect these multiple roles/identities. Therefore, On the basis of these two theoretical approaches, the factors affecting work-life balance can be broadly categorised as individual factors, work factors, family factors, and socio-cultural factors.

The relationship between work and life domains can be explained through various theories which examine how work and life domains are arranged and managed by individuals in their everyday life. The present research primarily makes use of the Spillover, Resource Drain, Segmentation, and Integration theories in literature and these will be examined below.

2.1 Spillover

Spillover has been defined as the transfer of experiences from one domain to another, which also influences the other domain (Roehling et al. 2003). This definition entails that spillover between work and life can be both positive and negative. Positive spillover occurs when positive experiences (e.g. satisfaction) in one domain cause positive experiences in another domain. Conversely, negative spillover occurs when problems arising in one domain negatively affect events of another domain (Roehling et al. 2003).

Work-life literature suggests that there are five types of spillover namely, involvement, spillover of fatigue, affective spillover, values, and behaviour.

- Involvement spillover refers to the extent to which an individual is engaged in the activities of a domain or a role (Roehling et al. 2003). The relationship between involvement and spillover thus, can be identified as both positive and negative whereby positive spillover would mean that involvement in one domain increases involvement in another domain, and negative spillover means that involvement in one domain decreases involvement in another domain.
- Fatigue is seen as a, *"... natural consequence of a hectic day at the office" therefore leading to exhaustion that is then carried over to other roles* (Bartolome and Lee Evans 1980, p. 138). It has however, been argued that spillover only occurs if fatigue is effectual in nature that is, it causes an effect when transferred between domains (Edwards and Rothbard 2000).
- Affective or 'emotional' spillover occurs when emotions experienced in one domain can affect the emotions experienced in another domain (Edwards and Rothbard 2000; Bartolome and Lee Evans 1980). This type of spillover can be both positive and negative in nature and bidirectional that is, work-related moods can be carried over to life and life related moods could be carried over to work.
- Edwards and Rothbard (2000) identify the spillover of values between work and life domains where, values acquired in one domain can be transferred to another domain, either intentionally or unintentionally. For example, workplaces where patience is valued may influence workers to apply the same value with their children.
- Spillover of behaviours from one domain to another implies that behaviours developed in one domain can be transferred to affect the behaviours in another domain (Edwards and Rothbard 2000). For example, research has shown that

unpleasant interactions of a male worker with co-workers can cause unpleasant interactions of fathers with their children (Roehling et al. 2003).

2.2 Resource Drain

Resource drain is defined as, "*the transfer of finite personal resources, such as time, attention, and energy, from one domain to another*" (Edwards and Rothbard 2000, p. 5). The resource drain model depicts a negative causal relationship between work and life domains where, the reduction of resources in one domain reduces the availability of the same resources in another domain (Frone 2003). For example, if a personal resource like energy is reduced in the work domain, the individual would have less energy left for the life domain as well. This principle is similar to the resource-deficiency principle where, the use of resources to meet the demands of one domain deplete the amount of the same resource in another domain (Hobfall 2002; Bakker and Demerouti 2007).

In some instances, it has also been argued that transfer of resources can occur independent of any event occurring in one domain that is, resources can be transferred between domain regardless of any stimulus from another domain (Edwards and Rothbard 2000). This argument therefore, rejects the notion that the need for personal resources arises when the work and life domains present unmet demands.

2.3 Segmentation

The segmentation theory postulates that work and life domains are separate from each other and as such do not affect each other (Edwards and Rothbard 2000; Staines 1980; Guest 2002; Lambert 1990). On one hand, if this to be true, then it would imply a lack of connection between work and life domains thus, going against the basic premise of an interaction between work and life. Indeed, Frone (2003, p. 146) suggests that the segmentation model can be thought of as a non-causal model of work and life whereby, "... *no causal relationship exists between work and family*...".

On the other hand, it has been suggested that segmentation of work and life is not a natural process rather, individuals actively attempt to separate them (Lambert 1990). The reasons for this active separation could be twofold, as explained by Edwards and Rothbard (2000), such that it can either be as a way to cope with stress arising from the domains or, it could be seen as a preferred boundary between the two. Indeed, as the Boundary theory has suggested, the boundary placement process is based on the segmentation principle (Nippert-Eng 1996) that is, drawing a defined line between work and life domains so that they are separate from one another.

2.4 Integration

Work-life integration has been defined as a model in which, "*... work and family roles are so closely interweaved that they are indistinguishable*" (Frone 2003, p. 5). An example of such a situation could be in the case of a family-owned and run business where employees are not only related but are also each other's co-workers and supervisors (Edwards and Rothbard 2000). The extent of this integration is dependent on the individual that is, whether the domains of work and life will be integrated to a greater or lesser degree (Sanseau and Smith 2012). Moreover, Staines (1980) has postulated that high involvement in one domain usually accompanies high involvement in another domain as well.

Integration has been referred to in the segmentation-integration continuum which makes use of integration to explain how the boundaries between work and life merge in such a way that it is no longer possible to distinguish between the two roles (Olson-Buchanan and Boswell 2006). Further, the factor of 'blending' from the Work/Family Border Theory also resonates with the basic principle of integration that is, to blend the work and family domains to the extent that they become integrated (Clark 2000).

3 Research Design

The present research is based on a pragmatic paradigm, placing great importance on the research aim which determines how the research will be designed and carried out (Saunders et al. 2007). For instance, in order to understand the concept of work-life balance from a male perspective in a particular work context, a case-study approach was applied. Another reason for choosing a pragmatic paradigm is the neutral stance adopted by pragmatism between objectivism and subjectivism which rests on the assertion that although there exists a single 'real' world, individuals have different interpretations of this world (Morgan 2007). Therefore, the present research benefits from this neutral stance due to its emphasis on understanding the varied interpretations of work-life balance, as perceived by men.

As the focal point of the case-study was to explain the nature of work-life balance of male police employees, a smaller sample size was chosen in order to gather in-depth information about work-life balance. Owing to the small sample size and an emphasis on detail and meaning within work-life balance, semi-structured interviews were chosen as the data collection tool. Interviews have been described as a tool to "*... broaden the scope of understanding investigated phenomena ...*" (Alshenqeeti 2014, p. 40), and in the present research, the interviews have broadened the knowledge base about the nature of men's work-life balance by not only identifying but also explaining how definitions, factors, and the work context affect work-life balance.

The sample size for the Interviews consisted of 30 male police employees out of which a majority of the employees were Police Staff (22), followed by Police Officers (5), and finally Police Investigators (3). This classification into Staff/Officers/Investigators has been on the basis of the nature of job carried out by the participants. While Police Staff included employees in charge of the 'back office' jobs such as administrative departments of Finance, I.T, H.R etc., Police Officers and Investigators were involved in 'front office' jobs that is, interacting with the public. As a result, the data collected from the interviews was analysed separately for Police Staff, Police Officers, and Police Investigators due to the nature of their work. However, no distinct differences could be observed between the three groups of employees in their perception towards the definitions, factors, and achievement of work-life balance hence, these differences are only highlighted as and when they were observed.

The data analysis technique used to interpret and analyse the data was the method of thematic analysis which was conducted in six phases (adapted from Braun and Clarke 2006). The first phase involved transcribing the interview data in a written format and familiarising oneself with the data via a thorough reading. The second phase involved generating initial codes from individual interviews which were then collated to produce a second list of codes that included information across the data set. In the third phase, the codes across all interviews were analysed and sorted into broad themes. These broad themes were reviewed in the fourth phase and the main themes were sub-divided into smaller sub-themes. A thematic map was drawn in this phase depicting the main themes and their sub-themes as well as the relationships between these themes. The fifth phase involved defining the main themes and the sub-themes on the basis of the relationships identified in the thematic map above. The final phase involved presenting the story of the data starting from the research aims and objectives to data collection and data analysis, and finally presentation of findings.

The overall aim of the research is to understand the concept of work-life balance from a male perspective. Specifically, there are three research objectives that need to be addressed in order to fulfil this aim. The first objective is to identify the definitions and factors affecting work-life balance, as perceived by male police participants. The second objective is to explain the effect of the above definitions and factors on achievement of work-life balance. The third objective involves explaining the effect of nature of work on achievement of work-life balance.

4 Findings

The findings have been divided into two parts, the Perceptions of Work-Life Balance, and the Achievement of Work-Life Balance. While Perceptions of Work-Life Balance highlights the different definitions and factors that the police participants perceive to be related to the achievement of balance, The Achievement of Work-Life balance section explores how the definitions and factors affect

achievement of work-life balance. In addition, this section explains the effect of the nature of police work on achievement of work-life balance.

4.1 The Perceptions of Work-Life Balance

This section begins by highlighting the definitions of work-life balance that is, the different meanings attached to the phrase 'work-life balance', as reported by the participants. Next, the factors (primary and secondary) that the participants perceive to be affecting their achievement of work-life balance will be identified along with the perceived effects of these factors on the participant's work life, family life, and personal life. The findings presented in this section address the first research objective.

4.1.1 Definitions

In the interviews conducted, the first question asked of the participants was, "How do you define work-life balance?". This question was aimed at gathering data around the different meanings of work-life balance, its importance in the participants' work and non-work life, and the different ways in which it can be achieved.

The main theme identified in the definitions has been that of work-life separation where, the male police employees define work-life balance as a separation of work and life domains. Participants reported that work-life balance to them meant being able to separate work and life from each other where, "... *you should be able to draw a very defined line between the two*". This definition was provided by a Police Staff who believed that work-life balance meant having two different lives that is, a professional life that is separate from a personal life.

Within this main theme of work-life separation, various sub-themes have also been identified namely, switching-off from work (physical and mental); the need for leisure time; and using work to fulfil financial needs. Upon further analysis, these sub-themes were also perceived as reasons behind the need for work-life separation.

The first sub-theme identified within definitions was the idea of 'switching-off' from work where participants perceived that work should be forgotten as soon as they leave their workplaces and that inability to do so would impact on their need to separate work and non-work which, in turn, would affect overall work-life balance. For instance, a Police Staff felt the compelling need to switch off from work because, "... *life is full of work, you cannot escape it* ..." and that work and life can affect each other so a separation of work from non-work life was very important to him. Switching-off from work was identified as both a physical switch-off (i.e. avoid taking work back home) and mental switch-off (i.e. avoid thinking about work at home).

The second sub-theme emphasises the importance of leisure time that is, the need to maintain a life outside of the work environment and to be able to devote time for

leisure activities. For instance, a Police Staff aptly noted that work shouldn't be the "... *be all and end all* ..." and that one should have other commitments outside of work that help in "*enriching*" their life such as friends, family, hobbies etc. Similarly, a Police Officer felt that one should be able to "...*make the best of both worlds*" that is, one should be able to do justice to both work and interests outside of work.

The third sub-theme is associated with the notion of perceiving work as the most important aspect of work-life balance equation because it helps to fulfil financial demands in non-work life. For example, a Police Staff explained that work was more important because one is able to "...*support yourself and partner financially, pay the bills* ..." and only when this condition was satisfied, they could also devote leisure time for other activities. Promoting this idea of financial support, participants also reported that wages help in achieving a better quality of life, for example, a Police Staff noted that "... *you should be able to go out and enjoy with the money earned from work*".

The three sub-themes within definitions are inter-related in that, being able to switch-off from work and fulfilment of financial needs can make it easier to pursue personal interests outside of work, and together they can help in a separation of work and life. Work-life separation, in turn, can ensure switch-off from work and the ability to pursue personal interests. Hence, it is a reciprocal relationship which is dependent on the achievement of work-life separation.

4.1.2 Factors

Findings suggest that police participants do not outwardly state that work-related and life-related factors prevent/enable achievement of work-life balance. Instead, they identified that the negative factors cause an interference which, in turn, prevents achievement of work-life balance. Likewise, positive factors were identified as minimising interference and enabling separation thereby, helping in achievement of work-life balance. The findings therefore, identify two sets of factors—primary and secondary. While primary factors include time interference, energy interference, and stress interference, secondary factors consist of work-related and life-related positive and negative factors. This relationship between primary and secondary factors, and achievement of work-life balance can be conceptualised as a multi-layered relationship where the secondary factors affect the primary factors (i.e. interference) which then prevents/enables achievement of work-life balance (refer to Fig. 1).

The paragraphs below explain the primary factors (i.e. interference) and the secondary factors (i.e. positive and negative factors) in detail.

Primary Factors

Primary factors (i.e. interference) was identified in the case-study as three types namely, time interference, energy interference, and stress interference. The first type of interference is 'time interference' where participants identified lack of time to
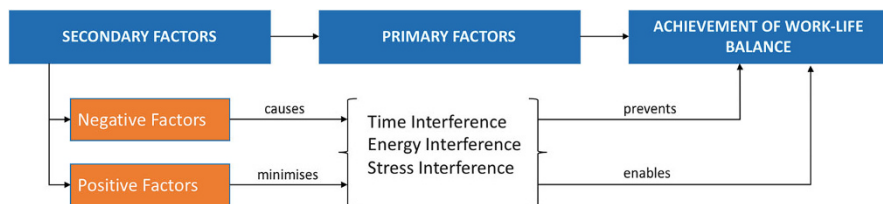
Fig. 1 Relationship between secondary factors, primary factors, and achievement of work-life balance

engage in work and non-work activities. For instance, a Police Staff complains that travelling long distances has an effect on his time outside the workplace where, "... *a lot of time spent on the road ... is wasted time*". Similarly, another Police Staff explains that owing to the nature of his job, he often has to put in longer work hours which have limited the amount of time left for personal interests as, "... *most of the interests take time, usually 2–3 hours*".

The second type of interference is 'energy interference' which refers to the lack of energy experienced by participants preventing them from engaging in non-work activities. A few employees have reported that work pressures can also cause energy interference, for example, a Police Staff notes that "*some days you are too tired to go out anywhere in the evening ...*". Other employees have also noted that due to the physical nature of their job, tiredness and fatigue are often experienced which then translates into work interference with life. For example, a Police Staff explains that coming home after a tiring day at work, "... *you just want to collapse in the chair ... have to put in a bit more effort to do the household chores ... a little more energy when you come home would be nice*".

The third type of interference is 'stress interference' which suggests that stress accumulated at work influences the extent to which work interferes with non-work. For instance, a Police Staff asserts that work pressures have caused stress in his daily life to the point where he is unable to sleep. He also explains that he "... *suffer from a form of PTSD ...*", which coupled with work stress further agitates his sleeping problems thereby, "... *messing work-life balance*". A typical type of work stress experienced by many participants was emotional stress which arises from engaging in emotional labour at work. A good example of emotional stress from the case-study has been provided by a Police Investigator who reports that emotional stress can build up after dealing with the physicality of death which, if not dealt with properly, "...can come out in anger" on family and friends.

Secondary Factors

Secondary factors can be both positive and negative factors within which work-related and life-related factors are included. The case-study findings suggest that while negative work and life factors cause interference which then prevents achievement of work-life balance, positive work and life factors can minimise the interference caused hence, helping in achievement of work-life balance.

Negative factors can be broadly categorised into work-related factors and life-related factors, that can lead to interference. The work-related negative factors that cause interference are financial concerns, lack of managerial support towards flexibility, work pressures and work hours, and travel. The life-related negative factor that causes interference is childcare responsibilities. The sections below explain how these factors cause interference.

The first work-related factor is financial concerns, as perceived by a participant, which is caused as a result of lack of flexibility at work leading to stress interference in his family life. For example, a Police Officer complains that the rejection of his flexible working request by his manager caused financial worries at home leading to stress interference and hindering his achievement of work-life balance.

The second work-related factor that can cause interference is the lack of managerial support towards working flexibly. A few employees reported that their managers denied their requests to work flexibly without any valid reasons for doing so which had a detrimental effect on their family and personal life. For instance, a Police Staff was declined his request to work flexibly by his line manager because "... *he felt my request was not very urgent*". As a result, he has been unable to devote time to his children causing a time interference in his non-work life.

The third work-related factors causing interference are work pressures and work hours where findings suggest that both factors do not occur in isolation rather, one usually accompanies the other and together they cause a time interference in the non-work life. For instance, a Police Officer reported that with shorter work deadlines, there isn't enough time to complete work at the workplace and that carrying this work home therefore, means there is no time left for non-work commitments. In a similar vein, a Police Staff also experienced energy interference due to increased workload and long hours which meant that, "... *I don't go to the gym anymore because I don't have the time or effort ...*".

The fourth work-related factors causing interference is travelling where, a Police Officer complains that he is "... *always feeling tired and sluggish...*" due to long distance travelling between work and home. Similarly, a Police Staff reported time interference due to "... *travelling four hours every day...*" which means that he is only able to spend time with his children over the weekend.

A life-related factor causing interference is childcare responsibilities where, for example, a participant reports that looking after his children has interfered with his personal life. For example, a Police Officer notes that his personal life often gets restricted due to the responsibilities of having children and not wanting to burden his partner with sole childcare responsibility—

> I have personal time but its restricted ... if I'm at work, I can't do my own thing and if I'm at home then the children come first ... when I go home ... my wife would have already given the kids tea ... I would then read the kids their bedtime stories and put them to bed, so it's kind of a team effort ... I can't just go home and do what I like because it wouldn't be fair on my wife to leave her to do everything ...

In addition, a Staff member indicates that having kids has had a deteriorating effect on his social life, "... *before I had the nice cars and a social life... after kids you have financial burdens and want a work-life balance*".

Positive factors, as explained above, help in minimising the interference caused by negative work and life factors. Findings have identified five types of work-related and life-related support systems that help the participants in minimising interference namely, work support, manager support, coworker support, partner/spouse support, and self-support.

The first support system is Work Support where the organisation provides support to the participants in the form of flexible work options. These flexible work options allow participants to manage their time more effectively thereby, reducing time interference in their non-work lives. Although providing flexible options is seen as a form of work support, the take up of the flexible options by the participants was often dependent on their manager's consent, which is the second support system.

