Revised Draft  CHAPTER 14: NON-WORK INFLUENCES ON WORK MOTIVATION

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INTRODUCTION

“A basic goal of all managers is to motivate employees to perform at their highest level. Motivating someone implies that you have that person’s attention as well as his or her willingness to put forth a great deal of sustained effort toward accomplishing work-related goals.”


Traditional management and I-O writing regarding work motivation generally under-examine the impact that dynamic on-going experiences and goals relevant to the employee’s non-work life may have on work motivation outcomes and processes. Given the growing heterogeneity and changing nature of the workforce, we argue that motivation theorists must review central relationships and interactions between personal life roles and work motivation. Consider the following facts on the transformation in the constellation of employee’s work and family and diversity characteristics, as well as the growing blurring of the boundaries between work and personal life roles that make it increasingly difficult to overlook non-work motivational influences on motivation in the work environment.

The National Survey of the Changing Workforce (NSCW) reports that 78% of parent families are dual-earner and 22% are single-earner, compared with 66% and 34%, respectively in 1997 (Bond, Thompson, Galinsky, & Prottas, 2002). Fifty percent of all employees are currently caring for at least one dependent (child or elder), and 20% of workers are caring for both children and elders (Bond et al, 2002). Nearly half of all children under 18 will live in a single
parent home for at least some point of their childhood (U.S. Children’s Defense Bureau Fund, 2000). In sum, the workforce has dramatically shifted over recent decades to include more workers with significant domestic non-work demands and fewer workers with non-work support systems (e.g., child and elder care, family help with domestic chores and meals).

Besides the growing family diversity of the workforce, ethnic diversity is on the rise. In 2000 the OECD reports that in the U.S. 11.4% of the workforce is now foreign born, up from 9.4% in 1988 (Mor Barak, 2000). This trend suggests that many employees now or in the future are first or second generation immigrants. This rising multiculturalism means greater variation in beliefs about the centrality of work and non-work roles, and also gives rise to a wider diversity of non-work cultural family and personal life experiences than has been assumed in psychological motivational models that are based largely on North American assumptions regarding the traditional hegemony of work and family relationships where work is seen as primary.

An updated perspective on work motivation will consider the implications of this growing diversity in employee caregiving demands and cultural socialization regarding work and family relationships. That is, theorists must regularly consider how individuals’ motivation on the job relates to non-work roles involving families and partners, as well as social, community, and avocational activities. Yet when we searched the literature we were surprised to find that recent major reviews on the future of work motivation failed to mention family influences (cf. Steers, Mowday & Shapiro, 2004; Latham & Pinder, 2005.)

Further, the changing nature of work associated with the trends of greater blurring between the lines of work and home through the growth in technologies (e.g., email, cell phones, pagers) and the growing adoption of flexible work practices (e.g., flexible hours, telework) has fostered new research on how features of the workplace may affect work motivation by altering
non-work conditions. Additional trends that affect non-work experiences may be the transformation of the psychological contract toward lessened job security, and a reduction in health care benefits and pensions. At the same time, employers are placing greater emphasis on employee personal characteristics and behaviors such as physical health and mental health. Expectations are also rising that workers will work long hours and carry heavy workloads, which are both issues that are likely to crossover stress to personal life. Further, the changing requirements that individuals remain highly engaged in work over the life course – no more coasting on the way to retirement - are likely to spur a different constellation of work goals and new work practices that have implications for non-work life.

Chapter Goals and Definition of Key Terms

Given the growing consensus that motivation at the workplace is shaped by activities off the job as well, the purpose of this chapter is as follows: 1) to identify implicit motivation theoretical assumptions that should be updated if scholars are going to seriously consider non-work influences on work motivation; (2) to identify some key non-work influences on work motivation and review major theories and research as they suggest how non-work experiences may affect work motivation; and (3) to provide suggestions for the future operationalization of studies and measures and to identify future research needs on this topic.

We begin by providing a broad definition of non-work as pertaining to personal activities outside of the workplace that may affect an employee’s work behavior and motivation. Implicit in our definition is the notion that individuals are actively engaged in any number of non-work roles at any given time. Non-work roles may derive from engagement in family, community, avocational, leisure, or social activities. Similar to the individual’s work roles, non-work roles are also assumed to be dynamic over time as well as to be affected by external events (e.g.,
spousal loss). Our focus is on non-work roles that individuals perceive to be socially meaningful - namely those, which they highly identify with as a salient life role defining who they are. In light of the breadth of the non-work domain, and the current paucity of data on non-work role influences beyond the family, we limit our consideration of non-work roles and influences on work motivation in this chapter largely to the workers’ family and caregiving roles. We note however, that many of the same dynamics and the issues of how to synthesize family and personal life with the work role are likely to be similar for other non-work roles as well.

We are not disputing that the work role is often central to an employed individual's life -- it helps define their social relations, social class, life opportunities, and quality of life. Even for unemployed individuals, the lack of work opportunities may create a deficit in quality of life. Work is indeed important to the individual's self-concept and life. However, it is being increasingly found that work motivation waxes and wanes as a function of both the demands of the situation, non-work demands, personal competencies, and their interactions as individuals move across the life course.

**Re-Viewing Implicit Motivation Theory Assumptions To Give Greater Consideration to Non-work Influences**

Traditional motivation theories are typically grounded in a variety of implicit assumptions that are basically silent about possible influences of relationships between employee’s work and non-work roles. These potentially obsolete implicit assumptions are listed below. Most of these are our interpretation of unwritten assumptions in the literature. While we believe these statements below are intuitive and accurate, if you were to search the literature, it would be difficult to find most of these statements actually written down. It either would be viewed politically incorrect to do so, or would be simply omitted as if they are to be taken for
granted. When we search several recent major reviews, they were silent on how family values and needs and caregiving demands affected motivation on the job (cf. Latham & Pinder, 2005; Mowday, Steers & Shapiro, 2004). Writing on context and job design and interaction with motivation only referred to the work context, and not how it interacts with the design of one’s family caregiving structure or the family context.

