

# Juggling work and family responsibilities when involuntarily working more from home: A multiwave study of financial sales professionals

LAURENT M. LAPIERRE<sup>1\*</sup>, ELIANNE F. VAN STEENBERGEN<sup>2</sup>,  
MARIA C. W. PEETERS<sup>2</sup> AND ESTHER S. KLUWER<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

<sup>2</sup>Utrecht University, Utrecht, The Netherlands

## Summary

Using multiwave survey data collected among 251 financial sales professionals, we tested whether involuntarily working more from home (teleworking) was related to higher time-based and strain-based work-to-family conflict (WFC). Employees' boundary management strategy (integration vs. segmentation) and work–family balance self-efficacy were considered as moderators of these relationships. Data were collected one month before, three months after, and 12 months after the implementation of a new cost-saving policy that eliminated employees' access to office space in a centralized work location. The policy resulted in employees being forced to work more from home. A voluntary telework program had been in effect before the new policy, implying that working more from home as a result of the new policy was involuntary in nature. Results revealed that involuntarily working more from home was associated with higher strain-based WFC but not higher time-based WFC. However, moderator analyses revealed that the positive association between involuntarily working more from home and both types of WFC was significantly stronger among employees with weaker self-efficacy in balancing work and family. Boundary management strategy had no detectable moderating effect. Copyright © 2015 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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The popular press and academic literature have argued that telework arrangements have the potential to help employees avoid work–family conflict, which is a form of interrole conflict where participation in one role (e.g., family) is made more difficult due to one's participation in the other role (e.g., work) (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Such conflict can exist in two different directions, one where work demands interfere with one's family obligations (work-to-family conflict or WFC), and the other where family demands interfere with work obligations (family-to-work conflict or FWC; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Telework has shown relatively more promise in reducing WFC than FWC (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007; Golden, Veiga, & Simsek, 2006; Nickson & Siddons, 2004). The potential for telework to help alleviate WFC is based on the assumption that telework is voluntary, thus providing employees with greater flexibility in choosing the location of their work (Duxbury, Higgins, & Neufeld, 1998; Kirchmeyer, 1995). However, what happens when employees must *involuntarily* work more from home? Would they experience an increase in WFC? This is the first study that addresses this question.

We had the rare opportunity to survey financial sales professionals once before and twice after their organization had implemented a new policy forcing them to work more from home. This policy served to reduce overhead costs by no longer offering employees office space in a centralized work location. Before the new policy, a voluntary telework program had been in effect, where employees had the latitude to choose to work as much from home as they each deemed useful. This latitude was at least partially attributable to the rather autonomous nature of their work (i.e., great autonomy in deciding how to service their respective clients), as explained by managers with whom

\*Correspondence to: Laurent M. Lapierre, University of Ottawa, 55 Laurier Avenue East, Ottawa, Ontario K1N 6N5, Canada. E-mail: lapierre@telfer.uottawa.ca

we spoke. Thus, working more from home following the introduction of the new policy was involuntary in nature, in that employees had to work more from home than they had previously chosen to. This unique setting enabled us to examine (1) whether involuntarily working more from home is associated with higher WFC and (2) whether specific individual differences measured before the implementation of the new policy would predict whether some employees are less likely than others to experience greater conflict when being forced to work more from home. Our interest in individual differences was consistent with the notion of person–environment fit (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Morley, 2007), in that some individuals may have personal characteristics making them more compatible with organizational impositions. To investigate this possibility, we examined whether specific individual difference variables salient to the management of one’s work–family interface would moderate the degree to which being forced to telework more intensively would involve greater WFC.

The two individual differences we considered as moderators included boundary management strategy (integration vs. segmentation) and self-efficacy in balancing work and family roles. Boundary theory suggests that people can create and maintain boundaries—also called “mental fences”—around roles as a means of simplifying and ordering their environment (Michaelsen & Johnson, 1997; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b; Zerubavel, 1991). While some people create and maintain thick, non-permeable boundaries separating work and family (segmentation strategy), others integrate both roles by keeping role boundaries more permeable (integration strategy; Kossek, Noe, & DeMarr, 1999). We investigated individuals’ boundary management strategy given the potential challenge of successfully creating and maintaining boundaries separating work and family when one is forced to work more from home. While self-efficacy in managing competing work and family demands has not garnered as much attention as boundary management strategies have, research done to date suggests that such self-efficacy holds promise in helping individuals more successfully avoid work–family conflict (e.g., Hennessy & Lent, 2008). We wanted to examine whether it holds as much promise in helping individuals successfully avoid WFC when being forced to work more from home.

We focused our investigation on WFC (instead of examining both directions of conflict) as an outcome of involuntarily working more from home because our sample was composed of financial sales professionals. Professionals, particularly those in the financial services, have been said to be highly involved in their work and generally willing to put in whatever time is required to accomplish their work-related performance targets, often times at the expense of their personal lives (Investopia, 2013; Kossek et al., 2012a; O\*NET, 2013). Several individuals we spoke to in the organization in which we carried out our study endorsed this description. We therefore had reason to expect that when being forced to work more from home, the employees involved in our study would more easily let their work demands encroach upon their family activities than the reverse. Also, compared with FWC, WFC generally seems more important to avoid because it has been shown to have a relatively stronger negative association with perceived as well as objective indicators of employee well-being and performance (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011; van Steenbergen & Ellemers, 2009).

A broad aim of this study was to contribute to knowledge of flexible work design by examining a scenario in which a telework policy served to curtail, instead of enhance, employees’ choice in the location of their work. This therefore helps to distinguish telework from the notion of enhanced workplace flexibility by highlighting the fact that one does not necessarily imply the other. Providing evidence that involuntarily working more from home is associated with more WFC would help substantiate the importance of recognizing that telework does not necessarily provide the resources needed to better manage competing work and family demands. Moreover, from a theoretical standpoint, our study tests arguments put forth by role boundary theorists (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000) positing that the integration of work and family roles would increase the potential for interrole conflict, while also considering that having little control over the increased physical integration of work and family roles would make conflict between these roles more likely (Kossek & Lautsch, 2008; Lautsch, Kossek, & Eaton, 2009). We also extend role boundary theorizing by considering how specific individual differences may help people avoid the increased interrole conflict that could result from an involuntary increase in physical role integration.

Practically speaking, examining the association between imposed telework and WFC can be of value to organizations debating the pros and cons of similar cost-cutting measures. Moreover, identifying individual difference

characteristics that can predict how different employees will react to such a policy would be particularly useful to that end. Finally, the results of this study could be valuable to individuals who wish to make an informed decision about accepting or keeping a job that imposes more telework than they would prefer to engage in.