The second support system was identified as Manager Support that helped in minimising interference by allowing participants to work flexibly. For example, a Police Staff reported that the ability to work flexibly provided by his manager has allowed him to spend more time with his family and fulfil his family-life responsibilities. He explains, "... *I have an understanding manager... when wife was working and I needed to pick kids from school, I could*". Manager support was also visible when dealing with stressful family events such as in the case of a Police Officer who describes the positive support he received from his sergeant when he was going through a divorce, "... *I got straight back to work but my sergeant offered me the option to take off from work and also change my shift times if I wanted to*".

The third support system was Co-worker Support which helped in minimising stress interference in both work and non-work lives. A few employees have indicated how easy it becomes when co-workers help out with work responsibilities such as, in the case of a Police Staff who explains that in an emergency, co-workers are supportive and flexible because "... *you are flexible enough to adapt to their needs*". In some cases, co-worker support was also seen in the form of listening to the work and life related problems of the participant. One reason for this could be, as explained by a Police Investigator, that the real nature of the job is clearly understood by colleagues alone because, "... *you are dealing with the physicality of death ... colleagues can understand and help ... deal with work-related stress*".

The fourth support system identified as reducing time and stress interference was Partner/Spouse Support. It has been observed that partner/spouse support is not an action that the partner/spouse does which helps in reducing interference rather, it is simply through understanding the nature of police work that the partner/spouse can minimise or prevent interference in the participant's life. For example, a Police Officer reported that as his wife is supportive and understands his relationship with the Police, stress interference is prevented because "... *she knows I love my job and respects that*".

The fifth support system are Self-Support strategies that help in reducing stress interference. Self-support was observed in the form of coping mechanisms that is, mechanisms or strategies put in place by the participants to minimise the effects of

work-generated stress on the participants and on their non-work life. For instance, a Police Investigator coined the term "*buffer zone*" which refers to a space created between work and home, which for him served the purpose of relieving work stress. He explains that the buffer zone has now become a habit for him where he stops at a pub, between his workplace and home, "*. . . a drink . . . just talk rubbish with the barman about the weather, cars et cetera . . . go home*". By creating this buffer zone, he is able to switch-off from work and related stressors before going back home. Participants also identified using other self-support strategies after work to help them relax and in some instances, help forget about work and focus on family life. For instance, a Police Staff mentions that he likes to read up on criminology and related articles/books as a way to keep himself busy after work, "*. . . your mind doesn't go back to the stress*".

4.2   The Achievement of Work-Life Balance

This section starts by explaining the processes of separation and interference and their relationship with achievement of work-life balance. Next, it highlights the role nature of police work plays in the achievement of work-life balance, with particular focus on the two types of work-life balance. This section addresses the second and third objective of the present research.

4.2.1   Relationship Between Separation, Interference, and Achievement of Work-Life Balance

Separation of work from non-work was identified as the central theme in the definitions of work-life balance that is, police participants perceived that work-life balance can be achieved by separating their work life from their non-work lives and that failure to do so, would prevent them from achieving a balance. Alternatively, participants also perceived interference as a hindrance towards achievement of work-life balance that is, when activities in the work-life interfered with activities in the non-work lives, it led to time, energy, and/or stress interference which then prevented achievement of work-life balance.

Findings identify a reciprocal relationship between separation and interference where the existence of interference motivates individuals to seek work-life separation and, in turn, work-life separation helps to prevent future occurrence of interference. Using different examples, this section explores how interference and separation influence one another. Establishing this link between lack of interference and separation would, in turn, help to understand how work-life balance can be achieved.

Participants' idea of work and non-work separation included the absence of interference, both from work to non-work and from non-work to work. For instance,

a Police Staff reported that the way he separates his work from his non-work is by making sure that one doesn't interfere with the other—

> When I'm scheduled to work that's all I plan to do. This is my shift time, I'm at work and I won't try to interfere. So, for me when I'm at work that's what I'm dedicated to do. And same is when I go home; I go like I'm not going to think about work. And that's how it is . . . when people phone from work and I'm like oh I don't care, I'm not at work so I don't want to know. For me I like to put a barrier saying this is work and this is home life. I want to separate the two . . .

By achieving a separation between work and life, he is able to achieve a work-life balance. Similarly, another Police Staff hints at making a "conscious" effort to keep his work and non-work lives separate from each other—

> I consciously don't allow my professional life to interfere with my personal life. The reverse is also the same, when at work then I am at work . . . never take personal calls at work because don't think that's morally right.

Again, the above example suggests that he has been able to maintain a separation between his work and non-work life by making sure that one does not interfere with the other. These examples suggest not only a relationship between interference and separation but also a link between separation and achievement of work-life balance. In other words, a lack of interference helps achieve work-life separation which then enables achievement of work-life balance.

Additionally, work-life separation can also help in avoiding work-life interference, for example, a Police Staff explains that although he tends to think about work at home, interference doesn't occur because he is able to separate his work life from his home life where, "*. . . work is forgotten when I walk out the door*". Similarly, an ex-Police Officer (now Staff) remembers that the nature of his job was often stressful and in order to avoid work stress from interfering with family life, he consciously tried to separate his work from his non-work life which also helped him to achieve a work-life balance. These examples help explain how police participants use work-life separation to prevent work-life interference, the presence of which can hinder achievement of work-life balance.

The achievement of work-life balance, as perceived by male police participants, is therefore affected by two things: (a) definitions of work-life balance (i.e. work-life separation), and (b) primary factors of work-life balance (i.e. work-life interference). Although work-life separation can enable achievement of work-life balance, interference can hinder achievement of work-life balance. However, findings have suggested that minimisation of work-life interference can help in achievement of work-life balance. This participants' perception has given rise to two types of work-life balance namely, overall work-life balance and ongoing work-life balance. In this respect, while participants perceive that work-life separation can help them in achieving an overall work-life balance, minimising the interference, caused as a result of negative factors, with the help of positive factors can help in achieving an ongoing work-life balance.

4.2.2 Nature of Police Work

The police participants therefore, perceive that the presence of separation and absence of interference can enable achievement of different types of work-life balance. However, the nature of police work can prevent the police participants from separating their work and life thereby, hindering achievement of overall work-life balance. Findings suggest that the nature of police work is seen as 'integrative' where, the participants' work role continues on into their personal, family, and social life in two ways: through emotional detachment, and through public perceptions. These two factors will be explained in the following paragraphs.

The police participants indicated the effect of emotional stress, accrued on the job, on their family life where they often feel emotionally detached from their family members, unable to share the details of their job. This feeling of emotional detachment at home can be seen as a continuation of their on-the-job behaviour suggesting that their identity as a Police Employee and associated "...*superhuman expectations are not limited to on-duty periods*" (Alkus and Padesky 1983, p. 56). Hence, the police participants perceived that emotional stress was embedded in the nature of police work in such a way that it would be impossible to completely prevent the occurrence of emotional stress without changing the job itself.

The perceptions of the public towards the police job also influence the behaviour of police participants in their non-work lives. Police participants from the present case-study reported that there are certain expectations attached to their job as a police worker which dictates how they behave even in their non-work life. For instance, a Police Staff reports his inability to "...*back up a friend*..." during a pub fight as he works for the Police. Public protection by the police is another way by which the nature of police work influences the non-work life of the police participant. For example, a Police Officer indicates that even at home, "...*if you get a knock at the door you answer*..." because as a Police officer, he has a duty to protect the public. The protection of the public at all times is an indication that the police officer's job is never finished instead, it carries on even outside the work environment.

The above examples therefore, suggest that the police employee can never completely switch-off from their work role due to the integrative nature of police work. This integrative nature of police work stems from the continuation of the work role into the non-work life, and is similar to the work-life integration theory in literature where, work and life are seen as closely connected domains such that it is difficult to distinguish between the two (Frone 2003). In fact, the need to separate work and life could as well arise from the fact that the nature of police work entails an integration of work life into non-work life. However, as switching-off is impossible to achieve, police participants may be unable to separate their work and life. Existing theory has also suggested that integration lies on the opposite end of separation on the 'segmentation-integration continuum' (Olson-Buchanan and Boswell 2006; Ashforth et al. 2000) therefore, the antipodal traits of both suggest that segmentation and integration cannot exist together. Additionally, participants'

inability to separate their work and life may also prevent them from achieving a work-life balance.

With reference to the two types of work-life balance identified above, it can further be argued that prevention of work-life balance will also imply inability of participants to achieve an overall work-life balance. It is however, suggested that by modifying their definition of work-life balance to incorporate the integrative traits of police work, participants may be able to achieve a type of work-life balance. Alternatively, as also indicated by the participants, minimisation of interference can enable achievement of an ongoing work-life balance.

It is therefore, argued that although police participants may not be able to achieve an overall work-life balance, they are still able to achieve an ongoing work-life balance on a day-by-day basis. This type of ongoing balance is achieved by minimising the work-to-life interference, caused as a result of the nature of police work and other negative factors, with the help of positive factors.

5   Discussion

This section highlights the key findings of the present research which also represent the original contributions of the research to existing work-life research. The five key findings that will be described below are: (a) Work-Life Separation, (b) The Personal-Life Domain, (c) The Concept of Interference, (d) Nature of Police Work, and (e) Overall versus Ongoing Work-Life Balance.

5.1   Work-Life Separation

Work-life separation in the case-study has been identified as the central definition of work-life balance. The idea of work-life separation is similar to the work-life segmentation theory in literature where, no causal relationship exists between the work and life domains (Frone 2003; Edwards and Rothbard 2000). Unlike work-life separation however, work-life segmentation theory in literature has been described as a way of conceptualising the interactions between work and life. As a result, work-life separation adds on to the work-life segmentation theory in literature, suggesting that segmentation can be conceptualised not just as a type of work-life interaction but also as a definition of work-life balance.

To support the argument that work-life segmentation can also be a definition of work-life balance, existing research has indicated that segmentation is not a natural process instead, individuals actively choose to segment their lives (Lambert 1990). Indeed, a reason why male police employees may choose to segment their work and life is in order to achieve a work-life balance. Therefore, work-life separation as a definition of work-life balance is an original finding of the present research.

5.2   The Personal-Life Domain

The present research findings emphasise the importance of a personal life domain that is characterised by a personal space created by participants away from their family and work life, where they can relax, unwind, and spend time in the pursuit of personal interests and hobbies. For instance, an employee describes this personal space as a place where:

> . . . you can be the person you actually are . . . revisit that person every now and then. You are playing all those roles but the 'life' bit is when you can find 'me' time

The importance for "*me time*" is what drives the need for a personal space.

The need for a personal space is an important contribution to work-life balance literature, which currently focuses on 'work' that is, activities related to employment, and 'life' which is primarily family life with no reference to personal life. The need for a personal space therefore, strengthens the idea that 'life' also includes a personal life which is different from family life. In fact, existing research has argued for a re-conceptualisation of 'life' that moves away from considering only 'family life' as 'life' and also incorporates other aspects of life (Ozbilgin et al. 2011). On the basis of the present research findings, it is proposed that when considering work-life balance, the word 'life' should include both family life as well as personal life. As the domain of personal life has not been identified in literature before, it suggests that this finding has emerged from the present study's focus on men. Therefore, the introduction of the personal life domain is an original finding of the present research and contributes to work-life literature by expanding the understanding of 'life' in work-life balance.

5.3   The Concept of Interference

The concept of interference in the present research can be explained using the broader theory of Negative Spillover in work-life literature. While the occurrence of time and energy interference in the case-study is explained using negative involvement spillover, the occurrence of stress interference is explained using negative affective spillover. However, the concept of interference in the case-study makes two theoretical contributions to the Negative Spillover theory in literature.

The first theoretical contribution is through the introduction of the concept of Interference in the process of negative affective spillover. The emphasis on 'negative' in existing theory is only indicative of the negative nature of the emotions spilled from one domain to another and not the negative effect caused by these emotions. Contrary to existing literature therefore, the occurrence of interference in the present case-study emphasises not just the negative nature of the emotions but also the negative effect the spillover causes in the other domain (i.e. stress). This is because, it is argued, that it is the negative effect of the spillover that 'influences' the

other domains, as mentioned in existing theory on the overall concept of spillover (Roehling et al. 2003); in the present case-study, the 'influence' is perceived as interference.

The second theoretical contribution suggests that when the spillover of finite resources such as time and energy is explained using negative involvement spillover, it should also consider the resource-drain perspective. This is because the resource-drain perspective explains why involvement in one domain decreases involvement in another domain, as resources are finite and there is only a fixed amount available for use in both domains. Naturally, the greater the amount of finite resources used in one domain, the lesser the amount left for use in the other domain.

The concept of Interference therefore, makes a theoretical contribution to the Negative Spillover theory in literature by highlighting the negative effect of emotional spillover and by incorporating the principle of resource-drain in the negative involvement spillover process.

5.4   Nature of Police Work

The nature of work is embedded in the case-study approach of the present research where, the focus of the police case-study is to understand the influence of the work context on the work-life balance of male police employees. In this respect, the nature of police work has an effect on the achievement of work-life balance of male police employees by influencing the definitions and factors of work-life balance, as perceived by the police participants. This is a major contribution to the work-life literature where nature of work is not merely embedded in the research design but also affects how individuals achieve work-life balance.

The integrative nature of police work, derived from the work-life integration theory in literature, represents the finding that police work is not confined to the work environment but that it integrates into the non-work life. To put it simply, police employees can never stop being police employees because of the nature of work that they do. Although the factors related to emotional detachment and public perceptions of the integrative nature of police work have been identified in literature as characteristic of police work, their association with the police employee's work-life balance is an original finding of the present research.

5.5   Overall Versus Ongoing Work-Life Balance

The police participants identified a new concept of overall versus ongoing work-life balance, not observed in existing research on work-life balance. As indicated above, according to the police participants, their definition of work-life balance as work-life separation helps them achieve an overall work-life balance. On the other hand, some

participants noted that by minimising work-to-life interference on a daily basis helps them in achieving an ongoing work-life balance.

This type of ongoing day-by-day work-life balance is different from the overall work-life balance that participants wish to achieve through work-life separation. In fact, the integrative nature of work-life balance as described above, prevents the police participants from separating their work and life hence, prevent them from achieving an overall work-life balance. However, by minimising interference in their non-work life, the participants can achieve an ongoing work-life balance.

This finding of the present research that is, to achieve an overall versus ongoing work-life balance is an original finding of the present research that has not been observed in work-life literature.

6   Conclusion

The overall aim of the research was to understand the concept of work-life balance from a male perspective. In addition, in order to understand the effect of nature of work on work-life balance, the present research focused on a case-study of a police organisation to study how police work influenced achievement of work-life balance.

There were three specific objectives of the present research: (a) to identify the definitions and factors affecting work-life balance of male police employees, (b) to explain the effect of definitions and factors on achievement of work-life balance, and (c) to explain the effect of nature of work on the achievement of work-life balance.

The findings related to the first objective indicated that the central definition of work-life balance is separation of work and life, and the factors affecting work-life balance of male police employees are primary factors (i.e. interference) and secondary (i.e. negative and positive) factors.

The findings related to the second objective suggest that while the definition of work-life balance (i.e. separation) enables achievement of overall work-life balance, the factors of work-life balance (i.e. interference) helps in achievement of ongoing work-life balance.

The findings related to the third objective indicate that nature of police work involves an integration of work and non-work life which influences the processes of separation and interference. The integrative nature of police work causes interference and prevents work-life separation. With reference to achievement of work-life balance therefore, inability to achieve work-life separation hinders achievement of overall work-life balance. However, minimising interference can help in achieving an ongoing work-life balance.

Owing to the original contributions of the present research, the article highlights the following potential areas for future research namely, work-life satisfaction, research on other emergency services occupations, and research on women.

The concept of overall work-life balance, in the present research, is an all-encompassing concept of achievement of work-life balance which some participants also referred to as an "ideal" work-life balance. This perception of an ideal

work-life balance bears resemblance to the work-life satisfaction theory in literature, described as "...*an overall level of contentment resulting from an assessment of one's degree of success at meeting work and family role demands*" (Valcour 2007, p. 1512). Although the area of work-life satisfaction lies outside the scope of the present research, it is suggested as a potential area for future research into the two types of work-life balance identified above, especially as defining overall work-life balance as ideal satisfaction would help explain whether ongoing work-life balance is perceived as an acceptable level of satisfaction. Further, by differentiating between overall work-life balance and ongoing work-life balance, research may be better able to understand the reasons behind inability to achieve work-life balance.

The present research findings suggest that the integrative nature of police work plays a crucial role in affecting the work-life balance of male police employees. This presents an interesting opportunity for future research into occupations with similar job characteristics as that of the police occupation, for example, other Emergency Services Occupations such as Law and Enforcement, Fire and Rescue, and Emergency Medical Services, to observe the extent of the effect of nature of work on the work-life balance of employees in the above occupations, and whether this effect is negative or positive.

Two original findings of the present research that is, the idea of work-life separation as a definition of work-life balance, and the introduction of the personal-life domain have not been identified in existing work-life literature and therefore, may be representative of the perceptions of men as a group. Hence, it is proposed that future research studies on women's work-life balance should focus attention on these two areas in order to examine whether work-life separation as a work-life balance definition and the existence of a personal-life domain are also identified by women employees. This would further help to understand whether these findings are particularly applicable to men's work-life balance or can also be representative of women's work-life balance.

In conclusion, the research has been successful in identifying the work-life issues faced by men which further contribute towards the understanding of men's work-life balance. Additionally, the original findings of the research make contributions to the scarce literature on men's work-life balance as it raises new issues around work-life balance that have not been identified in literature before. Finally, the present research also manages to address the gap that there is more attention on work-life issues of men and women together than on men's work-life balance alone by suggesting that research on men's work-life balance should be studied independently from general work-life balance.