**Some Traditional (and perhaps outdated) Implicit Motivation Assumptions**

- For most workers, the work role is the most central role in the workers’ lives.
- An employee will remain constantly attached to the same employer for most of his/her working life and is motivated to build a career in that context.
- Motivation on the job occurs relatively independently from the individuals’ non-work demands. For example, one recent review stated that conscientiousness was particularly important for jobs that allow autonomy (Latham & Pinder, 2005) - which may be true, unless one is dually invested in work and family roles and also seeks to be jointly conscientiousness in caring for family at the same time as one is employed.
- Individual motivation can essentially be decontextualized from the work group or organization’s formal and informal supports for non-work roles.
- Non-work and work motivation are relatively independent processes.
- Work motivation is mainly conceptualized as an individual level phenomenon.
- High talent individuals will look relatively similar in work performance, motivations, and career paths.
Updating Assumptions to Be More Relevant to New Work-Life Relationships

Given the growing heterogeneity in employees’ non-work demands, especially in regards to the caregiving role; the work role is likely to have much greater variation in its valence to the worker, as well as in expectancies that workers will be able to exert all the effort desired in order to perform a task well. The latter is particularly true given that many individuals may have caregiving constraints that can limit the amount of opportunity to exert sufficient effort to perform to the best of one’s abilities. Also, whether due to downsizing or more periods of gaps in full time labor force participation as a result of childbearing, related caregiving demands or matriculation at different life stages, some workers are much less likely to be motivated toward incentives that reward climbing the corporate ladder quickly and career building in an upward fashion (Lee and Kossek, 2005). Yet at the same time, caregiving demands or nontraditional career and life development, per se, is not likely to be a correlate of one having lower job motivation (Lobel, 1991). It just means one may have greater constraints or opportunity to perform well on the job if one is working a second shift off the job, or has less of a non-work support system, or different time line for the achievement of long and short term life goals. Indeed, what historically was considered atypical – namely, a more balanced view of career and family orientation in which work was not accorded the central life role - may be more common today, particularly among professionals. That is to say, most workers today have some personal life situation that may reduce or at least compete with the primacy of work orientation and motivation.

Rather than regarding the worker as unmotivated (an individual perspective), contemporary work motivation theories might instead benefit from a broadened
perspective that emphasizes how to remove employer barriers (e.g., lack of child and elder care, unsympathetic work group and organizational cultures, greater cultural support for different ways and timing of achievement) that impede opportunity to perform. Such an updated perspective would contextualize work role motivation by considering variations in the centrality of the work role to the individual across the lifespan and the fact that relational ties between worker and employer are likely to become more and more tenuous as the psychological contract underlying employer-employee relations are trending toward a more transactional base. In this updated perspective, work motivation would be conceptualized as more of a punctuated, irregular, and sometimes discontinuous path, rather than as a necessarily continuous relational-building process. Finally, an updated view of motivation also would look at cross-level influences and give greater attention to how motivation is not merely an individual phenomenon, but occurs as a function of work group, organizational and family constraints and relevant opportunities to perform. For example, multi-level models, which have become so popular in management and organizational behavior research, might increasingly add the family as another level in cross-level modeling. Several other assumptions that need to be re-viewed are that the work force is generally homogenous and will desire the same employment deal or be uniformly motivated by the same incentive or benefit plan. Also, the assumption that high talent employees will be in a cookie cutter mode of one or two common career paths and have similar selection biodata (e.g., want to work long hours and full time, willing to relocate whenever company demanded it), may not be apt. Greater diversity in the non-work lives of workers means greater variation in the carrots that will motivate workers. More choice in the rewards
offered from human resource systems are going to need to be considered. For example, most high talent employees are expected to follow career paths of constant promotion up the corporate hierarchy with increasing responsibility and workloads. Yet the first author’s studies on reduced workload has found that many high talent individuals would like to customize their jobs in order to be able to focus on those tasks that are the most meaningful, instead of facing constant promotions and increasing workloads. Not everyone wants to be a supervisor or a director, but few organizations have HR systems that offer other options to manage high talent this way, although some studies did identify exceptional employers who are successfully experimenting (c.f. Kossek & Lee, 2005, Lee and Kossek, 2005). Further, selection and development systems for talent identification and how to motivate and develop these individuals will need to consider non-work identities and experiences in their design and implementation.

Examining Family & Caregiving Motivational Influences in a Social Context:

Matthew & Social Convoy Effects

Work motivation theorists who are sensitive to non-work influences, are more apt to see individual motivation as occurring in a social context that is linked to influences grounded in the individual’s existing social and relational structure across a variety of settings. Work motivation is seen as not only an individual phenomenon but a multi-level one. As examples we discuss what social science researchers refer to as the “Matthew” and “social convoy effects” and apply these concepts to non-work influences on motivation. ¹

¹ The first author wishes to thank Dr. Phyllis Moen of the University of Minnesota for first exposing me to the notion of social convoys during a wonderful presentation entitled “Family Diversity: Adaptive Strategies and Ecologies Over the Life Course” which she gave to a quarterly meeting of the National Workplace, Family, Health & Well-Being Network in Bethesda Maryland, April 20, 2006.
Applying the Mathew Effect. The Mathew effect is a phrase coined by sociologist Merton (1968). It was first developed to explain reward systems at universities that had a positive feedback loop which biased links between individual perceived capabilities and access to organizational and structural research resources favoring those already supported in the social context. More generally, the Matthew effect refers to the notion that the cumulative and non-cumulative effects of roles assigned to individuals systematically vary as a function of power, race, age, ethnicity and position in a social system that has a reinforcing cycle of favoring those already advantaged in the social structure of the status quo.