## Theory and Hypotheses

### *Home-based teleworking intensity and work–family conflict*

#### **Previous research findings**

It has been argued that telework can make it easier for people to successfully manage the demands of work and family roles because having the option to telework would translate into increased boundary flexibility (i.e., increased control over the location and timing of work; cf. Kossek et al., 2012a). Boundary flexibility would help employees better manage their work-related and family-related demands such that inter-role conflict would be lessened (Duxbury et al., 1998; Kirchmeyer, 1995; Raghuram & Wiesenfeld, 2004). Research has been moderately supportive of this line of thinking. In one meta-analysis, it was shown that the more employees telework (i.e., higher intensity), the less work–family conflict they experience, although this relationship was significantly weaker among professional employees than among non-professionals (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). In a more recent meta-analysis, telework use was again negatively (although weakly) associated with WFC, but was not significantly associated with FWC (Allen, Johnson, Kiburz, & Shockley, 2013).

Empirical work to date seems to have focused, whether explicitly or not, on voluntary teleworking, meaning situations where telework intensity is largely driven by employees' personal preferences. One may choose to work more from home for various reasons, such as averting the stress of traffic, not having to dress up for work, and being able to exercise in the middle of the day. Another key purpose would be to avoid work–family interference caused by the geographic separation of work and family roles (e.g., reducing commute time to spend more time with family members). Irrespective of the specific reasons cited for wanting to telework more often, they imply a desire to have a less stressful or more pleasant life, which may explain why previous work has generally pointed toward a negative relationship between telework use and WFC. To our knowledge, situations in which employees involuntarily work more from home, meaning those where they are forced to telework more than they would have otherwise chosen, have yet to be explicitly examined. In the following paragraphs, we argue that in such a scenario, it would be more difficult for employees to avoid a blurring of the boundaries separating their work and family roles, thus increasing the potential for interrole conflict.

#### **Mandatory increase in telework intensity and the blurring of role boundaries**

Arguments for the potentially negative work–family ramifications of telework have been based on the notion that home-based telework can lead to a greater permeability of boundaries separating work and family roles (Standen, Daniels, & Lamond, 1999). Ashforth and colleagues (2000) have argued that because the integration of roles in time and space makes it easier to transition between them (whether they want to or not), such integration increases the blurring of their boundaries. As a result, individuals face the challenge of creating and maintaining psychological and physical boundaries to avoid confusion in terms of the allocation of time and energy to one role's demands versus another's. In such challenging circumstances, it is easier for one role to intrude on the other. Thus, compared with a scenario where people conduct most of their work in a central work location (low-intensity telework), the scenario where work is primarily performed at home (high-intensity telework) presents greater potential for a blurring of role boundaries, thereby increasing the odds of inter-role conflict. While not addressed by Ashforth and colleagues (2000), we believe that this would be particularly true when employees involuntarily work more from home. By being forced to physically integrate their work and family roles more often than they had previously chosen,

employees would face a relatively greater challenge in maintaining boundaries between both roles, thus increasing the likelihood of one role encroaching upon the other. We expand upon this reasoning below.

When telework is voluntary (i.e., driven by employees' desire to telework), as was the case before the cost-cutting initiative was implemented in the organization we studied, employees are able to choose, to some degree at least, when they work at the central work location or at home. This also implies some degree of choice in the work tasks they do at home and those they address while at the central work location. Having such boundary flexibility would help individuals avoid role blurring that could result from teleworking because they would have the latitude to decide when and how much home-based teleworking would be most beneficial (or least detrimental) to their fulfillment of obligations at work and on the family front (Gajendran & Harrison, 2007). It is quite plausible that individuals would sometimes prefer to work from the central work location to avoid role interference (Allen et al., 2013), perhaps because they feel that doing so enables them to more fully immerse themselves in each role at a given time (e.g., fewer distractions from the other role) and thus more easily and efficiently accomplish what they wish to achieve in each role. Thus, teleworking with greater intensity may be beneficial to the extent that individuals have voluntarily chosen that intensity level. This implies that having control over one's telework intensity would be paramount in terms of finding an optimal intensity level.

In the context of managing the work–family interface, having control has been considered one of the key means by which individuals can potentially avert work–family conflict (Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 1986; Lapierre & Allen, 2012). In particular, it has been said that the removal of employee control over whether they can separate or integrate their work and family roles would lead to more conflicting work–family relationships (Kossek & Lautsch, 2008; Lautsch et al., 2009). When the employees in our study no longer had access to office space in a central work location and were thus forced to work more from home, their control over the physical integration of work and family roles was curtailed. Working from the central work location was no longer an option, even if they felt it would be beneficial to more successfully juggle their work and family demands. We expected that being forced to physically integrate work and family more than they had previously chosen would make it more difficult to avoid role boundary blurring, thus increasing the risk of WFC. We predicted that two particular types of WFC were likely to increase: time-based and strain-based. Time-based conflict refers to the perception that time spent on work tasks prevents the person from fully participating in family-related activities, whereas strain-based conflict captures the experience that work-related strain prevents full participation in the family role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Time-based conflict should increase, not because individuals are necessarily working longer hours as a result of working more from home, but rather because they would more frequently have to choose between allocating their time to work or to family. By working from home, particularly when doing so more than one would have chosen, individuals would have little choice in being more frequently subjected to pressures from family role senders (e.g., spouse asking them to complete a household chore, child asking for help; Golden et al., 2006; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Shockley & Allen, in press) or in being more conscious of family-related needs simply by being at home more often (e.g., going to the kitchen for a snack and realizing that food needs to be bought for dinner). In those situations, the blurring of role boundaries stemming from having been forced to work more from home would imply that employees would have to decide whether to devote time to their work or to a family need. To the extent that they devote their time to work tasks instead of family demands, as would be expected among financial services professionals (e.g., Investopia, 2013), individuals would experience time-based WFC because the time devoted to work is not being devoted to family. They would not as frequently have had to choose between work and family had they not been forced to work more from home. Strain-based conflict should also increase when one involuntarily works more from home. Because of the increased difficulty disconnecting from (transitioning away from) work activities when being forced to work more from home, we expected individuals to more easily experience work-induced strains (e.g., feeling frazzled) interfering with their capacity to engage in family activities.

