BALANCING BORDERS AND BRIDGES: NEGOTIATING THE WORK-HOME INTERFACE VIA BOUNDARY WORK TACTICS

GLEN E. KREINER
The Pennsylvania State University

ELAINE C. HOLLENSBE
University of Cincinnati

MATHEW L. SHEEP
Illinois State University

We investigated how people manage boundaries to negotiate the demands between work and home life. We discovered and classified four types of boundary work tactics (behavioral, temporal, physical, and communicative) that individuals utilized to help create their ideal level and style of work-home segmentation or integration. We also found important differences between the generalized state of work-home conflict and "boundary violations," which we define as behaviors, events, or episodes that either breach or neglect the desired work-home boundary. We present a model based on two qualitative studies that demonstrates how boundary work tactics reduce the negative effects of work-home challenges.

"Balance" between work and home lives is a much sought after but rarely claimed state of being. Work-family researchers have successfully encouraged organizations, families, and individuals to recognize the importance of tending to their needs for balance. Over 30 years ago, Kanter (1977) spoke of the "myth of separate worlds" and called attention to the reality that work and home are inexorably linked. Yet, she argued, organizations are often structured in such a way that their leadership forgets or ignores employees' outside lives. Although organizational leaders and managers generally tend more to employees' nonwork needs than they did when Kanter wrote her landmark work, struggles to balance work and home demands are still common-

place in the modern organization (Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Poelmans, 2005a). Clearly, more is known now about the interaction between work and home, yet significant knowledge gaps remain. Also, "the workplace" is no longer necessarily a discrete physical location, a circumstance suggesting a need for understanding more complex work-home interactions. Today, technology has brought profound changes to the ways people work, with boundaryless organizations, virtual workspaces, and the potential for constant wireless connection to one's work.

What do scholars know so far about the interaction between work and home? Much of the attention in this field over the past few decades has focused on documenting the clashes between work and home demands, with "work-family conflict" being a key operationalization of this tension. Over 180 academic articles have been published on work-family conflict using diverse samples from over a dozen countries (MacDermid, 2005). Work-family conflict has been linked with such undesirable outcomes as stress, turnover, absenteeism, burnout, and dissatisfaction with job, family, and life (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Kreiner, 2006; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002; Rice, Frone, & McFarlin, 1992). Recent work (e.g., Kreiner, 2006) has used the term "work-home conflict" (as opposed to "work-*family* conflict") to cast a wider net and include a broader array of individuals and life circumstances, and we adopt this later terminology as well. We define *work-home conflict* as a subset

of role conflict (Van Sell, Brief, & Schuler, 1981) and as a generalized state of tension that results from incompatible expectations and challenges associated with work and home.

We agree with previous researchers that studying this conflict is important. Yet researching this outcome alone can take the field only so far toward understanding achieving balance. As Stroh noted, "While we now better understand the problems surrounding work-life integration, we are far from providing the necessary solutions to create a sense of work-life equilibrium" (2005: xvii). Hence, we must better understand how organizations and individuals adapt to and manage these conflicts. However, to date, research looking for solutions has focused more on the organizational level rather than the individual level, with an emphasis on studying human resource policies (such as flextime, family-friendly benefits, etc.) and other macrolevel variables (Stebbins, 2001). This research has been disappointing, showing very mixed results and often a limited impact of policies on employees' lives (Kossek & Lambert, 2005). Recent work has therefore begun to refocus attention on individual-level processes; flexibility enactment theory (Kossek, Lautsch, & Eaton, 2005) and decision process theory (Poelmans, 2005b) exemplify this research trend. However, research on the work-home interface at the individual level tends to examine stable and/or difficult-to-change variables, such as personality and demographic differences (see Byron [2005] and Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, and Brinley [2005] for reviews). A clear weakness of most of the approaches that study conflict is that they do not offer actionable knowledge or guidance to either the individuals or the managers seeking to improve work-home balance or ameliorate stress. Actionable knowledge allows individuals "to make informed choices about practical problems and to implement solutions to them effectively" (Cummings & Jones, 2003: 2). Clearly, individuals play a crucial role in affecting work-home outcomes; they are not mere automatons reacting helplessly to the pressures around them. Hence, we sought to (1) better understand the challenges associated with balancing work and home and (2) explore what steps individuals take to improve their work-home balance, even amid less-than-ideal working conditions.

WORK AND HOME INTERFACE

With these broad goals in mind, we first researched numerous conceptualizations and theoretical lenses regarding work-home balance. As it is beyond the scope of this article to review them all, we refer the reader to some recent, thorough compendia and literature reviews (e.g., Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Frone, 2003; Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002; Poelmans, 2005a.) Given our concern with unearthing actionable advice, we then decided to follow the stream of research that frames the work-home interface as a "socially constructed" boundary between the life domains of work and home. This approach offered considerable promise, as it identifies tactics individuals can utilize; it provides actionable knowledge that can empower individuals by acknowledging the control they have over how they experience, interpret, and shape the world (Clark, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). The social construction approach contrasts starkly with other work-home theories and approaches that treat the individual as a passive reactor to environmental conditions. Instead, with the social construction approach, the individual is an active agent in the "co-construction" of boundaries in negotiated interaction with others. One's work-home boundary, its features, and its ascribed meanings are crafted as an ongoing, "situated" accomplishment, meaning they are negotiated and transformed through social interactions and practices among various actors over time. Within the social construction tradition is a particularly useful lens for studying work-home relations: boundary theory.

Boundary Theory

Boundary theory focuses on the ways in which people create, maintain, or change boundaries in order to simplify and classify the world around them (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). Boundary theory has been applied in diverse contexts—including art, architecture, psychology, political science, organization theory, and anthropology—and has been used successfully to answer a wide variety of research questions, including those dealing with role transitions (Ashforth et al., 2000); the healthiness of interpersonal relationships (Katherine, 1991); and the interface between individual and organizational identity (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). In general, *boundaries* delimit the perimeter and scope of a given domain (e.g., a role, a country, a home, a workplace). Boundaries can be constructed along a continuum from "thin" (weak) to "thick" (strong). Thin/weak boundaries are "permeable" (open to influence) and "integrating" (prone to merging aspects of categories), whereas thick/strong boundaries are "impermeable" (closed to influence) and "segmenting" (prone to dividing aspects of categories) (Ashforth et al., 2000; Hartmann, 1991).

In her landmark study on work-home relations, Nippert-Eng (1996) outlined how boundary theory can provide a lens for understanding the interface between work and home. She used work and home as examples of domains that can be treated as integrated or segmented to varying degrees. Since boundaries are co-constructed accomplishments, how individuals perceive their work-home boundary vis-à-vis others' perceptions of those boundaries can be critically important. In addition to individuals framing boundaries differently, collectives can develop shared norms about the permeability of given domains (Kreiner et al., 2006). For example, families and workplaces vary in the degree to which they treat the work-home boundary as permeable or impermeable. Specific ways in which workplaces manifest their values regarding work-home boundaries are through programs and policies that allow employees to negotiate these boundaries more fluidly (Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005). So-called family-friendly programs and benefits are of growing interest and importance in human resource management, and the available data show an expansion of these practices over the past several years, despite mixed results as to whether they improve work-home balance (Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Osterman, 1995).

Once boundaries are socially shared, they can become institutionalized to the point that they are very difficult to change or erase (Zerubavel, 1991). Further, work and home cultures can create strong expectations about rules, attitudes, and behaviors that are often quite different from one another (Clark, 2000). When these cultures are perceived as contrasting, their members ("cultural members") tend to construct a psychological boundary that exacerbates transitions between them (Ashforth et al., 2000). The interaction, strife, and negotiation at this boundary then become useful phenomena to examine. We sought to examine these boundary conflicts and to document ways that individuals manage the work-home boundary successfully, in response to conflicting demands in the workplace and at home.

Incongruence between Individual and Environment

What might be at the heart of these boundary conflicts? We suggest that person-environment (P-E) fit (or "congruence") theory provides an excellent framework for understanding boundary conflicts because it sets the stage for viewing boundaries as sites of ongoing negotiation. Examining congruence and incongruence helps one to understand the interaction between an individual's preferences and his or her interpretations of the environment. Much as Bouchikhi (1998) proposed, structural phenomena such as boundaries are both the medium and outcome of interacting *social processes* between an individual and his or her environment (cf. Giddens, 1984). According to person-environment fit theory, congruence between individual and situational variables yields generally positive outcomes, such as satisfaction, and incongruence produces negative ones, such as strain and conflict (Kulka, 1979).

Although work to date has advanced understanding of important criteria for improving work-home balance, two other important areas remain unexplored. First, what are the *dimensions* of incongruence for work-home boundaries? That is, with *what and whom* can a person experience incongruence in regard to work-home boundaries? Previous work has measured work-family congruence only at a highly abstract level, asking general questions about fit preferences in regard to the workplace in general instead of drilling down to various dimensions. A greater level of specificity would have important implications for both research (e.g., a more detailed and nuanced view of the congruence processes) and practice (e.g., helping individuals target the sources of problems). Hence, we desired to uncover these components or aspects of incongruence.

The second unexplored area we wished to understand better involves the effects of work-home incongruence. That is, *how* will incongruence increase conflict and reduce satisfaction? Although the link between incongruence and conflict has been established, little is known of the explanatory mechanisms linking the two. Previous research has focused on conflict, but we sought to explore additional potential consequences of incongruence. In other words, what important elements of the incongruence-conflict link might have gone heretofore unrecognized, and how would understanding them shed light on work-family relations and potentially improve outcomes? Our desire to address these two unexplored areas led us to our first two research questions:

Research Question 1. What are the dimensions of work-home boundary incongruence?

Research Question 2a. What are the consequences of work-home boundary incongruence beyond work-home conflict?

Research Question 2b. How do these consequences interrelate?

Boundary Work

Within the broader boundary theory arena, Nippert-Eng (1996) coined the term "boundary work"

to describe how individuals engage in the effort of constructing, dismantling, and maintaining the work-home border. This personal boundary work occurs "within greater or lesser margins of discretionary territory, which are set by the people and situations of work and home" (Nippert-Eng, 1996: 152). Through her qualitative study of laboratory workers, Nippert-Eng documented the nature of individuals' boundary work and identified ways that people segment or integrate their work and home lives. For example, she found that some individuals, labeled "segmenters," kept separate calendars for work and home activities and/or kept two different key rings, one for each domain. These individuals would rarely (if ever) bring elements of one domain into the other. In contrast, "integrators" would put work and home activities on the same calendar, have one set of keys for work and home, invite work friends home for dinner, keep family pictures on their desks at work, and so forth. Recent quantitative work has documented this variance in individual preferences toward segmentation or integration (Kreiner, 2006; Rothbard et al., 2005). In this study, we sought to extend these findings by uncovering, documenting, and classifying specific boundary work tactics. Further, we built on Kossek, Noe, and DeMarr's (1999) admonition to examine boundary management strategies as part of work-home role synthesis. With this aim, we also followed recent calls to "focus more on 'how' and less on 'how much'" when studying work-home relations (MacDermid, 2005: 36). In sum, we were interested in better understanding both the problem at hand *and* how individuals successfully navigated the work-home boundary. Our final research questions, then, were:

Research Question 3. What boundary work tactics do individuals employ to ameliorate the negative consequences of work-home boundary incongruence?