Applying this effect to work motivation theory, “individual effort, valence, and opportunity” to perform in a work role at the same time as one is juggling heavy non-work demands may be partially correlated with and constrained by other social demographics. For example, if a working mother is handling most of the housework and child care demands in her family, and is employed by a company that does not provide flexible hours or support for caregiving, and has a long commute in order to be able to afford housing and live in a neighborhood with good schools, then her motivation on the job, and willingness to work long hours in order to be promoted during the time she has an infant must be viewed as partly related to less access to structural resources in her social context. In contrast, her husband or a male colleague in a similar job may appear to have higher individual work motivation, yet this must also be viewed as partially structurally determined by the fact that most men (unlike their female counterparts) do not have to work a second domestic shift when they get home and may have more time to recover each day or on the weekends before they return to work.
Reward and motivation systems are often embedded in current employment social structures that lack strong workplace supports for flexible working hours, and devalue motivation to concurrently perform at a high level in work and non-work roles. Such systems serve to reinforce the existing demographic and organizational social status quo, which favors workers who look more traditional in work motivation. Similarly, if more and more single parents also tend to be poor and minority than wealthy and white, then they may lack resources for late night child care, not have enough money to buy a home computer and have the energy to help with homework when they get home from a long commute, or have the finances to hire cleaning and cooking. This also limits the hours they can work and ability to recover from the previous non-work hours each day. Thus, the effort and motivation exerted on the work role, and the opportunity to perform well in this role, are not only individual phenomena but can also be linked to a Mathew effect that links maintenance of the current social structure as a reinforcing loop.

Gerstel (2000) goes as far as to link caregiving as a systemic response to the current structure of employment and societal power. She maintains that African Americans and women may engage in caregiving as a technique of empowerment and survival. She found that African Americans – especially women but also men, spend more time helping family and friends as a means of empowerment and survival. Overall, Gerstel (2000) argues that women, thus provide more breadth and depth of caring for family dependents than men. The caregiver role occupies a greater proportion of their total life space.

**Motivation influences as social convoys.** Similarly, Kahn & Antonucci (1980) developed the notion of social convoys to refer to the social bands of people (mostly
family and kin) who accompany and move with individuals throughout life. The notion of social convoys is highly relevant to work motivation since it suggests that an individual’s behaviors, choices and effort at work are not uniquely determined by the individual but rather are embedded in the individual’s social context. Thus, individual motivation at work may be a function of the family, friends and kin who help shape an individual’s self concept about the work role vis-à-vis personal life. Most men, for example, travel in a social convoy that does not expect them to take significant time off from work to care for an elder or a child dependent. In contrast, more women employees do have this social convoy surrounding them (Moen, 2006). These are just a few examples of how motivation theory must view non-work influences in this larger social context, and as more than an individual level phenomenon. For work motivation theories to incorporate non-work and family influences, it is necessary to consider how attitudes, and motivation to perform in a work role, are influenced by the social context in which the individual is embedded and the extent to which that context may constrain and shape the individuals actions. Individual behavior is embedded in a social context that constrains and shapes its actions.

Relevance of Main Work-Family Theoretical Streams to Work Motivation

Building on this new grounding of assumptions, we now turn to several main theoretical streams of work and family research and discuss their relevance to the study of work motivation. The first stream includes the resource scarcity or rational theories on the importance of conservation of resources (e.g. Hobfoll, 1989). These formulations generally assume that higher involvement in non-work influences is a negative influence on work motivation because they deplete resources and energy. This first stream generally sees work and non-work as conflicting
and competing. The second main steam includes the role accumulation and work-family enrichment theories, which generally posit that higher involvement in non-work roles can be positive for the other role - in this case motivation for the work role, assuming that the work role is of equal or higher salience (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). This second stream sees non-work influences as a potential source of resources that can enhance the work role. What should be especially interesting to motivation scholars is that both streams essentially posit opposite competing hypotheses on the impact of non-work roles on work motivation.

The first theoretical stream is largely grounded in resource scarcity theory, which assumes that individuals have a fixed amount of time, energy and resources in their total life space to devote to work and non-work roles (Goode, 1960). It is assumed that the more individuals engage in multiple roles (such as work and non-work) the more conflicts they will experience. The resource scarcity view is sometimes also referred to as the rational view (c.f. Gutek, Searle, & Klepa, 1991). Rational views of work and non-work relationships hold that the amount of conflict an individual experiences between roles rises in direct proportion to the number of hours one spends in both work and family roles (Keith & Schafer. 1984). This is built on the idea of role overload and that time, emotions, and behaviors are likely to be in conflict when multiple roles are carried out (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

Resource scarcity/rational perspectives on non-work influences on job motivation. Drawing on resource scarcity theory, motivation scholars would generally assume that the more individuals are responsible for handling non-work demands such as family, the lower their work motivation. The assumptions are that the time and energy spent in the performance of family roles, and the strain from doing so act as barriers to an individuals’ work motivation. Further, the more that an employee has developed goals related to caring for the family or spending time
for family members, the more likely these goals would conflict with their desire to perform at a high level at the workplace. We give several examples based on gender and age and family involvement below.

Motivation theorists from a resource scarcity view are likely to posit a main effect for gender, number of children at home, elder care demands, level of involvement in housework, and lower effort and opportunity to have high motivation to perform well on the job. They would cite research on family-to-work spillover effects - where the demands of family spill over onto the work role, and create conflicts between family and work roles (Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996; Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985). They would also point out that social structures inherently foster relationships between work and family that are depleting for women and enriching for men (Rothbard, 2001).

If one didn’t have major elder care demands, age could have a positive moderating effect on work motivation, under a resource scarcity view. Older workers - both men and women alike - would be generally less encumbered by child care responsibilities and may be more able to devote higher effort on the job and have lower constraints to working long hours. This assumes that health remains good and energy and other resources such as social supports are not limited. However, for the 20% of the population that are part of the sandwich generation or the 10% with severe elder care demands - a figure likely to grow, it is unclear how elder care demands over the life course affect motivation under a resource scarcity perspective. Research needs to be done to compare how an individual’s resources are allocated for child care compared to elder care, and how these interact with other variables such as gender, and social structures.