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Opening the "Black Box": Factors Affecting Women's Journey to Senior Management Positions—A Literature Review

Erica Salvaj and Katherina Kuschel

Abstract The issue of women participation in top management and boardroom positions has received increasing attention in the academic literature and the press. However, the pace of advancement for women managers and directors continues to be slow and uneven. This study fills a knowledge gap by reviewing the latest empirical evidence from 2009 to 2016 to identify, organize, and describe the factors that affect women executives and directors' career success (or failure). We integrate the 113 selected publications providing a novel framework of factors organized around (1) career persistence (staying at the organization) and (2) career advancement or mobility (getting promoted in the organization). Our framework organizes the factors at the individual, organizational and public policy level that affect both career persistence and advancement of women in top management positions. This framework has practical implications to several audiences: (1) business women interested in getting promoted or supporting other women who aspire to reach senior management positions, (2) executives from companies seeking to increase gender diversity, and (3) think tanks, trade associations, and government institutions committed to increase diversity. Our findings enlight business leaders and public policy-makers interested in designing organizations that retain and promote talented women in top business positions.

1 Introduction

Over the last decade, the issue of women participation in top management and boardroom positions has received increasing attention in the academic literature and the press. However, the pace of advancement for women managers and directors continues to be slow and uneven in different countries and cultures (Barreto et al. 2009; Burke 2009; Helfat et al. 2006). Even with a proportion of women in

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university now equal to or greater than men and women entering the workplace with similar credentials, expectations and positions than their male counterparts, female and men career paths quickly begin to diverge (Burke and Mattis 2005; Burke and Nelson 2002). Women are less likely to advance than men, hold fewer top management positions, and are a century away from gender parity in the C-suite if progress continues at the pace that prevailed between 2012 and 2015 (LeanIn.org and McKinsey and Company 2015; McKinsey and Company 2016). These findings are regularly observed in all developed countries (Wirth 2001). Women continue to be paid less than men doing similar types of work (Blau and Kahn 2007) and the gender pay gap widens as women advance in their careers (Frank 2015). Even as women have exceeded men in terms of education during the past decade, they remain underrepresented in top corporate positions (Abramo 2004). For example, women's representation on the corporate boards of Standard & Poor's 500 firms reached 11.91% in 2007 (Simpson et al. 2010); it was 7.8% among the FTSE 250 in 2011. PwC report (2016) showed that the situation in USA has not substantially changed because women account for 12% of boardroom positions. Asian countries have also a very unequal situation. Japan and South Korea's have only 2% of women directors. This low female participation rates in top management positions is also the rule in Latin American countries. According to the CWDI Report (2012), women in Latin America occupy only 5.6% of corporate board positions in the 100 biggest companies. Egon Zehnder's reported (2016) gender diversity is slowly gaining ground in Latin American boards of directors. Colombia leads the ranking with 14%, Chile 8%, Argentina 6% and Mexico 5%. A McKinsey study (2013) showed that 37% of companies have gender diversity as a top 10 issue in their strategic agendas. Yet women in the region are still greatly underrepresented in top management—even though they are more likely than men to say they want to advance their careers. Few countries achieved significant improvements. For example, women now account for 39% of Norwegian boardrooms. Finland and France have also made strides, with female boardroom representation reaching 30% and 26% respectively.

These numbers show that organizations are not taking advantage of female talent all around the world. After reviewing the literature on women and career development, we find that much of the research focuses on gender and firm performance (e.g., Post and Byron 2015; Hoobler et al. 2016), gender pay gap (e.g. Kulich et al. 2011) and the factors that might explain such differences (Goldin 2014; Kossek et al. 2016). Even if this research helps to visibilize the problem of uneven access and representation of women in top management positions, it does not help us to understand the deepest causes of it.

2   Scope of the Review

To address our goal, we performed a comprehensive literature review of published references mostly from 2009 to 2016. We have selected 2009 because we have seen an increasing body of research on women in top management positions and a

reinterpretation of the role of women in organizations since the announcement of the quota initiative of 40% women in boards of directors of public limited companies in Norway in 2008.

To select the articles, we focused on "empirical articles" exploring the impact of women on top executive positions were high impact decision-making is involved. We considered research articles that use quantitative or qualitative data to respond to our research question.

The procedure we used to identify the articles for review followed several steps. First, we search empirical papers in different electronic databases (EBSCO, ProQuest ABI Inform, and Google Scholar). Some keywords included in the search were: career advancement, career development, career progression, career success, gender gap, glass ceiling, businesswomen, female executives, top management positions, decision-making positions, women CEO, women in senior positions, women leaders and female leadership. We filter the resulting references observing three rules: (1) empirical article, (2) published between 2009 and 2016, and (3) addressing the issue of women participation in the corporate world. We have also complemented this search with reports from consulting firms and NGOs.

After completing this procedure, we obtained a sample of 113 publications. Of these empirical studies, 64 were journal articles. The most explored topic by academics and consultants is the relationship between women in senior management positions and organizational performance (the "business case"). Other issues that received much attention were leadership, salary gap, quotas, work and family integration and networking.

The results of the word cloud confirm that the discussion about **the impact of women on the financial performance of the company** has monopolized the debate not only in the professional field but also in the academic literature in the last decade. Although the debate is still open—because of inconclusive results and several methodological limitations such as no consensus on firm performance measures (Kulik and Metz 2015) and comparisons among countries with different legal and sociocultural mechanisms affecting women performance (Post and Byron 2015)— most of the studies on "the business case" find that the presence of a female CEO is more likely to have a positive impact on firms' financial performance in more gender egalitarian cultures (Hoobler et al. 2016; Kulik and Metz 2015; Noland et al. 2016). These overwhelming results lead us to conclude that economic arguments support the value of gender diversity at the top of the organization. However, previous studies also highlight that context, organizational and individual charateristics moderate the relationship between gender diversity on top management positions and firm performance. Those papers that include moderators such country culture or strategy innovation orientation find that they are key to explain the impact and so the success of women participation in top positions and ask for more research on the causes that affect women performance.

3   Factors Affecting Persistence and Advancement of Women in Organizations

We identify two main lines of research on women path to top management positions: (1) how women persist in their professional careers, and (2) how women achieve advancement and promotions. The chapter is structured according to this framework (see Fig. 1).

3.1   Career Persistence

The literature showed that there are both individual and organizational factors that enhance women's persistence in the organization (Fig. 2).

3.1.1   Individual Factors

What conditions help women to build a family and at the same time to persist and pursuit top positions? Upon interviewing 4000 executives and leaders worldwide, Groysberg and Abrahams (2014) found that gender schemas differences were important: men still see themselves as a breadwinner, whereas women often perceive as role modeling for their children. Executives of both sexes consider the tension between **work and family** to be primarily a women's problem, and most of them believe that one cannot compete in the global marketplace while having a "balanced" life. According to their study, top managers cannot "have it all" and the idea of balance is a myth, there are different paths to success for men and women, and no one can do it alone. Male and female managers that persist in the workplace are good at making a "deliberate choice" and strategically focus on few practices (i.e., manage technology, build support networks, travel or relocate selectively, collaborate with their partner) to "engage meaningfully with work, family, and community". In other words, employees must take the decision of pursuing their **career as an important role**. Sheryl Sandberg put the work-life balance issue on the table of women in top management. She advises women to simply "lean-in, be yourself, don't doubt your ability to combine work and family and thus edge yourself out and plum assignments before you even have a baby" (Sandberg 2013). According to Sandberg, the higher women position in the organization, the more resources they get (time flexibility,

Fig. 1 Career success is persistence and advancement. Source: Own elaboration

Career Persistence

Career Advancement & Mobility

= Career Success
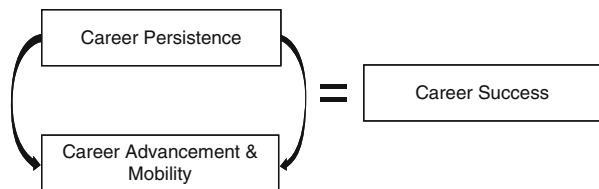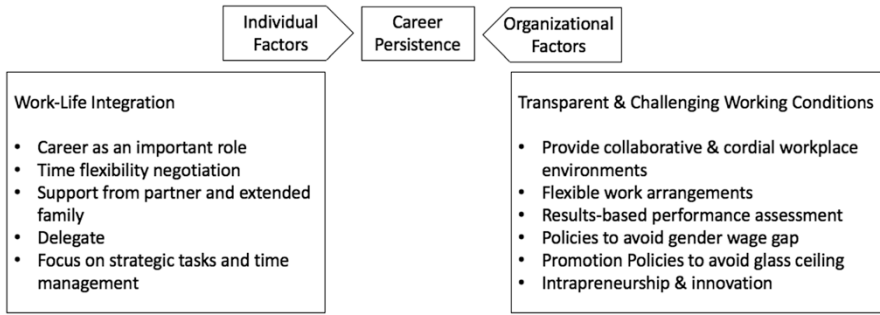
Fig. 2 Individual and organizational factors that facilitate career persistence. Source: Own elaboration

money to hire help to delegate both at work and at home). Several studies develop tips targeted at women re-entering the workforce after having a baby. Specifically, advices have been related to practical strategies and resources to balance work and family demands (Ageenko 2009; Hamerstone and Hough 2013), and advise on how to "re-invent" women's carrer after having a baby (Seth 2014). Seth suggested that being career-driven is not a crime and encouraged women to ask for **support from the partner and the extended family**, hire help and **delegate** both at work and at home, and reframe the old job, or get a part time job. This will allow women to **better manage their time** and then **focus on strategic tasks**.

In today's families, dual earner families need to negotiate who is responsible for what and develop the capability of flexible response to changes as they arise (Shriver 2009). Family dynamics might be facilitated with more **flexibility at work**. Goldin (2014) argues that even a grand convergence has occurred in the work conditions between women and men the ultimate assimilation of gender differences cannot occur if there are temporal inflexibilities—long hours and odds hours—within the workplace. The solution might be to redifine jobs structures and remunerations that do not punish flexibility (Goldin 2014) or to avoid organizational environments that even when categorized mothers as belonging within an 'expressive' group associated with child-care, don't discouraged them from accessing flexibility (Gatrell et al. 2014). Flexibility become even more crucial with an ageing population because women might have to devote time to elders care in addition to the traditional childs care (Patton 2013). However, Kodz et al. (2002) found that work-life balance initiatives, flexible work and part-time work were deemed as "career suicide" by individuals or were viewed by managers as a lack of commitment. Therefore, these flexibility options should be managed carefully by women and probably for discrete periods of time.

Concluding, what might facilitate women persistence at work is the capability to see gender schemes as cultural constructions that can be changed. Another factor of success is the women's ability to focus on those things that they master, delegate and implement practices that facilitates the integration of work and family.

3.1.2 Organizational Factors

Women carrer persistence is associated with environments that have **challenging conditions** (e.g. White and Massiha 2016). Hunt (2016) found that the exit of women from engineering and science carrers is specially explained by dissatisfaction about promotion opportunities. Females drop out their departments as they face many hidden forms of discrimination such as being treated as "girls", doing not mainstream research and equality in the workplace is a "women problem" (Kantola 2008). Neck (2015) surveyed 90 women in senior roles in the Australian finance industry and conducted interviews to corroborate the results on why women leave their positions. She discovered that the interplay of having other choices for living combined with work frustration and personal triggers create a chance for leaving a job, although having the "ability" to leave appears to be important. Moreover, women who left the industry attribute their decision to a feeling of achievement in the past position, a feeling of understanding that life involves more than simply work and having financial security. Griffiths and Moore (2010) studied the phenomenon of "disappearing women" in the UK ICT sector. The main reasons for departure were no **flexible work arrangements** (heavy workloads and long hours), a lack of **collaborative and cordial workplace environment** (ostracizing and hostilities in the workplace), "turning points" in life, ageism, illness/disability, dual roles, and a "realization" that they did not have to stay.

Performance measurement is key for the career persistence of any executive. Even the best-designed measurement and control systems are contaminated by subjective perceptions of managers (Kahneman 2011). Bosses tend to perceive women as less adecuate for leadership positions limiting women's career persistence (Bain and Company 2014). It was found that when women perceive performance evaluation systems as male-oriented, not gender-inclusive, and therefore, unfair, women might consider the option of leaving work (Festing et al. 2015). Moreover, when women don't see a path for progression in the company, they prefer to leave, because they normally persist in a job where they are able to advance their careers (Grant Thornton 2015).

Most studies confirmed that difference in managerial compensation between women and men does exist (Kulich et al. 2011). Although for a CEO and CFO sample in the U.S. the unexplained portion of the gender pay gap is no longer significant, even after controlling for company properties and human capital attributes (Oehmichen et al. 2014), suggesting that the development and support mechanisms play a significant role in explaining the gender pay differential (Erhemjamts et al. 2010). The **gender pay gap** and the **"glass ceiling"** are important reasons for women to leave the company (Blau and Kahn 2000; Hejase and Dah 2014). The climate of gender inequity is related to job attitudes and behaviors. A study shows that people that perceive inequality burn out easier (Tannen 1995), suggesting that gender pay gap and tokenism at the end of the day might affect persistence of women.

Many women in top management that struggle with not supportive environments and work-family conflict decide to start their own business. Richomme-Huet et al. (2013) confirmed that mumpreneurship—defined as the creation of a new business venture by a woman who identifies as both a mother and a business woman—is motivated primarily by achieving work-life balance. It is a subgroup of entrepreneurs in terms of identity, motivation and opportunity recognition. Promoting **intrapreneurship** or corporate entrepreneurship might be a solution to retain female talent. A Spanish study found that companies led by women foster (more than male-led firms do) intrapreneur characteristics of culture such as: autonomy and risk taking, teamwork, compensation and support to management (García-Solarte et al. 2015). These findings suggest **that innovation and corporate entrepreneurship** might provide more flexibility and incentives, which facilitates women persistence at work. However, there are organizational barriers that might difficult the advancement of women intrapreneurs. Gupta and Turban (2012) found discrimination against women in assessment of new venture ideas. Results revealed that, under specific conditions, male- and female-typed venture ideas, which were similar on parameters such as growth potential and market size, tend to receive differential evaluations. Given that results are not conclusive; more research is required in this line of work.

3.2 *Career Advancement, Promotion and Mobility*

This section presents the factors that help women professional advancement, summarized in the model presented in Fig. 3. In our review, the factors enhancing career advancement are classified in three categories: individual factors, organizational factors, and public policy.
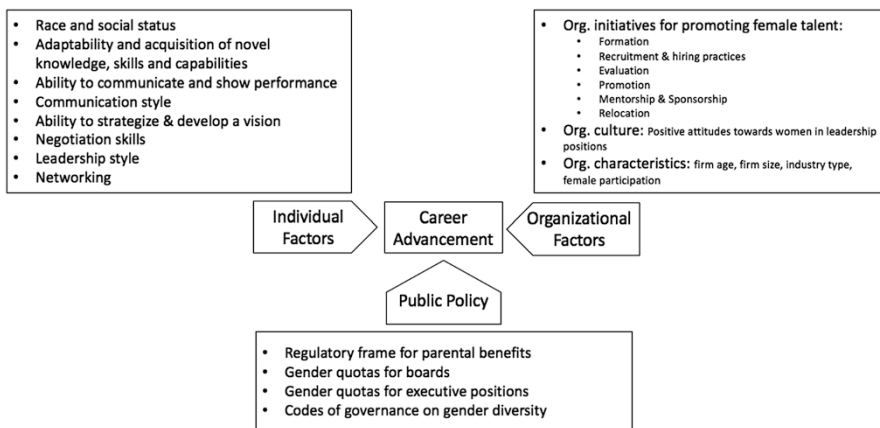
Fig. 3 Factors that facilitate career advancement. Source: Own elaboration

3.2.1   Individual Factors

This section explains the individual factors that are crucial for women's career advancement, such as personal characteristics, performance, adaptability and negotiation skills, leadership style and networking.

First, apparently, there are certain personal characteristics or traits that help women to achieve influential management positions. Swan et al. (2009), argue that **race and social class** are insufficiently studied in the field and practices of management. Gender, race and social class are social constructions that affect women advancement. Women that belong to racial minorities or come from a low social class are more discriminated in the corporate world than women from the elite. Campbell (2009) and Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (2011) addressed this issue and elaborate some advice to minority women about their career success. They encourage minority women to have higher aspirations and develop the right mindset for discovering and taking the opportunities that may arise. For example; Stacy Brown-Philpot, and Afro-American women and MBA from Stanford, when working in Google, now Alphabet Inc., was told by her manager that if she met certain goals she would be promoted. She did but was not promoted. When asked why, the answer was that there were other people before and they would be promoted in the next cycle. Brown-Philpot, now 40 and executive chair of TaskRabbit, felt she deserved the opportunity. Instead of simply accepting the decision of her boss, she looked for vice-presidents who were two or three levels above her and asked if her performance had merit for promotion. Those managers agreed that she was ready and she took those opinions to her boss, who finally promoted her. Concluding, even if some personal characteristics cannot be changed, women must be aware that they matter, and so they have to build a strategy in order to overcome the prejuices created by certain personal characteristics.

The **adaptability and acquisition of novel knowledge, skills and capabilities** are factors that facilitate women advancement. Cappelli et al. (2014) analyzed the change in the gender composition of HR leaders. The rise of international and global work experiences and the shift to greater experience in topics like talent management created opportunities for women to reach top HR positions. In a similar vein, some studies show that, digital technologies are not only transforming the status quo in several industries but they are also producing workplace gender equality. Digital fluency is helping to level the playing field between men and women at work. Recent research from Accenture (2016) found that when men and women have the same level of digital fluency—defined as the extent to which they embrace and use digital technologies to become more knowledgeable, connected, and effective—women take more advantage of those digital skills to access to education and to find work.

