Perspectives on Work-Family Conflict in Sport: An Integrated Approach

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The overall literature concerning work-family conflict is growing rapidly, but has failed to incorporate multiple theoretical levels. Instead, researchers have examined the construct from either an individual, structural, or social relations perspective. Investigation of work-family conflict by integrating multiple theoretical levels provides valuable insights regarding the processes and products of work-family conflict, as well as the larger structural and social meanings behind work, family and their interface. Further, sport offers an ideal context for the study of work-family conflict due to the long, non-traditional work hours and significant travel. This article reviews three commonly used theoretical approaches to the study of work-family conflict—individual, structural, and social relations. It then demonstrates within a sport context how the three approaches can be integrated both from a top-down and a bottom-up perspective to better understand the causes, consequences, and interpretation of work-family conflict as an individual experience bounded by and shaped in organisational and social realities.

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Over the past 25 years, work-family conflict has received increasing attention from both scholars and practitioners. As the numbers of dual income partners and single parents continue to increase in the workplace, organisations have attempted to respond with more flexible systems and practices that address the need to fill both roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). At the same time, scholars have made considerable strides at understanding the complexities of work and family roles and how individuals combine them.

Work-family conflict is defined as a type of inter-role conflict wherein at least some work and family responsibilities are not compatible and have resultant effects on each domain (Boles, Howard, & Donofrio, 2001; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Although work can encompass paid and unpaid labour, most work-family conflict research focuses on paid employment, and family is typically defined as "two or more individuals occupying interdependent roles with the purpose of accomplishing shared goals" (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brimley, 2005). Research has established that work and family interact and that the interaction is bi-directional, with work affecting family (work-to-family or WTF conflict) and family affecting work (family-to-work or FTW conflict) (Boles et al., 2001; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus, Collins, Singh, & Parasuraman, 1997; Parasuraman, Purohit, Goldshalk, & Beutell, 1996). Outcomes from work-to-family and family-to-work interaction include both positives such as job satisfaction, job performance, family satisfaction, and life satisfaction; and negatives such as conflict, poor health, stress, and job or family exit (Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002, Boles, et al., 2001; Carlson & Kaemar, 2000; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz, & Beutell, 1989; Hammer, Bauer, & Grandey, 2003). Wilson (2003) and Cutler and Jackson (2002) futher asserted that work-family conflict can also lead to a lack of advancement, job turnover, and change of occupation.

The Need for an Integrated Approach

While the overall literature concerning work-family conflict is growing rapidly, some have argued it has advanced at the empirical level much faster than at the theoretical level, and that theory development is critically needed. Echoing comments by other scholars in this area, Eby and colleagues (2005), after reviewing over 200 work-family conflict studies from the past twenty years, concluded that the field would be enhanced by more theory building and particularly by theoretical models that integrate perspectives from various levels and disciplines (see also Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). This need for theory development extends from the general work-family literature into sport management as well. Certainly unique findings from the sport context could be highly valuable in theory building, especially as they help place boundary conditions on existing literature—demonstrating where more general theories do and do not work in specific contexts (Chalip, 2005).

Industrial-organisational psychologists, critical feminists, and sociologists all have investigated issues of work, family, and gender relations. In so doing, three theoretical approaches—individual, structural, and social relations—have been applied to work-family conflict. Each of these approaches is each essential to an understanding of work-family conflict. However, individually they are incomplete as each only tells a part of the story and only from a limited viewpoint (Allison, 1971; Bolman & Deal, 2003; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Allison (1971), an early leader in integrated or multilevel theory, uses the Cuban Missile Crisis as a backdrop to explain and demonstrate how our understanding and explanation of events and social processes are limited by the "conceptual lens" through which we view a set of problems. Each lens brings with it "a set of fundamental assumptions and categories employed by analysts in thinking about problems" (Allison, 1971, p. 32). That is, if situations are viewed from only one lens, we only derive one explanation, but if viewed from multiple angles, we have the best opportunity to understand and solve problems.

Bolman and Deal (2003), likewise introduced a multi-faceted framework for understanding organisations. They utilised the concept of "reframing" to convey the need for an integrated approach to organisational issues. They demonstrate how each of their four frames—structural, human resource, political, and symbolic— contributes its own version of reality. They argue that, "each version contains a glimmer of truth, but each is a product of the prejudices and blind spots of its maker. No single story [framework] is comprehensive enough to make an organisation truly understandable or manageable" (Bolman & Deal, 2003, p. 13). The most effective approach is one that employs multiple frameworks such that a comprehensive picture of the problem can emerge.

In developing multilevel theory in organisational research, Kozlowski and Klein (2000) explained how various levels combine in organisational systems. They argued that the purpose of multilevel theory is to specify relationships between and among properties at the various levels. In some cases, these properties are related in a top-down manner, which means that higher levels shape and constrain lower levels. For example, organisational structure may shape and/or constrain individual behaviour. In Kanter's (1977) terminology, the top-down process shows how the workplace shapes the worker. However, in other cases, the properties are related in a bottom-up process, where attitudes and behaviours at lower levels influence higher levels. For example, increasing worker dissatisfaction may lead to organisational structural change. In Kanter's (1977) terms, bottom-up processes show how the worker shapes the workplace. In addition, Kozlowski and Klein (2000) argue that some models need to include both top-down and bottom-up processes to capture the full extent of the relationships.

The integrative approach taken herein seeks to amalgamate the individual, structural, and social-relational lenses used to view work-family conflict. The purpose of this piece is not to provide an exhaustive review of the literature, as several such

reviews already exist (see Allen et al., 2000; Eby et al., 2005; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998). Instead, we seek mainly to develop an integrative analysis of the three levels, both from the top-down and from the bottom-up perspectives, to better understand impacts on individual and social behaviours, particularly in the context of the sport industry. To this end, first we review and discuss these three previously utilised theoretical approaches to the study of work-family conflict. For each framework, we explain the underlying assumptions and the main variables of interest. Second, we examine previous findings related to the framework and how those findings aid understanding of work-family conflict. Third, we explain potential limitations of each framework and how each could be integrated with the others to further illumine the issue of work-family conflict. Finally, we provide direction for the future in terms of potential research questions from an integrated perspective and methodologies for addressing them. Figure 1 provides a representation of the integrative framework presented in the current review.