Research Question 4. What discernible patterns in these tactics can be observed and used to create a boundary work framework?

METHODS

This work is based on two qualitative studies. Qualitative research allows for more detailed accounts of the *processes* and *nuances* under investigation. Few of the extant studies on work-family relations have used qualitative methods—approximately 10 percent, according to Eby et al. (2005)—and recent research has called for the use of more qualitative and mixed methods to study the work-home interface (Neal, Hammer, & Morgan, 2006).

Sample

To better observe the process of boundary work and its nuances, we studied a population that faces ongoing and particularly challenging boundary work: Episcopal parish priests. Most Episcopal priests are classified as "parish priests," meaning they work directly with a congregation of church members. Because of the intense demands their occupation makes on their time, Episcopal priests, like clergy of many other faiths, represent a rather extreme case of difficult work-home demands. Extreme cases are often tremendously helpful for building or elaborating theory since their dynamics tend to be highly visible, bringing into sharper focus the processes that can exist in other contexts (Eisenhardt, 1989; Pettigrew, 1990; Pratt, Rockmann, & Kaufmann, 2006). As Yin (1989: 21) noted, the goal in studying extreme cases is to "expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (1989: 21). Our sample also has more typical characteristics, promoting transferability of findings. For example, the vast majority of Episcopal priests are married and live what many would consider to be "traditional" family lives; hence, they experience many of the same work-home demands as the incumbents of most occupations. Parish priests also engage in many prototypical managerial activities, such as budgeting, hiring, firing, conducting meetings with stakeholders, and managing paid and volunteer staff. Further, the priests we studied reported many similarities between their work and that of other demanding occupations (e.g., physician, lawyer, business owner), including the occupations they held prior to the priesthood.

One of the members of our research team had several years of previous research experience with Episcopal clergy, providing us deep knowledge about the population as a starting point for our project. We also read numerous books and articles on the lives and careers of priests and clergy of several denominations to further sensitize us to the population we were studying. In addition, during the time of the research, all members of the research team attended and engaged in participant observation at various conference and training sessions for Episcopal clergy, including leadership meetings, wellness conferences, and worship services (though none of the members of the research team is an Episcopalian). This background context and ongoing inquiry, coupled with the two studies described below, yielded a multimethod approach to the project that helps to assuage the weaknesses

that can derive from relying exclusively on one source of data (Alvesson, 2003).

Study 1

Study 1 was a preliminary study that spurred the design of Study 2 by offering insights into the population and the work-home issues its members faced. For Study 1, we analyzed written responses to open-ended questions obtained from 220 Episcopal priests. These responses were collected as part of a training program for the priests; questions for our study (dealing with the challenges and opportunities of work-home balance) were included in training evaluation materials. (The training was not related to work-home balance.) Each of the authors read through all of the written responses from the 220 respondents. We each independently coded these responses, using a coding scheme that emerged over time, and placed portions of text (e.g., a phrase, sentence, or paragraph) into broad codes. In some cases, these broad codes mirrored concepts studied in the organizational literature (e.g., "stress," "support," and "role conflicts"), but in many cases, codes matched the lexicon of the priests (e.g., "problem parishioners," "glass house," and "being present").

Our primary goal with Study 1 was to sensitize us to work-family issues faced by the priest population in order to design Study 2 more thoroughly. The broad coding system we used allowed us to find the major themes regarding work-life balance that were important to respondents. From the analysis of the written responses in Study 1, our knowledge of the population, and consideration of possible divisions that we thought could best help us address our research questions, we determined two dimensions that appeared important in affecting respondents' attempts to negotiate work-home boundaries: (1) tenure in the priesthood and (2) proximity of the home to church. Following theoretical sampling methodology (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), we were guided in this stratification (Study 2) by our first wave of data (Study 1). Thus, the sample was stratified on the two dimensions to "maximize opportunities to discover variations among concepts" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 202). To study tenure, which is one way to consider the effects of time and temporal components on behavior and attitudes (McGrath, 1988), we created three classifications: 1–5 years, 6–19 years, and 20 years or more. In Study 1, many priests reported learning to appreciate boundaries more the longer they were in the priesthood. For example, one priest reported becoming "more intentional" over time about work-home balance, and another noted learning

things "I wish I had learned years ago" about separating work and home.

For proximity of home to church, we created two categories: "on site," for individuals living adjacent to or near the church (e.g., in a church-owned rectory), and "off site," for individuals living at least half a mile from the church in their own home. Boundary and privacy issues for priests living in a rectory (which is generally adjacent to the church or within a half mile of it) are often problematic (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003). This stratification allowed us to study a subpopulation that highly intertwines the physical location of home and work. Interestingly, this work arrangement is becoming more popular, given a dramatic recent increase in telecommuting, home-based businesses, etc., a phenomenon that suggests further applications for our work.

Responses from Study 1 also provided us with an initial foundation for several themes to pursue more closely in Study 2. Many of the questions in Study 2's protocol were derived from the interesting issues that arose during our analysis of Study 1 responses. For example, in response to a Study 1 question ("What does well-being mean to you?"), several priests mentioned "balance" or "boundaries." One priest noted he sought "a kind of balance . . . the opportunity to be productive, to play . . . and for there to be a balance between my work and my profession and my relationship with my family, especially my spouse," and another responded, "I separate and have established boundaries, . . . dress differently, live by day timer, review how many hours a week I work, do not bring work home." Therefore, in Study 2 we made balance and boundaries a major theme of the questions, asking priests about how they balanced demands and managed boundaries. Similarly, we coded the following Study 1 text as "problem parishioners": "When parishioners make really pissy remarks . . . I have to be quiet and listen. . . . And then, I go home and say 'Do you know what that JERK said to me?!'" From passages such as this, we were sensitized to the role that other people play in helping or hurting the work-home boundary and thus made that part of our protocol in Study 2.

Study 2

For Study 2, we conducted hour-long telephone conversations with 60 Episcopal priests. The priests were randomly selected within the following parameters: 20 priests in each tenure group and 30 priests in each home location group, creating a two by three matrix with 10 priests in each cell. Forty percent of the priests in our sample were

women. Priests were distributed over U.S. locations including urban, rural, and suburban communities. Each author conducted one-third (20) of the interviews and interviewed priests in each tenure group and location group. Interviews were semistructured; we consistently asked approximately 15 questions dealing with work-home balance and career background (in order to have a common base of data from all interviews), but each interviewer was free to pursue interesting comments and themes in more detail (allowing for greater depth and individuality in each interview). Questions asked appear in the Appendix. Each interview was tape recorded and professionally transcribed verbatim. Transcripts had an average length of 20 single-spaced pages and totaled 1,175 pages from all 60 interviews.

We used grounded theory techniques (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in our analysis. As Strauss and Corbin noted, grounded theory and other qualitative methods "can be used to uncover and understand what lies behind any phenomenon about which little is yet known. It can be used to gain novel and fresh slants on things about which quite a bit is already known" (1990: 19). Thus, we sought to expand what is known about the work-home interface as well as to uncover new insights into areas where research had largely been silent. We began by creating an interview protocol that was derived from the insights gained during our previous research experience with the priest culture, the themes analyzed from Study 1, as well as sensitivity to gaps in extant literature. Having conducted a preliminary study, we did not assume a tabula rasa but used our previous learning to guide and build our protocol (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Essentially, we relied on an "orienting theoretical perspective" to inform our understanding of the complex social reality of the clergy and work-home issues we were studying; as Locke pointed out, in grounded theory, an orienting theoretical perspective "guides researchers in what they should pay attention to but does not focus research so narrowly as to exclude data whose importance may not be recognized at the outset of a project" (2002: 20). Therefore, although we approached our setting with an orienting theoretical perspective and sensitizing research questions, we remained open to what our respondents were telling us, iteratively adjusted our interpretations, and added emergent codes as we analyzed their responses. This type of grounded theory approach, which "recognizes the mutual creation of knowledge by the viewer and the viewed" (Charmaz, 2000: 510), has been used successfully in past research (e.g.,

Ashforth, Kreiner, Clark, & Fugate, 2007; Pratt et al., 2006).

To analyze each interview, we used a two-step coding system, first deriving codes inductively from the interviews and ultimately agreeing upon them. With coding, each word, sentence, paragraph, and passage is considered as a viable unit of text—all or any of which can be coded. Codes are short-hand terms (such as "planning," "technology," and "violations" in our study) that are used to categorize units of texts. Upon creating a new code, to document its meaning and parameters we placed it into an emerging dictionary that built and took on structure throughout the coding process. In the first step, two of the three authors (the person who had conducted the interview and one other author) read and independently coded each transcript. Each coder read the entire transcript, marking up words, sentences, paragraphs, and passages according to the codes in the developing dictionary as well as creating new codes to fit the emerging data. Multiple codes were placed on the same block of text when multiple phenomena were observed.

In the second step, we analyzed transcripts in joint coding meetings, wherein the independent codes were compared and the final codes to be used on each transcript were determined. Three scenarios could occur for any given text block: (1) both coders marked a certain code on the text; (2) only one coder marked a certain code on the text; (3) no codes were placed on the text. In the second situation, the individual who did *not* code the text with a certain code would reread the passage. If the individual agreed, then the passage was marked accordingly. If the person disagreed, a discussion about the meaning of the text would ensue. The noncoding author served as a "judge" whenever the coders wanted a third set of eyes to examine a text in order to aid in the final code assignment; in these cases, the judge would read the passage in question (and often larger blocks of texts for context) and offer an opinion on the appropriate codes. This discussion often produced rich opportunities for theory building, as the disagreements would spur dialogue about the underlying issues facing the interviewees. Minor discrepancies (such as slightly shorter or longer passages coded) were resolved between the two coders; the role of judge alternated at each joint coding session. The NVivo 2.0 software program was used to enter all codes, facilitate coding links, perform text searches, and find instances and intersections of codes during analysis.

The coding dictionary evolved (e.g., new codes were added; some codes were changed) throughout the data analysis process on the basis of iterative comparisons between the newly analyzed and pre-

viously coded data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), as well as ongoing discussions among the research team members. As we analyzed new transcripts, we merged a few codes that were found to overlap conceptually, and we subdivided others when we saw distinctive patterns emerging. The nature of this coding process made traditional interrater reliability tests impractical because new codes emerged and others were removed throughout the process; a full dictionary was not determined a priori. Yet our coding process ensured that multiple perspectives were offered on each transcript, which helped alleviate bias in the analysis. After coding 52 interviews, we found no new codes to add to the dictionary, indicating some evidence for "theoretical saturation," the point at which "subsequent data incidents that are examined provide no new information" (Locke, 2001: 53). To move from the dictionary codes to the final categories (e.g., the multiple types of work-home boundary incongruence, the various categories of boundary work strategies, etc.) and the model presented here, during data analysis we engaged in ongoing comparisons of *emerging* ideas from the data to identify themes while remaining mindful of how and what our data might contribute to extant theory and vice versa, using each to inform interpretation of the other.

Although interrater reliability checking was not possible, given the emergent nature of codes during the *primary* coding phase, we did engage in a *secondary* coding process after theoretical saturation was reached to test the fidelity of our final categories. That is, we used secondary coding to determine whether "the emergent categories fit the data" (Butterfield, Treviño, & Ball, 1996: 1484). Following Butterfield et al. (1996), we gave two doctoral students who were unfamiliar with the study a dictionary of categories that had emerged in the study, along with passages of text from a representative sample (43 percent) of our transcripts in which each of the categories was represented. They were instructed to write by each text passage the category (from the dictionary) they believed best represented the passage. We calculated the overall percentage of agreement between the two coders was .96, well above the minimal .70 threshold suggested (Cohen, 1960).