The ability to communicate and visibilize performance is the baseline for career advancement. Women are expected to ascend to leadership positions by showing their ability to display the competitiveness and toughness typically required from those at the top (Ellemers et al. 2012). High performance, and to visibilize it, is needed to succeed (Ibarra and Sackley 2011). For example, when Charlotte Beers

took charge as CEO at Ogilvy & Mather used her extraordinary performance and track record to gain the visibility, legimacity and power needed to restructure the company (Ibarra and Sackley 2011). Rosin (2012) stated that women are no longer catching up with men. By almost every measure, they are out-performing them. Performance is a necessary condition for success, but not a sufficient one, women must visibilize and communicate their accomplishments. Grant and Taylor (2014) did specific suggestions targeted at executives seeking to rise to the top of their organizations. They particularly propose to change the way women talk about their professional accomplishments. By analyzing syntax, gestures, and facial expressions of video interviews of 20 men and 20 women in leadership position at Fortune 50 companies, the authors identified six essential **communication skills** that can help women project confidence and make visible their value: (1) starting strong, (2) staying succinct, (3) dimensionalizing content, (4) owning voice, (5) controlling movement, and (6) projecting warmth. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009) also argue that women may also need improve their communication skills to show their performance. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009) analyzed 360-degree reviews of more than 2800 women. In all, they looked at 22,244 evaluations on a leadership assessment developed by INSEAD's Global Leadership Center. They were surprised to find that women did as well or better than men in most categories. The exception was the **ability to strategize and develop a vision** which could be the reason why fewer women rise to the top jobs. Visionary executives can detect opportunities and threats, to set strategic direction, and to inspire constituents. Men perceive women and women perceive themselves as less visionary than men. In the field of management, it is usually assumed that perception leads to reality. The authors exposed three explanations on this gender difference. First, some women are exceptical on the value of being visionary, they prefer to be "grounded". Second, women lack the confidence to express an untested vision, and, third, women who develop a vision in collaboration with their teams don't get credit for having created it. Although there is no course teaching this, the good news is that women can learn to become visionary. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009) suggest that women need good role models and to network more. Networking exposes people to different views and different trends. Through networking, women can watch others develop their vision. Appelbaum et al. (2013) have also found that male managers tend to rank better than female managers in the vision trait.

Negotiation is a key skill for advancing in the workplace. It has been found that women often don't ask (Babcock and Laschever 2009), which is related to early childhood learning. The LeanIn and McKinsey (2016) report on women at work explain that when women ask for what they deserve, they often face social pushback—and are viewed as "bossy" or "aggressive" simply for asking. This study suggest women should call out the bias before it could surface (LeanIn.Org and McKinsey and Company 2016). Woudstra (2015) encourage women to be "gender smart", by being more confident about their own value, and therefore negotiate to get better projects and paid and promote faster. Similarly, Hawley (2014) suggested a concise guide on how to optimize the perception of women's worth to a company, by negotiating for appropriate compensation.

Leadership style of women in top executive positions is broadly studied. A review of previous literature on the subject revealed that people in leadership positions are somewhat constrained by their gender roles and therefore it is likely that female and male occupants in the same organizational role behave differently to some extent because of gender role influences. The distinction between people-oriented (supposedly women) versus task-oriented (supposedly men) leadership styles has generated prolific literature (Kaiser et al. 2008; Avolio et al. 2009; Sheaffer et al. 2011), and it largely corresponds with transformational and transactional leadership (Purvanova and Bono 2009). Generally, a transformative-oriented managerial style has been typified by empowerment, participatory teamwork and a decentralized structure. This managerial pattern facilitates decision-making based on consensus and diversity of ideas that often enhance cooperation during crises (Bartunek et al. 2000; Sheaffer et al. 2011).

Appelbaum et al. (2013) suggested that the most effective leadership style is transformational leadership, most often associated with women, is a style of leadership where the leader works with employees to identify the needed change, guiding the change through inspiration, and executing the change in tandem with committed members of the group (Bass and Bass 2008). Certain behavioral traits found in female managers are considered to be more effective when dealing with employees, such as empathy, supportiveness, relationship building, achievement and learning orientation (Appelbaum et al. 2013; Eagly 2007; Eagly et al. 2003; Peus et al. 2015). Although many researchers have tried to find a single superior leadership style, most of them agree that the appropriateness of a leadership style depends on the context. For example, in global companies, female leaders have shown stronger global leadership profiles than men regarding passion for diversity, intercultural empathy, and diplomacy (Javidan et al. 2016). These findings show that the underrepresentation of women in top management positions might not happen because women lack managerial skills or are less qualified to lead than men, but rather than organizational context might not be open to diverse styles of leadership (Kossek et al. 2016).

Tymon and Stumpf (2003) argue that contemporary career success depends on the nature and quality of **personal relationships or networks** and the stock of the combined resources accessed via these relationships. Networks allocate numerous instrumental resources (*e.g.*, information on what is going on in the company, what is valued, what is the strategy, firms' needs, information, ideas, leads, business opportunities, capital, emotional support, goodwill, trust and mutual co-operation) that are critical for job effectiveness and career advancement for anyone in an organization. One of the most frequently reported problems faced by women in organizational settings is handicapped perceptions about their relationships and limited access to or exclusion in social networks. For example, Brands and Kilduff (2014) find that men, relative to women, were perceived to occupy brokerage roles in the friendship network—those roles involving less constraint and higher centrality. An analysis of U.S. representative survey data reveals that individuals in white male networks receive twice as many job leads as people in female/minority networks (McDonald 2011). White male networks are comprised of higher status connections than female/minority networks. Homophily leads men gather with men and exclude

women in a working context, which significantly affects the likelihood of female representation on boards of directors (Hillman et al. 2007). Salvaj and Lluch (2016) found that in Chile and Argentina the lack of access to power networks prevents female directors to occupy board positions, they not only represent a very small proportion of directors but are also excluded from the main component of the network. However, in an anglosaxon culture, Hawarden and Marsland (2011) show female directors are more likely to be in the largest connected component of the mixed gender network because of tokenism, indicating that even if they represent a small proportion they are not marginalized.

Culture and context affects network structure, as well as networking skills or individuals' network development approaches or strategies for managing constraints (Ibarra 1993), causing women networks differ from those of their white male counterparts on a variety of characteristics. Men use networking techniques more strategically and instrumentally than women do regarding career development purposes (Broadbridge 2010). Women are active in networks seeking for social support and to overcome macho cultures. Benschop (2009) studied whether networking processes contribute to the perpetuation of gender inequalities at work. She found that networking does not necessarily reinforce gender inequality, because the implicit or explicit dialogue with relevant others in the network allows some to cross or blur the boundaries of the gender order. Consequently, some combinations of networking and gendering might reduce gender inequity. Burt (1998) examined how women may benefit from networks' structural holes. He found men benefit from "entrepreneurial networks" with many structural holes more than women do. Women appear not to be legitimate by the network; therefore, is more efficient for them to build "hierarchical networks" as they must borrow legitimacy from the network of a strategic partner (Burt 1998). This finding is consistent with the advice of getting the support of a sponsor in a senior position to increase chances of career advancement (Ibarra et al. 2010). Kumra and Vinnicombe (2010) showed that women in international consulting firms develop social capital and so advance in their careers when they have access to influential "sponsors" and utilize impression management techniques.

3.2.2 Organizational Factors

This section describes the organizational elements that foster women's career advancement. They have been categorized as organizational initiatives, organizational culture, and organizational characteristics.

Companies interested in promoting women managerial talent implement diverse **organizational initiatives**. Sugiyama et al. (2016) explored the impact of *leaders' formation programs*. They compared general leadership development programs (GLDPs) and women's leadership development programs (WLDPs) to understand to what extent program descriptions addressed inclusive leadership—leadership that draws on relational skills to value both the uniqueness and belonging needs of diverse identities to create business effectiveness for the long term. They found

that GLDPs predominantly emphasize leadership for business performance whereas WLDPs tended to emphasize leadership for relational performance. The authors called for a more inclusive leadership development that may better balance and promote synergies between achieving business performance and integrating diverse identities into the business. Similarly, Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) argue that leadership programs, are not a substitute for other type of formation initiatives and support mechanisms for women such as mentoring and coaching, programs helping female executives to clarify their leadership ambitions, recognise their strengths and access to leadership positions. Organisations that support such learning experiences will benefit from a wider larger and more diverse pool of talent.

Recruitment and hiring practices. Previous work suggests that women generate positive spillovers for each other in the corporate arena. Women with influence over the hiring process may reduce gender segregation (Huffman et al. 2010). Cohen et al. (1998) found that the proportion of women at a given level in a California savings and loan establishment increases the probability that a hire at that level is a woman. Having more female board members is positively associated with female representation in top management. However, results are different among top managers. Even when gender bias hiring practices are implemented, research suggests that women face an implicit quota, whereby a firm's leadership tries to have a small number of women in top management, but makes less effort to have, or even resists having, larger numbers of women. Consequently, the presence of a woman on a top management team reduces the likelihood that another woman occupies a position on that team (Dezsö et al. 2016).

Evaluation is key for women career advancement. Festing et al. (2015) explored how global performance management (GPM) system is perceived for both male and female managers in MNEs in China, France, Germany, South Africa, and the U.S. As an HRM practice, GPM has enormous consequences for the career advancement of women and it may also represent a barrier for their success. Research found evidence that male and female managers evaluate their subordinates differently. GPM systems (particularly actors' roles, evaluation methods, feedback procedures, and GPM purposes) could be more collaboratively developed in order to fit better with women's expectations and needs.

Cook and Glass (2014) explored the probability of *promotion t*o CEO's position. Women are more likely than white men to get the CEO position in weakly performing firms. This situation is known as "glass cliff" (Bruckmüller and Branscombe 2010). The authors found that when firm performance declines during the tenure of women CEOs, they are likely to be replaced by white men. They term this phenomenon the "savior effect" and suggest that to avoid the glass cliff, women need to know why they are being chosen, what to expect (e.g., ethical scandals, scarce resources, restructuring), and who they are dealing with (e.g., executives not aligned with strategy).

Although women are *mentored*, they're not being promoted. A Catalyst study (2011) of more than 4000 high potentials individuals shows that more women than men have mentors—yet women are *less* likely to advance in their careers. *Sponsors* are influencers in senior positions, they give protégés exposure and fight to get their

people to get promoted. Ibarra et al. (2010) stated that it is because women are not actively sponsored as men are.

Hewlett and Rashid (2010) studied the experiences of women that have been relocated to work in multinationals with operations in emerging economies (UAE and BRIC countries), and they found that *relocation* decisions are not considering the challenges women are facing in host countries, where gender roles are more pronounced. Family-related pulls and work-related pushes conspire to force women to either settle for dead-end jobs or leave the workforce. The inducements to languish or leave reflect both entrenched cultural perspectives (*e.g.*, elder care, powerful gender bias) and modern complexities.

Jung (2013) found that while the ratios of women employees and executives and the level of fairness in the employment are significantly high in companies that expend great effort on the recruitment and development of core talent, such significance disappeared after controlling for unobserved heterogeneity of individual firms. Selective promotion and merit-based compensation systems have a negative effect on the ratio of women executives and the level of fairness even after controlling unobserved firm-specific characteristics. This signifies that the benefits of corporate strategic HRM is still not reaching women employees regardless if there is discriminatory attitude towards women or an insufficient pool of qualified women employees.

Organizational culture that prevent the advancement of women to top management positions are affected by widespread biases such as homosociality and tokenism. Homosociality is bias affecting organizational cultures, which perpetuate the exclusion of women from the top management (Holgersson 2013). A study conducted among Swedish women, find that although Swedish women are well educated and don't need to choose between work and home, when the managers are men, they recruit and hire men for senior positions (Holgersson 2013). The intensity of this phenomena might be stronger is countries with cultures that have less concern with development women talent. A second bias, tokenism (when a group include a small number of women not because they are perceived as valuable, but because the group is somehow obligated to have women represented) is also widespread. Tokenism creates a cultural climate where women perceive unequality, which leads to demotivation and destruction of trust (King et al. 2010). Dezsö et al. (2016) find an unconscious tokenism bias, which is that firms have implicit quotas in place, it might very well be the case that male top managers just want to "check a box"—there is no more effort, no more mentoring, to appoint a second woman to the top management team. They found evidence of the idea that women help each other, but that help, even if coming from female CEOs, might not be enough to overcome the potential resistance from male managers.

In this section, we will discuss how certain **organizational characteristics**, such as proportion of women in the firm, and industry, affect women's career advancement. As previously explained, the ratio of women in the organization serves as an antecedent that might help or prevent women to achieve top management (Deszö et al. 2016).

Mohan (2014) found that women managers are concentrated in some industries, such as finance or retail. In Latin America, women are more involved in the top management of firms of the following sectors: education, social service, hospitals, financial services, and health care (IPADE 2013). Loughran and McDonald (2015) performed a textual analysis on annual reports of 89,195 U.S. public-traded companies. They wanted to understand how gender-related issues might be implicitly revealed in management's communication with shareholders. Industries that directly sell products and services to consumers (i.e., Publishing, Banking, Personal Services, Apparel, Healthcare, Pharmaceutical, and Retail) have significantly higher usage of female gender terms than industries that do not directly interact with retail customers (i.e., Agriculture, Electrical Equipment, Textiles, Aircraft, Fabricated Products, Coal, and Oil), and they have also less women in top management positions. The results may imply that there are industries more prone to make women visible, which might reflect a culture of gender diversity, pro-women.

A panel data (1993–2003) analysis from the 1000 U.S. firms with the greater sales show that organizational size, industry type and firm diversification strategy significantly impact the likelihood of female representation on boards of directors (Hillman et al. 2007). Moreover, a study on 81 firms of the Fortune 1000 list revealed that more women on corporate boards, but not in executive positions, is associated with greater female managerial representation. Women are more likely to be in management positions when employed in young, large, and managerially intensive workplaces, as well as those with a larger percentage of female non-managers (Skaggs et al. 2012).

3.2.3 Public Policy

To challenge traditional gender stereotypes, many governments implemented *parental benefits* (maternity, paternity, adoption, miscarriage, family care leave), both for women and men.

Gender quotas for company boards are becoming a related issue of gender diversity policy in today's labor market. Throughout the Western world, many countries are experimenting with compulsory gender diversity measures for board rooms. The European Union, as a whole, is considering making such quotas obligatory (De Vos 2014; Engelstadt and Teigen 2012). Several European countries, such as France, Spain, the Netherlands, Iceland, Belgium and Finland have followed similar paths. In addition, softer initiatives have been introduced in a variety of other countries such as the UK, Sweden, Canada and Australia (Machold et al. 2013). The first board gender quota law (required boards of directors to have at least 40% representation of each sex) in the world was introduced by Norway (not an EU member), through amendments to the Norwegian Public Limited Liability Companies Act in 2006 (Du Plessis et al. 2014). Gender quotas had been applied in the public sector in Norway since the 1980s, and women held a relatively equal share of management positions in publicly owned enterprises. Quotas are affirmative action strategies that challenge vertical sex segregation. The gender quota regulations have

improved women's presence on boards. As secondary effects, quotas have professionalized the recruitment processes, have internationally spread out gender quotas arrangements, and have generate a debate over male dominance in some industries.

As noticed by Terjesen et al. (2009), there are increasing pressures for women directors on corporate boards, from diverse stakeholders such as the European Commission, national governments, politicians, employer lobby groups, shareholders, Fortune and FTSE rankings, best places for women to work lists as well as expectations from highly qualified women who are likely to leave if they see no women board members.

The Swedish and Finnish experiences show that *codes of governance* have less impact than mandatory quotas (Fagan et al. 2012). For the moment, there is no evidence of quotas in boards affected the female participation in CEO and executive levels.

4 Conclusion

Previous studies explored and integrated some of the barriers women face in reaching top management positions (e.g. Oakley 2000; Kossek et al. 2016). Our work adds to the literature by providing a novel and different framework, organizing the causes around persistence and advancement, two different but interrelated phenomena. Women's career success depends on a continuum persistence which is necessary to take advantage of discrete opportunities that allow career advancement.

4.1 Practical Implications for Business Women, Practitioners and Policy-Makers

This chapter highlights and integrates the most important factors that impact on the persistence and advancement of women in top management positions. We map such factors with the intention of providing a practical guide for people interested in managing women's talent in organizations. By organizing the factors at three levels: individual, organizational and public policy, this framework is useful for women who wants to diagnose which factors are especially relevant to their own reality and are preventing them to advance. Our insights can also be of interest to mentors supporting women who aspire to reach senior management positions, practitioners and policy-makers seeking to increase gender diversity.

4.2   Future Research Opportunities

Although this chapter is intended to provide a *general* overview of factors affecting women's career success, future research should focus on understanding how specific contexts might affect women's development in organizations. For example, how women design their careers in STEM, homosocial or male-dominated industries (Holgersson 2013), what barriers do women face when leading their own high-growth venture (Kuschel and Labra 2018), how certain leadership perceptions have evolved over time (Applebaum et al. 2013), and be aware on how situational factors such as tokenism (King et al. 2010) or the "glass cliff" phenomena (Bruckmüller and Branscombe 2010) can artificially improve women's participation in senior positions.

Culture, at different levels, has the power to either unable or enhance women's development in organizations. Affirmative actions and temporary gender quotas have shown to be effective in increasing women's presence on boards. Yet we must ensure the sustainability of these short-term effect measures. As seen on this literature review, rationales generally draw on the "business case" on having women in top management positions, however the "sustainability case" (or "moral justice case"—Terjesen et al. 2009) has to be consider to achieve a fairer gender balance in all aspects of society.