We measured individuals' telework intensity and as well as their time-based and strain-based WFC before the implementation of the new policy forcing them to work more from home (first data collection point) as well as after its implementation (second and third data collection points). In light of the arguments presented in the preceding section, we expected individuals to report lower levels of each type of WFC when their telework intensity was lower

(before the new policy was implemented), and higher levels of WFC when their telework intensity was higher (after the policy was implemented). Accordingly, we posited the following hypothesis, which describes a within-person relationship:

*Hypothesis 1:* Involuntarily working more from home is associated with higher time-based and strain-based WFC.

### *Individual differences as potential moderators*

Our interest was in determining whether certain individual differences salient to how one manages the work–family interface would predict differences among employees in the strength of the relationship between increases in telework intensity and WFC.

#### **Employees' boundary management strategy**

Nippert-Eng (1996a, 1996b) and Hartmann (1997) found that there is individual variation in the “thickness” (non-permeability) of the boundaries people create to separate work and family roles. Building on Nippert-Eng’s seminal work, Kossek, Noe, and DeMarr (1999) defined boundary management strategy as the principles one uses to organize and separate role demands and expectations of the home domain and the work domain. As explained by Kossek, Lautsch, and Eaton (2006), some individuals may use more of a segmentation boundary management strategy because they believe that establishing thicker boundaries between work and family is preferable. Such people may, for instance, avoid checking emails or voice mails during evenings and weekends because they consider those periods as “family time.” However, others may use an integration strategy of work and family activities, such as working at the kitchen table (instead of in a home office) in an effort to more readily address demands in both roles. Kossek and colleagues (2006) showed that individuals’ boundary management strategy can vary along a continuum, from segmentation to integration.

Ashforth et al. (2000) proposed that with more clearly segmented roles, it would be easier for people to concentrate on one role at a time, implying less encroachment of one role onto the other. On the basis of that argument, Kossek et al. (2006) posited that people who use more an integration strategy (and thus less segmentation) would experience more work–family conflict. Unexpectedly, they found that using more of an integration strategy was not significantly related to WFC. However, other studies did find that integration related to more WFC (Danner-Vlaardingerbroek, Kluwer, van Steenberg, & van der Lippe, 2013; Kinman & Jones, 2008; Kossek et al., 2012b). Thus, the majority of studies suggest that using segmentation over integration may potentially help individuals to avoid WFC. Given their tendency to keep their work and family roles psychologically separate, individuals who adopt a segmentation-focused boundary management strategy may more easily avoid the potential boundary-blurring consequences of being forced to work from home more than previously chosen. Thus, we expected the positive association between involuntarily teleworking more intensively and WFC to be weaker among employees who reported using a segmentation strategy before the new policy came into effect.

*Hypothesis 2:* Employees’ boundary management strategy will moderate the positive (within-person) relationship between involuntarily working more from home and both dimensions of WFC, such that this positive relationship will be weaker among those who use a segmentation strategy compared with those who use an integration strategy.

#### **Employees' work–family balance self-efficacy**

The social-cognitive concept of self-efficacy has been shown to be highly relevant to one’s propensity to achieve desired goals (Bandura, 1991, 1997). The empirical work performed to date on how self-efficacy relates to the

synthesis of work and family roles is promising in that self-efficacy in managing work and family roles has been shown to relate negatively to work–family conflict (e.g., Cinamon, 2006; Erdwins, Buffardi, Casper, & O’Brien, 2001; Hennessy & Lent, 2008). To extend this nascent literature, our aim was to examine whether those with greater self-efficacy would be better equipped to avoid work–family conflict despite being forced to work more from home. Put otherwise, we tested whether self-efficacy in balancing work and family would moderate the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC.

Self-efficacy refers to beliefs about one’s capabilities to perform particular behaviors or to follow particular courses of action. According to Bandura (1997), such beliefs are expected to contribute, among other things, to individuals’ cognitive strategies, their choice of behaviors, their affective states, and to their persistence when faced with obstacles. In this study, we were interested in examining individuals’ self-efficacy in balancing their work and family roles. Achieving or maintaining a high degree of work–family balance implies that individuals are able to allocate their limited time and energy to each role such that they experience an acceptable degree of effectiveness and satisfaction in each role (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011). The avoidance of work–family conflict would be instrumental to one’s work–family balance (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011; Greenhaus, Ziegert, & Allen, 2012). Thus, self-efficacy in balancing work and family roles implies a belief in one’s ability to avoid any conflict between them. We expected that employees who reported having stronger work–family balance self-efficacy before the implementation of the new policy would be more likely to engage in behaviors and cognitions that would allow them to avoid at least some of the work–family conflict stemming from a mandatory increase in home-based telework.

*Hypothesis 3:* Employees’ self-efficacy in balancing work and family roles will moderate the positive (within-person) relationship between involuntarily working more from home and both dimensions of WFC, such that this positive relationship will be weaker among those with stronger self-efficacy compared with those with weaker self-efficacy.

## Method

### *Design and procedure*

A worldwide operating financial services organization in the Netherlands gave permission to conduct a three-wave survey study in the organization’s sales force department. To measure employee experiences over time associated with the implementation of the new policy that forced them to work more from home, financial sales professionals were surveyed before and after it came into effect. The study involved three survey time points, which corresponded to one month before (T1), three months after (T2), and 12 months after policy implementation (T3). Thus, the implementation of the new policy occurred between T1 and T2, and there was no formal change in the policy between T2 and T3. We anticipated that data collected at T1 and T2 would be those accounting for most of the variation in telework intensity over time. In other words, we generally expected telework intensity in our sample to increase markedly between T1 and T2 and then to remain relatively stable between T2 to T3. The inclusion of data collected at T3 was important for confidently assessing the within-person relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC by (i) enabling us to assess whether the increase and subsequent leveling off in telework intensity covaried with a similarly shaped increase and leveling off in WFC, while statistically controlling for potential confounds at each of the three time points, (ii) including data collected over a longer time period, which would speak to the robustness of the hypothesized relationship over time, and (iii) yielding a total number of observations that favored statistical power. Each of the three email invitations to complete the study’s online questionnaire was accompanied by an email stating the aim of the study and that participation in the study was voluntary. The sales force management, the Human Research Department, and the university researchers conducting the study all signed the invitation emails.

## Participants

We surveyed all 442 sales professionals employed in the organization. Their salaries consisted of a fixed portion as well as a variable portion that was based on their individual sales, further highlighting the performance-focused nature of their profession. They were provided with a leased car, laptop, and cell phone, and were given their own geographical regions of customers to serve.