FINDINGS

In this section, we provide details about several aspects of our findings, including boundary incongruence, the consequences of boundary incongruence, and the boundary work tactics that individuals employ in response. We now present a brief synopsis of our grounded model of work-home boundary work, followed by the specific findings related to major aspects of the model. In the model, which is presented in Figure 1, and in this Findings section, we illustrate that (1) individual preferences for work-home segmentation or integration combine with environmental influences (such as work and home climates and other individual preferences) to create various dimensions of work-home boundary (in)congruence; (2) work-home boundary incongruence leads to boundary violations (episodes of breaching the preferred work-home boundary) and work-home conflict; (3) boundary violations also lead to work-home conflict; and (4) individuals invoke boundary work tactics to reduce and manage incongruence, violations, and conflict.

Work-Home Boundary Incongruence

Our first research question addresses potential dimensions of work-home boundary incongruence. In this section, we demonstrate how individuals' preferences for work-home boundaries interact with environmental influences to create various dimensions of (in)congruence.

Individual's work-home boundary preferences and environmental influences. As mentioned, individuals vary in their preferences for segmenting or integrating aspects of work and home (Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Kreiner, 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996). "Segmenters" prefer to keep the two domains as separate as possible, creating and maintaining a boundary or "mental fence" (Zerubavel, 1991); "integrators," on the other hand, prefer to combine elements of both domains, essentially removing boundaries between the two and blending facets of each. Of course, most individuals are not "pure types"—rather, their position on the continuum bounded by complete integration and complete segmentation depends on the particular circumstances and individuals involved. An example from our data of each preference follows:

> [Integration preference] I feel like my life is my life. It doesn't have compartments. It's not separate. I'm clear about what my boundaries are, but . . . they are pretty permeable. My husband is very understanding that work is work. It's not all that scheduled and predictable. (priest 9-F)[1]

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[1] Identifying numbers (1–60) are used for each interviewee. Gender is denoted by "M" for "male" and "F" for "female." Priests 1–20 are short-tenured; 21–40 are medium-tenured; and 41–60 are long-tenured. Priests 1–10, 21–30, and 41–50 are on site (living in their church's

FIGURE 1
A Model of Work-Home Boundary Work
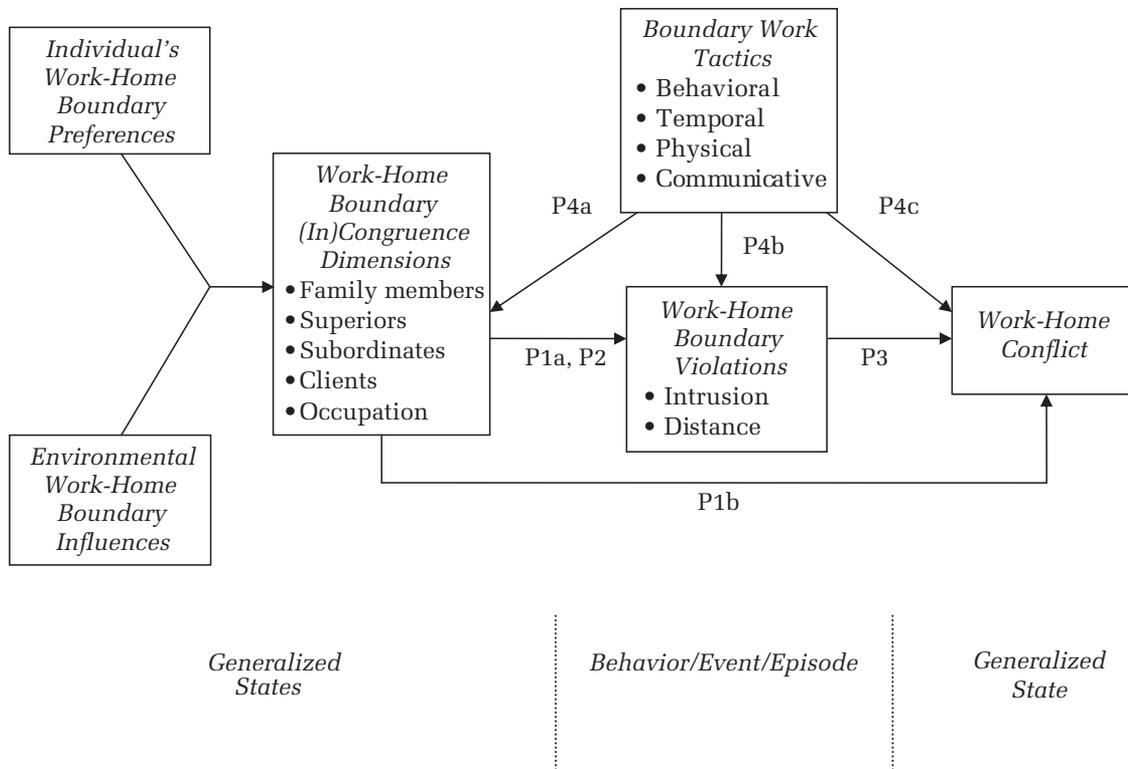
[Segmenting preference] I kidded you when I said that we have a moat with alligators in it around the rectory. But there is a certain sense that there is a psychological moat there. . . . I think because I've been doing this long enough I know how to care about people, but not let them run all over me. I have a good sense of boundaries. I always have. (priest 43-M)

Not only do individuals differ in their preference for integration or segmentation—there is also variation in the degree to which workplaces, homes, and the individuals who populate them foster either an ideal or antagonistic environment for segmentation or integration (Kreiner, 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996). Not all environmental influences help to create what the individuals perceive as the "right" level or type of segmentation (Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Rothbard et al., 2005). Hence, the combination of individual preferences and environmental influences will either match or not, a state we call work-home boundary (in)congruence.

Dimensions of work-home boundary (in)congruence. We define *work-home boundary (in)congruence* as a relatively stable state reflecting the

degree of mismatch between what an individual desires regarding work-home segmentation/integration and what the individual perceives he or she is afforded by various aspects of the environment (e.g., other individuals or groups). We found five dimensions of (in)congruence: family member, supervisor/superior, subordinates/staff, customers/clients, and occupation.

Person-family member congruence refers to the degree of match between an individual's boundary preferences and boundaries as co-constructed by others in the individual's home domain. The level of congruence or incongruence on this dimension could derive from relationships with children, spouses, partners, elderly parents, or others residing in the home domain. Consider the following example, illustrating incongruence with children:

You know my kids call sometimes, but they are really supposed to call their dad because he is more flexible, and he can leave work if they need to be picked up or something. . . . Sometimes I remind my kids it's like being a lifeguard. You can talk to the lifeguard when they are not in the chair, but if the lifeguard is *in* the chair, you really can't talk to them. So sometimes I am just like, this is not a good time for what you want to talk to me about, and there will be time to talk about it later. (priest 11-F)

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rectory), and 11–20, 31–40, and 51–60 are off site (living away from the church).

Person-superior congruence refers to the level of congruence between the boundary preferences of an individual and the boundaries as co-constructed by his or her superior(s). As examples, some priests had superiors (e.g., head rectors or bishops) who, because of their own inclinations toward integration of work and home domains, expected the priests working for them to do things that violated the priest's work-home boundary preferences, such as place his or her home phone number in the weekly bulletin; have his or her spouse attend all church and social functions; be available for appointments even on days off; and rearrange his or her schedule at the whim of parishioners. One priest (13-M) noted of his superior, "He doesn't respect [my] boundaries. . . . He doesn't buy into it. . . . He sees that as a sign of laziness more than anything."

Conversely, some individuals were faced with superiors who preferred more segmentation of personal and professional aspects of life. A woman who, tellingly, disclosed to the interviewer that she had been nursing her baby during our phone interview shared this vignette:

> Right now, I'm carrying a baby with me everywhere. I went to a meeting at the bishop's office yesterday with my three-month-old. On the one hand, I kind of felt unprofessional in doing that, but on the other hand, I thought, well, if I can't do this in the church, then there is something wrong with the church—just feeling a little self-conscious about having both of those roles at the same time. I guess right now because my baby is so young, I'm nursing him all the time—literally nursing him in the bishop's office or in my meetings with my rector, whatever. My rector, he's older; he's close to retirement. He's not always comfortable with that. He kind of like turns his head away. He's like, "Oh, excuse me." I'm like, "No, it's okay. You don't have to. I'm not really showing any skin here." (5-F)

Person-subordinate congruence is found to the degree that subordinates are able to help construct the desired level of segmentation or integration between work and home. One example of *in*congruence was given by a priest (42-M) who told us, "My administrative assistant . . . is always buzzing me about this, that and the other thing . . . that he could write up and wait until I get back to the office. . . . He's the one most likely to interrupt me or annoy me at home." Conversely, others reported that staff members were excellent "screens" or "firewalls" between the priest and others (such as needy parishioners), thus helping to preserve boundaries as desired.

Person-client congruence refers to the level of congruence between the preferences of an individ-

ual and those of whatever clientele is part of that individual's occupation. A priest's "customers" or clientele are parishioners, and several of our interviewees told stories of parishioners expecting the priest to be available constantly (even during vacations) for all situations, whether emergencies or not. One respondent noted, "There have been times when people have said, 'You really should be available 24/7. I don't understand why you are not.' I just say, 'The idea is to have a life that includes a job rather than a job that is your life.' It's part of policing the boundaries" (priest 48-M). Conversely, at other times stakeholders requested more segmentation than a priest desired. Priest 21-F told us that her church vestry had recently informed her that her "two-year-old was not welcome in church, that she was disruptive. . . . She's the only kid under seven [in the parish]."[2] The consequence of this highly segmenting action by the vestry was that the priest could no longer bring her child to her own sermons; either her husband or a babysitter had to tend the child. She noted, "It hit so many levels that it has been reverberating in the marriage."

Of course, not all stories were of incongruence. Several interviewees noted that finding a congregation whose members shared their desired level of boundary segmentation was a welcome relief. One priest told us this story of when she was interviewing for the job of rector at a new parish:

> When I was interviewing, my two-year-old got deathly ill with croup and had to be hospitalized down here. I just ended the interview. I just said, "Good-bye, I'm now a mom." I thought that was the end of my career in this parish because I just so definitely said, "I can't talk to you anymore. I really have to see what is happening with my daughter." They were really wonderful. They were very eager to make it work. When I would say to them, after we got down here, "I thought that you would never call me after that, that it was sort of the exhibition of your worst fears about calling a woman with small children." They said, "No, it was really clear to us that you had your priorities in order." (priest 38-F)

Person-occupation congruence, or occupational fit is, of course, an established construct in organizational behavior. Desirable outcomes, such as satisfaction, have been linked to the correspondence between individual preferences about an occupation and the degree to which aspects of those preferences are manifest in the occupation (Converse,

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[2] Vestries, the governing bodies of parishes, hold considerable power regarding operational and financial decisions; vestry meetings often involve heated debates and are described as often taxing.