Figure 1: Integrated Theory of Work-Family Conflict in Sport
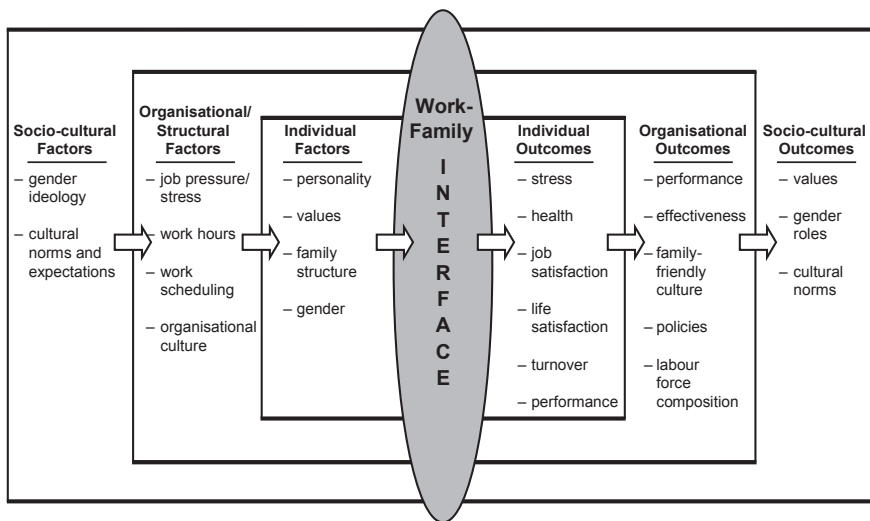
For illustrative purposes, sport examples are utilised throughout the discussion. Although any number of contexts could potentially illustrate work-family conflict, this particular context is useful for two reasons. First, most occupations within the sport industry require long, non-traditional hours (i.e., nights and weekends), and often extensive travel, making it a context where work-family conflict is highly salient. Employees in this industry must constantly find creative ways to juggle both work and family, especially if they have children.

A second reason that sport is instructive is that it is, by-and-large, a male-dominated profession (Carlisle, 2002; Inglis, Danylchuk, & Pastore, 2000; Knoppers, 1992; Periac, 2004), which allows us insight into particular social and structural strains that are not as obvious in more gender balanced occupations (Budig, 2002). Williams (1995) argued that women are usually disadvantaged in male-dominated professions in terms of pay, advancement, and control over work structures. This leads to a dynamic power relationship between genders that can mimic similar social relationships and structures. By comparison, other non-sport male-dominated professions where these same dynamics might be found include engineering, police work, the military, and the legal profession (Budig, 2002).

A third reason that the sport industry is informative is that in spite of situational and cultural differences, obstacles to work-family balance have been documented across nations and sports, demonstrating the relevance of the work-family interface within the sport industry as a whole. For example, Chalip (1978) noted the difficulties of achieving work-family balance among New Zealand club swimming coaches, and Cheesman (1992) described the same phenomenon as a barrier for female coaches in Australia. Inglis et al. (2000) found that work-family balance was one of many difficulties faced by both college coaches and administrators in the United States and Canada. Mercier (2000) has pointed out several ways that sport organizations can better support women coaches in Canadian sport. Foley and McGillivray (2000) reported the expectations of managers in the leisure industry in the United Kingdom. Managers with families, especially women, find it difficult to continue moving up the ranks in the industry because they cannot meet the time and availability demands constantly placed on them. Thus, throughout the discussion we draw from this wide range of situations to illustrate the implications of theory in practical applications.

Individual Approach

Although researchers approach individual differences from various angles, the continuous underlying basis for the individual approach in work-family conflict is based in rational policy (or choices) model (Allison, 1971) and scarcity theory (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). According to a rational choices model, work-family conflict is a product of rational choices made by individuals as they attempt to maximise satisfaction and minimise cost in the pursuit of multiple goals (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). Using this framework in a work-family conflict context, individuals of interest are usually both workers (engaged in paid labour) and family members (often defined as having dependents living with them). Also, work and family are viewed as related, but conflicting, social spheres (Boles et al., 2001; Garey, 1999). Worker-family members are seen as rational individuals who have chosen to pursue both work and family toward some goal of overall life satisfaction. Thus, they make rational choices to maximise the benefits and minimise the costs of each sphere, such that maximum overall satisfaction can be attained.

When examining working models of work-family conflict, one can clearly see evidence of the underlying rational choice model. For example, Carlson and Kacmar (2000) presented a working model of work-family conflict. In it they present various work and family variables (e.g., work involvement, work role conflict, family involvement, family role ambiguity) that lead to WTF conflict and FTW conflict. Each of these conflicts then impacts job and family satisfaction, which sum to life satisfaction. In this model, global life satisfaction is the result of balanced choices between work and family—maximizing the benefits and minimizing the costs in each sphere.

Scarcity theory assumes that resources are limited and one must constantly choose between the two spheres—benefits in one sphere (i.e., work) are usually achieved at some cost to the other (i.e., family) and vice-versa (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). This underlying theory is also readily apparent in the individual approach. For example, in Carlson and Kacmar's (2000) model, job involvement is positively associated with job satisfaction, but is also positively associated with work interference with family, which leads to lower family satisfaction. According to the model, high job involvement produces higher job satisfaction, but also lower family satisfaction; therefore, one must choose how to allocate time and resources to achieve the most desirable outcome.

To illustrate using sport, scarcity theory would suggest that each coach or administrator desires to achieve satisfaction at work and at home. Choices that increase work satisfaction, however, almost always have costs in the family realm. For example, if a club administrator spends more time working in the evenings or in travelling to contests, she will enhance her opportunities for the success of her club. However, the additional time and energy spent at work will surely take away from time with her family. The individual approach examines when and why the administrator prioritises her sport-work role and when and why she prioritises her family role, and the implications of those priorities in both spheres.