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Antecedents and Outcomes of Work-Family Conflict and Work-Family Enrichment: A Longitudinal, Multilevel, and Multimethod Study

Pedro Hollanda

Abstract This study investigated predictors and outcomes of work-family conflict and work-family enrichment. Family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB), family-supportive colleagues behaviors (FSCB), work events, and family events were tested as predictors of the daily variation of work-family conflict and enrichment (both directions). As outcomes, this study investigated organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB) and mindfulness at work. Fifty-two Brazilian workers responded to app-based daily survey measures during 2 workweeks (10 workdays). Ten participants were also interviewed after these 2 weeks. Multilevel analyses showed that family-supportive behaviors were not associated with the longitudinal variation of conflict nor enrichment. However, work events were related to WFC, and family events were related to FWC. As expected, work-family conflict and enrichment predicted mindfulness at work and OCB. Another significant predictor of OCB was awareness at work, a dimension of mindfulness at work. Interestingly, OCB was related to work-to-family conflict and work-to-family enrichment. Interview results suggested that the event system theory propositions are applicable to the work-family field. Furthermore, the participation on the research affected how participants view and deal with work-family issues. Finally, the results emphasized the importance of data collection strategies.

1 Introduction

Work-family conflict is the most studied variable in the work and family field, and studies focusing on work-family enrichment have grown in the last decade. However, longitudinal studies that measure both variables and seek to explain the variations across time using both feature- and event-oriented approaches are rare. In this study, we aim to investigate whether family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB), family-supportive colleagues behaviors (FSCB), and events that occur on both work and family domains explain the variation of work-family conflict and

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work-family enrichment. In addition, it is investigated whether the longitudinal variation of work-family conflict and work-family enrichment is related to the occurrence of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCBs) and two dimensions of mindfulness at work: awareness at work and absent-mindedness.

Although not perfectly opposite variables, work-family conflict and enrichment are expected to have an opposite influence on OCB and mindfulness. This study also investigated the interrelationship of conflict and enrichment as well as the influence of mindfulness at work on the occurrence of OCBs.

2   Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis

2.1   Event System Theory and Work-Family Interface

Morgeson et al. (2015) argue that in the organizational field, the theories are mainly oriented to processes or features. They proposed the event system theory (EST) based on three main aspects of events: time, space, and strength. This theory proposes that events become salient when they are novel, disruptive, and critical (reflecting an event's strength). The stronger an event is, the more it is likely to change or create behaviors, features, and events. The EST is presented using propositions that, supposedly, are applicable to other domains. This article aimed to explore the applicability of some of these propositions of the EST to the work-family field.

2.2   Events, Work-Family Conflict, and Work-Family Enrichment

One of the difficulties that hinders the theoretical advancement of the organizational area is the fact that theories usually cannot be properly compared. This is because, in general, they focus on seeking answers to different questions and because—in some cases—theories are explicitly immeasurable as demonstrated by Davis (2010). Although some studies have sought to clarify the cross-domain vs match-domain debate regarding which perspective better explains the occurrence and effects of work-family conflict and enrichment (e.g., Nohe and Sonntag 2014), this debate seems far from being over. Hence, to contribute to the refinement of the debate over cross-domain versus match-domain perspectives, this study analyzed which perspective better explains the results.

Based on the episodic approach, I measured the relationships between events originated at home and at work with WFC, FWC, WFE, and FWE daily variations. According to the match domain, the occurrence of an event at work would have a greater impact on work-related variables than on family-related variables. So,

according to the match-domain perspective, an event at work would be more related to WFC, WFE, awareness at work, absent-mindedness at work, and OCB than to FWC and FWE. The direct relationships between events and work-family interface variables were also investigated.

Hypothesis 1a Work events are more significantly related with WFC, WFE, awareness at work, absent-mindedness at work, and OCB than with FWC and FWE.

Hypothesis 1b Family events are more significantly related with FWC and FWE than with WFC, WFE, awareness at work, absent-mindedness at work, and OCB.

Hypothesis 2 Work events are significantly related with WFC (a), FWC (b), WFE (c), FWE (d), awareness at work (e), absent-mindedness at work (f), and OCB (g).

Hypothesis 3 Family events are significantly related with WFC (a), FWC (b), WFE (c), FWE (d), awareness at work (e), absent-mindedness at work (f), and OCB (g).

2.3 Family-Supportive Behavior Effects on Work-Family Conflict and Enrichment

Previous study (e.g., Hammer et al. 2011) results suggest that family-supportive social behavior can be learned. Thus, it can be a useful organizational way of promoting work-family balance by means of a better social support. However, more empirical evidence that support the relation between colleagues and supervisor support to work-family issues and work-family conflict, and enrichment is still needed—especially from longitudinal studies.

Despite being less studied, previous studies show that support from colleagues is positively related to work-to-family and family-to-work enrichment (Hunter et al. 2010) and reduces conflict (Van Daalen et al. 2006).

Therefore, this study aimed to empirically test the effect of family-supportive supervisor behaviors (FSSB) and family-supportive colleagues behaviors (FSCB) on the longitudinal variation of work-family conflict and enrichment using a sample of Brazilian workers. The relations were expected to be on the same direction of those found by cross-sectional studies (e.g., Breaugh and Frye 2008; Lapierre and Allen 2006), which is family support is positively related to enrichment and negatively related to conflict. Additionally, based on Straub's (2012) proposition that family support behaviors would positively affect organizationally relevant variables such as performance, this study investigated the direct relationships between family-supportive behaviors and OCBs and mindfulness at work.

Building on the conservation of resource theory (Hofboll 1989), Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012) developed the work-home resource model. According to this model, social support is a type of contextual resource that makes the occurrence of work-family enrichment more likely and the occurrence of work-family conflict less likely. This is because the resources attenuate the negative relationship between

contextual demands and personal resources and strengthen the positive relationship between contextual resources and personal resources.

Hypothesis 4 FSSB are negatively related to daily WFC (a), FWC (b), and absent-mindedness at work (c) and positively related to WFE (d), FWE (e), awareness at work (f), and OCB (g).

Hypothesis 5 FSCB are negatively related to daily WFC (a), FWC (b), and absent-mindedness at work (c) and positively related to WFE (d), FWE (e), awareness at work (f), and OCB (g).

2.4 Work-Family Conflict and Enrichment Relationships with OCB and Mindfulness at Work

This study followed recommendations of Nohe (2014) and McNall et al. (2010) and investigated other organizationally relevant behaviors than task performance. Specifically, mindfulness at work and organizational citizenship behaviors. It is to be expected that work-family conflict reduces the mindfulness at work, while work-family enrichment buffers a mindful state. In this study mindfulness at work was operationalized based on two main dimensions of the construct: awareness at work and absent-mindedness at work.

The meta-analysis conducted by Amstad et al. (2011) has shown that work-family conflict has a significant effect on organizational citizenship behaviors, although Cantal et al. (2015) states that very few researches investigate organizational citizenship behaviors as a dependent variable in the Brazilian context—and none of those consider work-family issues. In addition, both the effect of enrichment on OCB and the longitudinal relationship of these three variables still lack empirical evidence. Hence, this research aimed to test whether the daily perceptions of work-family conflict and work-family enrichment explained the occurrence of organizational citizenship behaviors. It was expected a positive relationship between enrichment and OCB and a negative relationship between conflict and OCB.

Hypothesis 6 Daily WFC is negatively related to awareness at work (a) and OCB (b) and positively related to absent-mindedness at work (c).

Hypothesis 7 Daily FWC is negatively related to awareness at work (a) and OCB (b) and positively related to absent-mindedness at work (c).

Hypothesis 8 Daily WFE is positively related to awareness at work (a) and OCB (b) and negatively related to absent-mindedness at work (c).

Hypothesis 9 Daily FWE is positively related to awareness at work (a) and OCB (b) and negatively related to absent-mindedness at work (c).

This study also tested whether OCBs are antecedent of work-family conflict. As OCBs are an expression of extra-role job performance, it may be a consequence of an

overfocus on the work domain that harms the family domain. Specifically, proactively volunteer to attend meetings after the office hours may be seen as positive by the organization and also elicit a time- and behavior-based WFC. From a positive perspective, OCBs may be a source of happiness and fulfillment at work that helps the worker be a better family member—in other words, a source of development-based and affect-based WFE.

Hypothesis 10 The occurrence of OCB is positively related to WFC (a) and WFE (b).

2.5   The Effects of Mindfulness at Work on OCB

Empirical findings indicate that empathy is a robust predictor of OCB (e.g., Penner 2002; Rioux and Penner 2001). As one of the two components of the construct of empathy is cognitive empathy—which is the tendency to be aware and adopt the perspective of the other—it is plausible to expect that awareness is positively related to the occurrence of OCBs. Moreover, being aware of the organization and colleague's needs is required to identify and engage in helping behaviors—one of the main expressions of OCBs.

According to Rest's (1986) model of descriptive ethics, the ability to interpret a situation as being moral is the first step toward a decision-making that culminates in a behavior. Analogously, it is essential that the individual acts consciously so that he is able to make the decision to perform an organizational citizenship behavior.

Situational awareness (Endsley 1997) can be understood by its three levels: (1) perception of critical environmental factors, (2) understanding what these factors mean and how they relate to the individual's goals, and (3) understanding what will happen to the system in the near future. The higher the degree of situational awareness, the greater the individual ability to make decisions effectively. It was expected that, similarly and based on the premise that organizational citizenship behaviors are an effective decision, the more aware at work an individual was, the more organizational citizenship behaviors would occur.

Hypothesis 11 Awareness at work is positively related to the occurrence of OCBs.

2.6   The Interrelationships of WFC, FWC, WFE, and FWE

Although not perfectly opposite variables, work-family conflict and enrichment are expected to have an opposite influence on each other. However, WFC is expected to be positively related to FWC likewise WFE and FWE.

Hypothesis 12 WFC and FWC are negatively related to WFE and FWE and, as the last two, positively related to each other.

3 Method

3.1 Participants and Procedure

Participants were employees from various Brazilian organizations. Suitable participants were paid workers who worked at least 30 h per week. Initially, a group of workers with different characteristics (sex, age, marital status, organization sector) was invited to participate. After this first recruitment based on personal contacts, the other participants were indicated by the previously recruited participants (snowball sampling) and recruited by two research assistants. This variety of sources guaranteed heterogeneity of the sample which was similar to the target population.

To collect data that captured daily variations and events, I employed a dairy study as recommended by Bolger and Laurenceau (2013) and Bolger et al. (2003). This approach is ideal to measure intraindividual variations and the occurrence of events. The data collection was done using an app called PACO (Personal Analytics Companion) for 10 workdays.

Participants were initially contacted by phone or face to face. If they agreed to participate, I contacted them by email to explain the purpose of the research, assure its academic nature and confidentiality of their responses, instruct how to download and install the app, and complete the surveys. After this contact by email with 61 participants, 58 initiated the participation. After removing the responses of the participants who participated less than 6 days,[1] the final sample was of 52 respondents (451 data points). This sample size exceeds the minimum of 50 observations on level 2 (Maas and Hox 2005) and is similar to recent empirical researches with a similar design (e.g., Rispens and Demerouti 2016).

Participants first filled an initial questionnaire and then completed the daily questionnaire for 2 workweeks (at the end of each 10 workdays). After the end of this phase, ten participants were interviewed.

The majority of the participants were female (55.80%) and married (71%). Respondent's average age was 32.94 years (SD = 5.78). On average, participants had 1.27 children (min = 0; max = 6). Respondents worked on the public and private sectors and had, on average, 9.8 years of work experience (SD = 5.84).

3.2 Measures

All measures were originally in English and were translated to Brazilian Portuguese using translation and back-translation procedures to optimize the validity of the survey items (Brislin 1970, 1980, 1986). Bilingual experts performed the translations in two parallel processes. After, I compared both outcomes and made the

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[1]96% participated 7 days; 79% 8 days; 60% 9 days; and 31% 10 days.

adjustments needed. Some scales also needed item's adaptation to perform daily measurements of the constructs (such as suggested by Nohe 2014).

3.2.1 Initial Questionnaire Measures

Participants completed an initial questionnaire where they were asked about their demographic background as well as FSSB and FSCB. To measure FSSB, I used an adapted version of the Hammer et al. (2013) family-supportive supervisor behavior short-form (FSSB-SF). The scale consists of four items with one item for each dimension of FSSB according to Hammer et al. (2009). To measure FSCB, I used an adapted version of three items of FSSB-SF covering the following dimensions: emotional support, role modeling, and instrumental support.

3.2.2 Daily Questionnaire Measures

Considering the recommendations of Fisher and To (2012) and Shrout and Lane (2013) to diary study research, I used small measures with at least three items to each construct. Responses were given on a Likert scale from 1 to 5 (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree) except for the responses on the occurrence of organizational citizen behaviors which were given on a checklist and on events which were yes or no questions.

3.2.3 WFC/FWC

To measure the work-family conflict and family-work conflict, I used an adapted version of the Matthews et al. (2010) reduced version of the 18-item multidimensional scale originally developed by Carlson et al. (2000). The reduced version consists of six items grouped into two factors that correspond to WFC and FWC with one item for each dimension of conflict according to Greenhaus and Beutell (1985).

3.2.4 WFE/FWE

To measure the work-family enrichment and family-work enrichment, I used an adapted version of the Kacmar et al. (2014) reduced version of the 18-item multidimensional scale originally developed by Carlson et al. (2006). The reduced version consists of six items grouped into two factors that correspond to WFE and FWE with one item for each dimension of enrichment according to Carlson et al. (2006) extension of the concept originally proposed by Greenhaus and Powell (2006).

3.2.5 Mindfulness at Work (Awareness at Work and Absent-Mindedness at Work)

To measure mindfulness at work, I used an adapted version of the seven items of the Five-Factor Mindfulness Questionnaire (Baer et al. 2006) selected and adapted by Reb et al. (2015) for organizational context. The items measured two dimensions of mindfulness at work, awareness at work, and absent-mindedness.

3.2.6 Organizational Citizenship Behavior

As it is a parsimonious measure of organizational citizenship behavior whose items deal only with job behaviors and are in a format that can be used for daily data collection, I used an adapted version of the Organizational Citizenship Behavior Checklist (Spector et al. 2010).

3.2.7 Events

To measure events I used two questions about the occurrence of important events on each domain: "Today, any important event occurred at work?" and "Today, any important event occurred at home?".

3.2.8 Demographic Variables

As demographic variables, I collected data about age, sex, number of children, tenure, organization, and commuting time.

3.2.9 Analytical Strategy

The data is hierarchically structured as follows: level 1 consists of data collected at the day level and level 2 consists of data at the person level. To analysis purposes, day-level data are nested/aggregated within persons. Therefore, the appropriate approach is multilevel analysis (Hox 2010). I used the MLwiN program (Rasbash et al. 2010) version 2.20 to calculate the intraclass correlation indices and test hypothesis. As previous similar studies (e.g., Demerouti and Cropanzano 2017), day-level variables were centered around person mean.

3.2.10 Interviews

Aiming to investigate whether the propositions of Morgeson et al. (2015) apply to work-family interface, I interviewed ten participants to ask whether they used the same criteria to assign an event as important as proposed by EST. In addition to these questions about the events itself and what they considered to classify an event as important, I asked general questions about their participation. After a spontaneous commentary of the first interviewed on how her participation on the research had impact on how she balance work and family, I added a question on whether their participation somehow affected their lives.

4 Results

Means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables are displayed in Table 1. Day-level variables were averaged to correlate them with those measured at the person level. Following Sanz-Vergel et al. (2010), we excluded from further analyses those sociodemographic variables that were not significantly correlated with the dependent variables.

4.1 Preliminary Analyses

I examined how much variance was attributed to within-person variation using the intraclass correlation (ICC). The results displayed in Table 2 suggest that an important portion of the variance can be explained by within-person daily fluctuations, which supports the usage of multilevel analysis.

4.2 Test of Hypotheses

To test the hypothesis, I compared four nested models: first, a null model with the intercept as the only predictor. In Model 1, I included person-level variables (control variables, FSSB, and FSCB). In Model 2, I entered the event related variables and, in Model 3, the other day-level variables. The models were compared based on differences of their log likelihood statistic $-2*\log$. The same steps were followed to all dependent variables. The information about the occurrence of OCB and the number of children were recoded into dummy variables.

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, alpha reliabilities, and intercorrelations

	Mean	SD	A	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. WFC	2.22	0.98	0.68	1													
2. FWC	1.91	0.82	0.58	.322**	1												
3. WFE	3.11	0.99	0.83	-.192**	-.145**	1											
4. FWE	3.50	0.96	0.83	.000	-.116*	.429**	1										
5. FSSB	3.48	1.07	0.90	-.048	.041	.219**	.146**	1									
6. FSCB	3.59	0.77	0.80	-.171**	-.135**	.176**	.008	.485**	1								
7. Awareness	3.92	0.81	0.89	-.120*	-.184**	.362**	.290**	.140**	.144**	1							
8. Absent-mindedness	2.62	1.07	0.83	.096*	.292**	-.097*	-.050	-.142**	-.119*	-.193**	1						
9. Age	32.69	5.78		.123**	.067	.127**	.152**	-.003	.037	.126**	-.243**	1					
10. Sex[a]	0.44	0.50		.130**	.207**	-.106*	-.009	-.176**	-.330**	-.158**	.071	.152**	1				
11. Children[b]	0.61	0.49		.171**	.109*	-.098*	.214**	-.095*	-.286**	-.039	-.111*	.424**	.244**	1			
12. Event at work[b]	0.36	0.48		-.178**	.011	-.114*	-.093*	-.051	-.078	-.199**	.093	-.132**	.002	-.105*	1		
13. Event at home[b]	0.31	0.46		.035	.209**	.066	-.008	.093*	.083	.058	.025	.047	.038	.062	.208**	1	
14. OCB[b]	0.81	0.39		.104*	.039	.196**	.117*	.025	.098*	.250**	-.043	.132**	-.042	.027	-.170**	.110*	1

Note: Cronbach's alpha for day-level variables is a mean internal consistency averaged over all measurement days
*p < 0.5
**p < 0.1
[a]0 = female, 1 = male
[b]0 = no, 1 = yes

Table 2 Intraclass correlation

Variables	ICC
WFC	.3764
FWC	.3757
WFE	.4164
FWE	.4906
Awareness	.2831
Absent-mindedness	.4657
OCB	.2434

4.2.1 Test of Hypotheses Predicting WFC (Hypotheses 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 10a, and 12)

For WFC as an outcome (see Table 3), Model 1, which included person-level and control variables, did not show a better fit than the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 7.527$, df = 6, *ns*). Model 2 showed an improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 8.373$, df = 2, $p < .05$), with events at work predicting WFC ($t = 2.90$, $p < 0.01$). Finally, Model 3 fit the data better than Model 2 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 20.904$, df = 4, $p < .001$). Specifically, OCB and FWC were positively and significantly related to WFC ($t = 2.46$, $p < 0.05$; $t = 2.39$, $p < 0.05$, respectively), while WFE were negatively and significantly related to WFC ($t = -2.78$, $p < 0.01$). In general, findings provide support to Hypotheses 2a, 10a, and 12. However, since neither FSSB nor FSCB or family events were related to WFC, Hypotheses 3a, 4a, and 5a had to be rejected.