Given our study's focus on work–family issues, only employees who were married or co-habiting and/or had at least one child living at home were included in our study. Twenty-one individuals did not meet these criteria and were excluded. We also excluded 170 employees for whom data were missing at T1 because we used moderator (individual difference) scores measured at T1. Of the 442 employees surveyed at each time point, useable data were collected from 251 (57 percent) of them at T1, from 189 (43 percent) at T2, and from 144 (33 percent) at T3.

Because we surveyed participants at three separate points in time, our data had a nested, two-level structure, in that data collected at each time point (Level 1; within-person) were nested within each individual (Level 2; between-person). Our design therefore enabled us to distinguish between within-person (Level 1) and between-person (Level 2) sources of variance in WFC. We did not exclude from our sample participants meeting our inclusion criteria who had missing data at T2 or at T3 because (1) missing repeated-measures data are permitted when employing multilevel modeling (whereas such missing data would breach the statistical assumptions of repeated-measures analysis of variance (ANOVA); Kwok et al., 2008; Woltman, Feldstain, MacKay, & Rocchi, 2012) and (2) reducing our sample size would have compromised statistical power.

To estimate our statistical power, we used the PINT program (version 2.12), which is based on the work of Snijders and Bosker (1993). With our total of 584 observations at Level 1 (251 observations at T1, 189 at T2, and 144 at T3), the standard errors of the estimates of the Level 1 and cross-level interaction regression coefficients that we wished to examine were equivalent to those associated with a scenario in which we assume a Type I error rate of .05, a Type II error rate of .20 (implying a power level of .80), and a small effect size (.20). Thus, the total number of observations in our study was deemed sufficiently large for our needs. This is consistent with recent simulation work on sample sizes needed to conduct multilevel modeling with sufficient statistical power (Maas & Hox, 2005; Scherbaum & Ferreter, 2009).

Male participants composed 81 percent of our sample, which was consistent with the gender distribution in the organization's sales force. The average age was 40.6 years ( $SD=8.06$ ). In terms of other demographics, 97.6 percent of participants were married or co-habiting, 72.5 percent had at least one child living at home, with the average age of the youngest child living at home being 7.37 years ( $SD=5.78$ ), and 95.8 percent had received higher education (university or vocational education). Among the participants' spouses, 85.3 percent was employed.

## Measures

Response options for all scales ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) unless specified otherwise. The measures used were either translated from English into Dutch (and then back-translated into English to ensure accuracy of wording) or were originally developed and validated in Dutch. Within-person (Level 1) variables included telework intensity and both types of WFC. Between-person (Level 2) variables included boundary management strategy and work–family balance self-efficacy.

### Telework intensity

At each time point, participants were asked to specify the average number of hours spent working from home per week over the preceding few weeks. The fact that the new policy implementation forced employees to work more from home than they had previously chosen implied that teleworking with more intensity (at T2 and T3) was involuntary in nature.

### Work-to-family conflict

At each time point, we measured time-based and strain-based WFC with Carlson and colleagues' (2000) three-item scales. Example items are "The time I must devote to my job keeps me from participating equally in household responsibilities and activities" (time-based) and "Due to all the pressures at work, sometimes when I come home I am too stressed to do the things I enjoy" (strain-based). Internal consistency estimates in our sample were .84 (T1), .90 (T2), and .89 (T3) for time-based conflict, and .88 (T1), .92 (T2), and .93 (T3) for strain-based conflict.

### Boundary management strategy

Participants' boundary management strategy was measured with a nine-item scale developed by Kossek et al. (2006). Items capture participants' self-reported use of a segmentation strategy or an integration strategy. Higher scores indicate a tendency to use an integration strategy (and lower scores reflect a tendency to use a segmentation strategy). Sample items include "I only take care of personal needs at work when I am 'on break' or during my lunch hour" (reversed), "Throughout the work day, I deal with personal and work issues as they occur", and "I tend to not talk about work issues with my family" (reversed). Given our desire to test whether individual differences measured before the transition would predict variation in the strength of the within-person relationship between changes in telework intensity and work-family conflict, we used responses provided at T1 to test our hypothesis. The internal consistency estimate at T1 was .74. To examine the stability of this individual difference variable over time, we computed its test-retest reliability by correlating scores at T1 with scores at T2 and at T3. Reliability estimates were .71 (T1-T2) and .66 (T1-T3), for an average estimate of .69. Scores provided at T1 were therefore reasonably consistent over time.

### Work-family balance self-efficacy

We created a new measure for this study because of concerns with previous measurement of self-efficacy in managing the work-family interface. Hennessy and Lent's (2008) English language validation of Cinamon's (2006) Hebrew measure of self-efficacy in managing work-family conflict showed that respondents had significant difficulty distinguishing between self-efficacy in managing WFC from self-efficacy in managing FCW. Covariation among items from both subscales implied that they were reflective, to some extent at least, of a common underlying factor. For this reason, we developed a measure capturing self-efficacy in balancing work and family roles given the theoretical expectation that balance implies the ability to avoid conflict, irrespective of its direction (Greenhaus & Allen, 2011).

Our new measure was based on Greenhaus et al.'s (2012) work-family balance scale, albeit adapted to reflect participants' degree of self-efficacy (i.e., confidence in their ability) to successfully balance their work and family roles. The items were: I feel confident that I will ... (i) be able to devote enough attention to the things I find important in my work as well as my family life; (ii) succeed in effectively balancing the demands of my work and family life; (iii) succeed in fulfilling my responsibilities both at work and at home; (iv) arrange things in such a way that I will experience a high level of work-family balance; (v) schedule my time in such a way that I will have enough time for my work as well as my family life; and (vi) be able to manage unexpected events that momentarily disrupt my work-family balance (e.g., sick child, high work load, family matters). An exploratory (principal axis) factor analysis using an eigenvalue above 1.00 as the factor extraction criterion showed that all items loaded on a single factor, which explained 79.6 percent of the variance across items. Item factor loadings ranged between .78 and .94. While one may see a conceptual distinction between self-efficacy in balancing work and family roles and experiences of WFC, it was important to empirically ascertain the distinction between our measure of work-family balance self-efficacy and measures of time-based and strain-based WFC. To that end, we also ran a confirmatory factor analysis using AMOS 23 to test whether items capturing work-family balance self-efficacy were distinct from those measuring time-based and strain-based WFC. We pitted the expected three-factor model (work-family balance self-efficacy, time-based WFC, and strain-based WFC items loading onto their respective factors) against a single-factor model (all items loading onto a single factor). The three-factor model yielded satisfactory fit index values ( $\chi^2=106.91$ ,  $df=51$ ,  $\chi^2/df=2.10$ ;  $SRMR=.06$ ;  $NFI=.95$ ;  $CFI=.97$ ;  $RMSEA=.07$ ,  $PCLOSE=.06$ ), while the single-factor model did not ( $\chi^2=725.81$ ,  $df=54$ ,  $\chi^2/df=13.44$ ;  $SRMR=.40$ ;  $NFI=.68$ ;  $CFI=.70$ ;  $RMSEA=.22$ ,  $PCLOSE<.01$ ).