A third assumption, embedded in the rational choice model, is that individuals have unlimited capacity and freedom in their decision making. However, as Kay (2003) argued, this is clearly not the case in everyday reality. She points out that "[t]he commonly used terminology of individual and family 'choices' carries the everyday connotations of rational, pro-active decision-making, which can underplay the constrained context within which many courses of action are developed" (p. 233). Thus, as we examine work-family conflict from an individual perspective, we must be cognizant of the potential constraints—both structural and social—that impact individual choices.

Based on this set of underlying assumptions, the individual approach explains how individuals find their own way of negotiating and making sense of both work and family worlds in order to maximise satisfaction and success in each realm, and in their life as a whole. The individual approach is concerned with differences among

individuals that lead them to make different choices, and therefore, to experience different outcomes. Most often, individual characteristics are viewed as antecedents of conflict, and differences among people are examined relative to their experience of conflict based on individual characteristics. Types of characteristics found in the individual approach can be grouped into five basic categories: personality, work values/attitudes, family structure, coping strategies, and gender.

Personality

Early studies of personality and work-family conflict found differing relationships between the two. Tenbrunsel, Brett, Maoz, and Stroh (1995) have found that intrinsic motivation was positively related to work-family conflict. Individuals with high intrinsic motivation felt an internal drive to succeed, especially in the workplace, which led to conflict in the family. This seems a rather intuitive finding especially in professions that demand commitment and sacrifice in the workplace in order to achieve personal and organisational success. Coaching is an example of such a profession. In fact, in many athletic contexts, sacrifice of personal and family relationships for the team, even to the point of divorce, is seen as the ultimate commitment and conformity to the performance ethic (Hughes & Coakley, 1991; Knoppers, 1987).

Carlson (1999), however, argued that Type A individuals and ones with lower negative affect reported less work-family conflict. In her study, it appears that individuals who were more positive and more driven experienced less work-family conflict because they accepted the demands of each sphere and sought to meet them. While some research has been conducted in this area, most researchers agree that traits such as personality add only marginal value to our overall understanding of the topic, and thus have sought to investigate additional individual factors.

Work and Life Values

Moving beyond trait theory, a number of authors have investigated how individual values relate to and moderate the experience of FTW and WTF conflict. Greenhaus and colleagues (1987) found that high involvement and high investment in either domain is positively associated with conflict in the other. This finding is echoed by Carlson and Perrewe (1999) and Parasuraman and Simmers (2001) who added that increased hours at work are related to increased WTF conflict. These authors argue that individuals who value work success not only spend more time at work, but also become more involved at work, therefore experiencing more work-to-family conflict. These findings fit well with the rational choice and scarcity theories that suggest that maximum satisfaction in one domain cannot be achieved without at least some dissatisfaction (or cost) in the other.

The limitation of the work and family values framework, however, is that it typically treats values as if they were zero-sum. That is, it assumes that people cannot place a high value on work *and* on family (Garey, 1999). For example, an administrator with no children may place a high value on both work and family, yet spend most of her time working with little family interference. After having children, however, she may choose to spend less time at work in order to accommodate her new family responsibilities. In the rational choice model, this behaviour is interpreted as an increase in the value placed on family (and a corresponding decrease in the value placed on work). In other words, one cannot value both. A number of scholars (e.g., Garey, 1999; Inglis et al., 2000), however, have begun to question this zero-sum approach to values, suggesting that work and family need not be an either-or proposition, but that we need new ways to value both.

Coping

Coping with conflict, usually as a means of reducing it, is gaining increasing attention as an important individual difference related to work-family conflict. Although some coping strategies are related to the structure of work and the actual programs and assistance provided there, several individual methods of coping have also been examined. Hughes and Galinsky (1994) found that increased support for childcare decreased FTW conflict. Kossek (1990) argued, more specifically, that increased family help with childcare reduced FTW conflict. Fusilier, Ganster, and Mayes (1986) added that co-worker support was positively related to life satisfaction and negatively related to depression. Summarising these studies and the literature on coping in general, Carlson and Perrewe (1999) concluded that social support reduced the likelihood that situations would be perceived as stressful. Therefore, support acts not to reduce *actual* conflict or time spillover, but changes the perception of the *impact* of that spillover.

Individual differences in family and friend support systems seem to play an important role in the experience of FTW and WTF conflict and represent one of the more promising avenues of empirical research to develop theory on individual differences. Coping mechanisms follow the rational choice model in that they represent attempts to maximise benefits and minimise costs in both realms.

Further, studies based on a coping framework investigate outcomes that go beyond satisfaction, such as health, well-being, and perceived performance of each role (e.g., Anderson et al., 2002; Boles et al., 2001). These outcomes broaden the scope of many individual difference frameworks and provide additional insight to the issue of work-family conflict.

Much of the research on coping has concentrated on childcare assistance (work or family), to the exclusion of other coping mechanisms such as relaxation, time flexibility, and drug and alcohol use. Not only must investigations of coping continue to be included in the study of inter-domain conflict, but must be expanded to

include a broader set of coping mechanisms. As applied to sport-related professions, individual coping and support systems may be particularly important for investigation as the hours worked are very often during the evenings and weekends when childcare (work-sponsored or otherwise) is not available. Further, sport managers often work at times that other families are enjoying entertainment (and may be a part of providing that entertainment). The ways that sport managers navigate work and family in this type of work environment may lend critical insight to the importance of non-work support structures in the experience and perception of work-family conflict.

Finally, an individual differences approach to coping is somewhat problematic in that it fails to account for differences in work structures that can strongly impact work-family conflict (these work structures will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent sections). For example, in a low pressure, high-hours position, coping mechanisms focused on childcare may be the most effective at reducing conflict. However, in a high stress, high-hours position, additional emotional and psychological support may be crucial for coping with conflict. Integration with a structural approach may illumine additional challenges or assistance provided by organisational policies and practices.