Oswald, Gillespie, Field, & Bizot, 2004). As are many occupations, particularly professional ones, the priesthood is replete with role expectations and demands that others in the profession place upon incumbents. These demands can be congruent or incongruent to varying degrees with the individuals' preferences for work-home segmentation. Our interviewees consistently noted that the priesthood as an occupation makes work-home demands that are greater than the average, which often creates work-home boundary incongruence. As one priest (28-M) noted, "The priesthood is unique because you stand up in front of an altar and in front of God on two separate occasions, and you promise you'll put this thing first in your life: one is when you are married and one is when you are ordained." Hence individuals can find greater or lesser degrees of work-home segmentation fit from varying occupations.

Consequences of Work-Home Boundary Incongruence

With our second research question, we sought to understand the consequences of work-home boundary incongruence and the relationship among these consequences. In this section, we discuss two such consequences: boundary violations and work-home conflict.

Work-home boundary violations. In psychology, the term "boundary violation" historically has referred to inappropriate behavior in such contexts as the psychiatrist-patient relationship (e.g., a psychologist having sexual relations with a client). However, the notion of boundary violation has more recently been used in the boundary theory literature to also refer to instances in which a boundary is not treated in the way an individual prefers. For example, Katherine (1991) and Kreiner et al. (2006) distinguished between "intrusion" and "distance" violations. Intrusion violations consist of one's boundaries being breached, whereas distance violations result from creating too much distance between entities (e.g., people, domains). We found a similar pattern of boundary violations in our sample, but with specific regard to the work-home boundary. That is, we found clear differences between the generalized, ongoing state of work-home conflict and stories from interviewees of events or episodes that violated the work-home boundary in some particular way. We therefore introduce the term *work-home boundary violation* and define it as an individual's perception that a behavior, event, or episode either breaches or neglects an important facet of the desired work-home boundary.

As implied in our definition, we found that these violations could be manifest in two ways. The first, and perhaps more obvious, is "intrusion," which occurs when the individual desires segmentation but the violation forces an integration (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003). This kind of violation "punctures" the boundary, although usually temporarily. Examples from our data include phone calls or visits to a priest's home that were either unwanted or made at inappropriate times; questions that were overly personal or probed too deeply into the priest's family life; brief periods that temporarily placed extraordinary demands on the individual (such as Holy Week); job relocations that forced drastic changes in family life; and idiosyncratic but extreme expectations about availability for work. Boundary violations also occur when an individual is simply unable to prevent unwanted spillover from one domain to another. This can take many forms, including negative emotions and physical exhaustion. Essentially, the "intrusion" boundary violation creates more integration than is desired. The following quote from an assistant rector demonstrates how the rector (his supervisor) violated the priest's desired work-home boundary:

> There was a day where [the rector] wanted to meet with the new director of Christian education and talk about this fall. She came in and I wasn't going to come in because I was on vacation. I didn't tell him that I was going to be here [in town during a vacation]. I just wanted him to think that I was away. Then he said something that made me just slip, I guess, and say, "Well, oh yeah, I will be here"; and he went, "You are going to be in town? Well then you can come in." Then he said, "You never tell me when you are going to be in town if you are going to be in town because I will call you and have you do something even when you are off." He does that. (priest 13-M)

The second kind of violation, which we label "distance," occurs when an individual desires integration, but segmentation is forced. Clergy members are particularly susceptible to this phenomenon, given that they are "put on this pedestal of invincibility . . . [that] also leaves them feeling lonely and isolated" (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003: 157). One priest told us, "I've seen this . . . over and over again when I was single in my last parish. I remember the first Sunday, they had a nice reception for me after the service and everything. Then everybody went home and had lunch. It never occurred to them that this is a single person; she doesn't have anybody to have lunch with; we should invite her to lunch. I was talking with a friend of mine. . . . He said, 'Well, you have to tell

them. They won't know.'" In this instance the violation involved parishioners creating too much "space" between the work and home domains for the priest.

Work-home conflict. Recall that work-home conflict is a generalized state and a subset of role conflict that results from the incompatibilities between role expectations and the consequences of such incompatibilities. While work-home conflict is an existing construct, we found two interesting nuances in our data: occupational demands and cyclical intensity. Many of our interviewees pointed to particular structural components of the priesthood as placing unusually high demands on individuals. These demands are not unlike those experienced by many other individuals who see their jobs as callings. As one interviewee (priest 28-M) noted, "I also feel that tension between work and family. Probably anybody who has figured out what their real calling in life is has experienced a similar tension." In addition, the experience of work-home conflict often followed cycles of intensity, with more conflict being experienced during certain periods of the year, such as Easter or Christmas.

Our data also clearly suggest a linkage between work-home boundary incongruence and work-home conflict. For example, one priest told us how it was difficult living in church-owned housing because, inevitably, there would be discrepancies between family and parish expectations. She commented that because the church paid for the utility bills, she and her husband would constantly worry: "Is the heat turned up too high or is the air conditioning on too long?" She also noted, "This church really loves its property and flowers and cares for its property just lovingly and beautifully. Neither my husband nor I are gardeners or good people with flowers. I've lived in fear of killing every bush on the property—them burning me at the stake after I leave because I've destroyed their [place]" (priest 14-F). Here, the incongruence between the priest and the parishioners is associated with a more generalized state of ongoing tension or conflict.

The preceding discussion leads us to the following two propositions:

Proposition 1. As incongruence increases, (a) boundary violations increase and (b) work-home conflict increases.

Proposition 2. Incongruence is related to violations in such a way that (a) when incongruence reflects an individual desiring greater segmentation*, intrusion violations are perceived more often than distance violations, whereas (b) when incongruence reflects an individual desiring greater* integration*, distance violations* are perceived more often than intrusion violations.*

Linking boundary violations to work-home conflict. We argue that boundary violations and work-home conflict are not independent, but rather, that an increase in boundary violations can lead to increased work-home conflict. Violations of the preferred level of segmentation can serve as repeated, poignant reminders of a generalized state of conflict, rubbing salt on the proverbial wound. Hence, the salience of the conflict increases with repeated violations. In the following example of this linkage, the continuing threat of interruption while on vacation is increased with, and the conflict made more salient by, actual calls back to reality:

> It's funny for vacations, every vacation time that I've gone away for so far this year, I've gotten called back for a funeral. Like, I'm supposed to leave for vacation tomorrow. Somebody died earlier this week, so I leave tomorrow and then I'll drive back tomorrow night, do a funeral on Saturday and then go back on vacation. This summer has been vacations interrupted. I return from vacation; I've got a wedding that weekend—the weekend that I return. So it's like I'm boxed in on both sides. I can't help the scheduling. It's been actually that way for each of the three different weeks that we have gone away on vacation—called back for a funeral and then come back to a wedding. It's hard. (priest 16-M)

The following example illustrates how the effects of a particular event (a vestry meeting) go far beyond the event itself and into a longer-lasting state:

> *Respondent*: Sometimes when I come home from vestry meetings, I will be so depressed. Please, you said this was all confidential.
>
> *Interviewer*: It surely is. Definitely.
>
> *Respondent*: I'll be so depressed. I'll come home. I'll have a glass of wine. I'll get in bed and my wife will be begging me to make love to her and I'll just tell her, "No way. It is just not in the cards tonight. I'm not able. I'm just too upset about what is happening in the church."
>
> *Interviewer*: So there is some seepage or overflow from it?
>
> *Respondent*: Oh, absolutely. (priest 12-M)

We believe that the teasing apart of violations from conflict represents an important and fruitful finding, as it allows researchers to examine the conflict (general state) and the violations (specific events) separately and thereby understand the work-home balance process more fully. This could translate to a higher level of specificity in work-home research as well as more precise recommen-

dations. It is also important to note that not all boundary violations are created equal. We found a wide range of both the *intensity* and the reported *frequency* of violations. For example, a phone call from a spouse or child while at work was typically framed as a minor violation with minimal impact on work-home conflict, whereas more severe violations (e.g., a drunk parishioner in the priest's living room) were more likely to affect the generalized state of conflict. Similarly, our interviewees varied in their descriptions of the frequency of violations, with increased frequency setting the stage for stronger conflict. Hence, we propose:

Proposition 3. Boundary violations influence the relationship between incongruence and work-home conflict in such a way that work-home conflict increases as (a) the frequency of violations increases and/or the (b) intensity of violations increases.

Boundary Work Tactics

Are the negative effects of work-home boundary incongruence cast in stone? Are individuals merely passive recipients of the less-than-ideal conditions of incongruence? We suspected not. However, previous research on fit and work-family relations has taken a rather dire view of the effects of incongruence, with its focus on reduced satisfaction and increased stress and conflict (e.g., Edwards & Rothbard, 1999; Kreiner, 2006). Hence, as mentioned in our third research question, we sought to discover *how* individuals could respond to incongruence in positive ways. We therefore asked interviewees to describe what they did in response to work-home problems and challenges, and to provide examples of any specific tactics that they found useful in ameliorating the effects of these conflicts. We found that individuals enacted a wide variety of boundary work tactics in response to incongruence, boundary violations, and conflict. These tactics are the various "work-family decisions" (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006b) that individuals make to recalibrate the work-home boundary negotiation. Our data suggest an interesting reciprocal relationship between the challenges of work-home boundaries and the tactics employed—namely, that the challenges cued the need for the tactics, *and* that enactment of these tactics successfully reduced the challenges.

Through our grounded theory process, we documented several distinct tactics. For our fourth research question, we sought to identify patterns of tactics to create a boundary work framework. Four broad tactic types emerged in our data: behavioral, temporal, physical, and communicative. Table 1 describes these four types and gives examples from the data. We found evidence of these types for the full range of work-home boundary challenges.

Behavioral Tactics

Our interviewees engaged in social practices (which we have identified as behavioral tactics) to decrease work-home boundary incongruence, boundary violations, and work-home conflict. These behavioral tactics underscored the negotiated and constructed character of the work-home boundary and included using other people, leveraging technology, invoking triage, and allowing differential permeability. Each of these tactics is outlined below.

Using other people. In addition to focusing on the individual him-/herself, previous research has argued that scholars must also examine how other people affect an individual's work-home boundary negotiation. Specifically, Clark (2000) highlighted the role of "border-keepers"—the other individuals who either help or hinder an employee's attempts at work-home balance, such as spouses, children, coworkers, and supervisors. Our interviewees frequently mentioned people in their lives who helped them perform work-home boundary work. Recall that one priest (52-M) described staff members, who could answer phones, intercept in-office visitors, and so forth, as a "firewall" against unwanted intrusions. Another priest (23-M) told his parish administrator not to call him on his day off "unless something is on fire or someone is bleeding from the temples."

It's important to note here that the "other people" being used are often the very people who comprise a portion of the work-home boundary environmental influences. We therefore make an important distinction: the tactic of using other people necessarily constitutes an active, conscious choice to somehow utilize the resource of another individual. As opposed to earlier discussions of boundary influences, which depict other people more passively, as merely available, this tactic illustrates how individuals actually engage and use others strategically.

Leveraging technology. Recent technological advances have translated into new ways for the work and home domains to interact and into both challenges and opportunities for work-home balance. On the one hand, being constantly available to both work and family through technology can breed work-home conflict and boundary violations (Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007); on the other hand, technology can facilitate *desired* integration and work-home balance (Valcour & Hunter, 2005).