Moreover, the chi-square value associated with the three-factor model was significantly smaller than the one associated with the single-factor model ( $\Delta\chi^2 = 618.90$ ,  $\Delta df = 3$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

As with boundary management strategy, because we aimed to test whether individual differences measured before the transition would predict variation in the strength of the relationship between changes in telework intensity and work–family conflict over time, we used responses provided at T1. The internal consistency estimate at T1 was .95. Test–retest reliability estimates were .71 (T1–T2) and .66 (T1–T3), for an average estimate of .69. Thus, as with the boundary management strategy measure, scores provided at T1 were reasonably consistent over time.

### Controls

We controlled for specific within-person variables to rule them out as time-varying factors that may have confounded relationships between telework intensity and WFC. We controlled for social support from coworkers (using a scale developed by Bakker, Demerouti, & Verbeke, 2004), from the supervisor, and from one's spouse (using adapted versions of the Bakker et al. (2004) scale). Social support from people at work has been shown to be one of the important correlates of WFC (Byron, 2005; Kossek, Pichler, Bodner, & Hammer, 2011; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011). Also, some have argued that teleworkers may suffer from a sense of isolation from people at work (Bailey & Kurland, 2002), implying that the more time they spend working from home, the less they may have the opportunity to gain support from others at work. The choice to also control for support from one's spouse was based on evidence showing that family-based sources of support seem to also be negatively related to WFC (Michel et al., 2011), and on the grounds that it was plausible for some employees in our sample to have received more spousal support because they worked more often from home.

To rule out changes over time in work-related demands, we also controlled for the total number of hours worked per week and perceived workload (using the measure developed by Bakker, Demerouti, Taris, & Schreurs, 2003), both of which may have possibly increased during the course of the study, particularly because the organization was in the process of trying to maximize profitability. Also, hours worked per week and perceived workload have both been significantly related to higher levels of WFC conflict (Byron, 2005; Michel et al., 2011). It should be noted that the total number of hours worked per week represents the sum of participants' self-reported hours per week spent working from home (telework intensity), hours per week spent at customer sites, and hours per week spent at the central work location. Once the new policy came into effect, hours spent per week at the central work location involved having meetings or engaging in other tasks despite no longer having access to an office.

## Results

### *Descriptive statistics and correlations*

We provide the mean and standard deviation for each of the variables we measured in Table 1. In the case of within-person (time-varying) variables, values are reported for each time point, and statistically significant mean differences are indicated. It should be noted that the mean telework intensity measured at T1 was significantly smaller than it was at T2 and at T3, and there was no significant difference between the mean intensity measured at T2 and at T3. Thus, as anticipated, participants' average increase in telework intensity over time was chiefly reflective of the mandatory new work arrangement that was implemented between T1 and T2. Also, zero-order correlations among all variables are presented in Table 2. We averaged all within-person (time-varying) variables across time periods to compute those correlations in order to offer the reader a sense of the overall relationships among variables.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations of variables at each time point.

	T1	T2	T3
Level 1 (within-person)			
Coworker support	5.93 <sub>ab</sub> (.81)	5.78 <sub>a</sub> (.94)	5.81 <sub>b</sub> (.77)
Supervisor support	5.92 <sub>a</sub> (.93)	5.79 (1.10)	5.66 <sub>a</sub> (1.13)
Spouse support	5.45 <sub>ab</sub> (1.23)	5.16 <sub>a</sub> (1.28)	5.21 <sub>b</sub> (1.33)
Perceived workload	4.89 <sub>ab</sub> (.97)	5.05 <sub>a</sub> (1.07)	5.05 <sub>b</sub> (1.03)
Total work hours/week	43.33 <sub>ab</sub> (15.57)	48.87 <sub>a</sub> (18.77)	47.24 <sub>b</sub> (16.69)
Telework intensity	10.63 <sub>ab</sub> (11.66)	25.87 <sub>a</sub> (16.26)	23.65 <sub>b</sub> (13.97)
Time-based WFC	3.45 (1.38)	3.58 (1.62)	3.59 (1.65)
Strain-based WFC	2.73 <sub>ab</sub> (1.30)	2.88 <sub>a</sub> (1.53)	2.92 <sub>b</sub> (1.57)
Level 2 (between-person)			
Boundary management strategy	3.76 (.97)		
Work-family balance self-efficacy	5.44 (1.02)		

Note: WFC = work-to-family conflict. Higher scores on boundary management strategy indicate more of an integration strategy. Standard deviations are in parentheses. Means with a common subscript letter are significantly different from each another at a Type 1 error rate of .05 or lower.

Table 2. Zero-order correlations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Coworker support									
2. Supervisor support	.56***								
3. Spouse support	.26***	.17**							
4. Perceived workload	-.11	-.17**	-.06						
5. Total work hours/week	-.09	-.10	.10	.05					
6. Telework intensity	-.08	-.18**	.00	.15*	.68***				
7. Time-based WFC	-.28***	-.25***	-.13*	.51***	.17**	.23***			
8. Strain-based WFC	-.31***	-.37***	-.23***	.41***	.13*	.17**	.64***		
9. Boundary management strategy	.18**	-.02	.11	-.09	.00	.08	-.14*	-.12	
10. Work-family balance self-efficacy	.31***	.30***	.27***	-.32***	-.05	-.05	-.45***	-.52***	.08

Note: WFC = work-to-family conflict. Higher scores on boundary management strategy indicate more of an integration strategy. Within-person variables (1 through 8) were averaged across time points to compute correlations. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

### Results of hypothesis tests

Because of the nested nature of our data (time points nested within individuals), all hypotheses were tested via multilevel modeling using version 7.01 of the HLM statistical program. The need to use multilevel modeling was formally ascertained by partitioning the variance of both dependent variables in order to (i) determine the ratio of between-person variance to total variance (i.e., intraclass correlation), and to (ii) formally test whether the between-person variance differs significantly from zero. We found that the between-person variance component was statistically significant ( $p < .001$ ) for each dependent variable and that between-person variance represented a sizeable proportion of total variance (60 percent in the case of strain-based WFC and 58 percent in the case of time-based WFC). These findings also imply sizable within-person variance (i.e., variance in the dependent variables over time), thus supporting the use of multilevel modeling to test our hypotheses (Hofmann, Griffin, & Gavin, 2000).