Family Structures

Differences in family structure relate to differences in work-family conflict. Probably the most important aspect of this is the presence of children in the family, especially young children (pre-school or elementary school). On the work side, Carlson (1999) showed that workers with children (as opposed to a spouse or other family) in the home report greater FTW conflict. Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1997) found that increased family commitment and family stress related to increased FTW conflict, which was also related to higher alcohol use and increased depression. These findings support the rational choice model in that they argue that: (a) individuals can choose their family structures (although not necessarily their work structures), and (b) choices in one realm automatically affect the other realm. In sport, this model proposes that if a sport manager or participant wants to maximise work satisfaction, he or she should minimise family involvement. The most effective family structure for minimising involvement outside of work is one with no children.

In addition to increased levels of conflict and its consequences, family structure may influence the level of career advancement for men and women. Kirchmeyer (1998) reported that women with children did not advance to managerial levels, while nearly all the men at the managerial level or higher had children. So, there appears to be some disadvantage to women with children advancing to managerial positions, and this disadvantage is not shared by men. The individual approach, while illuminating this discrepancy, does not explore reasons for it. As explained later, this is certainly an area where structural perspectives and perspectives that focus on social relations could add insight.

Hughes and Galinsky (1994), in a study of dual-earner couples, have shown that more children, especially young children, reduce family functioning. This reduction in functioning can lead to greater work interference, higher stress levels, and poor health. Children also have been found to increase spousal tension and disagreements (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999). The presence of children adds an additional element of negotiotion for the parents. If both of them are working, not only must each manage his/her own role as worker and parent, but must coordinate and negotiate with the other parent.

The experience of work-family conflict differs for individuals depending on their family structure. However, we are left with an incomplete picture of the meaning behind work and family choices. As Kay (2003) highlighted, without an understanding of the structural and social constraints on choice, we are left to assume that family structure choices are rational, pro-active, and unconstrained. We have little understanding of how, for example, social expectations, economic necessity, and job structure influence family choices, or how "forced" family structures (e.g., ailing parent that comes to live in the home, death of a spouse) impact work-family conflict causes and consequences. Second, the very term, "conflict," implies that attempting to pursue both work and family is a negative experience, leading to conflict, strain, and stress (Greenhaus & Powell, 2003). While individual level work is valuable for examining the points of conflict, little of this empirical research or theory examines the benefits of integrating work and family on both spheres and on overall life satisfaction (Garey, 1999).

The examination of family structures from an individual standpoint clearly highlights the need for integrated theory which could explore not only rational choices of family structure, but also how these choices interact with work contexts and the social meaning of work and family to present a more complete picture of the work-family interface over the entire lifespan.

Gender

The final major area of individual difference is that of gender. From the individual perspective (in contrast to the structural and social relations levels), gender is viewed as an objective individual biological difference, meaning that the investigations at the individual level typically do not attempt to explain why gender differences exist or the meaning of gender differences, but only that differences do exist and do impact to some degree the perception of work-family conflict. Eby et al. (2005) concluded that gender is deeply engrained in the work and family interface, but results regarding the gendered experience of work-family conflict have been mixed. For example, Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992) showed that women report greater conflict in both directions than do men. Parasuraman and Simmers (2001), however, reported that men experience more conflict, but that women report greater life stress.

Parasuraman, Greenhaus, and Granrose (1992) also maintained that only women have lower family satisfaction as a result of work-family conflict, a finding that has not been replicated in other studies.

These conflicting studies suggest that biological sex does not impact work-family conflict, but that other relevant areas especially salient to each gender are driving the perception and outcomes of conflict. For example, gender seems to interact with the areas of coping and family structure in assessing work-family conflict. Women tend to place a much greater importance on work and non-work support networks in their experience of both directions of conflict. This is evident in the consistent finding that women deal more with more childcare and elder care problems than do men (Kossek, 1990; Kossek, Colquitt, & Noe, 2001). Studies also show that among men and women with flexible work schedules, women report that having such a flexible schedule reduces their WTF conflict (Staines & Pleck, 1984).

While highlighting important gender differences, these studies fall short of explaining why women experience greater anxiety and stress. Is it a "biological condition" of femaleness or is it related to differences in structural obstacles experienced by men and women (e.g., men having greater access to flexible work hours)? Or is it related to social expectations and pressures being interpreted by men and women? The answers to these questions would lend a more complete picture of gender in work-family conflict, but cannot be delineated with an individual lens alone.

The study of work-family conflict needs to examine gender relations and the interdependent roles and expectations associated with the roles of husband, wife, mother, father, etc. As will be explored in subsequent sections, these relationships may be particularly important in industries like sport that are male-dominated, where societal values and expectations related to gender and family are also intertwined with those same expectations related to gender and work. These connections underscore the need for integrated theory in that simply exploring individual differences gives a limited view of work-family conflict. Clearly, gender is an individual characteristic, but one that is laden with social meaning. As will be discussed in subsequent sections, examinations of gender would be greatly enhanced through an understanding of both the structural and social contexts in which gender is embedded.

A Final Look

The individual approach is predicated on the rational choice model which carries with it three main assumptions. First, it assumes that work and family operate as separate but related social spheres. Second, it assumes that individuals have a finite set of resources from which they attempt to maximise the benefits and minimise the costs of each life sphere in the pursuit of some global positive outcome (e.g., satisfaction). Third, it assumes that choice is pro-active and not bounded or constrained by higher level contexts. Clearly this approach lends insight into the causes, interpretation, and consequences of work-family conflict. However, it is limited by its assumptions.

First, from a top-down perspective, structural and social influences certainly constrain individual choices such that the "ideal" solution is rarely the most realistic solution (Garey, 1999; Hewlett, 2002; Kay, 2003; Knoppers, 1992). Thus, there is a definite need for examining the relationship of higher level contexts to individual behaviour. Further, the assumption that work and family are necessarily separate spheres or that they must inherently conflict has been increasingly challenged by social scientists who argue that work-family conflict studies should address the ways that work and family complement each other in a holistic life-view (Clark, 2001; Garey, 1999). Therefore, structural and social relations approaches are needed to examine the basis for the separate spheres assumption and how it impacts individual behaviour.