4.2.2 Test of Hypotheses Predicting FWC (Hypotheses 2b, 3b, 4b, 5b, and 12)

For FWC as an outcome (see Table 4), Model 1 did not show a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 7.188$, df = 6, *ns*). Model 2 showed a highly significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 18.722$, df = 2, $p < .001$), with family events (or events at home) predicting FWC ($t = 4.40$, $p < 0.001$). The improvement of Model 3 over Model 2 was also significant (difference of $-2 \times \log = 21.782$, df = 3, $p < .001$) with WFC and FWE as significantly related variables ($t = 2.24$, $p < 0.05$; $t = -3.23$, $p < 0.01$, respectively). Results supported Hypotheses 3b and 12. Hypotheses 2b, 4b, and 5b were, however, not supported.

4.2.3 Test of Hypotheses Predicting WFE (Hypotheses 2c, 3c, 4d, 5d, 10, and 12)

For WFE as an outcome (see Table 5), Model 1 did not showed a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 10.963$, df = 6, *ns*).

Table 3 Multilevel estimates for models predicting work-to-family conflict

Variables	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.212	0.091	24.30***	2.293	0.685	3.35***	2.293	0.685	3.35***	2.291	0.685	3.34***
Age				0.014	0.017	0.82	0.014	0.017	0.82	0.014	0.017	0.82
Sex				0.126	0.182	0.69	0.126	0.182	0.69	0.127	0.182	0.70
Commuting time				−0.189	0.181	−1.04	−0.189	0.181	−1.04	−0.189	0.181	−1.04
Children				0.173	0.206	0.84	0.173	0.206	0.84	0.173	0.206	0.84
FSSB				0.059	0.092	0.64	0.059	0.092	0.64	0.059	0.092	0.64
FSCB				−0.228	0.142	−1.61	−0.228	0.142	−1.61	−0.228	0.142	−1.61
EW							0.261	0.090	2.9**	0.265	0.087	3.05**
EF							−0.026	0.095	−0.27	−0.065	0.095	−0.68
FWC										0.160	0.067	2.39*
WFE										−0.150	0.054	−2.78**
FEW										−0.072	0.059	−1.22
OCB										0.278	0.113	2.46*
−2 × log (lh)	1146.697			1139.170			1130.797			1109.893		
Difference of −2 × log				7.527			8.373*			20.904***		
df				6			2			4		
Level 1 intercept	0.603			0.603			0.591			0.556		
variance (SE)	(0.043)			(0.074)			(0.042)			(0.039)		
Level 2 intercept	0.364			0.305			0.306			0.310		
variance (SE)	(0.085)			(0.043)			(0.074)			(0.074)		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 4 Multilevel estimates for models predicting family-to-work conflict

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	1.920	0.085	22.59***	1.871	0.638	2.93**	1.870	0.638	2.93**	1.870	0.639	2.93**
Age				0.004	0.016	0.25	0.004	0.016	0.25	0.004	0.016	0.25
Sex				0.265	0.170	1.56	0.265	0.170	1.56	0.265	0.170	1.56
Commuting time				−0.154	0.169	−0.91	−0.154	0.169	−0.91	−0.154	0.169	−0.91
Children				0.087	0.192	0.45	0.087	0.192	0.45	−0.088	0.192	0.46
FSSB				0.125	0.085	1.47	0.125	0.085	1.47	0.125	0.085	1.47
FSCB				−0.172	0.133	−1.29	−0.172	0.133	−1.29	−0.172	0.133	−1.29
EW							−0.009	0.067	0.13	−0.024	0.066	−0.36
EF							0.308	0.070	4.40***	0.301	0.069	4.36***
WFC										0.083	0.037	2.24*
WFE										−0.028	0.040	−0.70
FWE										−0.142	0.044	−3.23**
−2 × log (lh)	911.055			903.867			885.145			863.363		
Difference of −2 × log				7.188			18.722***			21.782***		
df				6			2			3		
Level 1 intercept	0.341			0.341			0.325			0.308		
variance (SE)	(0.024)			(0.024)			(0.023)			(0.022)		
Level 2 intercept	0.335			0.286			0.288			0.290		
variance (SE)	(0.074)			(0.064)			(0.064)			(0.064)		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 5 Multilevel estimates for models predicting work-to-family enrichment

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	3.107	0.095	32.71***	1.325	0.689	1.92	1.325	0.689	1.92	1.327	0.689	1.93
Age				0.036	0.017	2.12*	0.036	0.017	2.12*	0.036	0.017	2.12*
Sex				−0.127	0.183	−0.69	−0.127	0.183	−0.69	−0.127	0.183	−0.70
Commuting time				0.236	0.182	1.30	0.236	0.182	1.30	0.236	0.182	1.30
Children				−0.339	0.207	−1.64	−0.339	0.207	−1.64	−0.339	0.207	−1.64
FSSB				0.148	0.092	1.61	0.148	0.092	1.61	0.148	0.092	1.61
FSCB				0.061	0.143	0.43	0.061	0.143	0.43	0.061	0.143	0.43
EW							0.096	0.088	1.09	0.103	0.081	1.27
EF							0.077	0.093	0.83	0.116	0.087	1.33
WFC										−0.128	0.046	−2.78**
FWC										−0.030	0.062	−0.48
FWE										0.337	0.052	6.48***
OCB										0.373	0.103	3.62***
−2 × log (lh)	1125.163			1114.200			1112.187			1043.264		
Difference of −2 × log				10.963			2.013			68.923***		
df				6			2			4		
Level 1 intercept	0.566			0.566			0.563			0.474		
variance (SE)	(0.040)			(0.040)			(0.040)			(0.034)		
Level 2 intercept	0.404			0.314			0.314			0.325		
variance (SE)	(0.092)			(0.074)			(0.074)			(0.075)		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Model 2 also did not showed a significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 2.013$, df $= 2$, *ns*). However, Model 3 showed a highly significant improvement over Model 2 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 68.923$, df $= 4$, $p < .001$), with FWE, OCB, WFC, and age as significant predictors ($t = 6.48$, $p < 0.001$; $t = 3.62$, $p < 0.001$; $t = -2.78$, $p < 0.01$; $t = 2.12$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Taken together, results for this outcome variable supported Hypotheses 10b and partially supported 12 since OCB, FWE, and WFC were significant predictors. However, as neither FSSB, FSCB, work events, nor family events were related to WFE, Hypotheses 2c, 3c, 4d, and 5d had to be rejected.

4.2.4 Test of Hypotheses Predicting FWE (Hypotheses 2d, 3d, 4e, 5e, and 12)

For FWE as an outcome (see Table 6), Model 1 did not showed a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 7.797$, df $= 6$, *ns*). Model 2 also did not showed a significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 0.922$, df $= 2$, *ns*). However, Model 3 showed a highly significant improvement over Model 2 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 62.272$, df $= 3$, $p < .001$), with WFE and FWC as significant predictors ($t = 6.65$, $p < 0.001$; $t = -3.27$, $p < 0.001$, respectively). In general, results for this outcome variable partially supported Hypothesis 12 since WFE and FWC were significant predictors, while WFC was not. However, as neither FSSB, FSCB, work events, nor family events were related to FWE, Hypotheses 2d, 3d, 4e, and 5e had to be rejected.

4.2.5 Test of Hypotheses Predicting Awareness at Work (Hypotheses 2e, 3e, 4f, 5f, 6a, 7a, 8a, 9a)

For awareness at work as an outcome (see Table 7), Model 1 did not showed a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 9.728$, df $= 6$, *ns*). Model 2 showed a significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 10.909$, df $= 2$, $p < .01$), with work events and age as predictors ($t = 2.99$, $p < 0.01$; $t = 2.00$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Variables entered in Model 3 contributed to an increased model fit (difference of $-2 \times \log = 51.463$, df $= 4$, $p < .001$). Specifically, WFE, FWE, and WFC were significantly related to awareness at work ($t = 4.73$, $p < 0.001$; $t = 2.74$, $p < 0.01$; $t = -2.49$, $p < 0.01$, respectively). Results supported Hypotheses 2e, 7a, 8a, and 9a since work events, FWC, WFE, and FWE were related to awareness at work. However, Hypotheses 3e, 4f, 5f, and 6a were not supported.

Table 6 Multilevel estimates for models predicting family-to-work enrichment

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	3.513	0.098	35.85***	2.492	0.732	3.40***	2.492	0.732	3.40***	2.492	0.732	3.40***
Age				0.015	0.018	0.83	0.015	0.018	0.83	0.015	0.018	0.83
Sex				−0.124	0.195	−0.64	−0.124	0.195	−0.64	−0.124	0.195	−0.64
Commuting time				0.008	0.193	0.04	0.008	0.193	0.04	0.007	0.193	0.04
Children				0.378	0.220	1.72	0.378	0.220	1.72	0.378	0.220	1.72
FSSB				0.130	0.098	1.33	0.130	0.098	1.33	0.129	0.098	1.32
FSCB				−0.028	0.152	−0.18	−0.028	0.152	−0.18	−0.027	0.152	−0.18
EW							0.023	0.080	0.29	0.007	0.075	0.09
EF							−0.078	0.084	0.93	−0.045	0.080	−0.56
WFC										−0.049	0.042	−1.17
FWC										−0.183	0.056	−3.27***
WFE										0.286	0.043	6.65***
−2 × log (lh)	1049.757			1041.960			1041.038			978.766		
Difference of −2 × log				7.797			0.922			62.272***		
df				6			2			3		
Level 1 intercept	0.465			0.465			0.464			0.397		
variance (SE)	(0.033)			(0.033)			(0.033)			(0.028)		
Level 2 intercept	0.444			0.374			0.374			0.382		
variance (SE)	(0.098)			(0.084)			(0.084)			(0.084)		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 7 Multilevel estimates for models predicting awareness at work

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	3.926	0.068	57.74***	3.039	0.501	6.07***	3.039	0.500	6.08***	3.041	0.500	6.08***
Age				0.024	0.012	2.00	0.024	0.012	2.00*	0.024	0.012	2.00*
Sex				−0.253	0.133	−1.90	−0.253	0.133	−1.90	−0.254	0.133	−1.91
Commuting time				−0.051	0.132	−0.39	−0.051	0.132	−0.39	−0.051	0.132	−0.39
Children				−0.084	0.150	−0.56	−0.083	0.150	−0.55	−0.083	0.150	−0.55
FSSB				0.066	0.067	0.99	0.066	0.067	0.99	0.065	0.067	0.97
FSCB				0.013	0.104	0.13	0.013	0.104	0.13	0.013	0.104	0.13
EW							0.236	0.079	2.99**	0.205	0.075	2.73**
EF							−0.138	0.084	1.64	−0.100	0.080	−1.25
WFC										0.023	0.042	0.55
FWC										−0.142	0.057	−2.49**
WFE										0.213	0.045	4.73***
FEW										0.137	0.050	2.74**
−2 × log (lh)	1017.433			1007.705			996.796			945.333		
Difference of −2 × log				9.728			10.909**			51.463***		
df				6			2			4		
Level 1 intercept variance (SE)	0.471	(0.033)		0.471	(0.033)		0.458	(0.032)		0.403	(0.029)	
Level 2 intercept variance (SE)	0.186	(0.047)		0.145	(0.039)		0.147	(0.039)		0.153	(0.039)	

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

4.2.6 Test of Hypotheses Predicting Absent-Mindedness at Work (Hypotheses 2f, 3f, 4c, 5c, 6c, 7c, 8c, and 9c)

For absent-mindedness at work as an outcome (see Table 8), Model 1 did not showed a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 9.264$, df $= 6$, *ns*). Model 2 also did not show a significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 2.958$, df $= 2$, *ns*). However, Model 3 showed a highly significant improvement over Model 2 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 23.038$, df $= 4$, $p < .001$), with WFE and FWE and age as significant predictors ($t = 3.38$, $p < 0.001$; $t = 2.05$, $p < 0.05$; $t = -2.15$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Results supported Hypotheses 7c and 8c since FWC and WFE were significantly related to absent-mindedness at work. However, Hypotheses 2f, 3f, 4c, 5c, 6c, and 9c had to be rejected.

4.2.7 Test of Hypotheses Predicting OCB (Hypotheses 2g, 3g, 4g, 5g, 6b, 7b, 8b, 9b, and 11)

For organizational citizenship behaviors as an outcome (see Table 9), Model 1 did not showed a significant improvement over the null model (difference of $-2 \times \log = 8.427$, df $= 6$, *ns*). Model 2 also did not showed a significant improvement over Model 1 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 1.727$, df $= 2$, *ns*). However, Model 3 showed a highly significant improvement over Model 2 (difference of $-2 \times \log = 31.908$, df $= 5$, $p < .001$), with awareness at work, WFE, and WFC as significant predictors ($t = 3.35$, $p < 0.001$; $t = 2.79$, $p < 0.01$; $t = 2.36$, $p < 0.05$, respectively). Results supported Hypotheses 6b, 8b, and 11 since WFC, WFE, and awareness at work were related to OCB. However, Hypotheses 2g, 3g, 4g, 5g 7b, and 9b were not supported.

4.2.8 Additional Analyses

The interviews revealed that participants supported that the more novel, disruptive, and critical an event, the more significant/important/salient it is. Thus, these results suggest that main propositions of EST are applicable to the work-family field. However, they also reported that, in many cases, it is difficult to distinguish between novel and disruptive—which may sign a need for conceptual refinement.

In addition, according to EST, events that were longer in duration and the ones that were (geographically) closer to the participant were considered more important and more likely to be reported. Nevertheless, the interviewed participants did not support that events that affect a greater number of levels are more important. Some of them even affirmed that it occurs precisely the opposite way. For example, an immediate supervisor change was seen as more significant than a change of a higher-level manager. This is not enough to support that things generally happen on the opposite way of what the EST proposes, but maybe some event importance

Table 8 Multilevel estimates for models predicting absent-mindedness at work

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	2.622	0.107	24.50***	4.602	0.788	5.84***	4.602	0.788	5.84***	4.602	0.788	5.84***
Age				−0.043	0.020	−2.15*	−0.043	0.020	−2.15*	−0.043	0.020	−2.15*
Sex				0.162	0.210	0.77	0.162	0.210	0.77	0.162	0.210	0.77
Commuting time				0.009	0.208	0.04	0.009	0.208	0.04	0.009	0.208	0.04
Children				−0.096	0.237	0.41	−0.096	0.237	0.41	−0.096	0.237	−0.41
FSSB				−0.118	0.105	1.12	−0.118	0.105	1.12	−0.118	0.105	−1.12
FSCB				−0.050	0.164	0.30	−0.050	0.164	0.30	−0.050	0.164	−0.30
EW							−0.130	0.090	1.44	−0.120	0.089	−1.35
EF							0.098	0.095	1.03	0.098	0.095	1.03
WFC										0.014	0.050	0.55
FWC										0.230	0.068	3.38***
WFE										−0.111	0.054	−2.05*
FWE										−0.059	0.060	−0.98
−2 × log (lh)		1160.842			1151.578			1148.620			1125.582	
Difference of −2 × log					9.264			2.958			23.038***	
df					6			2			4	
Level 1 intercept		0.600			0.600			0.597			0.431	
variance (SE)		(0.042)			(0.042)			(0.042)			(0.097)	
Level 2 intercept		0.523			0.427			0.427			0.562	
variance (SE)		(0.116)			(0.097)			(0.097)			(0.040)	

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

Table 9 Multilevel estimates for models predicting organizational citizenship behaviors

Variable	Null model			Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t	Estimate	SE	t
Intercept	0.808	0.031	26.06***	0.222	0.232	0.96	0.222	0.232	0.96	3.041	0.500	6.08***
Age				0.010	0.006	1.66	0.010	0.006	1.66	0.010	0.006	1.66
Sex				−0.022	0.062	−0.35	−0.022	0.062	−0.35	−0.022	0.062	−0.35
Commuting time				0.123	0.061	2.02*	0.123	0.061	2.02*	0.123	0.061	2.02*
Children				−0.016	0.070	−0.23	−0.016	0.070	−0.23	−0.016	0.070	−0.23
FSSB				−0.010	0.031	−0.32	−0.010	0.031	−0.32	−0.010	0.031	−0.32
FSCB				0.070	0.048	1.46	0.070	0.048	1.46	0.070	0.048	1.46
EW							0.050	0.040	1.25	0.009	0.039	0.24
EF							−0.018	0.042	−0.43	−0.003	0.041	−0.07
WFC										0.052	0.022	2.36*
FWC										−0.024	0.030	−0.80
WFE										0.067	0.024	2.79**
FWE										−0.002	0.026	−0.08
Awareness										0.087	0.026	3.35***
−2 × log (lh)	373.471			365.044			363.317			331.209		
Difference of −2 × log				8.427			1.727			31.908***		
df				6			2			5		
Level 1 intercept	0.115			0.115			0.114			0.106		
variance (SE)	(0.008)			(0.008)			(0.008)			(0.007)		
Level 2 intercept	0.037			0.030			0.030			0.031		
variance (SE)	(0.010)			(0.008)			(0.008)			(0.008)		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

assignment varies depending on how near or far an organization unit is from the organization core business. It is reasonable to assume that an area of accounting will be less affected by a change of CEO than a product development area in a game developer company.