### Within-person results

To determine whether involuntarily working more from home was associated with greater WFC (Hypothesis 1), we tested two random-coefficient regression models for each type of WFC. Such models test relationships among variables measured at the lowest level of analysis (Hofmann et al., 2000), which in our case is the within-person level. They are similar to ordinary regression analysis, except they allow coefficients (intercepts and slopes) to vary across persons. The first model included all within-person (Level 1) controls as predictors, while the second model added telework intensity to the set of within-person predictors. We used person mean-centering to scale all within-person predictors in order to avoid detecting spurious cross-level interactions when later testing Hypotheses 2 and 3 (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Culpepper, 2013; Hofmann & Gavin, 1998).

Results presented in Tables 3 and 4 show that some of our control variables (perceived workload, supervisor support, and coworker support) were significantly related to our outcomes, further reinforcing the salience of these variables to WFC (see the results of the random-coefficient regression models involving only controls as predictors). Moreover, involuntarily working more from home significantly and positively related to higher levels of strain-based WFC (see the results of the random-coefficient regression model that includes telework intensity as a predictor), which is consistent with our hypothesis. There was no detectable relationship between involuntarily working more from home and time-based WFC. Hypothesis 1 was therefore partially supported.

To gauge the practical significance of the observed relationship between involuntarily working more from home and strain-based WFC, we considered the value of the regression coefficient associated with telework intensity, which is considered an index of predictive power (Aguinis et al., 2013). In this case, the coefficient value of .01 indicates that involuntarily working more from home by one hour per week would involve a .01 increase in strain-based WFC (along the seven-point WFC response scale). Of course, most of our sample experienced an increase in telework intensity that was much greater than one hour. To illustrate, while the average increase in telework intensity between T1 and T2 was of 16 hours, over 20 percent of our sample experienced telework intensity increases ranging between 30 and 95 hours, which imply .30 (.01\*30) and .95 (.01\*95) increases in strain-based WFC, respectively.

Table 3. Multilevel modeling results with time-based WFC as the level 1 outcome variable.

Level and variable	Random-coefficient regression model (controls)	Random-coefficient regression model (controls + telework intensity)	Intercepts-as-outcomes model (with random slopes)	Slopes-as-outcomes model
Level 1 (within-person)				
Intercept	3.54*** (.09)	3.54*** (.09)	3.54*** (.08)	3.54*** (.08)
Coworker support	-.28*** (.08)	-.27** (.08)	-.27** (.08)	-.27** (.08)
Supervisor support	-.03 (.07)	-.02 (.07)	-.02 (.07)	-.01 (.07)
Spouse support	-.08 (.05)	-.06 (.05)	-.05 (.05)	-.07 (.05)
Perceived workload	.48*** (.08)	.45*** (.08)	.45*** (.08)	.44*** (.08)
Total work hours/week	.00 (.00)	-.01 (.00)	-.01 (.00)	-.01 (.00)
Telework intensity		.01 (.00)	.01 (.00)	.01 (.00)
Level 2 (between-person)				
Work-family balance self-efficacy			-.58*** (.08)	-.60*** (.08)
Boundary management strategy			-.16* (.08)	-.15 (.08)
Cross-level interactions				
Work-family balance self-efficacy X telework intensity				-.01* (.00)
Boundary management strategy X telework intensity				.00 (.00)

Note: WFC = work-to-family conflict. Higher scores on boundary management strategy indicate more of an integration strategy. Values in parentheses represent standard errors. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 4. Multilevel modeling results with strain-based WFC as the Level 1 outcome variable.

Level and variable	Random-coefficient regression model (controls)	Random-coefficient regression model (controls + telework intensity)	Intercepts-as-outcome model (with random slopes)	Slopes-as-outcome model
Level 1 (within-person)				
Intercept	2.86*** (.08)	2.86*** (.08)	2.86*** (.07)	2.86*** (.07)
Coworker support	-.16* (.07)	-.15* (.07)	-.17* (.07)	-.16* (.07)
Supervisor support	-.18** (.06)	-.18** (.05)	-.16** (.06)	-.15** (.06)
Spouse support	-.07 (.06)	-.05 (.05)	-.03 (.05)	-.05 (.05)
Perceived workload	.45*** (.07)	.42*** (.07)	.43*** (.07)	.42*** (.07)
Total work hours/week	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Telework intensity		.01* (.00)	.01* (.00)	.01 (.00)
Level 2 (between-person)				
Work–family balance self-efficacy			-.64*** (.07)	-.66*** (.07)
Boundary management strategy			-.08 (.07)	-.09 (.07)
Cross-level interactions				
Work–family balance self-efficacy X telework intensity				-.01* (.00)
Boundary management strategy X telework intensity				.00 (.00)

Note: WFC = work-to-family conflict. Higher scores on boundary management strategy indicate more of an integration strategy. Values in parentheses represent standard errors. \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$

### Cross-level interaction results

We then examined whether individuals' boundary management strategy and work–family balance self-efficacy moderated the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC (Hypotheses 2 and 3). Each of these hypotheses implies a cross-level interaction. For each type of WFC, we first ran an intercepts-as-outcomes model (with random slopes) that included both of our individual difference (between-person) variables as predictors, followed by a slopes-as-outcomes model including those same predictors (Aguinis et al., 2013). The intercepts-as-outcomes model allowed us to test the main effect of each individual difference variable on each type of WFC (i.e., relationships between between-person predictors and within-person dependent variable), while the slopes-as-outcomes model was used to test the moderating effect of each individual difference (between-person) variable on the within-person relationship between involuntarily working more from home and each type of WFC. Testing these two models consecutively is similar to testing interactions using ordinary regression analysis, where main effects are included in the model before testing the significance of interaction terms. Each between-person predictor was grand-mean centered.

Results in Tables 3 and 4 show that boundary management strategy did not have a significant main effect on either type of WFC (see intercepts-as-outcomes model results). More importantly, this individual difference variable did not significantly moderate the relationship between telework intensity and either type of WFC (see slopes-as-outcomes model results). Hypothesis 2 was therefore not supported.