Structural Approach

Allison (1971) argued that rational choices at the individual level are often bounded by and perhaps rooted in decisions and operations at a broader level. He maintained that organisations engender patterns of behaviour that influence individual and organisational action and that supplementing the rational choice model with a wider frame of reference would add critical information regarding the bases and consequences of decision-making. Following this line of thinking, the structural approach to work-family conflict is largely concerned with examining workplace characteristics and their relationship to individual actions. That is, scholars use this lens to explore the ways in which organisational and occupational structure constrain individual choice and behaviour (Knoppers, 1992). The structural approach assumes that work-family conflict is a function of organisational characteristics and can be manipulated such that it is reduced or controlled for the employees in that organisation (Carlson, 1999; Knoppers, 1992). This approach, which is the most often utilised approach in current academic inquiry (Eby et al., 2005), can be divided into three main areas of investigation: job pressure/stress, work hours/schedule, and work culture.

Job Pressure/Stress

A number of studies have found that job pressure and stress are related to work-family conflict (Carlson, 1999; Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Greenhaus et al., 1987; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000). Jobs that are higher in pressure and stress are associated with higher work-family conflict; and have also been linked to lower job satisfaction (Good, Grovalynn, & Gentry, 1988; Perrewe, Hochwarter,, & Kiewitz, 1999), decreased good health (Schmidt, Colligan, & Fitzgerald, 1980), increased turnover (Good et al., 1988), and lower family life quality (Hughes & Galinsky, 1994). The mechanism of these outcomes is a combination of at least two factors. First, high stress jobs tend to produce a high level of work-family spillover, or being unable to "turn-off" work when going into the family realm. This spillover is not always in the form of actual

time or work, but can also be manifested in emotional and stress spillover. Second, feeling pressure to spend more time on the job because of job expectations can also lead to more work-family spillover and subsequent outcomes.

Many sport careers are certainly considered high pressure (Kelley, 1994). For example, owners, club managers, athletes, coaches and event promoters not only experience time pressures, but also the pressures of winning, making a profit, and constantly balancing multiple stakeholders (participants, spectators, the media, and sponsors) (Inglis et al., 2000; Kelley, 1994). When the emotional component of winning and losing is added, the pressure and stress of many sport occupations certainly carry into the family domain, and may affect women at a higher level than men (Kelley, 1994).

Investigation of pressure and stress variables demonstrates how the structural approach augments the individual approach in that it highlights the ways that work characteristics influence individual choices. For example, consider Anne, a national level assistant swim coach who is married with two children and has a well-developed support network and Kate, who also is married with two children, has a similar support network, but works in a lower pressure job. An individual approach would view these women as similar and would be unable to explain why Kate's support network and family structure seems much more "functional" for reducing work-family conflict than does Anne's. When these individuals are also viewed from a structural standpoint, however, critical insight is gained and a more complete picture formed. In spite of individual similarities, Anne's spillover from her high stress job may create additional work-family conflict that is unaccounted for in an individual model. The experience and interpretation of work-family conflict is a product of both individual and structural influences.

Work Hours/Scheduling

Work schedules have an influence on work-family conflict in both directions, especially for women (Kossek, 1990). Staines and Pleck (1984) argued that increased non-standard hours increase work-family conflict. They also found that when workers felt in control of their work hours, there was decreased work-family conflict. Several studies have also argued that when controlling for hours worked, increased flexibility not only reduced work-family conflict, but also increased job commitment and satisfaction (Anderson et al., 2002; Scandura & Lankau, 1997). The relationship between scheduled work hours and conflict is primarily attributed to increased difficulty in arranging family schedules, especially for childminding. Jobs that are constantly changing in their hours make a routine difficult to establish. Jobs requiring non-traditional hours, especially nights and weekends, make standard childcare more problematic. These jobs require much more negotiation between caregivers and parents, and can also lead to increased FTW conflict when these negotiations fail.

Similar to many entertainment and service sector jobs, the structure of work schedules is highly salient in sport and athletic settings. Typically, sport managers work nights and weekends, long hours, and require some, if not always extensive, travel. These realities make childcare challenging, especially if workers do not have access to family members or live-in type childminding arrangements.

By itself, the structural lens shows little of the ways in which work structures come to be, or how they differentially impact various groups. For example, Inglis et al. (2000) argued that in U.S. and Canadian college athletic departments scheduling is especially difficult for women when compared to men because women typically have less say over when and where their teams practice. Although some improvements have been made in this area, Inglis and colleagues (2000) reported that women still struggle for power and authourity over scheduling for their teams and themselves. This lack of power leads not only to scheduling management issues, but also to increased frustration and stress levels that can spillover to their teams and their families. These power dynamics can only be investigated with an integrated structural and social relations approach.

Again, the structural element of work schedules as it relates to work-family conflict demonstrates the need for multiple perspectives. When viewed through a structural lens, we learn that scheduling indeed impacts work-family conflict from the top-down in a rather predictable manner by virtue of the amount and arrangement of work time. Increased hours, increased rigidity, and increased hours outside of the normal workday lead to increased work-family conflict. However, as will be explained, a social relations perspective enriches this interpretation because it adds valuable insight regarding the relationship of schedules to power and gender. A social relations perspective helps explain why work scheduling variations impact women more than men, and how women may feel additional stress due to feelings of powerlessness.

Organisational Culture

Another important work characteristic is a family-friendly or family-supportive organisational culture. From an overall standpoint, a more supportive culture decreases reports of work-family conflict (Carlson & Perrewe, 1999; Frye & Breaugh, 2004). A supportive culture is generally measured as a perception, but can also be viewed objectively in terms of the number and type of family benefits and programs offered such as on-site childminding. Both family-friendly cultures and formal programs such as work-family benefits (e.g., paid family leave) (Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999), on-site childminding (Goff, Mount, & Jamison, 1990), and mentoring (Neilson, Carlson, & Lankau, 2001) have been shown to reduce work-family conflict.