**Role accumulation and enrichment perspectives on job motivation.** Role accumulation theory holds that multiple roles can actually be beneficial for motivation to perform well in
multiple roles and engagement, assuming that the roles are of good quality and are not too many to overload the individual. In their recent article, Greenhaus and Powell (2006) suggest three ways that multiple roles, also referred to as role accumulation, can have positive effects. The first pertains to the idea that multiple roles have additive effects. Individuals who are satisfied and involved with both work and family roles are more likely to have higher satisfaction than individuals only involved and satisfied with one role. This is sometimes referred to as an expansionist perspective on roles (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). Here the idea is the carrying out of one role such as a family role, leads to the enrichment of another role - the work role. It is also assumed that participation in multiple roles - particularly those that are meaningful and of good quality- does not necessarily create stress in and of itself, but can result in positive outcomes.

Enactment of both work and family roles has some synergistic effects and the ability to perform better in both roles is enhanced (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

The second positive effect hypothesized from participation in multiple social roles is that doing so can buffer individuals from negative effects in one of the roles. Thus, having a greater portfolio and diversity of roles can help individuals cope with problems when difficulties ensue, by not investing all of one’s eggs in one basket, so to speak, but hedging one’s life bets as an overall life role investment and protection strategy.

The third positive influence of involvement in multiple roles pertains to the notion that positive experiences and resources in one role can transfer and help produce positive experiences in another role. For example, skills learned at home (such as patience with children) can transfer to the work role and so help an individual learn to be a more patient manager. Another resource is positive self-evaluation such as if one feels good about their achievement in the parent role, there will be transfer over to the development of positive self-perceptions of their ability to
perform in the work role. Material resources can also be garnered from one role to another. For example, relationships developed with one’s boss through the participation of children in the same softball league, may provide enhanced access to information and social networks that help the individual perform his/her job better and feel more confident in his/her abilities to perform well.

Thus, while past research grounded in a work-family scarcity perspective has generally concentrated on work-family conflict (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1999), namely the notion that carrying out one role (at work or in the family) results in negative consequences for the other (either in the family or at work), newer updated approaches also consider work-family enrichment (Greenhaus and Powell, 2006). Roles are viewed as not only competing but as complimentary or enhancing, and with a potential for positive consequences of one role for another role rather than one role creating a stress for an individual in the other role. This new perspective suggests that future work motivation theorizing will need to consider the mixed effects of non-work roles on work motivation and to more precisely identify the conditions and situations under which work and family roles are motivating and enriching, and for whom. That is, what kinds of employees are embedded in what kind of work and family social structures, and which employees are most likely to benefit from employer work structures that are designed to promote behaviors where one segments personal life from work and sees the work role as primary.

**Some Applications of Motivation Theories to Work and Family:**

**Moving Beyond Gender and Age to Life Course, Workload and Mood Perspectives**

We now turn to a number of examples from well-known motivation theories that can also be applied here as examples to illustrate congruence with work family enrichment views. We
first give some examples of these theories in general and then discuss age and gender examples as part of what Moen, Elder & Lucher (1995) refer to as a life course perspective. This is the notion that careers and work and family roles and relationships intersect with gender and organizational and cultural social infrastructures (Moen, 2003). We believe it is important to discuss work motivation from this broader approach rather than look merely at age and gender in isolation as unique variables. This enables us to understand how when individuals are at different life and careers stages, work life motivational issues are likely to create common work life conflicts. For example, during early parenting years, role overload from having simply too much to do on and off the job is likely to create motivational challenges on the job. While these demands may still be higher for women, as individuals who traditionally conduct most of the caregiving, using this perspective of life stage may enable us to better tap into men who are involved in caregiving too.

**Some General Examples of Family Influences on Motivation**

Starting with content theories, from a needs-hierarchy perspective (Maslow, 1954), one might argue that the fulfillment of family roles will actually motivate employees at the workplace. Being part of a family fulfills individuals’ love, safety, esteem and affiliation needs. This reduces the potential strain from the role-conflict posited by work-family conflict theory. Also, the fulfillment of the family-level physiological needs (i.e., to provide for their family’s needs) represents a primary reason that some people come to work. As such, performance of the family role acts as a source of work motivation.

Using Herzberg’s (1968) two-factor theory, we could argue that family roles satisfy some necessary conditions for higher level intrinsic on-the-job-motivation (i.e., they serve as a hygiene factor). This has an indirect, positive impact on work motivation. In other words,
while there may be no direct positive effect of the presence of family roles on work motivation, the absence of satisfying family roles will hurt individuals’ work motivation because they do not have some of their needs satisfied. For example, this may happen if someone is employed in a job that requires people to constantly neglect attending to family issues that come up during the work day such as being able to take a phone call during work hours to be able to ensure a child gets home safely from school. In this case, an employee who identifies more with the family role than the work role may be unresponsive to policies designed to foster high work motivation, if their needs to satisfy family concerns are not met.

A second example of how non-work roles may affect work motivation theories may be illustrated using Vroom’s (1964) expectancy theory. Vroom’s theory maintains that individuals are likely to put forth efforts toward performance goals they believe they can achieve (expectancy), if they believe performing well will lead to outcomes (instrumentality), and if they value these outcomes (valence). Erez and Isen (2002) have demonstrated that the three components of the value-expectancy model (i.e. E, V and I) are each positively significantly influenced by positive affect. Those who have positive affect for the caregiver role and see enactment in this role as resource depleting, will thus be more likely to have lower work motivation. In contrast, those who see family and work roles as complimentary and enriching - will be more likely to have higher work motivation. It is crucial that studies examine the social cognitions individuals have regarding whether work and family roles are seen as complementary (positive affect regarding the caregiving role) or competing (negative affect in relation to work role). Holding actual resources and actual level of role involvement constant, this may provide insights into whether work motivation is enhanced or depleted by equal involvement in dual roles and the cross-domain inter-dynamics of affect and mood.
related to these role experiences. For example, for individuals where the caregiver role is depleting, they may have lower expectancy because they have to fulfill both work and caregiving roles. In other words, they may have to lower their expectancy so that they would be able to excel on their job at the same time as they are involved in caregiving, if they are assuming a resource depleting or tradeoff relationship between work and family. Not only would they have lower expectancies so that they could do both roles well, but because they would have lower expected work outcomes or instrumentalities as well. It is crucial that studies examine the social cognitions individuals hold with respect to whether work and family roles are seen as complementary (positive affect regarding the caregiving role) or competing (negative affect in relation to work role). Holding actual resources and actual level of role involvement constant, this may provide important insights into whether work motivation is enhanced or depleted by equal involvement in dual work and non-work roles and how within-person variation may occur in expectancies and outcomes for individuals of similar job and personal demographies.