I also found two interesting side results. First, the results suggested that the participation in this research could have been an intervention per se. Time was negatively related to work distraction ($r = -0.118$; $p < 0.05$). The data showed a slightly lower level of absent-mindedness at work at the end of the data collection.

The interviewed participants also affirmed that participating on this research promoted changes. These are some representative speeches:

– "It's like. . .. You start to reflect and, as I said to you, at the end I faced an abstinence crisis [laughter]. I considered to make a diary to **continue to examine** myself. I found it cool."
– "It was good. It was an opportunity to think about things that I usually don't. It was interesting, enriching. It **made me rethink how I deal with these things. Work, home, family**. . .."
– "It **made me rethink my managerial position**."
– "I miss to participate in the research. It was like an **examination of conscience**."
– "At the end of the first week I decided to **change to another organisational unit**."

The effects of the research on participants' behaviors and decisions may be indicated as a manifestation of reactivity of measurement (Barta et al. 2012; Iida et al. 2012). This is especially relevant since measurement reactivity is often overlooked on reports of daily diary studies (Barta et al. 2012).

The second side result is an empirical evidence of what Taris (2000) stated about the importance of data collection strategies to improve response rates. The data collection was divided in four groups. The participants of the first group had an initial face-to-face meeting with the researcher or (when not possible) received a phone call. Then, every day of the data collection period I monitored their responses and sent an alert if, at 10 pm, there was no participation yet. On the following groups, I still monitored their participation but gradually reduced and spaced my contact with the participants. On the last one, I only passively responded the questions that aroused, and they only received the automatic alert that I set by default—they could choose to silence this alert or personalize when it would ring. Participant's average completion rates decreased every week (from 9.22 completed days on the first week to 8.09 completed days on the last week). One cannot certainly affirm that it was due to the change of strategy. However, there seems to be a correlation between the less contact and the lower completion rates.

5 Discussion

Regarding the antecedents of work-family conflict and enrichment, this study contributed in three ways. First, consistent with the match-domain perspective and partially supporting Hypotheses 1a and 1b, this longitudinal study found that events at work are associated with WFC while events at home are associated with FWC. No significant relationship was found between events and enrichment. These findings shed light to the cross-domain and match-domain debate by demonstrating that events are more related to the behaviors of the same domain where it occurred than to the behaviors of the other domain.

Second, family-supportive behaviors from supervisor and family-supportive behaviors from colleagues did not predicted work-family conflict or work-family enrichment. On preliminary analysis, family-supportive behaviors from supervisor appeared as positively correlated with enrichment. However, when testing the relation using multilevel analysis, I did not identify any significant relationship. Family-supportive behaviors from colleagues were correlated to conflict and enrichment, but these relationships were also not present on the multilevel analyses. Likewise, contrary to the expected, family-supportive behaviors were also not directly related to mindfulness at work nor OCB.

A recent study (Rofcanin et al. 2017) found a mediated effect of FSSB on performance. Maybe there is an unrevealed variable intervening on the relation of FSSB/FSCB with conflict and enrichment. This intervening variable(s) may explain why FSSB and FSCB did not predict any outcome. This variable could be the national or the organizational culture (Den Dulk et al. 2016; French et al. 2018; Poelmans et al. 2013).

Another possible explanation for the absence of a relationship between FSSB/FSCB and work-family conflict and enrichment in the present study may be the measures of FSSB and FSCB. With the use of a short measure, it is possible that a relevant portion of supervisor and colleague support has not been measured. Thus, it is possible that this unmeasured portion of support is the portion that presents a significant relation with work-family conflict and enrichment.

Third, organizational citizenship behaviors were positively related with work-family conflict. This result is in line with what Bolino et al. (2013) call the "dark side" of OCB. The effect of OCB on WFC occurs because OCB is a "time-dependent" activity (Bolino et al. 2012), and the time of an individual represents a crucial resource transferred to others when executing OCB. In this way, OCB would be mostly related to time-based WFC. As hypothesized, OCBs also predicted WFE. Thus, according to the model proposed by Brummelhuis and Bakker (2012), OCB can be both consumers and providers of resources since OCB predicts both the work-family conflict and the work-family enrichment.

Regarding the outcomes of work-family conflict and enrichment, the results were more according to what was hypothesized. Conflict was negatively associated with awareness at work and OCB and positively related to absent-mindedness. In an opposite way, enrichment was positively associated with awareness at work and

OCB and negatively related to absent-mindedness at work. The interrelations between WFC, FWC, WFE, and FWE reiterate that, although not perfectly opposed, conflict and enrichment are opposite constructs.

It is important to note that the relationship between WFC and OCB was positive, contrary to what was predicted in Hypothesis 6b. One possible explanation for this would be that the participants assign a relatively higher work centrality (or saliency, here taken as equivalents) than family centrality. Thus, an individual in spite of experiencing WFC would present OCB. The results found by Brummelhuis and Lautsch (2016) go in this direction. For individuals with high work centrality, the time spent at work generated less exhaustion and more engagement than for individuals with low work centrality.

This study also contributed to the cross-domain vs match-domain debate. While the results regarding how events are related to conflict support the match-domain perspective, I further found that, regarding mindfulness as an outcome, the cross-domain perspective prevails since FWC was associated with both awareness and absent-mindedness at work while WFC was not. Other contrasting results point to mismatching conclusions. Supporting the match-domain perspective, only work-to-family conflict and enrichment predicted OCB. Supporting the cross-domain perspective, FWE predicted awareness at work. Therefore, considering only the antecedents of work-family conflict and enrichment, this study results support the match-domain perspective, while the work-family conflict and enrichment relationships with their outcomes covered by this study do not give a clear support to any side of the debate.

The interviews showed that most of the propositions of TSE are applicable to the work and family field. Besides, the participation on the research by itself affected how participants view and deal with work-family issues, including career choices. This non-intended effect should encourage more intervention researches. This study also contributed to research method literature giving empirical evidence on the relevance of data collection strategies to achieve a high response rate as stated by Taris (2000).

5.1 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

One potential limitation is that this study data were self-report raising concerns about social desirability, common method variance, and inflated correlations (Podsakoff et al. 2003, 2012). As the relationship is not that high and because some procedural actions were taken, it does not seem to be a critical problem. The use of person-centered scores, which lower the effect of response styles, and the use of control variables also reduce the risk of inflated correlations. Along with Conway and Lance (2010) and Demerouti and Cropanzano (2017), it seems necessary to argue that self-reports cannot be considered as intrinsically biased. In this study, for example, the individual is the more appropriate source of information about the intraindividual daily variation of conflict and enrichment. Second, the information about events did

not consider the valence of the event. The questionnaire had an item on whether the event was positive or negative. However, as it was a nonmandatory field, the missing rate prevented any consistent analysis. Future studies could investigate how and to what degree positive and negative events differently affect work-family experiences. Finally, the snowball sampling method may raise questions. Indeed, it could have threatened the representativeness and balance of the sample. However, the characteristics of the sample are similar to the Brazilian worker population.

This study has also several strengths. The daily collection allowed a better understanding of within-person variation as well as the persistence of effects. The use of multilevel modeling is also a strong aspect as it enabled the distinction of between-individual (higher-level) and within-individual (lower-level) components of variation—what is useful for considerations about the nature of the constructs (e.g., constant or fluctuating). The daily diary approach using mobile app allowed a control over the exact day and time when each participation took place. This, in turn, enabled the identification and discard of participations that did not comply the requirements (e.g., a participation during the work shift). The possibility of collecting qualitative data with the follow-up interviews may also be considered a strength as it increased the credibility of the results and collected data about the effects of participating on the study.

5.2   Practical Implications

From an organizational point of view, these study results emphasized the importance of employees' work-family well-being since it is related to three organizationally relevant behaviors. Thus, organizations should help employees diminish the sources of conflict and promote the sources of enrichment. For example, an organization could discourage some OCBs that clearly take resources (e.g., time, physical, emotional, and cognitive energy) that could be used at home such as meetings on weekends or out of the working hours. On the other hand, organizations could foster OCBs that are sources of resources (e.g., opportunities for development, fulfillment) such as sharing knowledge, helping coworkers, or active listening when someone has a work problem.

These study findings also have important consequences for researchers. The results show that the research triggered participant's decisions about their career and made them rethink how they deal with work and family domains. Hence, it is crucial for researchers to take into account the impact of the research on participants.

In conclusion, some interviewed participants manifested a desire to continue to periodically self-evaluate themselves on how they handle work-family issues. Maybe this wish derives from an increased awareness of the effects of everyday behaviors on both domains which in turn incited a need for a regular assessment that enables a more conscious and responsible conduct.

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An Examination of the Impact of Macro Context on Women CEOs in the Hospitality Industry

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Abstract An extensive body of research has studied the antecedents and outcomes of gender differences at the workplace. The differential returns in objective career success (defined by promotions and salary) have been primarily attributed to individual and organizational factors. Yet, other than the effects of national culture and state interventions to promote gender equity (such as board quotas) on women's status, we know to a less extent the impact of macro context on the gender gap. In particular, we study the effects of the federal regulation Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) which followed one of the largest accounting fraud scandals worldwide (i.e. Enron in 2001). We also study the 2008 financial meltdown crisis (following the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers) on the position and pay of female CEOs. Using Standard & Poor's (S&P) Executive Compensation database (Execucomp) from 1992 to 2011, we found that SOX led to an increase in women serving as CEOs. However, neither the federal act nor the financial meltdown had an effect on the total compensation of CEOs. This evidence suggests that the gender pay gap remains constant regardless of particular events happening in the macro context.

1   Introduction

Women constitute 44.7% of total employees in S&P 500 companies (Catalyst 2017), achieving virtual parity with men at entry level positions within organization (Catalyst 1998). Yet, their progression to higher ranks of the organization has been

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slow regardless of the evidence that women's participation has economic benefits for organizations and countries (Roseberry and Roos 2014). For instance, the same S&P 500 companies' list show that 36.9% are first and mid-level officials and managers, 26.5% are executive and senior level officials and managers, and only 5.2% hold CEO positions. In a similar vein, women's earnings relative to men have increased (Blau and Kahn 2006) and are paid better than before (Eagly and Carli 2007). Yet, on average, women still earn less than men. The gender pay gap—defined as the difference between median earnings of men and women relative to median earnings of men—in OECD's average standing is 14.1% (OECD 2018). Among the OECD countries, Costa Rica score the lowest in the gender pay gap with 1.8%, while South Korea score the highest at 36.7%.

Why women lag behind men in terms of position and compensation has been attributed to individual and organizational factors. Mainly, these include a biased perception regarding male and female managers (Brescoll 2016; Eagly and Carli 2003, 2007), differential return from social capital and social networks that provide instrumental support for individuals' careers (Burke and Richardsen 2016; Forret and Dougherty 2004; Ibarra 1993; Lutter 2015), and discriminatory human resource management practices (Guimarães and Silva 2016; Hinestroza and Merlin 2009; Sparrowe and Iverson 1999). There is extensive research that shows what individuals and organizations have done to close the gap. For instance, an increasing number of women have pursued higher education (Becker et al. 2010) and international careers (Shortland 2016) to be promotable. In parallel, organizations have introduced formal mentoring programs as part of their diversity initiatives (Allen et al. 2006; Blake-Beard 2004) and implemented work-family policies that enable better management of the two spheres in order to promote women's careers (Eagly and Carli 2007).

In the last two decades, state interventions have been on the rise with the aim to reduce the gender gap at the workplace. For instance, Norway is the first country worldwide to adopt a 40% quota for female board members which came effective in 2008. Other West European countries followed, promoting mandatory quotas (e.g. Germany, France) or voluntary ones (e.g. UK, Sweden), with goals for female representation ranging from 25 to 40%. The Norwegian experience shows that gender quota raises the number of female board members and female CEOs (Wang and Kelan 2013). The argument "for" and "against" gender quotas depends whether quotas are legally enforced and effective in a country. For instance, research shows that executives from countries with no gender quota are hostile towards the idea of installing a quota system (e.g. Denmark, United States). However, executives from countries that actually exercise quotas, have shown enthusiasm due to greater gender diversity and a more professional approach of board selection associated with the gender quota (Wiersema and Mors 2016). Another example of state intervention is Iceland's compensation policy. The country recently made headlines when it became the first country in the world to make it illegal to pay men more than women. The law came into effect on January 1, 2018. Following Iceland's initiative, Nordic countries also pledged to eradicate the gender pay gap by 2022.

In this study, we examine how macro variables impact women's position and compensation. In particular, we focus on the role of a federal regulation following a

large accounting crisis as well as a financial meltdown. We postulate that these natural exogenous shocks that might have an impact on an organization's finances, might propel organizations to seek radical change and hence recruit more women in executive positions which, so far, have been dominated by men. We also focus on the hospitality industry which is one of the fastest growing economic sectors worldwide (UNWTO 2017). In 2016, travel and tourism represented 10.2% of the world's GDP (as a point of comparison financial services represented 2.5% and information and communication 4.2%) equivalent to 1/10 of all jobs worldwide. Similar to other industries, a greater number of women have joined the managerial ranks in the hospitality sector (Umbreit and Diaz 1994). Yet, women are also a minority in the highest levels of executive leadership (Boone et al. 2013). Likewise, the gender pay gap, while reduced, still exists. On a sample of 1,12,990 people working in the U.S. hospitality sector in 2010, Fleming (2015) found that being a woman was associated with a certain amount of loss of income even after controlling for factors that might explain the differences such as educational attainment and hours worked. Across the entire hospitality industry, a female manager received USD 6617 less than her male counterpart, in a mean income of USD 30,577.

2 The Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX), Financial Crisis, and Women CEOs

In this study we examine two macro context variables, namely the Sarbanes-Oxley Act (SOX) and the 2008 financial crisis, due to their large scale worldwide impact. We are also interested in these variables since they are not direct state intervention to reduce the gender gap. The SOX act was introduced in 2002 in response to the financial scandals of Enron and WorldCom (Shirley 2004). It is known to be one of the most far reaching reforms in the United States' business landscape. This law incorporates supplementary regulations on financial practices and is intended to improve corporate governance in the aim of regaining shareholders' confidence (Karagiannis 2008). For instance, the SOX act increased the oversight role of boards of directors and the independence of the outside auditors who review the accuracy of corporate financial statements. Executives are responsible for certifying the accuracy of financial information, and the penalties following fraudulent practices became more severe.

The financial crisis of 2007–2008, is considered to be one of the biggest financial crises since the Great Depression. It started in the U.S.—in the subprime mortgages market—and spiraled into an international banking crisis, leading to the 'Great Recession' (Foster and Magdoff 2009). The crisis that spelled the demise of Lehman Brothers created widespread damage in the world's financial system (The Economist 2013).

From a broad perspective, research has shown mixed results regarding the effects of financial crisis on women's work life. A study examining the impact of the 2007–2009 recession found that employment rates of women whose husbands were unemployed rose significantly during the recession, while those for people in other situations held steady or fell (Starr 2014). Using a panel dataset involving

171 countries, another empirical study demonstrates that the 2008–2009 financial crisis led to an increase in female labor force participation in high- and middle-income nations yet not in poor countries (Grabowski and Self 2015). However, there is also evidence supporting the negative impact of the financial crisis on women as a majority of OECD countries recorded a decline in female employment rates between 2008 and 2010 (Adema and Ali 2015).

Less is known about the effects of a financial crisis and post-crisis regulations on female executives. We postulate that there will be a positive relationship because companies will be more risk averse in the wake of a crisis and women tend to take fewer risks in managerial decision-making than men (Karakowsky and Elangovan 2001; Powell and Ansic 1997). A recent research paper using a large panel of U.S. commercial banks found that female CEOs held more conservative levels of capital after controlling for the bank's asset risk and other attributes. Thus, smaller banks with a female CEO and chairwomen were less likely to fail during the financial crisis (Palvia et al. 2015). Women might also gain access to the executive suite following a crisis because they are more inclined to consider the community and the environment than men (Bear et al. 2010). Indeed, female CEOs increase the social performance of organizations (Jalbert et al. 2013). Furthermore, women are less overconfident than men (Huang and Kisgen 2013), which is a trait that is positively associated with a crisis (Ho et al. 2016; Kim et al. 2016). Based on this reasoning we propose that:

Hypothesis 1 There is a positive relationship between SOX and the number of women serving as CEO.

Hypothesis 2 There is a positive relationship between the financial crisis 2008 and the number of women serving as CEO.

The level of CEO pay in large US organizations has been on the rise over the past four decades, primarily driven by stock option grants (Faulkender and Yang 2010; Faulkender et al. 2010). The average total CEO pay of S&P 500 rose from about USD 850,000 in 1970 to USD 14 million in 2000. Inequalities between CEOs and non-CEO executives as well as executives and non-executives have grown dramatically. For instance, while CEOs earned 34% more, on average, than non-CEOs in 1975, the difference doubled by 2007. Likewise, while the average pay of top executives was 40 times greater than the average worker in 1970, the ratio reached a peak of about 400 in the year 2000.

Amidst the continuous rise of CEO compensation, there is mixed evidence regarding compensation in executive positions and firm performance (Barber et al. 2006; Madanoglu and Karadag 2008; Upneja and Ozdemir 2014). CEOs continue to exercise significant influence over the pay-setting process which opens up opportunities for manipulation. Thus, alignment between executives and shareholders is important as divergence of interests affect firm performance (Crumley 2008; Guillet et al. 2012). Pre- and post-2008 crisis analysis shows that incentive contracts are ineffective in addressing the principal agent problem and mitigating the conflict of interest between managers and shareholders in organizations (Yang et al. 2014). Indeed, excessive executive compensation became a focal point of criticism for a wide range of reasons during the financial crisis of 2007–2008, including providing

incentives for reckless management and excessive risk taking (Bhagat and Bolton 2014; Bebchuk et al. 2010).