TABLE 1
Work-Home Boundary Work Tactics

Name	Description	Example Situations and Quotes
Behavioral tactics		
Using other people	Utilizing the skills and availability of other individuals who can help with the work-home boundary (e.g., staff members screen calls)	"My wife is very good. She answers the phone and helps me to discern whether or not it is an emergency. If it's not, she takes a message; if it's my day off, for example. My church administrator, who takes all the calls at the church, is very good about helping me keep my boundaries up. There are also three clergy on staff here so we are able to share emergencies that come up. That is a great help."
Leveraging technology	Using technology to facilitate boundary work (e.g., voicemail, caller ID, e-mail)	"Well, I'll tell you one thing that has really transformed our ability to keep things separate and coordinated is a Palm Pilot. That's much better than a calendar. . . . That has really helped us." "Caller ID is a big help with the phone calls."
Invoking triage	Prioritizing seemingly urgent and important work and home demands (e.g., pastoral emergency and childcare emergency)	"I try and sort out between what I have to do, and what I should do, and what I want to do. It is kind of a triage. You know, you have to do what you have to do. Then sometimes what you have to do is what you want to do, but not necessarily. Then eventually you can work down to the stuff that you want to do. . . . Like tomorrow, my kids are in this big swim meet. I would love to be there for the swim meet. I was supposed to have a volunteer job at it. But, a long-time member of our parish died, and we are going to have an enormous funeral with 500 people. . . . So, there is just no question. . . . I wish I could be at the swim meet, but I can't. On the other hand, if it was an optional sort of 'Can you come in and do this on a Saturday?' You know I would say, 'You know, I have this big swim meet to go to. I'll come in, in the afternoon.'"
Allowing differential permeability	Choosing which specific aspects of work-home life will or will not be permeable	"I try to leave the work, the emotional and spiritual side of the work, if at all possible, at the church. So the politics and all that, I try not to bring that home. The actual physical stuff of letters and sermons and correspondence and newsletters and all that stuff, the office is just too busy of a place to be creative and concentrate. So, I tend to do a lot of the creative work at the house, rather than in the office. . . . I try to build an emotional wall to not bring the baggage of the church or too much of it . . . but the actual physical work part [is different]."
Temporal tactics		
Controlling work time	Manipulations of one's regular or sporadic plans (e.g., banking time from home or work domain to be used later, blocking off segments of time, deciding *when* to do various aspects of work)	"The biggest thing was to try to have some flexibility about taking advantage of being able to be home in the middle of the day, for periods of time when there was nothing special going on in the church building. Then trading that for times when I was obligated to be in the church building that maybe didn't fit in the pattern that I had kept before, of pretty much nine-to-five availability." "We always return phone calls, of course. We always respond, but it's not always when the people *want.* When people *need,* yes. There is a big difference between what a person wants and what they actually need."
Finding respite	Removing oneself from work-home demands for a significant amount of time (e.g., vacations, getaways, retreats)	"I find that increasingly on my day off, I like to get out of town just to change the optics. Home is a way that, even with policing the boundaries, the experience of home can sort of become contaminated with the spillover from work. I find that just on a regular basis it is good to get away and go someplace else. When I get up in the morning and raise the shades in the bedroom, I'm looking across the parking lot at my office. I'd rather be looking at [a] river or something. Yeah, there is some contamination there." "When I am away at my cabin, I am away and the boundary is there."

TABLE 1
Continued

Name	Description	Example Situations and Quotes
Physical tactics		
Adapting physical boundaries	Erecting or dismantling physical borders or barriers between work and home domains	This respondent made building a fence between the church and the rectory a formal part of her contract upon moving to a new parish: "I wanted to have a place that is private. To do that, the fence that they are going to put up will be a white stockade fence, six feet tall, but the last foot is going to be a lattice top so that there is privacy and some kind of open place at the top. I imagine that we will have some really beautiful gardens. I'm going to buy an arbor that has gates and latticework to grow roses on. It may sound kind of silly, but I really wanted the transition between home and work and back again to be a point of kind of health and beauty. In my imagination, I have climbing roses over the arbor and in the wintertime we will put Christmas lights on it. I really want it to be clear that there is a boundary, but that the passage back and forth is good. I have thought a lot about it."
Manipulating physical space	Creating or reducing a physical distance or "no man's land" between the work and home domains	*Long-term example*: "You know when we moved to [this town] . . . , there was a house for sale right next door to the church. We intentionally chose not to [buy it]. . . . We intentionally chose to put some distance between us and the church. That's been a good thing. It's kind of an oasis, too. It's out in the country and so it's kind of a very natural boundary. People don't trek out there. . . . So there is a physical, it feels like a physical barrier, boundary between us and the town and us and church." *Short-term example*: "About three weeks ago I had a huge wedding. The rehearsal ran three hours. . . . It was such a complicated wedding. It was like everything but the kitchen sink, plus the kitchen sink. The wedding itself was very long, too. So, one thing I did after the wedding was over, I not only went home, but I said let's go out to dinner. Like, let's literally get out of here. I didn't think anybody would come back for any reason, but if they did, I didn't want to be around."
Managing physical artifacts	Using tangible items such as calendars, keys, photos, and mail to separate or blend aspects of each domain	"Sometimes the mailman leaves a bundle of mail in our post box for the office and I just dump it off in the office so it doesn't come home. We are vigilant about working in whatever way we can to prevent much cross-contamination between home and work."
Communicative tactics		
Setting expectations	Managing expectations *in advance* of a work-home boundary violation (e.g., stating preferences to parish or family ahead of time)	"Thursdays are sacred time. Everybody in this church knows it. I am absolutely not available unless you have just been run over by an 18-wheeler. If you are headed to the emergency room, you call me, I'll be there, but don't you call me if you want to know whether something ought to be in the bulletin or not. Everybody knows it. I've never had to be mean about it. I've just been real clear."
Confronting violators	Telling violator(s) of work-home boundaries either *during or after* a boundary violation (e.g., telling a parishioner to stop calling at home for frivolous reasons)	"Your problem parishioner, you learn to deal with that, and put your arms around that. For some people you've got to set boundaries. You need to say, 'Well, you need to make an appointment and come and see me. At the appointment we will talk about that.'"

Our study confirms this notion and provides several specific ways that this facilitation can occur if technology is actively managed. One priest told us, for example, that he takes his cell phone on vacation in order to be accessible to parishioners (an integration approach) but has his wife answer the phone to ascertain whether the call is important enough to take (a segmentation approach, which also shows "using other people," the previously mentioned tactic).

Several others in our sample mentioned using "caller ID" to screen calls during nonwork hours and giving out their cell phone numbers to only a select few. One respondent chose to have an answering machine (as opposed to voice mail) so that he could listen to each message while it was being

left and pick up the phone if it was important and/or urgent enough. This was a noteworthy hybrid of segmenting and integrating: the priest wanted to integrate enough to be able to meet parishioners' needs but also wanted to segment enough to keep nonemergencies out of the home. Asking parishioners and staff members to use e-mail instead of telephone calls gave several priests more flexibility as to *when* requests could be met. Some interviewees created multiple e-mail accounts, one for personal use, the other for parishioners to use. One respondent noted his Palm Pilot had a profound effect on his work-home integration, saying it "has really transformed our ability to keep things separate and coordinated." He went on to say:

> That's much better than a calendar. We just got that six months ago. That has really helped us. One of the things that I do is I schedule in time for my wife on my calendar. There are times that she and I know we will have together. We work very hard at that. My days off, I try to keep as my days off. One of the main things is that I really try to be attentive to my scheduling. I make plenty of time for my priest work, but I also put in a lot of time for my wife. I respect those times.

> *Interviewer*: You do all your scheduling on that one Palm Pilot?

> *Respondent*: I do. (priest 8-M)

Invoking triage. Part of modern living, and an inherent part of the work-home struggle, is not merely balancing multiple demands, but managing multiple *simultaneous* demands (Hochschild, 1997). These conflicts can be known in advance (such as having an important personal event scheduled at the same time as an important work event) or can emerge suddenly. Many occupations (the priesthood certainly included) contain elements of urgency, as deadlines must be met, clients must be satisfied, or emergencies must be dealt with. Similarly, demands from the home domain are often urgent and important, such as children or elderly parents becoming ill, or cars breaking down. Individuals must therefore choose which domain (work or home) will receive attention when both domains are salient and pressing. The limited empirical work in this area has demonstrated that individuals are able to prioritize work-family demands by "intentional allocation decisions" (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000), and that role pressure, role salience, and role support each factor into a person's mental calculus (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003; Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003). We uncovered a strategy for dealing with such conflicts that we termed "invoking triage."

Like medical triage, work-home triage involves making quick but efficient diagnoses of which crisis or problem is the most important and/or the most likely to be fixed, then acting accordingly. Our term for this tactic derived from the following respondent's comments:

> I try and sort out between what I have to do, and what I should do, and what I want to do. It is kind of a triage. You know, you have to do what you have to do. Then sometimes what you have to do is what you want to do, but not necessarily. Then eventually you can work down to the stuff that you want to do. That comes down to, like tomorrow my kids are in this big swim meet. I would love to be there for the swim meet. I was supposed to have a volunteer job at it. But, a long-time member of our parish died, and we are going to have an enormous funeral with 500 people, and the rector is on vacation. So, there is just no question. . . . It's ongoing triage. . . . You know, it's a situation-by-situation thing, who gets the most attention. (priest 11-F)

Part of the efficacy of the triage tactic is having a basic priority set established before the crisis. Several of our interviewees offered hierarchies or pecking orders for their priorities in life that they used as guidelines in making on-the-spot decisions about where to spend their time and energy. For example, one priest told us:

> Family has always been important. From the outset of my ministry when I would interview with parishes, I would always inform them up front that my priorities were God, family and church, in that order. So, I would try to set the expectation that sometimes family is going to be more important than the parish. It is interesting that every parish I have gone into, it's always been the expectation that clergy will drop everything for a parish need or demand. That's been a tough stream to fight against. . . . I would have to fight for family time and family priorities, first. I coached, for years, my daughter in soccer. I tried to make all my son's concerts and his activities and when he was playing sports. Sometimes that meant that I wasn't always available for something in the parish. (priest 27-M)

Allowing differential permeability. Any given border can be treated in different ways by different people. For example, different individuals in the same home domain (e.g., a husband and wife) can vary in the permeability they invoke for that domain, creating "asymmetrically permeable boundaries" (Pleck, 1977). Previous research has demonstrated differences in the *direction* of permeability (e.g., allowing permeability from home to work, but not vice versa) (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003; Speakman & Marchington, 2004). Kossek et al. noted that future work-home research should "examine the implications of integrating on some parts

of the boundary but not others" (2005: 257). Our data reveal an important step in this direction. Specifically, we documented ways that individuals can *both* segment and integrate their work and home domains. This is an important step, because previous research has primarily examined very general tendencies toward integrating or segmenting, rather than exploring the nuances bound to exist within individuals (Kreiner, 2006). We call this phenomenon "allowing differential permeability" because individuals discriminate about precisely what will or will not pass through the work-home boundary, as well as which direction (work-to-home or home-to-work) passage is allowed.