Results for work–family balance self-efficacy are also presented in Tables 3 and 4. Not only did this variable have a significant and negative main effect on each type of WFC (see intercepts-as-outcomes model results) but also it significantly moderated the relationship between telework intensity and each type of WFC (see slopes-as-outcomes model results). The practical significance of the cross-level moderation was examined by computing the regression coefficient values for telework intensity at high and low levels of the cross-level moderator. Such values are derived from simple slopes analyses, which we report below.

Simple slopes analyses revealed that among employees with weaker work–family balance self-efficacy (1 *SD* below the mean), the relationship between telework intensity and time-based WFC was significantly positive (*simple slope* = .02,  $t = 2.80$ ,  $p < .01$ ). To illustrate this value by way of example, we would expect an employee teleworking

an additional 40 hours per week to experience a .80 ( $.02 \times 40$ ) increase in time-based WFC along the seven-point response scale. Among employees with stronger work–family balance self-efficacy (1 *SD* above the mean), the relationship was not significantly different from zero (*simple slope* = .00,  $t = 0.04$ ,  $p = 0.97$ ). Similarly, the relationship between telework intensity and strain-based WFC was significantly positive (*simple slope* = .02,  $t = 2.53$ ,  $p < .05$ ) among those with weaker self-efficacy, but not among those with stronger self-efficacy (*simple slope* = .00,  $t = 0.31$ ,  $p = 0.75$ ). Figure 1 depicts the moderating effect of work–family balance self-efficacy on the relationship between telework intensity and time-based WFC. Plotting the moderating effect with strain-based WFC as the outcome revealed a very similar pattern. Hypothesis 3 was therefore supported.

## Discussion

Our first goal was to test whether involuntarily working more from home would generally be associated with more WFC. We found that the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC was positive and statistically significant for strain-based WFC. While the strength of this relationship is rather small, it may be a mistake to consider it inconsequential, as even a small rise in WFC conflict could be difficult for some to cope with, particularly if they are already experiencing significant conflict. We did not find a significant relationship between working more from home and time-based WFC. A possible explanation for this non-significant relationship could be that some individuals in our sample used the time saved by teleworking (e.g., by having to commute less) to more easily address family demands, which would have attenuated a positive relationship. However, the significant moderation effects that we observed imply that relationships between involuntarily working more from home and each type of WFC require qualification, which we address below.

Our second goal was to test whether a positive relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC would be stronger among some employees than among others depending on their individual differences. This yielded a more fine-grained understanding of the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC. The positive relationship between involuntarily working more from home and both types of WFC was

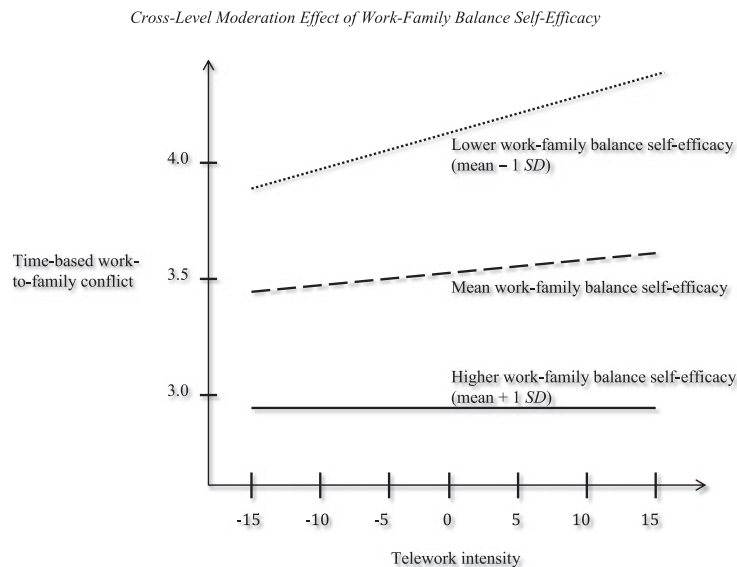


Figure 1. Cross-level moderation effect of work–family balance self-efficacy

significantly positive among those with weaker self-efficacy but was no longer statistically significant among those with stronger self-efficacy. This suggests that individuals' belief in their ability to balance both roles is predictive of their capacity to avoid increased WFC when they are forced to work more from home. When such self-efficacy is low, not only is it more likely that one will generally experience greater WFC (main effect of self-efficacy on both dimensions of WFC) but it also becomes more difficult to avoid time-based as well as strain-based WFC when forced to work more from home. To the extent that a forced physical integration of work and family roles would make role boundaries more difficult to maintain, people with lower work–family balance self-efficacy would therefore seem to have more difficulty maintaining thicker role boundaries when being forced to work more from home. Thus, the theoretical argumentation underlying our first hypothesis seems to depend on whether individuals have higher or lower work–family balance self-efficacy.

Unexpectedly, employees' boundary management strategy did not significantly moderate the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and either type of WFC. One possible explanation for this finding could be that the strategy one uses may say little about one's actual capacity to avoid work–family conflict, whereas one's work–family balance self-efficacy is relatively more likely to be an indicator of such capacity. Correlations presented in Table 1 between each of our individual difference variables and types of WFC seem to corroborate this.

Also, to the extent that the boundary management strategy used by individuals partially reflects their boundary-crossing preference (Kossek & Lautsch, 2012), then there is another potential explanation for our non-significant finding that would be rooted in the person–organization fit perspective. From this viewpoint, people are more likely to experience work–family conflict if there is incongruence between their boundary-crossing preference (preference for integration vs. segmentation of roles) and the degree to which their employer enables them to satisfy that preference (Chen, Powell, & Greenhaus, 2009; Kreiner, 2006). Some participants in our sample may have chosen little to no teleworking before the new policy because they typically prefer to keep work and family roles separate. Being forced to work more from home would therefore have been incongruent with their preference for segmentation, thus causing them to experience more WFC. For these individuals, the moderating effect of boundary management strategy would have therefore been opposite in shape to the one we hypothesized. Our non-significant findings regarding the moderating role of boundary management strategy may be reflective of these opposing processes (i.e., segmentation strategy having reduced WFC vs. incongruence between segmentation preference and forced telework having increased WFC) having manifested themselves in our sample. Thus, it may be premature to conclude that boundary management strategies are inconsequential in terms of explaining how individuals would react to an involuntary increase in telework intensity.

### *Practical implications*

The significant moderating role of work–family balance self-efficacy has implications for individuals and for organizations. Individuals trying to decide whether or not to accept or keep a job that would force them to work more from home than they would have otherwise chosen may wish to consider their self-efficacy in balancing work and family. Poor self-efficacy may be one reason to seek a job that would allow them to telework less intensively.