As excessive compensation has been under greater scrutiny during times of crisis, such exogenous incidents might lead to lower levels of pay gaps. On the other hand, given that executive pay has been in a continuous rise, this might mean that external factors do not propel to changes such as reducing the wage differences. Thus, we seek to test the effects of SOX and the 2008 meltdown on CEO compensation and in particular on the gender pay gap. We propose the following two research questions in light of the mixed results shown by recent studies on women and CEO compensation (see for example, Hill et al. 2015; Gupta et al. 2018). While Hill et al. (2015) reported that female CEOs received greater compensation than their male counterparts, a study replicating the former study using a an expanded dataset over a longer period of time, did not find reliable evidence that women CEOs were better remunerated than male CEOs (Gupta et al. 2018).

Research Question 1 *What is the impact of SOX on CEO compensation?*

Research Questions 2 *What is the impact of the financial crisis 2008 on CEO compensation?*

3 Methods

3.1 Sample

We retrieved our database from Standard & Poor's Executive Compensation database (Execucomp). Execucomp is a comprehensive dataset that collects top five executive compensation for S&P 1500 companies at a fiscal year frequency. In particular, Execucomp reports detailed information regarding the compensation of members of the board of directors, such as stock options, restricted stocks, bonuses, salary and other forms of incentives from DEF 14A SEC (i.e. the company's annual proxy statement). Execucomp also provides detailed information regarding the position of the manager, the age, gender, education, and the date at which the manager joined the company and/or left it.

We retained only companies that operated in the hospitality sector (which includes restaurants, eating places, drinking places, hotels, motels, lodging places and linen services). For this purpose, we used the four digit SIC code provided by Execucomp to merge the database with the 49 industries in the French and Fama database.

We found that only 50 women served as a member of the board of directors out of 1446 directors in the hospitality industry, and among them only 24 served as CEO. Table 1 shows the number of women serving on the board of directors and their position. In Appendix, we describe the method used to infer the position of each executive.

Table 1 Number of women serving as a CEO, CFO, COO, chairperson or president in the hospitality industry per year

Fiscal Year	CEO			CFO			COO			President			Chairman		
	Total	# Women	%	Total	# Women	%	Total	# Women	%	Total	# Women	%	Total	# Women	%
1992	8	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	12	0	0	22	0	0
1993	23	0	0	9	0	0	5	0	0	12	0	0	23	0	0
1994	30	0	0	10	1	10	8	0	0	11	0	0	17	0	0
1995	36	0	0	12	1	8.3	12	0	0	14	0	0	16	0	0
1996	38	0	0	9	1	11.1	12	0	0	9	0	0	14	0	0
1997	38	0	0	9	1	11.1	11	0	0	11	0	0	15	0	0
1998	38	0	0	6	0	0	13	0	0	13	0	0	16	0	0
1999	40	0	0	7	0	0	10	0	0	11	0	0	10	0	0
2000	39	0	0	5	0	0	8	0	0	9	0	0	8	0	0
2001	38	0	0	6	0	0	8	0	0	10	1	10	6	0	0
2002	37	1	2.7	5	0	0	7	0	0	11	1	9.1	3	0	0
2003	37	1	2.7	5	0	0	6	0	0	12	1	8.3	3	0	0
2004	34	1	2.9	2	0	0	5	0	0	11	2	18.2	5	0	0
2005	35	1	2.9	2	0	0	6	0	0	10	2	20	4	0	0
2006	37	4	10.8	2	0	0	3	0	0	7	0	0	3	0	0
2007	37	4	10.8	4	0	0	3	0	0	8	0	0	3	0	0
2008	37	3	8.1	4	0	0	3	0	0	9	0	0	2	0	0
2009	37	3	8.1	4	1	25	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0
2010	36	3	8.3	3	0	0	3	0	0	7	1	14.3	6	0	0
2011	29	3	10.3	2	0	0	2	0	0	5	1	20	6	0	0

We restricted our analysis to the CEO only (i.e. the person who served as the company's top executive). Execucomp provides a variable (CEOANN) indicating whether the executive served as a CEO for that particular company for most or the whole year. If two or more executives served as a CEO for a company, we retained the average.

3.2 Measures

Measures of CEO Compensation For each CEO, we collected the total amount of compensation[1] (TDC1) in U.S. dollars, the salary, the value of stock options (BLK_VALUE before 2006, OPTION_AWARD_FV thereafter), the value of non-equity incentives (since 2006), long term incentive plans (LTIP, until 2006), bonuses and the value of restricted stock.

Following the 2006 change in the reporting rules imposed by FAS123R, Execucomp also changed the classification of options from BLK_VALUE to OPTION_AWARD_FV. Under the new reporting rules, companies themselves had to estimate the value of the options granted to their executives using different methods (such as the Black-Scholes method). This was not the case before 2006, where Execucomp itself produced its own estimation of options granted by companies using a non-standard Black-Scholes method. The change in reporting rules also affected the distinction between short-term incentive pay (in particular bonuses) and long-term incentive pay (LTIP).

Specifically, after 2006, the distinction was no longer made. Instead, a new classification was introduced: non-equity incentive. Non-equity incentives include all cash incentives (i.e. not based on the stock's performance) provided to managers who met a pre-disclosed performance criterion. Since 2006, bonuses have only included cash granted to managers for meeting undisclosed criteria. The 2006 changes also affected the classification of total compensation and the "others" category. In the same fiscal year, more than one executive could occupy the same position within a company. As a result, we retained the average pay for the company and position at a fiscal year frequency.

We used the log transformation for total compensation for the regression and 2010 as the reference year to deflate nominal values and convert into real values.

Control Variables We created a dummy variable (GENDER) taking the value of 1 if the executive was a woman and zero otherwise. In addition, we created a variable called 'experience' that reported the number of years an executive worked (in any position) for a particular company.
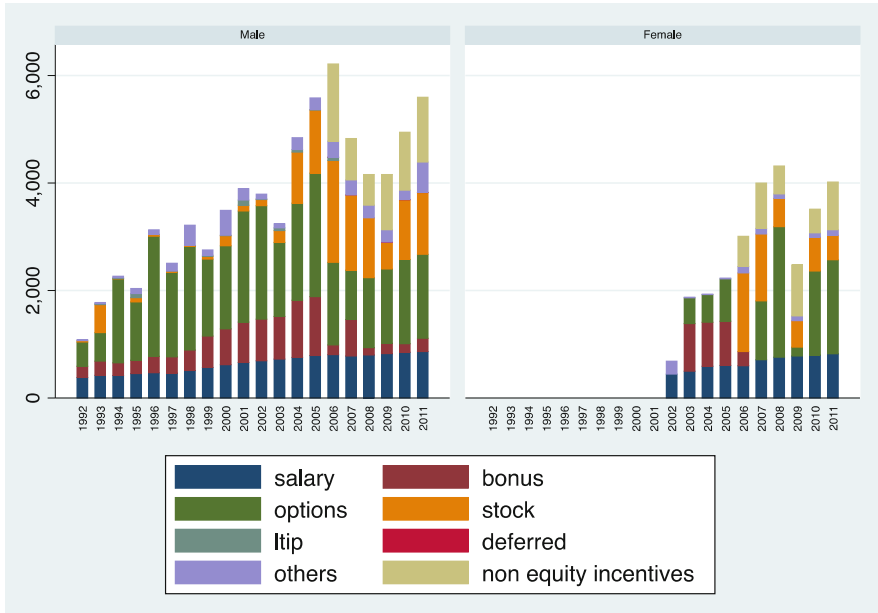
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[1]In nominal dollars.

Fig. 1 Average CEO compensation by gender in the hospitality industry (in thousands of USD)

In order to control for exogenous year events, we created a dummy variable for each year (YEAR). We also created a binary variable taking the value of 1 for any year after 2001 (included) in order to take into account the effect of the Sarbanes Oxley Act (SOX). Likewise, we created a dummy variable for the 2006 change in the reporting rule (SEC) and for the 2008 financial meltdown (F2008).

4 Results

Figure 1 reports the change in average CEO compensation in the hospitality industry (in nominal dollars) from 1992 to 2011 by gender.

The first women serving as CEO in the hospitality industry appears in our database only in 2002 after the adoption of the Sorboney-Oxeley Act (SOX). Figure 2 shows the change in women serving as a CEO in the hospitality industry from 2002 to 2011.

We tested the following specification:

$$Y_{t,i} = a + \beta_1 Y_{t-1,i} + \beta_2 GENDER_{t,i} + \delta X_{t,i} + \gamma YEAR_t + \beta_4 \gamma_i$$

Where "t" stands for the fiscal year, "i" is the index for each company's CEO. In our specification, the dependent variables ($Y_{t,i}$) were:
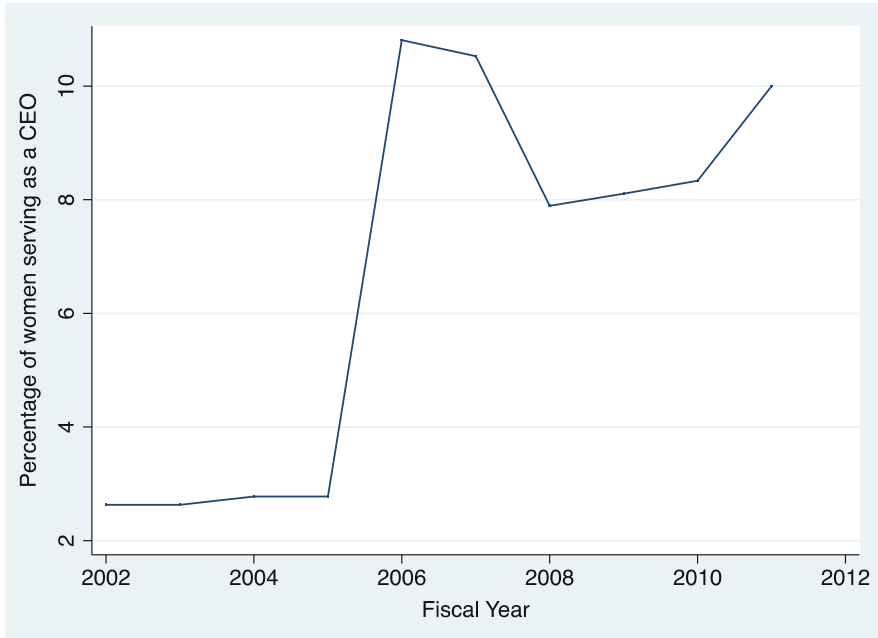
Fig. 2 Percentage of women serving as a CEO

- Total compensation (TDC).
- The percentage of total compensation that took the form of salary (%SALARY).
- The percentage of total compensation that took the form of a bonus (%BONUS).
- The percentage of total compensation that took the form of stock options (% OPTIONS).
- The percentage of total compensation that took the form of restricted stock (% STOCK)

$X_{t,\ i}$ represents the matrix of our controlling variables (SOX, SEC, F2008, experience). γ_i stands for the fixed effect that controls for unobserved factors that do not change over the years (such as the company's business culture or CEO education) (Table 2).

The results show that, controlling for companies' fixed effects and the yearly effects, the Sorboney-Oxeley act is not significant in determining the overall CEO compensation in the hospitality industry as the t-statistic is only 1.64. A similar conclusion can be drawn about the 2008 financial meltdown. In addition, we found that overall economic conditions have no significant impact on CEO compensation structure.

The log-linear model also suggests that the CEO's gender has a significant impact on total compensation. Specifically, the dummy variable controlling for gender in the first specification with a negative t-statistic equals (-1.85). Gender seemed to play a crucial role also in the structure of the compensation. In particular, a woman serving

Table 2 Multivariate analysis of the effect of a CEO's gender on total compensation, salary (as a percentage of total compensation), bonus (as a percentage of total compensation), stock options (as a percentage of total compensation) and restricted stock (as a percentage of total compensation) from 1992 to 2011

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	TDC(t)	%SALARY(t)	%OPTIONS(t)	%BONUS(t)
L.TDC	−0.0331			
	(−0.55)			
%SALARY(t−1)		0.344***		
		(5.83)		
%OPTIONS(t−1)			−0.0581	
			(−1.20)	
%BONUS(t−1)				0.101
				(1.59)
GENDER(t)	−0.840*	−0.128	−3.669	−3.097*
	(−1.85)	(−0.26)	(−0.83)	(−1.68)
SOX	0.315	0.00268	−2.156	−0.0696
	(1.64)	(0.01)	(−0.98)	(−0.08)
SEC	−0.216			
	(−1.05)			
F2008	0.189	−0.0105	−0.903	−0.459
	(0.78)	(−0.04)	(−0.36)	(−0.47)
EXPERIENCE	−0.0150**	0.00815	−0.0886	0.00676
	(−2.38)	(1.20)	(−1.42)	(0.27)
YEARS DUMMY	yes	yes	yes	yes
COMPANY DUMMY	yes	yes	yes	yes
CONSTANT	3.790***	1.470***	6.210***	2.504***
	(14.37)	(6.46)	(3.76)	(3.58)
N	292	292	286	292
R^2	0.192	0.166	0.098	0.109

Estimates were reported. *, **, *** indicated significance at 10%, 5% and 1% levels respectively. The t-statistics are reported in parentheses

as a CEO in the hospitality industry tends to receive bonuses that are 3% less than those of their male counterparts (as a percentage of total compensation).

5   Concluding Remarks

The asymmetry of participation of men and women in the upper echelons of management is not terribly new; however, understand why this difference is still present has become more relevant in recent years (Burke and Richardsen 2016; Eagly and Carli 2003). Moving beyond the individual and organizational level explanations, we were interested in examining the effects of macro context variables with a focus on women CEOs in the hospitality industry. In support of H1, the number of women serving as CEO increased after the Sorboney-Oxeley act went into effect. However, we found no evidence for H2, as the number of women serving as CEO did not increase with the onset of the 2008 financial crisis. In fact, it remained constant after a significant increase in 2006.

We also examined the role of SOX and the 2008 meltdown on the total compensation of CEOs. We found that gender has a negative effect on total CEO compensation, meaning that women were paid less overall than men. Interestingly, this is consistent throughout the period spanning from 1992 to 2011 regardless of the macro events, implying that gender wage discrimination holds constant regardless of the context.

The evidence of this paper is interesting, because when we tried to explain why the difference between men and women participation in the upper echelon of the organization still remains, we return to the individual and organizational factors. As we mentioned before, there is evidence that women participation in the labor force changes with external shocks, but only in a general level, when we zoom it this effect and focus only in CEOs, we do not find evidence of difference in the female participation neither in their compensation.

These findings have practical implications. In particular it is important to understand the relevance of managers in giving the same opportunities to men and women inside the organization. To promote cultures that train and give the same possibilities to all their employees to move up in the organization, Additionally, these findings are also important for organizations, because they show the relevance of the individual and organizational factors. External factors do have an impact, but managers are the final gatekeepers who decide who gets in or out of the organization and who gets promoted. Therefore, organizations can work in policies and indicators that help them to advance in having more women in the upper echelons of management.

This paper contributes, by showing that although companies are making efforts in changing their policies by including mentoring and diversity programs, and women are pursuing higher educations, there is still a lot work to do to reduce the gap between women and men participation as CEOs and their compensation. Bias and discrimination are still factors that affect women opportunities in the labor market. We still need to understand if other external shocks have helped women to increase

their participation and compensation in order to improve the balance between men and women CEOs.

Appendix

In order to infer the position covered by each executive we proceeded as follows.

First of all, using a dummy variable (EXECDIR) provided by Execucomp that takes the value of 1 if the manager was a member of the board and zero otherwise, we focus only on managers who sit on the board. We then consider only the top 5 positions: Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), Chief Finance Officers (CFOs), Chief Operating Officers (COO), the President and the Chairman. For identifying the position covered by each officer we adopted the subsequent method:

1. In order to identify managers who served as a CEO, Execucomp provides a variable labelled CEOANN indicating whether the executive covered the position of CEO for most of the year (or for all of it). If Execucomp indicates that the executives served as a CEO, we attribute such a position to the executive. If not, we proceed.
2. Like CEOANN, Execucomp reports a binary variable that indicates whether the executive served as a Chief Financial Officer (CFOANN). If the manager was not reported to have served as CEO and if CFOANN indicates that the manager served as a CFO, we attribute this title to the executive. Moreover, Execucomp provides a variable (TITLE) that indicates the most recent title attributed to the manager. We therefore look if the title contains any of those words: "finance", "Financ", "CFO" or "cfo". If so, we also give the executive the "CFO" label.
3. To establish if the executive served as a COO, we search the variable TITLE and in particular we look to see if the variable contains any of the following words: "operating", "Operating", "COO". If the managers were not occupying the position of CEO or CFO and if the title matches the above criteria, we gave him/her the role of COO.
4. To establish if the executive served as president, we try to first establish who served as a vice-president or executive vice president by searching for: "vp", "Vice Presi", "vice pres", "vice-pres", "vpres", "v-pres", "v-p", "VP". Then, once such managers have been excluded, we look to see if the remaining persons had the title of any position whose label contains: "president", "President", "Pres", "pres".
5. Finally, in order to establish who served as chairman we proceeded similarly. First we excluded managers who served as vice-chairman (those persons whose title contained "vice chairman", "Vice Chairman", "vice-chmn", "v-chmn") and including only those persons whose title included: "Chairman", "chairman", "chmn", "Chmn". As for the vice president, we encountered two problems. The first one is that we might exclude managers whose title is spelled differently from

our criteria. Secondly, we exclude managers who served as both vice president and president at the same time.

6. We allocate all executives who do not match the above criteria to the "others" category.

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