One area in which this was most evident was that the priests tended to be careful to choose in what aspects of the ministry they involved their spouses and family. For example, many of our interviewees said they do not use family stories or vignettes in their sermons, yet their family members are deeply involved in the work of the church. The difference? In the former case (the priest bringing in family examples to the sermon), involvement of family violates family members' volition or privacy, whereas in the latter case, family members choose their involvement. (Interestingly, other priests, however, specifically mentioned how they consciously chose to use those family stories in their sermons, and cited doing so as a benefit of integrating home with work.) Another example occurring frequently in our data deals with the aforementioned "pastoral emergencies," those crises needing a priest's immediate attention (such as a death or serious accident). These emergencies were often cast as acceptable exceptions to otherwise strong segmentation norms, making them a kind of trump card to typical boundary management tactics. Interestingly, the aforementioned tactic of invoking triage can be used in tandem with differential permeability; it is often during such crisis modes that individuals make finer-grained distinctions about what can and what cannot puncture the work-home boundary. At the heart of differential permeability is that the individual is consciously choosing which aspects of work and home to integrate, and which to segment, and then acting accordingly.

In the example below, a respondent discusses how he decides to enact differential permeability and follows up that decision with a behavioral response. We also found examples of interviewees consciously choosing to create boundary permeability distinctions among emotional, spiritual, and physical aspects of their work.

> We don't just open the door [at home] for anybody that decides they want to show up. Does that make sense? . . . That sounds rather exclusive. It's really not. As with any priest, there are some pastoral circumstances and people that are quite needy and require a lot of care. They don't have access to my family or to my house. We made the boundaries, draw the boundaries pretty clear when it comes to that. At the same time, we sponsor a newcomers' party at our house once a quarter because we want people to know that we are accessible. So we try to do both things. (priest 40-M)

The elaboration of processes behind this tactic is particularly important for theory building in the work-home research area. Previous research too often has oversimplified the way individuals manage the work-home boundary as *either* segmenting or integrating. Yet we found ample evidence that many individuals are not only capable of, but prefer, a mixture of both. This finding suggests that future research should continue to tease out differences in the dimensions or criteria people use to decide what aspects of life to integrate or segment.

Temporal Tactics

Today's society makes temporal challenges particularly salient for the modern worker, including clergy (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003; Hochschild, 1997). Technological and competitive trends, changes in the nature of professional work, increasing workloads, and shifting expectations about how time is spent all affect work-home balance and its pursuit (Milliken & Dunn-Jensen, 2005). Individuals can make strategic choices about the temporal issues surrounding work, such as when and how much time to devote to it (Moen & Sweet, 2003). Our grounded theory approach yielded multiple boundary work strategies that dealt with time and how individuals manipulate it. We categorized these into two broad tactics that reflect both short- and long-term strategies collectively: controlling work time and finding respite.

Controlling work time. Like many other professions, the priesthood is replete with demands on job incumbents' time. Managing this time, therefore, becomes crucial to professional success and personal satisfaction. We documented several ways that priests controlled their work time and how that reduced boundary violations and/or work-home conflict. One approach involved manipulating one's schedule to maximize time with family. This often meant creating and utilizing "blocks" of time that met both work and home schedules' demands. One version of this manipulation was enacted for *fairly regular scheduling*, and another dealt with *special occasions* or sporadic but important events. For example:

The biggest thing was to try to have some flexibility about taking advantage of being able to be home in the middle of the day, for periods of time when there was nothing special going on in the church building. Then trading that for times when I was obligated to be in the church building that maybe didn't fit in the pattern that I had kept before, of pretty much nine-to-five availability. That had been given attention in the past, because of course, there were lots of evening and weekend church duties that didn't fit into the nine-to-five, and made my spouse mad. Now there is a way that I can give on that where I still have those evening and weekend duties, but I'm also much more accessible and available for short periods of time during the day when there's nothing particular going on at church. Again, I'm learning to do a very new thing here, but so far to the extent that I've tried to do that, it's worked well. (priest 28-M)

Another common tactic involved "banking" time from one domain to be used later. For example, if a respondent had to work on a night normally reserved for family, he or she would bank that time and take it out of work time later. This created a temporal equilibrium so that one domain did not suffer (over the long term) at the expense of the other. Flextime programs in many organizational contexts can facilitate this tactic. Another way that priests controlled their temporal boundaries was in being firm about certain days or hours that they would not work. One noted (priest 14-F), "I'm clear about my boundaries at work in terms of when it is my day off. I prefer not to be called, unless it is an absolute emergency and no one else can be reached." Our interviewees also mentioned choosing *when* to perform work tasks, a choice that was viewed as empowering and particularly important in an occupation that is often viewed as "on call 24/7."

Finding respite. Taking breaks from work, along with other recovery mechanisms, can have positive benefits for work engagement and overall well-being (Sonnentag, 2003). Our data showed that these breaks could ameliorate work-home conflict as well as create a reprieve from the opportunities for boundary violations. A temporal boundary work tactic we documented dealt specifically with the priests' need to remove themselves from the work domain for significant amounts of time. In our sample, the time needed varied from as little as one or two days to sabbaticals of one year. Though at first, one day might not seem like a significant amount of time, for many of the priests we spoke with, carving out one or two full days seemed to them a difficult task, and one that they sometimes congratulated themselves for achieving. This was particularly evident as later-career priests reflected on their early careers, noting they had often felt guilty for taking time off from their ministry. Consider the following example of a seemingly simple recommendation from a long-tenured priest:

Interviewer: What would you recommend to a brand new priest about balancing work and family?

Respondent: Well, I guess the way I deal with it is when I'm beginning to feel like I'm not up to date on my personal life, whether it's taking care of my yard or taking care of my finances or spending time with my wife or something, then you need to just stop and say, "I just need to find two days where I can get caught up." In other words, just pay as much attention to your own stuff as you do to everybody else's. I can tell when I've gone too many days in a row and too many evening meetings and all of a sudden I look at my desk at home and I haven't filed anything or my wife and I haven't gone out or anything. I just know that I have to just say, "No, I'm going to do something different for the next two days, if I can." I think that works for me. It's like an alarm goes off and I say, "No, I've worked for the Lord enough. I'm going to work for me for two days." (priest 51-M)

To use this temporal tactic successfully, the priests had to leave the city where they lived. A day off or a meaningful vacation was impossible unless a certain physical distance was established. Later, we will discuss the tactic of creating physical space between home and work, which is *also* often used with the finding respite tactic. However, physical distance is not required for respite, nor is it a guarantee for respite. For example, even though some priests pursued a finding respite strategy, work responsibilities continued to tug at them, as this story demonstrates:

One of the struggles I have had is, what do I do [for the funeral] if I'm away and someone dies? I'm on vacation. Should I come back? Should I have boundaries? Last summer this woman . . . kept saying, "I'm going to die when you're away. I just know it."

And I said "Oh, no, you're not." And sure enough—she did.

You know, I didn't come back, and I had arranged for another priest to do [the funeral]. People haven't complained, but inside I wonder a little bit if I should have come back. It's interesting talking to people. They'll say, "Well, I don't think you should come back," and then they'll say, "but *I* would want you to come back." (priest 16-M)

One way to accomplish respite involves the individual leaving *both* the work and home domains. Unlike most other tactics, it removes the individual from both domains rather than from just one or the other. Yet, in most instances of this tactic, family members were present as part of the respite, consequently bringing some of the demands of the

home domain along. For those with highly integrated lives (in our sample, this was often the priests who lived on site in a rectory), truly leaving necessarily meant leaving both domains, as this comment illustrates:

> I find that increasingly on my day off, I like to get out of town just to change the optics. Home is a way that, even with policing the boundaries, the experience of home can sort of become contaminated with the spillover from work. I find that just on a regular basis it is good to get away and go someplace else. When I get up in the morning and raise the shades in the bedroom, I'm looking across the parking lot at my office. I'd rather be looking at the Potomac River or something. Yeah, there is some contamination there. (priest 49-M)

Physical Tactics

The physical and anthropological characteristics of the work-home interface have shifted many times throughout history (Richardson, 2006). Over a century ago, "the workplace" was typically one's home or farm; the industrial revolution shifted the location of much work away from home to factories and offices. In the current cultural climate, many have returned to the working-at-home model (e.g., telecommuters, entrepreneurs), while others still keep workplace and home as separate physical entities. Physical boundaries might be a wall, a commute distance, a window, a door, or a line. Yet, despite the tangible or "real" feel of physical boundaries and objects, our data suggest that they can be manipulated both literally and metaphorically, which is consistent with our social construction lens. We documented three primary ways this can be done: by adapting physical *boundaries*, manipulating physical *space*, and managing physical *artifacts*.

Adapting physical boundaries. Physical boundaries, which involve the *where* of the work-home interface, were often built or used to create a separation of work and home, or dismantled to create integration between work and home. Some priests who lived next to their churches created physical barriers between rectory (home) and church (work). One priest who was about to move into a home adjoining the church building described how she was building a high fence and gate with a garden between the church and the house. She wanted to walk through a "physical barrier" as she went to and from work. In her words:

> Part of the great thing is going to be being so close, but part of the hard thing is going to be so close, too. So, I wanted to have a place that is private. To do that, the fence that they are going to put up will be a white stockade fence, six feet tall, but the last foot is going to be a lattice top so that there is privacy and some kind of open place at the top. I imagine that we will have some really beautiful gardens. I'm going to buy an arbor that has gates and latticework to grow roses on. It may sound kind of silly, but I really wanted the transition between home and work and back again to be a point of kind of health and beauty. In my imagination, I have climbing roses over the arbor and in the wintertime we will put Christmas lights on it. I really want it to be clear that there is a boundary, but that the passage back and forth is good. (priest 20-F)

Interestingly, this example once again shows the complexity of the integration-segmentation continuum: she wanted elements of *both* integration and segmentation to be physically manifested in the fence, and she invoked a boundary work tactic to improve the congruence between her preferences and environment. Further, it illustrates the power of the social construction approach to understanding the work-home interface by showing how the meaning of this physical artifact as a work-home boundary is not inherent in the object, but is instead a product of the priest's perceptions about and intentions for it. Otherwise, it is merely a wooden artifact with flowers growing on it.

In another example of physical boundaries, one priest described the awkwardness he felt in living next to the church:

> The weird thing is that I'm in the back of the rectory that is adjacent to the parking lot and someone comes by the church, let's say just coming by to pick something and drop something. There is that awkwardness. Do they stop? Do they wave to me? Do they stop in and chat? Do I feel it incumbent on me to say, "Hi, how are you?" That whole social ill ease. (priest 30-M).

In direct response to this dilemma, the priest had a fence built between the church and the rectory. He noted,

> [Now] you can go out the back door and sit in the back and not see the church. That's nice. . . . I just felt like having privacy. My teenager daughter wants to sit outside with her friends in their bathing suits. . . . With the fence, you don't have to deal with it. I hear a car go by, but I don't have to see who it is.

Note the multifunctionality of this tactic, as the building of a fence helped reduce all three work-home boundary challenges: incongruence was reduced by bringing personal preferences more in line with the environment, and the potential for boundary violations as well as the generalized discomfort associated with work-home conflict were reduced.

Although these examples illustrate the *creation* of physical boundaries, several other interviewees in our study described ways that they tried to *reduce* the impact of physical boundaries between work and home. Typically, these priests desired greater integration of their work and home lives, and they dismantled or lessened physical boundaries to achieve that goal. For example, several interviewees spoke of inviting parishioners to their homes for socials, dinners, meetings, and parties in order to blur the boundary between their homes and the church building.