Goal-setting formulations of work motivation theories would hold that individuals have specific goals to achieve when they have to meet family needs (such as earning money to satisfy the family’s needs, buying a house, or getting kids to school), and this may act as a source of motivation. A moderator of these relationships is related to the social identity and salience of roles. Individuals are more likely to apply resources from non-work roles to work roles when those non-work roles are particularly meaningful and salient for them. Of course, family roles and the way they are enacted in relation to the work role may co-vary with age and gender, which we discuss below.
Gender and motivation in social context: Mixed resource depletion and enriching interactive effects of caregiving roles. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 62.3% of women with children under six years of age, and 77.2% of women with children aged 6-17 are now employed (www.bls.gov). It is interesting to note that when examined as an individual demographic correlation, studies have found that women are generally more satisfied with their jobs than their male counterparts (Clark et al, 1996; Sousa-Poza and Sousa-Poza, 2000; Wharton, Rotolo and Bird, 2000; Kalleberg and Mastekaasa, 2001); yet at the same time are more involved in the family role than men - especially in caregiving. For example, although employment rates of women have increased in almost all countries over the past 30 years, overall women still perform 60 to 66% of domestic work (Eurostat, 2004) and 80% of the child care work (Robinson & Godbey, 1997).

Even when not directly providing care, mothers are the family member who arranges care and are more likely to handle problems and be on call when arrangements break down (Kossek, 1990). Studies also show that for elder care, the same trends are observed - regardless of blood relationship. As Kossek, Colquitt and Noe (2001) reported, working women take on the majority of elder caregiving for both in-laws and parents to a greater extent than men. Miller and Cafasso (1992) found that female caregivers were more likely to carry out personal care and household tasks and more likely to report greater overall caregiving burden. Granted more men are becoming involved in caregiving than in the past -figures for the U.S. Population Survey show that fathers have increased their time with children to 33 hours per week in 2000 up from 26 in 1975, while mothers time with children has remained constant at about 48 hours per week. (Bianchi & Raley, 2005). But overall, employed women are putting in extra hours and feel added responsibility for domestic chores. Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1990) refers to the additional
hours working women put in as a metaphorical “second shift”, the idea that when employed women come home from their jobs they have traditionally worked extra hours on unpaid domestic work from cooking to cleaning to caregiving. As a consequence, employed women, particularly those who identify and are responsible for caregiving, may perceive and actually have less opportunity to excel in the work role and climb the organizational ladder due to physical and mental exhaustion, assuming traditional motivational work structures that are not supportive of dual involvement in caregiving and breadwinning.

Thus, most employed women with dependents typically also dually take up greater domestic roles and caregiving demands in their families than their male counterparts. Not surprisingly, they are also more likely to see a tradeoff between work and career than men - a resource depletion view. For example, in one study, 90% of the sample that had voluntarily reduced their workload to take up part-time employment in order to accommodate family and other personal needs, were women (Lee and Kossek, 2005).

As this chapters’ earlier social contextual discussion and Moen’s (2003) notion of linked lives has indicated, many women may have a set of role expectations that includes conceptions of both caregiving and breadwinning orientations. Further, while both men and women may have similar education and enter the workforce at the same level, men are often paid higher and make better career progression than women over time, often because women have greater gaps in their labor force participation and/or are willing to turn down promotions or make career choices in the context of their family and partner situations than men. For example, Bailyn (1993) notes the lower likelihood of having children among high-career achieving women professors. Consistent with the social convoy effect, the effects of gender on work motivation are closely related to the effects of family roles.
Sirianni & Negrey (2000) argue that household labor market time investment and working time investment is partly organized through a social structure that gives greater rewards for paid labor market work to men. They note that for Western society, career models of employment are biased in favor of men who have fewer household demands. Rather than seeing women as unmotivated, alternative work arrangements should be implemented as a way to increase opportunities for women to advance and ensure that multiple roles are enriching rather than resource depleting for women.

Women are especially disadvantaged in labor market work when they strive to fit into the image of being a “good mother”, or “good housewife”, or a “good wife” (Simon, 1995) that places high demands on being a perfectionist at these roles. Historically, across many cultures, society has celebrated women who fit into the roles of these ideal types, and societal norms perpetuate these pressures on women to fit into a socially ideal nurturing and caregiver role of one who is available for meeting the needs of the family.

Yet at the same time, modern workplaces expect the good worker to be always available at work, and not have demands that impede work commitment, motivation and availability (Williams, 2000). Visibility at the workplace has been shown to be an important criterion for career success and promotions (Bailyn, 1993). It is often used as an organizational proxy for observable motivation. This social construction that one is an ideal worker if they are always available at work when needed, and an ideal caregiver by always being available to the family when needed, creates social conflicts especially for women. Workplace roles and motivational scripts, therefore, are gendered in the sense that they tend to fit the norms around the traditional household, especially glorified with a single breadwinner (often male) and a main caregiver. The burden of fulfilling these conflicting roles can have a detrimental effect on the work motivation
of women who perceive they not only have to nurture at home, but also face the “glass ceiling” at the workplace, especially when they face limitations in the amount of hours they can invest in the work role (Schwartz, 1994; Weeden, 2005). Working men, who also try to become involved in more caregiving and family nurturing roles are likely to face similar constraints.