Also, organizations considering a cost-cutting policy similar to the one described in this study may wish to first survey their employees to gauge their degree of work–family balance self-efficacy. A sizeable proportion of employees having low work–family balance self-efficacy would suggest not only that they generally tend to experience significant WFC but also that forcing them to work more from home could be particularly problematic (e.g., decreased satisfaction, reduced health, increased turnover intentions; Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000) given their relatively lower capacity to avoid WFC under such circumstances. Whether or not such problems would outweigh the financial advantage of implementing such a cost-cutting measure would be an issue to be seriously considered and discussed.

Anecdotally, the Health and Safety department of the organization in which we carried out, our study informed us (several months after T3 data had been collected) that many employees had told them of struggles they were having because the new policy had come into effect. Examples include not being able to stop working, continuing to work

evenings and weekends when family members were around, not being able to close their laptops at home, and that the new policy had become a burden on their marriage. Some employees explained that they lacked the skills to separate work from family life since the new policy had come into effect. Based on our findings, we can only assume that the employees sharing these personal struggles were those who lacked self-efficacy in balancing work and family. Interestingly, the organization eventually (more than a year after T3 data had been collected) abolished the policy, not because of employees' complaints but rather because customers wanted to more frequently see employees at the central work location.

To the extent that an organization wishes to implement such a policy despite some employees having weaker work–family balance self-efficacy, it would be advisable that efforts be made to help their employees strengthen such self-efficacy. Creating possibilities for mastery or success experiences seem most promising for helping individuals develop self-efficacy in a particular domain (Youssef-Morgan & Sundermann, 2014). When trying to boost their work–family balance self-efficacy, employees should be trained to formulate personal easy-to-learn skills and easy-to-reach goals so that they can experience small successes more frequently. To the extent possible, such training could also involve observing how (or asking) others how they achieve satisfactory work–family balance, and then practicing those strategies themselves. Various significant others (e.g., supervisors, spouses) should provide employees with positive feedback on whether goals are achieved at home and at work, then reinforcing the value of the strategies used and, hence, their self-efficacy in achieving balance.

### *Limitations*

Although this study benefitted from having used a multiwave (repeated-measures) design, we still cannot draw causal inferences from our data. All that we can conclude is that we observed covariation among variables over multiple time points and that the magnitude of this covariation seemed to be a function of individual differences. In addition, some of the reasoning underlying our hypotheses and the explanation of our results are reflective of the particular occupational nature of our sample. Our findings may only be generalizable to employees in similar industries and occupations, namely those where very high job involvement is typical. It should be noted that we assumed a generally high degree of job involvement given what our contacts in the organization had described and what had been written about the job of being a financial sales professional. There is likely some degree of variation of job involvement among financial sales professionals, which could have been ascertained had we measured this variable among our participants.

Furthermore, while the circumstances experienced by our study participants led us to conclude that working more from home was involuntary, one cannot refute the possibility that some of our participants welcomed the idea of having to work more from home. If so, our results may be an underestimate of the relationship between involuntarily working more from home and WFC. As a final limitation, although we controlled for a number of variables that may have confounded the relationship between the increases in telework intensity and WFC, we cannot pretend to assume the impossibility that an uncontrolled (unmeasured) factor may have at least partially explained the relationships we observed (e.g., working on different projects over time that varied in the strain they induce and child-related demands that fluctuated over time).

### *Future research*

Research distinguishing between individuals' boundary-crossing preferences and the strategies they actually use would be instrumental in helping to disentangle the roles that these two constructs may play in helping individuals manage their work–family interface (Ammons, 2013), particularly when they are forced to work more from home. A diary study measuring boundary-crossing preference at the outset and then measuring boundary management

strategies used on an episodic (e.g., daily) basis could be very fruitful in gauging the possible joint contribution of preferences and strategies used to WFC experiences.

Also, although our data suggest that the individual differences we examined were rather stable over time, it could be valuable to ascertain the degree to which some individuals alter their boundary management strategies depending on the degree to which they must physically integrate their work and family roles. For example, do some integrators try to enact more of a segmentation strategy to avoid conflict in such circumstances? It may also be insightful to examine whether important changes in telework intensity would affect work–family balance self-efficacy among some individuals.

Finally, future research may wish to consider mediating variables potentially explaining why involuntarily working more from home would translate into greater WFC. For example, does this occur only because of a drop in one's boundary control, or does having less boundary control also inherently induce strain, which in turn contributes to greater WFC (Kelloway, Gottlieb, & Barham, 1999)?

## Conclusion

This is the first study to provide empirical evidence that involuntarily working more from home can be associated with greater WFC, which is consistent not only with arguments made by role boundary theorists (Ashforth et al., 2000) but also with the suggestion that having little control over the physical boundaries of work and family roles can make conflict between them more likely (Kossek & Lautsch, 2008; Lautsch et al., 2009). Our findings also suggest that this may at least depend on employees' degree of work–family balance self-efficacy, with those having weaker self-efficacy being more at risk of experiencing greater WFC when more intensive telework is imposed upon them. This unique research opportunity enabled us to reinforce the importance of recognizing the potential challenges associated with managing role boundaries when teleworking. When telework is voluntary, employees can choose the degree of telework intensity that is best suited to their various role demands. When organizations impose greater physical integration of work and family, the challenge of creating and maintaining boundaries between roles is likely to be more important, particularly among employees who have little work–family balance self-efficacy. Telework is clearly not a panacea to work–family conflict, especially when more telework is imposed on individuals, thus robbing them of the flexibility that voluntary telework programs provide. This study has therefore helped to distinguish telework from workplace flexibility, in that the former does not necessarily imply the latter.

## Author biographies

**Laurent M. Lapierre's** research focuses on identifying ways with which people can avoid work-family conflict. He also does research on leadership, with particular focus on how employees' followership can influence their managers' leadership.

**Elianne F. van Steenbergen** studies the interdependencies between work and family roles. Her research specifically focuses on designing positive psychological interventions to improve work-family balance, and examining how and when “the new work” results in beneficial or detrimental consequences for employees and the organization as a whole.

**Maria C. W. Peeters** is an Associate Professor of Work and Organizational Psychology at Utrecht University, The Netherlands and a licensed occupational health psychologist. Her research interests include job stress, work motivation, job performance, work–home interaction, and aging at work.



**Esther S. Kluwer's** research focuses on relationship maintenance processes in close relationships and currently covers four themes: revenge and forgiveness, post-divorce relationships, transition to parenthood, and work–family balance.

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