In sport, as in many male-dominated professions, organisational culture is often highlighted since one finds that sport, particularly at the elite level, is not very family-friendly (Coakley, 2004; McKay, Messner, & Sabo, 2000; Theberge, 1992; Weiss & Stevens, 1993). That is, many sport industry positions have largely been

structured on a two-person, one career model (Knoppers, 1992; Theberge, 1992). In this model, it is assumed that the sport manager (usually a man) will have not only his own time and energy to devote to the profession, but also the time and energy of his spouse, who will attend games, offer hospitality to the team, and take care of virtually all domestic duties (Inglis et al., 2000; Knoppers, 1992; McKay et al., 2000; Theberge, 1992). Training sessions, off-season workouts, administrative responsibilities, and other job requirements in addition to a severe competitive mentality, have combined to ensure that many sport management positions are reserved only for those willing to work 12 hour days, 6 days a week, for 50 weeks a year (Knoppers, 1992; Theberge, 1992). While this is not to suggest that it is more or less difficult to maintain balance in sport than in other careers, it simply highlights that the structure of the workplace and/or the work itself can impact work-family conflict in spite of, and in addition to, individual characteristics.

Structural variables can also interact with individual variables. For example, Bretz, Boudreau, and Judge (1994) found that in non-supportive work cultures, individuals who desire more balance will increase their job search intentions. Thus, it is the combination of non-support and desire for balance that lead to the job search, not simply the lack of support. Structure can also interact with gender in that work-family policies tend to be more salient to women (Kossek, 1990; Staines & Pleck, 1984), and work organisations with more males tend to demonstrate less responsiveness to work-family issues (Budig, 2002; Goodstein, 1995; Williams, 1995).

This interaction can have a subtle but profound impact on the policies of sport organisations, even when they are endeavouring to increase the number of roles and positions for women (McKay, 1997). The failure to incorporate policies that explicitly address work-family conflict may diminish the impact of otherwise well-intentioned efforts to create opportunities for women in sport management or coaching. For example, the Australian Sports Commission long ago introduced a scholarship program to foster the development of women coaches (McCallum, 1991). That program was focused on knowledge and skill development, but was not accompanied by policies designed to ease the impact of work-family conflict. As a consequence, more than a decade after the program was implemented, women were still under-represented in elite Australian coaching (Carlisle, 2002; Periac, 2004), and qualified Australian women still perceived that they had scant opportunity to become elite coaches (Fox, 1999).

A Final Look

The strengths of the structural view, particularly in relation to coaching, are that it demonstrates the organisational dimension of work-family conflict especially from a top-down perspective. Conflict is not unilateral, and organisations can and do assist workers in decreasing actual and perceived conflict in sometimes very tangible ways. The structural element of the workplace impacts the worker beyond his or her individual desires, values, and personality.

Continuing with a top-down perspective, if work structures constrain and shape individual behaviour, how do social factors influence work structures? As argued earlier, structural elements are important, especially to women, but a view only from that lens sometimes ignores the social realities and expectations built into the concepts of work and family. As in the example of the sport manager's work schedule, a structural approach simply views the work schedule as a given, then explores the impact of that structural element on work-family conflict. This approach would be effectively augmented by a social relations perspective which explores how the work became defined and how social definitions impact the work and family lives of both men and women (Knoppers, 1992; Williams, 1995).

From a bottom-up perspective, the structural perspective is also enhanced by an analysis of individual behaviours. Such an analysis could include an examination of the ways workers view both work and family, the ways collective work-family conflict impacts organisational effectiveness, and the ways workers attempt to change their organisational structure and culture. Many organisational properties have their basis in the aggregate influence of individuals and will only change as individuals act collectively to change them (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). For example, declining organisational performance due to widespread absences for family interruptions could lead to policy changes for more flexible work schedules. Increasing demand for family leave policies could lead to their implementation. Thus, both top-down and bottom-up perspectives are needed to understand the structural influence on work-family conflict.

Social Relations Approach

The social relations approach extends individual and structural views in that it examines the social meanings, norms, and values associated with work and family as social institutions. The social relations approach reminds us that work and family do not exist in a vacuum of individual or organisational reality, and are not limited to observable behaviour. They are embedded in a larger system of social meanings that impacts both the experience and the interpretation of work, family, and work-family conflict. Perhaps the most consistent underlying assumption of the social relations approach is that work and family are gendered social institutions; one cannot fully understand work-family conflict without an appreciation of gender ideology in most Western cultures.

Traditional Gender Ideology

In spite of many changes within and outside of sport, research suggests that Western culture still largely supports and is driven by traditional gender ideology, which views gender as a binary classification by which social roles are defined and ordered

(Budig, 2002; Pastore, Inglis & Danylchuk, 1996; Williams, 1995). This binary classification is based along biological lines—male and female—and suggests that there are certain definable characteristics of maleness and femaleness. Males are supposed to act masculine, and females are supposed to act feminine, according to the accepted social definitions of masculine and feminine in a particular culture. For example, in many Western societies, masculinity is associated with being the "breadwinner" for the family, and femininity is associated with childcare and domestic tasks (Garey, 1999; Williams, 1995).

The dominant social definitions of masculine and feminine have had a critical impact on the way work and family are viewed and structured. At the beginning of the twentieth century, waged work became strongly defined as masculine—what men do—and unwaged work such as childcare and domestic responsibilities became defined as feminine—what women do (Epstein, 1988; Knoppers, 1992; Williams, 1995). Coakley (2004) argued, "The legacy of traditional gender ideology still remains strong, even in postindustrial societies. Children learn it in their families, play groups, and schools" (p. 268). The effects of this legacy are felt in work, family, and their intersection.