Motivation over the age life span: Some non-work considerations. Kanfer and Ackerman (2004) describe a framework for understanding how age-related changes in adult development over the life span affect work motivation by using Kanfer’s (1987) expectancy-based model of motivational processing, which draws on Vroom’s (1964) work. They propose that age-related loss and growth in cognitive abilities affect motivation through their effects on the amount of effort required to sustain performance. As workers advance in age over the life span, their effort-performance relationship changes, and they adjust their work behavior and roles accordingly. There may also be non-work goals and activities that increase in salience over the life course (e.g. having a good retirement, developing positive relationships with children that may have been neglected while climbing the corporate ladder, improving spousal relationships, maintaining good health as one is closer to death, etc.). These non-work goals may increase in salience and valence or at least become more equal in valence to work goals. For example, the work motivation of older people is often associated with their well-being, as Bourne (1982) notes that cumulative absenteeism rates of older workers are directly related to their personal health. Thus, changes in non-work goals influence work motivation so that if physical health goals become more salient, then threats to that take precedence over attendance at work.

Studies indicate that decisions regarding work can be linked to age and life stage. For example, motivation to work and occupational choices and role investments may change as an individual starts a family or cares for dependents (Roper, 2002). Yet one issue with the current
work and family research is that it has tended to overstudy relationships at some stages of the life course and career stage over others, which may have also helped to create a lore and social zeitgeist that involvement in family roles are depleting. For example, most research in the work-family area during the 1980s and 1990s focused on the parental and child bearing phase of employees’ life course, namely the period when parents with young children were working. Then studies began in the 1990s started to study elder care responsibilities, particularly the effects on the lifestyles of employed caregivers. At this time researchers also coined the notion of the sandwiched generation - often those individuals in their 40s and 50s who had to provide both types of care - care for children and parents at the same time.

Future research is needed to examine the impact of changing work and non-work relationships over the lifespan and career course. Specifically, such research should adopt a broad perspective that considers a range of non-work relationships and goals, not just the caregiving role, assuming one kind of family structure (e.g., working parents dual earner) or a western orientation toward the primacy of work. For example, more research is needed to fully validate a commonly held but under-researched belief that the work motivation of young adults who have no childcare or eldercare responsibilities differs significantly from that of young parents or of middle aged couples with elder care responsibilities.

To supplement cross-sectional studies focused on age and non-work interests, research might also benefit from studies of career development over life stages drawing on research regarding how individuals’ work lives evolve over time (c.f. Erikson, 1950, 1963; Levinson, 1986; Super, 1957). These studies draw on psychoanalysis and examine how the development of individuals’ life stages grows parallel to work stages, and how career stages co-evolve with age (Wrobel, Raskin, Maranzano, Frankel, & Beacom, 2006). Drawing on Levinson’s (1986)
research as an example, researchers first assess how young adults formed their careers to learn about the workplace and select jobs that help them learn in the exploration stage, at the same time that initial family and personal life settlement is occurring. Later stages such as middle adult include answering such questions as, “Am I doing what I truly want with my life?” This type of question certainly affects work motivation as individuals explore avenues to rebuild their lives to fit in personal needs, and mature at the workplace. As employees become more senior on the job, and approach the empty nest stage concurrently with retirement, a different approach to work motivation may ensue. There is a paucity of studies that examine career, family and non-work interests in one study over the life span. This gap may be partly a function of the fact that Levinson’s research was based on the seasons of men’s lives. Studies that include both female and male notions of career over the life span may include more diversity of experience and also a greater emphasis on linkages to family caregiving roles simultaneously with career. Thus, more studies are needed that examine how the degree to which family life stage and the career stage of individuals simultaneously develop, relate to work motivation. For example, what are the effects on work motivation, when family and work progression occurs simultaneously, when family progresses ahead of work, or the reverse, and how does this link to age and gender?

Research does suggest that images of career and motivation to invest in career and additional training to advance skills can shift as individuals age (Colquitt, Lepine& Noe, 2000). For example, older workers are more likely to seek self-employment, work part time, and perform community service (DBM, 2001). Ten years ago, the conventional wisdom was that many workers were choosing early retirement. Many individuals retired early and were either unhappy with their non-working lives and also many did not have enough income to cover for a
longer life expectancy. More research is also needed on the growing trend towards part time
work among older workers, or even full time work after retiring from a first career, as a means of
accomplishing mid- and late-life goals for remaining active and sustaining “interest and
enjoyment” (Roper, 2002).

Clearly, therefore, age-related career decisions play an important role in an individual’s life.
These aspects of career decisions also mean that they affect individuals’ motivation to work, or
opt for lesser work, enter or exit the workforce, and make labor-market choices based on their
life stage and non-work interests and attachments. Although we focused many of the examples
in this chapter on the family role, because most of the research was developed in this area, this
section on aging and career development over the life course highlights the need for more studies
that examine the great diversity in career development over the life course within and across
cultural contexts.

Workload and Mood as Interactive Influences on Motivation and Well-Being and Work –
Family Conflict

A growing body of research is finding linkages between mood, opportunity for recovery, stress,
well-being, and health, offering a window for linking non-work influences to motivation. For
example, a press article (Ilies, Schwind, Wagner, Johnson, DeRue, & Ilgen) of employees
participating in an experience-sampling study, showed that employees’ perceptions of workload
predicted work-to-family conflict over time, even when controlling for the number of hours spent
at work. Ilies and colleagues also found that job workload influenced affect and blood pressure at
work, but it also in turn influenced well-being at home. Studies such as these show that the
interactions between work and family behaviors and well-being for any given individual is very
dynamic and inter-twined; yet traditional studies of work motivation rarely tap into non-work
influences on work and the iterative reciprocal relationships between these domains. For example, cross-over effects between work stress and well-being has been demonstrated in the literature, as Repetti (1993) found in research on the stress of air traffic controllers where on stressful work days the individuals reported lower well-being off the job. Over time, it will be increasingly difficult for researchers to disentangle whether motivation, stress, and well-being can be isolated, or are related to job influence alone or total life workload and demands. High workload is linked directly to distress at work, higher blood pressure, and then indirectly to well being at home and mood at home (Illes et al, in press). This cross-domain approach to the study of stress and well being is needed when studying motivation to perform. If one is not able to recover from workloads, then motivation will be affected at work the next day. For example, Sonnentag & Bayer, (2005) found that coping strategies for reducing work-family conflict involve limiting attachment to work as a way to not think about the growing workload for the next day, which can result in less effective recovery, and is likely to affect motivation to perform the next day. More study is needed on how recovery from work and family demands can affect work motivation over time.