Manipulating physical space. In addition to manipulating the actual physical boundaries between work and home, individuals can manipulate the *space* between these domains as well. Those desiring greater segmentation increased the space between work and home, whereas those desiring greater integration decreased the space. One noteworthy bifurcation that we observed in these data is that this tactic can be used as part of long-term planning or as a short-term response to an immediate problem. The following example demonstrates the former, as a priest creates a physical distance between the work and home domains by choosing to live farther away from the church building. (This is a dilemma for some parish priests, as occasionally, parishes give priests the choice of living in church-owned property or in their own home.) In his words:

> You know when we moved [here], there was a house for sale right next door to the church. We intentionally chose not to [buy it]. . . . We intentionally chose to put some distance between us and the church. That's been a good thing. It's kind of an oasis, too. It's out in the country and so it's kind of a very natural boundary. People don't trek out there. Even though it is six miles, people think that is in the next county because you have to go out into the country. So there is a physical, it feels like a physical barrier, boundary between us and the town and us and church. It really, yeah, is a natural barrier, but it hasn't proved to be a problem. It's not far enough away that if somebody is at the emergency room, it's still just 12 minutes to the emergency room. It hasn't impeded the ministry. It's been a nice thing. (priest 40-M)

Managing physical artifacts. Artifacts—the physical representations of cultures—are ubiquitous in organizational life (Rafaeli & Pratt, 2006). Artifacts are visually salient, typically tangible markers that serve as cues about a culture, a domain, or an identity (Elsbach, 2004). Artifacts can be found in, and come to symbolize, both work and home domains. In her original study on boundary work, Nippert-Eng (1996) found that individuals use physical artifacts (often subconsciously) as ways to negotiate the work-home border. The power of the artifacts as cues or signals is shown in this example: "My children are young so I will often take off at 3:00 p.m. to go to ballet or soccer or baseball or whatever and then come back and work in the evening. Even my two-year-old knows when I put on a collar that I'm going to a meeting" (priest 21-F).

We found specific examples of many types of artifacts being used instrumentally, which was consistent with previous observational work on artifact use (Nippert-Eng, 1996). For example, some people put all events on one calendar, and others had separate calendars for home and work. Some individuals used one key ring for all doors and functions; others used separate key rings for work and home. Postal mail was also a physical artifact that some of our interviewees consciously managed, such as by (dis)allowing work-related mail to come to the home. One priest (49-M) who lived adjacent to his church explained how he dealt with having a shared mailbox that received both personal and work mail: "Sometimes the mailman leaves a bundle of mail in our post box for the office and I just dump it off in the office so it doesn't come home. We are vigilant about working in whatever way we can to prevent much cross-contamination between home and work."

Communicative Tactics

The final of our four boundary work tactic classifications consists of communicative strategies, which include setting expectations and confronting violators.

Setting expectations. The majority of the priests we interviewed found managing expectations to be a helpful technique in balancing work-home demands. One priest (53-M) commented that parishioners are "looking for a clue from us as to what is appropriate and what is not" and therefore he had "chosen, and very intentionally, to communicate a sense of boundary." Communicating expectations typically meant outlining preferences regarding the work-home boundary to important stakeholders such as spouse, children, staff members, parishioners, and vestry. This tactic could involve nuanced signals, or direct conversations or church bulletin announcements, and it involved communication *before* a violation of the work-home boundary had occurred (in contrast to our next code, "confronting violators"). The following example illustrates the importance of sending clear boundary messages as well as the linkage between tactic usage and reduced boundary violations:

The most important thing, I think, is from the very beginning when you are in a congregation to send the right messages to people. . . . If you establish boundaries quick, like up front, and if you send messages that you want to be truly present to people, but you do not need to be needed, then they don't. There is an ethos or a culture that gets quickly established about where you stand with respect to the whole community and where the boundaries lie. (priest 35-M)

Several priests discussed including work-home boundary issues as part of their negotiation process in getting their jobs. That is, they made known their expectations about work-home balance to potential church members and leaders prior to being hired. Sometimes this was through informal conversations, and at other times it involved formal communications or even inclusion in an employment contract. Generally, the process involved negotiation about particular expectations, regarding the work-home interface (e.g., the number of hours to be worked each week, the flexibility of those hours). This give-and-take process illustrates how boundaries are co-constructed: the work-home preferences of both the individual and salient others are implicated in the process of boundary construction and maintenance. One respondent shared this story, which deals with a prearrival letter he sent to parishioners in his new parish; it demonstrates the tactic's efficacy in reducing conflict:

The biggest thing was that a letter went out to all the parishioners saying that this was a very new situation in this church rectory, because a priest was coming who had a family that included young kids, and that their expectations and hopes about the space was that it would be more private than maybe had been the case with past priests who had lived here. One way that we could be made to feel especially welcome was to respect that privacy. The letter was written by the senior warden and checked over with us before it was sent, but we gave the green light. I know that a couple people felt offended that that kind of boundary was being drawn even before we had arrived, but I think so far it's really served us well. I think people have been very respectful. (priest 28-M)

Confronting violators. In contrast to the previous tactic of communicating expectations, the tactic of confronting violators occurs *after* a problem has occurred with work-home boundaries. These problems can take the form of boundary violations, as described above, or ongoing tensions. This tactic is used to try to correct what an individual perceives as other people's disregard for an appropriate boundary. Priest 15-M illustrated the intention of this tactic in noting that the idea is "to commu-

nicate with them and try to train them that they need to work around our schedules here, not necessarily expect that we drop everything." The directness of such confrontations varied considerably. The following two examples both deal with parishioners calling priests at home. On the more compassionate end of the continuum, one priest said, "Your problem parishioner, you learn to deal with that, and put your arms around that. For some people you've got to set boundaries. You need to say, 'Well, you need to make an appointment and come and see me. At the appointment we will talk about that'" (priest 54-M) Conversely, one respondent spoke of people who would (at first) call him multiple times a day at his home:

What I used to say to someone after the second call was, "Look, I've already talked to you twice today. I need to go out now. I have some other appointments. I don't want you to call me again today. If you have a problem, I'd be happy to talk to you later in the week." I try to be a little bit considerate of their feelings, but at the same time letting them know, you can't pick up the phone every two hours and give me a call. Especially when there is nothing going on and they just want to talk to somebody. (priest 52-M)

Several priests noted that a key part of confronting violators was helping them see that their problem was not urgent—sometimes even sarcastically. Priest 43-M noted his response to a parishioner who came to his home at night: "I try to say, 'Oh, how long have you had this problem? Okay, you've been drinking for 20 years. Well, how about if we talk tomorrow morning?'"

Beyond the more obvious violations, such as parishioners or staff calling on a priest's day off or showing up at the priest's home at inappropriate times, our interviewees reported that they were sometimes faced with having to explain why seemingly innocuous instances were actually work-home violations in their eyes. For example, one priest noted:

When I first came here many people saw me walking my dog or taking walks and several parishioners asked if they could walk with me. Initially, I found that some people were hurt when I said, "No." I had to do a lot of kind of explaining about the importance of time away for me. . . . It was both physical exercise as well as a time for me with God, being alone and outside. It took a lot of education and sometimes hurt feelings and some clear kind of communication about boundaries for me. I think it is pretty well understood, now. Most people understand that and accept it. (priest 14-F)

Note how the efficacy of this tactic is revealed in the quote: after her intervening and explaining, peo-

ple understood her preferences and accepted them. In this example, the priest interpreted the parishioners' *requests* to walk with her during her private time as a boundary violation; she framed that private time as bounded and wanted to preserve the boundary. Clearly, not all individuals would frame this episode as a boundary violation, which illustrates the subjective nature of boundary work.

The Role of Boundary Work Tactics

The preceding sections illustrate the power and diversity of boundary work tactics. We have seen evidence from these stories and vignettes that the boundary work tactics are clearly multifunctional. In our classification scheme, we divided the tactics into four meaningful types. These types were derived from our analysis, which involved discussion among the research members, comparing and contrasting the details of the tactics, and comparing the tactics with material in the existing literature (Eisenhardt, 1989). We also urge caution about not "overinterpreting" our typology as absolute (the only way these tactics could be categorized) or final (an exhaustive list of possible tactics). In reality, and as would be expected, the four types exhibit some conceptual overlap.

How, then, might we predict the impact of the interplay among the tactics? As several vignettes in the preceding sections have demonstrated, we found evidence that the tactics are often complementary. That is, we suggest that the tactics reinforce each other, creating a multipronged approach to negotiating the work-home boundary. In addition, one behavior can cue multiple tactics. For example, multiple interviewees told us that they had consciously chosen to live far away from work, which typifies the physical tactic of *manipulating physical space*, yet it also aids in *finding respite* (a temporal tactic) by providing a longer commute to work. These overlaps create, in essence, multifunctional boundary tactics. We believe the interplay between tactics is synergistic, in that it amplifies the overall utility or benefit of the strategies used to the individuals. To articulate, then, the role that these tactics play in the boundary work model, we suggest the following propositions:

> *Proposition 4. Use of boundary work tactics decreases (a) boundary incongruence, (b) boundary violations, and (c) work-home conflict.*

> *Proposition 5. The implementation of multiple boundary work tactics (within and between categories) has a synergistic effect: the reduction of incongruence, violations, and conflict is magnified.*

DISCUSSION

Although previous research on the conflict between work and home has been fruitful, this literature has lacked a cohesive approach to understanding *how* individuals experience and attempt to ameliorate the conflict. Rather, previous work has tended to focus on rather static or stable individual differences or situational factors. We therefore began with research questions seeking to explore various dimensions of work-home boundary incongruence, the consequences of this incongruence, how individuals can negotiate the work-home boundary to their liking, and how boundary tactics might be categorized effectively. Our grounded theory approach to addressing these questions yielded a classification scheme of boundary work tactics as well as a conceptual model of boundary work, and it has provided a foundation upon which to develop a more comprehensive theory and research stream on boundary work. In the first portion of the model, we show how an individual's work-home boundary preferences combine with environmental influences to create five dimensions of work-home boundary incongruence. We then illustrate how incongruence in one or more of the dimensions can lead to boundary violations (Propositions 1a, 2) and work-home conflict (Proposition 1b) and how boundary violations can increase work-home conflict (Proposition 3). Finally, we show how individuals can invoke boundary work tactics to ameliorate the negative effects of work-home boundary incongruence, boundary violations, and work-home conflict (Propositions 4 and 5).