Implications for Work-Family Conflict

The implications of traditional gender roles on work-family conflict are three-fold. First, these roles limit the opportunities for women to enter and remain in male-dominated professions (Cutler & Jackson, 2002; Garey, 1999; Hewlett, 2002; Williams, 1995). In addition to barriers at entry, many females feel they must work harder and longer in these professions to prove themselves, often at great sacrifice to their personal and social lives (Hart, Hasbrook, & Mathes, 1986; Hewlett, 2002). Sport, as a male-dominated profession, is no exception. Although participant opportunities in sport continue to rise, data from countries where the requisite data are available indicate that the number and percentage of female coaches and of sport managers is declining (McKay, 1997), especially at the most elite levels (Acosta & Carpenter, 2004; Carlisle, 2002; Periac, 2004). Part of the reason for this decline is the perception that women are not welcome or skilled in the sporting realm (Everhart & Chelladurai, 1998; Knoppers, 1987; Shaw & Hoeber, 2003). Thus, women who choose this profession must not only overcome these gendered assumptions at entry, but also constantly prove their worthiness to continue in the profession (Fox, 1999; Inglis et al., 2000; Pastore et al., 1996).

The second implication of traditional gender ideology on work-family conflict is that women typically have a more difficult time than men maintaining both work and family responsibilities. As discussed in the structure section, work structures in male-dominated professions are predicated on the assumption that "those who fill them will give priority to waged work over domestic work and will have a backup person taking care of the home, children, and physical and emotional

needs" (Knoppers, 1992, p. 219). That is, male-dominated jobs assume that the person employed has a significant external support system that allows the worker to be free from non-work distractions (Budig, 2002; Williams, 1995). Organisationally-provided support systems in the form of family-friendly policies (e.g., at-work childminding, more traditional scheduling, and flexibility in scheduling) are less prevalent in male-dominated workplaces (Dodds, 2003; Goodstein, 1995; Inglis et al., 2000; McKay et al., 2000; Theberge, 1992). Further, women often lack the external emotional and practical support to manage both roles, as it is rather uncommon to find a spouse or partner who is willing to fill this supportive role in the way that many wives do for their husbands who work in sport (Hewlett, 2002; Knoppers, 1992; Knoppers, Ewing, Forrest, & Meyer, 1989; McKay et al., 2000; Theberge, 1992). Thus, from a social relations perspective, it is not surprising that work-family conflict exists, especially for women. This perspective adds insight to other approaches by explaining how work structures come to be defined and how these structures can be re-defined by the non-dominant group.

The third implication of traditional social definitions of gender is that they have an emotional and psychological impact on the lives of persons who do not conform to the traditional norms. In this sense, even today women who work and have children are sometimes considered deviant, and therefore are subject to feelings of guilt, self-doubt, and degradation (Garey, 1999; Sage, 1998). Further, Garey (1999) argued strongly that the traditional gender ideology leads to employment and family life being viewed dichotomously, especially for women. While men are considered both family- and work-oriented by nature and necessity (as they must support the family in financial and non-financial ways), women are considered *either* family-oriented *or* work-oriented. Garey argued that for women, work and family represent a zero-sum relationship, which means that a committed worker must necessarily be a less committed mother and vice versa. In fact, one could argue that the very term "work-family conflict" implies that the two are not compatible and that constant tension and decision making should be experienced by those women who attempt both. Because of these social pressures and the traditional norms of masculinity and femininity, not only does a woman feel pressure to choose work *or* family, there is an implied negative social connotation to choosing work *over* family.

Challenging the Norms

Dominant norms are not passively accepted by the subordinate group in a society (Knoppers, 1992; Sage, 1998). In fact, much of social life is a struggle between dominant and subordinate groups over the definition and meaning of social norms. This struggle is an excellent example of a bottom-up process, where social norms are ultimately the product of collective attitudes and behaviours. For example, participation in sport opened many doors for women to challenge the traditional norms of masculine and feminine gender roles (Sage, 1998). Participation in sport

has allowed women an entree into the male preserve. Research suggests that girls/ women who participate in sport feel an increasing sense of power over their bodies and a sense of personal empowerment (Blinde & McAllister, 1994), increased self-esteem (Richman & Shaffer, 2000), increased masculine identity (Andre & Holland, 1995; Lantz & Schroeder, 1999), and more liberal attitudes toward gender roles (Richman & Shaffer, 2000). While research has not replicated these findings on a sample of female sport managers, many sport managers are former athletes (Dodds, 2003), so one can assume that at least some of these findings also apply. Thus, it is possible that women sport managers may experience work-family conflict differently than women in other professions, and that we can learn much from their experiences. Research has yet to explore the role of socialisation through sport on the attitudes toward work *and* family of sport manager-mothers, the experience of work-family conflict of these women, and how their dual roles as sport professionals and mothers provide models for their athletes, co-workers, and their own children.

Garey (1999) argued that the main criticism of traditional approaches to work-family conflict is that, although they acknowledge spillover from one domain to the other, they are built on the assumption that work and family are separate spheres. Therefore, organisational structures can only have limited influence on the private lives of workers, and vice versa. Even the social relations approach, which examines the social construction of gender, leads one to an "orientation" conceptualisation whereby women are either viewed as work- *or* family-oriented, but not both. These frameworks lack a conceptualisation for integrating the two social worlds of work and family. Garey argued that in addition to work policies that help women integrate their multiple roles, we also need an integrated research approach that will help us understand and evaluate the lives of women as whole persons—that is, work-family balance.

For example, in the context of working mothers, the balance approach would attempt to merge the two social spheres of work and family into a holistic view of the working mother. Garey (1999) suggests that this holistic view of men is a taken-for-granted concept in many societies; interestingly, the term, "working father," is rarely used. But since the terms, "working," and, "mother," have become so oppositional in many cultures, we need a framework that will connect the two. Only then can we seek to understand their meaning of self, decisions and actions, and the world around them.