**Summary and Implications for Future Research**

In this chapter, we have argued that work motivation theories must be updated to consider how motivation on the job may be influenced by off-the-job factors. Specifically, we have made four major points related to past work and future research:

1. Work motivation theories, operating at the individual level of analysis, do not take into account the dynamics and potential synergies between work and non-work demands, and goals. Yet we have shown that determinants of work motivation, including goals and values, are embedded in the individual’s social context
and thus must be considered from more than an individual level perspective. Sociological theories, with concepts like the Matthew effect and social convoys add appreciably to our understanding of the structural relations among work and non-work goals and demands.

2. Non-work influences represent more than just altered goals, expectancies, self-efficacy, etc. that influence goal choice and action, but are rather constraints and barriers to motivational outcomes. Organizations have the potential to reduce some of these constraints and barriers through their adoption and cultural support of policies and practices that enable or constrain one’s ability to have high work motivation at the same time as one has higher family motivation. We have also discussed how it is important to further examine the conditions under which dual investment in work and non-work interests may deplete or enrich the resources that individuals have to allocate to work. We encourage researchers to not examine the effects of age or gender decontextualized from the social environments in which these demographics are embedded within the prevailing social structures.

3. In the existing research, proxy or indicator variables for non-work influences are most often used, but provide little understanding of the dynamics for how they exert their effect on motivational outcomes (such as performance, work withdrawal, effort, or job choice). More theory is needed for understanding when and how proxy variables are useful.

4. A broader range of measures, taken over time, and across theoretically-suggested sensitive periods of personal change or family and adult development, are needed to investigate the person and situational factors that contribute to non-work influences on work motivation. We
have noted that one of the primary non-work influences on workplace motivation relates to the family and caregiving role. We conclude that while work-family research has focused on implications for employers and employees at the workplace, little has been done to understand how the family and one’s role in it can not only negatively but also positively influence work motivation. Most of the research that has been conducted to examine the effects of family or life stage on work motivation is theoretical in nature. These ideas need more empirical investigation with samples reflecting the current labor force.

We conclude with some additional themes for future research.

*Future research should be based on comprehensive models of linkages between work and non-work roles, individual and organizational performance outcomes, and workplace interventions (e.g., flexibility, supportive work-family culture) to support multiple role involvement.* Figure 1 shows one of many possible frameworks that could be built upon and refined to investigate possible linkages based on comprehensive models. For example, individual level variables such as age, gender and life stage are theorized to: (1) directly relate to work motivation (2), and to individual and organizational goal and outcomes. Organizational interventions such as the availability of alternative work arrangements and cultural support fostering dual involvement in work and non-work roles may interact with work motivation and indirectly link to a host of outcomes (job and life satisfaction, commitment, burnout, work-family conflict etc.). To illustrate possible connections, consider the use of flexible work arrangements.

____________________________________

Insert Figure 1 about here.

____________________________________
Their use allows employees to have greater control over their timing and duration of working hours and location of work. They also allow for greater control over the timing and delivery of some family and non-work tasks.

Use of these arrangements have been shown to be effective in the attraction and retention of high talent by enabling them to have a higher involvement in family and other non-work interests at the same time as maintaining investment in work roles (Kossek & Lee, 2005).

Thus, at face value, the availability of flexibility policies could lead to higher work motivation. By enabling employees to have the time to satisfy multiple needs discussed in Maslow’s (1954) theory (like social, self-esteem and affiliation needs), these working arrangements contribute to their motivation at the workplace. Once again, the satisfaction of these needs act as hygiene factors (Herzberg, 1968), such that the absence of such flexibility can hurt the motivation of employees. Flexibility to fit valued personal goals and needs into their working lives allows individuals to satisfy both personal and job goals, which in turn enhances work motivation.

Yet unfortunately this approach may be a naive view of organizational professional work cultures. Studies suggest that access to work-life supports may not necessarily enhance work motivation if the organizational culture does not fully support involvement in caregiving and other personal life roles and prevent backlash (Kossek et al., 2001).

Even if workers have acquired appropriate work behaviors and have access to work-family benefits as outcomes desired by the worker, their thoughts and beliefs could prevent them from engaging in appropriate behaviors contingent on these outcomes. Process theories suggest that the two cognitions that often stand in the way of maximum performance are related to expectancy and justice. If workers expect that use of work-life benefits such as flextime will
result in backlash, because they work in an organization where there is a culture that equates high face time with motivation, work-life benefits will be ineffective in motivating workers. However, if the culture supports use, studies show that users of these benefits are more likely to make employee suggestions and engage in extra-role behaviors such as helping co-workers (Lambert, 2000).

Future research should simultaneously investigate the individual and employer effects of non-work roles on work motivation and the effects of work motivation on family and non-work well-being and motivation to excel in personal and family roles. Studies tend to either investigate the effects of family as a detriment to work performance or examine the effects of work on family as a detriment to family performance. Although there are exceptions (c.f. Kossek et al., 2001), few studies take a balanced perspective that combines the competing, enrichment and depletion views. Yet studies clearly suggest that involvement in valued non-work roles without high work-family conflict can result in better mental health and job and life satisfaction for employees (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998).