Implications for Theory

Our study contributes a more holistic and comprehensive picture of work-home boundary work that integrates antecedents, tactics, *and* pertinent outcomes. We now discuss why and how this is important. First, we view the construct of work-home boundary violations as particularly promising. As noted, the vast majority of research investigating the problems of the work-home interface has been focused on the construct of work-family conflict. Whereas work-family conflict is a generalized and fairly consistent state, we introduce and define boundary violations as episodes or events that violate an individual's work-home boundary preferences. We believe it can prove quite useful to separate specific events from the generalized state, as it creates opportunities for exploring the differential roles of each construct in work-home relations and has the potential to account for additional

variance in the work-home balance relationship. As an example of how such a distinction can prove to be vitally important for future research, we draw a comparison to affective events theory, which has been one of the most influential theories in the emotions research area, stimulating research on job satisfaction (Weiss, Nicholas, & Daus, 1999), aggression (Glomb, Steel, & Arvey, 2002), emotional dissonance (Abraham, 1999), and other emotion-related topics. Indeed, as Ashkanasy, Zerbe, and Hartel noted, affective events theory is "revolutionizing our view of behavior in organizations" because it has "alerted researcher and managers alike to the importance of emotional states in organizational settings" (2002: 7) as distinct yet related to affective events. According to affective events theory, individuals experience generalized emotion states, yet daily hassles and uplifts (affective events) punctuate and are proximal causes of their emotional states over time (Weiss & Cropanzano, 1996). The accumulation of a succession of positive or negative affective events leads to positive or negative affective states in employees that, in turn, presage attitudinal states and behaviors (Ashkanasy, Hartel, & Daus, 2002). In our model, boundary violations and work-home conflict are analogous to affective events and emotional state, respectively. From a social construction view, over time the social processes of successive violation events (negotiations between violators and the violated either to maintain or challenge a boundary) are what construct the state that is then classified and described as "conflict." Hence, work-home boundary events, layer upon layer, can strongly influence the state of conflict, and we believe they should be studied in their own right. Separation of a punctuated event (boundary violation) from a generalized state (work-family conflict) could lead to reframing and expansion of more focused questions in work-family research, as it has in the area of emotion.

Second, we have identified several specific boundary work tactics, filling an important gap in the literature. Nippert-Eng's (1996) work laid excellent groundwork for the *notion* of boundary work, yet relatively little was known about *what specific tactics* individuals could use. Through our study, we have expanded understanding of work-home boundary management by finding a fuller array of options available to individuals. This expansion provides actionable knowledge that individuals, managers, and family members can use to make informed choices about the very practical and pervasive problem of boundary work. Third, because of this increased understanding of the diversity of boundary work tactics, we can now more fully appreciate and further explore (in this and other con-

texts) the ability of individuals to ameliorate their work-home conflicts. Previous research has focused so much on organization-level influences or fairly stable or unchangeable individual differences that the role of an individual's own actions in shaping his or her work-life balance has often been neglected (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Identifying and filling this gap is particularly important—both conceptually and practically—because informal means of work-home facilitation have been demonstrated to explain a *greater share of variance* in important employee outcomes than formal mechanisms do (Behson, 2005). Our work, therefore, provides a key insight into how individuals can adapt to and shape their work and home experiences.

Fourth, we have gone well beyond previous work that conceptualizes and operationalizes work-home congruence very generally by identifying particular dimensions within the work, home, and occupational domains in which incongruence occurs. This finer specification adds richness and depth to the previously very broadly defined category of antecedents to work-home conflict. The important implication of our contribution is that it allows researchers to pinpoint particular problem areas and examine both the dysfunctions and positive potential of the work-home interface with greater precision. Again, this specificity also provides actionable knowledge to individuals as they diagnose their own work-family balance or that of others (e.g., teammates, subordinates).

Implications for Practice

Clearly, engaging in any occupation requires managing work-home demands to varying degrees. More fully understanding the nature of these demands and the tactics for managing them has many practical applications. First, we believe the tactics presented here are relevant to employees in many contexts. Applications can be made to occupational situations that share difficult work-home boundary negotiation (such as home businesses, telecommuting, and even jobs involving heavy travel) as well as to other more typical work-home boundary challenges (such as those confronting individuals in *any* occupation who might want to find ways to integrate or segment their work and home domains more effectively). Second, our findings suggest that boundary work tactics represent actionable knowledge that can be taught to others for more successful self-management. We have laid out a set of tactics that individuals can use and that management can facilitate and integrate in wellness training to improve people's lives. Indeed, the Episcopal Church—an international organization comprised

of over two million members—has incorporated our research into presentations and curriculum on work-home balance given at wellness conferences and workshops for multiple constituencies.

Although it might be tempting to consider work-home tensions as a negative only for *individuals*, significant negative consequences for *workplaces* can also be considered (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). Similarly, multiple positive outcomes of successfully managing the work-home interface have been documented, such as increased creativity and commitment (Madjar, Oldham, & Pratt, 2002; Pratt & Rosa, 2003). Preventing the negative outcomes while fostering the positive ones is an important goal for managers, and our study provides new ideas about how these important tasks can be accomplished. In sum, an understanding of boundary work tactics may move individuals and organizations closer to successfully negotiating the elusive but often-sought "balance" between work and home.

Future Research

What next? In addition to the implications mentioned above, we offer here four more specific suggestions for future work. The first involves individual and group differences that affect boundary work. Although we stratified the sample in our research design for Study 2, the broad themes and classification of boundary work tactics proved more intriguing than focusing on subgroup differences in the sample. Future research, however, could more closely examine various individual and group differences that affect boundary work. In particular, we envision that individuals' occupational and job tenure, gender, race/ethnicity, and work-home demography (e.g., married or not, children at home, distance from home to work) would be of key interest. Similarly, future research might investigate potential cross-cultural differences in work-home boundary challenges and tactics used.

As mentioned, to varying degrees, all occupations face work-home demands. Our research has documented these pressures and responses within a particularly problematic occupation. Hence, a second suggestion for future research is that it examine less challenging occupations as a point of comparison with our findings (Eisenhardt, 1989). Similarly, although our respondents tended toward desiring more segmentation, future research could purposefully sample those groups who would likely tend toward desiring more integration. Indeed, research with additional samples could uncover even more nuanced boundary work tactics than our sample revealed. Important differences

have been found in various work arrangements, such as working at home versus virtual work versus the traditional office (Hill, Ferris, & Martinson, 2003), and future researchers could examine how boundary work tactics might operate differently depending on the particular type of work arrangement.

Third, our study stimulates additional research questions regarding the *interplay of tactics* and how tactics might *change over time*. Regarding the interplay among tactics, we suspect that when tactics are geared directly toward reducing work-home boundary incongruence (as opposed to violations or conflict), they will be the most effective overall, because they reduce the root problem that is the driving force behind the model and the precursor to boundary violations and conflict. Focusing their energy here likely gives people "more bang for their buck." Similarly, future research could examine how tactics change over time. Our data were cross-sectional; thus, any documentation of tactical changes was necessarily retrospective, but highly suggestive of interesting change dynamics. For example, our interviewees reported instances of cyclical intensity in work-home conflict, and future researchers might investigate patterns in cycles over time. The process of adaptation over time could yield important information that is useful both to academic and practitioner audiences. As one interviewee (priest 31–F) put it, while contrasting an earlier phase of her professional life with the current one, "For the first ten years of my ministry, I was single . . . so, all of my friends were from the church. I really did work all the time. I didn't have much of a separation." Another avenue for potential research stemming from our model would be to link the boundary work tactics we have identified with (1) specific types of incongruence and (2) various outcomes. That is, our qualitative research design lends itself to developing exploratory models, but other research designs (such as a survey or experience sampling) could empirically link the strategies we documented with each of the dimensions of work-home incongruence (family members, subordinates, etc.) as well as with critical outcomes such as reduced stress, reduced work-home conflict, and increased satisfaction with life, job, or family.

Fourth, though our focus has been on work-home conflict, we also anticipate that researchers would get a significant payoff by examining the role of work-family enrichment in our model. Some recent attention has turned to the potentially positive effects of intertwining work and home (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2006a; Rothbard, 2001; Voydanoff, 2001; Wayne, Grzywacz, Carlson, & Kacmar, 2007),

and we see the exploration of the ways this would unfold as holding potential for better understanding our model. We did find evidence of work-home enrichment in our study; however, we deemed the data to be insufficient to fully weave them into our comprehensive model. Instances in our data ranged from very simple, tactical ways that one domain enriched the other (e.g., by drawing upon meaningful family experiences for sermons) to deeper or longer-term influences (e.g., becoming a different kind of person because of the priesthood or family roles, which then had a positive impact on the other domain). We suggest that future research drill down further in this direction, examining how work-home boundary congruence might lead to work-home enrichment and facilitation.

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APPENDIX

Questions from the Interview Protocol[a]

1. We'd like to know a bit about your background.
   a. How long have you been ordained a priest?
   b. What did you do before the priesthood? What led you to become a priest?
2. We'd like to know a bit about your current home and work life.
   a. Do you have children? Do they live at home?

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[a] Interviews were semistructured. These represent questions asked of most interviewees. However, interviewers also asked a variety of impromptu questions that derived from respondents' answers to questions, thus allowing us to probe more fully into interesting and emerging lines of inquiry.

b. Do you have paid staff helping? How many? What about volunteers?

c. Where do you live in relation to the church? How far away? Is it a church-owned rectory or your own home?

d. What is the size of your parish? How long have you been there? Is the church in a rural/suburban/urban locale?

3. What things in your life do you find you need to work especially hard on to balance? How do you balance them?

4. Some people like to separate their work and home lives while others prefer to integrate them. How would you describe yourself in that regard?

5. Do you ever do parish work at home? Does your family life ever enter into your parish work? Are there particular things you actively try to keep separate? . . . integrate?

6. Do you have frequent interruptions (a) when at home; (b) while at work? Is it a problem? Do you have tactics or strategies for dealing with that?

7. Does your proximity to the church building ever make a difference in the way you feel about your work or family life? Does the closeness/distance ever create a conflict? . . . with family members, parishioners or yourself ? How so?

8. Do the demands of work ever take away from your home life? Do the demands of home ever take away from your work life?

9. Are there certain people who either respect your work-home boundary or don't? Have there been times when others did not respect the boundary you were trying to keep? How did/do you deal with that?

10. Do your family members have certain expectations placed on them because of their relation to you? What effect does that have on your home life? Work life? Do you ever feel compelled to manage others' expectations of your family? Do you have certain expectations of your family?

11. Have you found that there are certain things you can do to maintain the work-home boundary to your liking?

12. Do you have friends within the parish? Outside the church? What proportion of your friends/acquaintances come from outside the church or parish?

13. Have your attitudes about work-home balance changed over time? (From what to what?) If so, what kinds of things prompted that change?

14. What would you recommend to a brand new priest regarding balancing work and home?

15. Are there any other issues that you've thought of during our interview that you think might be important for me to know about regarding the topics we've discussed today?

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Glen E. Kreiner (glen.kreiner@psu.edu) is an assistant professor of management and organization in the Smeal College of Business at The Pennsylvania State University. Glen received his Ph.D. from Arizona State University. His research primarily focuses on the interaction between individual and organizational/occupational processes, especially through the lenses of social identification, work-home boundary management, role transitions, identity threats, identity growth, person-environment fit, and emotion management. His research is conducted in a variety of contexts, including with stigmatized occupations, family businesspeople, contingent/temporary workers, and people in religious vocations.

Elaine C. Hollensbe (elaine.hollensbe@uc.edu) is an associate professor of management in the College of Business at the University of Cincinnati. She received her Ph.D. in organizational behavior from the University of Kansas. Her research examines how individuals balance self and social boundaries, and the interface between individuals and human resource practices. Specific research interests include identity and identification, emotion regulation and management, self-efficacy in wellness and training contexts, and motivational aspects of compensation.

Mathew L. Sheep (msheep@ilstu.edu) is an assistant professor in the College of Business at Illinois State University. He received his Ph.D. in management from the University of Cincinnati. His research interests center on ways in which individuals construct their social world, for what purposes, and with what consequences. Areas of research include identity and identification, individual and organizational creativity, positive organizational scholarship, workplace spirituality, business ethics, and discourse analytic approaches to organization.

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