A Final Look

The social relations lens helps explain how work and family are understood in the larger social context, and both individual behaviour and organisational structure are influenced by dominant ideology. However, by itself, this approach has at least two limitations. First, it can leave one with a somewhat false sense that women are merely victims in a man's world, and that they passively accept social definitions of work

and family, conforming to the norms, or spending their lives in conflict and guilt. Conflict theorists agree, however, that norms are socially defined and constantly being negotiated within social contexts (Inglis et al., 2000; Knoppers, 1992; Sage, 1998). The subordinate group attempts in various ways to challenge the dominant view and redefine, "normal." For example, what is men's work and women's work? What is a *normal* balance of work and family? What is the relationship between working and parenting? Second, while providing a broad view of social relations, this lens can miss important individual and structural differences that impact work-family conflict on a practical level. That is, it is often the individual and structural lenses that highlight the ways that non-dominant group members negotiate and navigate their social world. For example, a social relations perspective argues that women experience more work-family conflict than men do because of differences in power relations and social expectations of men and women. This finding is generally supported by individual-level investigations that may also illumine ways that different women attempt to cope with conflict. In this way, social relations and individual level theories can work together to explain the whole picture—who experiences conflict, why conflict occurs, when and where it occurs, and how individuals cope with it. Each level adds unique insight, but all are needed for a complete picture.

Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

Proponents of integrated and multilevel theory continue to stress the need for such analysis in examining individual and organisational behaviours (e.g., Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Integrated analysis allows the researcher to address the complexity of relationships among variables, a principle that was espoused in some of the earliest contributions to behavioural theory, including Lewin's (1951) field theory, Thompson's (1967) theory of organisational rationality, and Katz and Kahn's (1966) social organisational theory. While single-level perspectives have *some* explanatory value, alone they cannot adequately address behaviour in organisations and social contexts. From the top-down, virtually all individual and organisational behaviour is embedded in a higher-level context that has direct and/or moderating effects on that behaviour. The contextual factors must be included in theoretical and measurement models (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). From the bottom-up, many higher-level phenomena emerge from individual-level cognitions, affect, and behaviour and work to shape the organisation and social contexts (Kozlowski & Klein, 2000).

As we move forward to utilise an integrated lens in sport management, a number of unanswered questions become apparent. First, from a top-down perspective, an integrated lens can help identify some of the unique cultural conditions in sport that help us understand more about both the work-family interface, and about sport itself. What social values embraced in sport reduce or exacerbate work-family conflict?

For example, what is the long-term influence of a male-dominated culture on the work-family interface, and ultimately, on who chooses to work within this type of culture? How do the social values embraced by sport influence organisational cultures and structures such that they impact work-family conflict? For example, rather than taking for granted the long hours and "sleep in the office" nature of many sport management jobs and accepting that "that is just the way it is," we can begin to examine and deconstruct the basis for such work structures and their influence on working parents (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). This top-down perspective examines the social and structural constraints within the sport industry that influence individual behaviour. As these constraints are illumined, we not only learn more about the work-family interface, but begin to understand more about the sport industry itself, such that we can clarify boundary conditions of existing theories.

Methodologically, several quantitative multilevel methods are available to apportion variance in top-down models. For example, hierarchical linear modeling can be utilised to examine social, organisational, and individual level factors related to individual outcomes (Hofmann, 1997). However, cultural contexts, meanings, and influence are difficult to measure utilising quantitative analysis alone. Such constructs and their impacts, however, could be ascertained through qualitative enquiry, using interviews or focus groups to discuss perceptions of organisations or social cultures (see Inglis et al., 2000), or content analysis to critically examine organisational values/norms and the ways that individuals interact with them. For example, Shaw and Hoeber's (2003) examination of masculinity and femininity in regular discourse illumined many impacts on job structures for women in sport. In a similar fashion, observation, interviews, and content analysis can be used to illumine social and structural impacts on work-family conflict.

Second, from the bottom-up, an integrated lens can help us explore the impact of work-family conflict on organisational and social level outcomes. While work-family conflict is assumed to have a negative impact on organisations, this outcome has yet to be measured. It is assumed that worker dissatisfaction and lack of commitment due to work-family conflict will lead to lower organisational effectiveness, yet actual outcomes at the organisational level are rarely measured. It is critical to understand the impact of collective work-family conflict on organisational policies, structures, and outcomes.

From the bottom-up, how do individual behaviours emerge to affect collective organisational and social change? It is clear that organisational cultures emerge from the values, attitudes, and behaviours of the persons within the organisation. An integrated lens helps uncover the collective action within organisations and societies that ultimately produces change. Specifically, how do individuals in sport work to change their organisations from the bottom-up? How effective are their efforts, and what are the most effective methods for affecting organisational change relative to the work-family interface? What are the critical factors that produce organisational

change in work-families policies and culture? Can a collective dissatisfaction with the culture of sport, as it impacts families, lead to cultural changes within the sport world?

Quantitatively, a number of multilevel methods are available to assess emergent properties from lower-levels to more macro levels. For example, within and between analysis (Dansereau, Alluto, & Yammarino, 1984) can be utilised to assess both individual and collective properties. Typically, data are collected at the individual level and examined for aggregation patterns. Some attitudes and behaviours may only exist at the individual level, yet others may be conceptualised as patterns within the group, or as a whole group. This technique allows the researcher to examine which individual attitudes and behaviours might emerge to form collective structures, cultures, or actions (for a more in-depth review of multilevel conceptual, measurement, and analytical issues, the reader is referred to Klein et al., 2000). Longitudinal analysis would also be helpful for ascertaining structural and cultural change. Just as the emergence of the working mother in general has changed the policies of organisations to be more aware of family issues, so a similar change may be forthcoming in sport organisations. Only long-term studies can ascertain these changes as they emerge over time.

Garey (1999) introduced the term "weaving" as a metaphor that could help articulate the integrated multiple factors and roles involved in the work-family experience. Weaving represents some object or creation, a tapestry that shows both intricate design and overall pattern, demonstrating linkages from one part to the next into an interconnected whole. This metaphor is clear for many working parents. As they reflect on their lives, they examine choices (e.g., why they stay, why they quit, where they work, where they live, whom they choose as a life partner, how many children they have). Individual choices become patterns, developing and intertwining with the meaning of self and the social world. Although meaning and experience are rooted in individual lives, we can take those experiences and attempt to make sense of the connections and patterns, "illuminating connections between individual experience and social relations and thus deepening our understanding of the social world" (Garey, 1999, p. 19). It is our aim that an integrated approach to work-family conflict can illuminate such connections and deepen our understanding of the sport world.

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