More research using control groups are also needed to show that employers may benefit by supporting multiple role involvement - such as the existence of an interactive enriching cross-level effect- from organizational to individual - in a recursive fashion. For example, a report from the Families and Work Institute (Galinsky and Bond, 2005) shows that over a third of employees (36%) in workplaces with flexible working arrangements show positive mental health compared to only 13% of employees in workplaces lacking flexible work arrangements. Mental health and stress were measured based on the frequency of respondents indicating they felt stressed and did not get enough sleep. Future studies should also examine linkages between stress and sleep, mental health and health care costs and job motivation and effectiveness.
Studies sponsored by the Brandeis University Community, Families & Work Program (www.bcfwp.org) report that parents who work for employers that do not offer flexible working arrangements have higher levels of stress and also worry more about their children's after-school arrangements. They have lower performance evidenced by greater job disruptions, lower psychological well-being, more errors on the job, and are more likely to refuse requests to work extra hours and miss meetings and deadlines. The researchers surmised that workplace flexibility access can indirectly increase employer productivity by reducing parental stress. Future research should investigate the degree to which effective implementation of flexibility leads to actual reduction in workers’ stress over the caregiving role, and increases instrumentality and expectancies of high work and family performance.

Measure not only role occupancy but role identity and role demands: Move beyond simple demographic main effects. Researchers need to move beyond simple demographic main effects to consider how to best unpack observed and predicted interactions. Rather than simply measuring gender, age and number of children, for example, motivation researchers should assess how gender and age interact with the level of family demands at any particular life stage. For example, Kossek, Lautsch & Eaton (2006) found that although teleworkers generally have higher depression and higher work-family conflict, mothers with children who were telework users actually had significantly lower depression, unlike the studies’ main effect. This suggests vastly different motivational effects of the use of workplace interventions designed to foster greater integration between work and non-work roles, for different family stage groups by gender.

Researchers should also measure actual level of involvement in caregiving both quantitatively (number of hours and time use) and qualitatively (e.g. level of identity, affect etc.). In regards to the latter, social identity theory, which refers to an individual’s self-concept related to the most
meaningful social groups, may be relevant here (Tajfel, and Turner, 1986). Scholars might measure the individual’s involvement and the social identification with each of an individual’s most salient life roles (e.g., mother, worker, spouse, or citizen) as a particularly important influence on the effects of having family demands on work motivation. Such measurement of level of involvement in caregiving demands may be a better way to assess the effect of family on motivation rather than simple descriptives.

Such an approach would help researchers better resist the urge to suffice with simplistic operationalizations and measurement of demographic proxies for motivation. It would also enable researchers to not merely focus on gender and age effects as isolated antecedents of motivation. Rather, it would allow for greater consideration of linkages between life stages, family stages, career stages AND interactions with age and gender, and ethnicity effects.

*Focus on motivation shifts during key life transitions using within-subjects designs.* We have recommended that researchers should move beyond simple measurement of demographic descriptives. One approach for doing so might be to examine how workers’ motivational attitudes and behaviors may either be especially salient and/or shift at certain time periods in life. For example, motivation after the birth of a child, the death of a parent, the empty nest, the loss of a spouse or a spouse’s job, may be particularly good points at which to measure changes in work motivation. Of course, baseline measures of motivation should also be conducted prior and post to these seminal life transitional events to understand within-individual differences in motivational strength.

*Do not under-measure the social context and supports from work and home for individual motivation.* Given the discussion earlier in this chapter that motivation is not only an individual phenomenon, studies should measure the social context and work and family structures in which
individual motivation is embedded. For example, studies should measure the degree of formal and informal social and tangible support for non-work roles from supervisors, co-workers and other family members and their work organizations, which are viewed as indicators of contextual constraints/ or facilitators shaping one’s expectancies and opportunities to perform well. For example, research suggests that professional women’s motivation to work may be strongly correlated with the expectancy to be able to be supported in the use of work-life benefits provided by the organization that they work in (Schwartz, 1994).

Consider measurement of non-work and work role quality, workloads and permeability as influences on motivation. Theories of work-family enrichment and work-family conflict are based on the premise that people’s behaviors, attitudes and cognitions cross boundaries of work and non-work. More studies are needed that consider total life demands and workloads and the ease of border crossing, as well as individual preferences for segmentation and integration and current status quo as motivational factors. Researchers should also check their biases to ensure that gender and family responsibilities are not viewed as individual negative influences on work motivation, in and of themselves. We need more studies that examine the interactions between gender and family roles and responsibilities, and consider the interdependent and fluid relationships between work and non-work roles.

As an example, with technology such as cell phones, laptops and beepers that now enable greater accessibility to family and work 24-7, one big challenge for individuals’ motivational contexts may be in defining and self-managing the boundaries between work motivation and non-work life. Cognitive abilities and processes, which have a critical influence on motivation, can spill over from one’s personal to work life and vice versa. The process by which non-work life affects workplace motivation may be determined by how work life boundaries are defined,
where an individual perceives it, starts it and where it ends. An individual’s perceptions of control over the timing, delivery and affect of multi-tasking work and family roles represent an area particularly ripe for future motivation research.

*Develop multi-level studies on work and non-work motivational relationships.* Finally, methodological challenges exist as research on work motivation and non-work life spans many levels. We can think about how the family (a group level phenomenon) influences individual work motivation. Age and gender, both individual-level variables, can also affect either individual work motivation or group-level motivation (e.g., effectiveness in teamwork, access to flexible work arrangements in a work unit with limited slack). Organizational level cultures and workplace supports for non-work role involvement and idealized career paths are organizational-level issues. Cross-national variation may exist in norms and socialization regarding the hegemony of work and family roles and hierarchy of relationships. Clearly cross-level research on the interplay between work and non-work roles across these contexts is a rich area for future study.

**References**


Brandeis University Community, Families & Work Program (www.bcfwp.org)


Figure 1: Illustrative Framework of Some Possible Linkages between Non-work and Work Motivation, Employer Policies & Practices, and Outcomes

Non Work Influences
- Family and Career Life Stage
- Age & Gender Direct & Interactive Effects

Work Motivation
- Work Effort
- Choice of Occupation
- Expectancies

Organizational and Individual Outcomes, Goals
- Hierarchy & Valence of work life investments

4- Employer Policies & Practices
- Flexible Work Arrangements
- Supportive Work-Life Organizational Culture
- Perceived usability of benefits to support high dual involvement in work and non-work roles