

## WORK-LIFE IDEOLOGIES: THE CONTEXTUAL BASIS AND CONSEQUENCES OF BELIEFS ABOUT WORK AND LIFE

LISA M. LESLIE  
New York University

EDEN B. KING  
Rice University

JUDITH A. CLAIR  
Boston College

Work-life scholars have devoted considerable attention to understanding the relationship between work and life but surprisingly little attention to understanding how individuals *think about* the relationship between work and life. We propose that individuals hold three work-life ideologies, which we define as beliefs about how work and life are related: a fixed (versus expandable) pie ideology, a segmentation (versus integration) ideology, and a work (versus life) priority ideology. Beliefs about the world come, in large part, from the world itself. We therefore advance propositions regarding the contextual antecedents of work-life ideologies; exposure to contexts that prime scarcity, boundaries, and market forces increase the extent to which individuals hold fixed pie, segmentation, and work priority ideologies, respectively. For each prime we also provide four examples of objective contextual features—one each at the family, organizational, community, and societal level of analysis—that make the relevant prime salient and shape the associated work-life ideology. Finally, we propose that work-life ideologies are consequential because they affect individuals' work-life preferences and how they make sense of demands and resources, which, in turn, affect work-life conflict and enrichment. Our research advances understanding by expanding theory regarding the critical role of cognition in navigating work and life.

Understanding the intersection of work and life is of critical importance. In the last several decades we have seen a dramatic increase in the number of working women (e.g., Percheski, 2008). Women's increased labor force participation has resulted in a fundamental shift in family structures, away from a one breadwinner–one homemaker model and toward a dual career model (e.g., Sayer, 2005). As a result, men and women alike face significant demands at work and at home, and navigating the work-life interface has become a pervasive societal challenge. It is thus not surprising that a large body of work exists on how individuals manage work and life (e.g., Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Williams, Berdahl, & Vandello, 2016).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>We use the terms *work* and *life* to capture the distinction between individuals' work lives and their personal lives, defined broadly to include family, friends, hobbies, and so forth.

Nevertheless, current understanding is far from complete. In particular, the work-life literature often focuses on emotions and behavior while paying less attention to cognition. For example, typologies of work-life conflict include conflict that is strain, time, and behavior based but not cognition based (Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000), and theories often focus on affect as the mechanism through which work and life shape one another (e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Moreover, models of the work-life interface that incorporate cognition tend to focus on cognitive resources (e.g., attention, engagement; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Rothbard, 2001) or the cognitive processes individuals use to manage work-life boundaries (e.g., schemas, categorization; Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996); other types of cognition, however, are likely relevant. For example, individuals have a basic need to understand their social world on a cognitive level (Fiske & Taylor, 2008) and therefore form ideological beliefs regarding how the world works and what is true in society. Yet the possibility that

individuals hold ideologies regarding the nature of work and life has received little scholarly attention.

To expand theory regarding the role of cognition in the work-life literature, we introduce the construct of work-life ideologies, which we define as individuals' beliefs regarding how work and life are related to one another. We propose that individuals hold three work-life ideologies: (1) a fixed (versus expandable) pie ideology, which we define as the extent to which individuals believe work and life compete with or enhance one another; (2) a segmentation (versus integration) ideology, which we define as the extent to which individuals believe work and life are independent or interdependent domains; and (3) a work (versus life) priority ideology, which we define as the extent to which individuals believe work or life is the more important domain.

We then build theory regarding the antecedents of work-life ideologies. A core premise of our theory is that the contexts in which individuals are embedded, both currently and in the past, shape their work-life ideologies. Specifically, we propose that various contextual features make certain primes salient, and these, in turn, affect work-life ideologies; exposure to contexts that prime scarcity, boundaries, and market forces increase the extent to which individuals hold fixed pie, segmentation, and work priority ideologies, respectively. In addition to offering broad propositions regarding the contextual antecedents of work-life ideologies, we draw from socioecological psychology (e.g., Oishi, 2014) to identify examples of specific aspects of the objective context that make each prime salient. For each prime we discuss four different contextual features—one each at the family, organizational, community, and societal levels of analysis—that make the relevant prime salient and shape the associated work-life ideology.

Our focus on context does not imply that contexts are the sole determinant of work-life ideologies. Individual differences, such as genetics, personality, and demographics, are antecedents of other ideologies (e.g., political ideologies; Feldman & Johnston, 2014), and the same is likely true of work-life ideologies. Nevertheless, we focus on contextual antecedents for two reasons. First, context is a key driver of ideologies; ideologies are beliefs about how the world works, and it is intuitive that they come, in large part, from the

world itself (e.g., Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Jost, Nosek, & Gosling, 2008). Second, our understanding of the contextual influences on the work-life interface is limited (Eby et al., 2005; Williams et al., 2016). Thus, our focus on contextual antecedents affords a particularly novel opportunity for theory building.

Finally, we substantiate the importance of work-life ideologies by articulating their consequences for the work-life interface. We theorize that work-life ideologies (e.g., work priority) shape individuals' work-life preferences (e.g., the desire to prioritize work over life), which, in turn, drive their behavior (e.g., work hours). In addition, we propose that work-life ideologies shape how individuals make sense of demands and resources in their work and personal lives and, thus, have consequences for work-life conflict and enrichment.

This article expands theory regarding the critically important yet often overlooked role of cognition in understanding the work-life interface, thereby advancing the work-life literature in a number of ways. First, we introduce a new type of work-life cognition—work-life ideologies—that has consequences for understanding how individuals navigate work and life. As a result, gaining a full understanding of the work-life interface requires accounting for this work-life cognition. Second, we theorize that contexts affect work-life ideologies through the cognitive process of priming. Whereas in past work-life research scholars tended to focus on contextual features directly relevant to navigating work and life (e.g., family-supportive organizational perceptions; Allen, 2001), our priming perspective suggests that a broader array of contextual features are relevant. Third, our cognition-focused theorizing offers several new insights into existing constructs and relationships in the work-life literature. Specifically, we add new insight into the sources of individuals' work-life preferences (e.g., work priority, segmentation; Kanungo, 1982; Rothbard, Phillips, & Dumas, 2005) by theorizing that they stem from work-life ideologies and, more distally, contextual primes. We also contribute to theory on the well-established effects of demands on work-life conflict (e.g., Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007) and resources on work-life enrichment (e.g., Lapierre et al., 2018) by proposing that the cognitive process of sensemaking explains why individuals interpret the same demands and

resources as creating varying levels of conflict and enrichment.

### WORK-LIFE IDEOLOGIES

Ideologies are beliefs about how the world works and what is true in society (Eagleton, 2014; Homer-Dixon et al., 2013; Jost, 2006; Knight, 2006; van Dijk, 1998). Individuals have a basic need to make sense of their social world on a cognitive level (Fiske & Taylor, 2008), and it is therefore not surprising that they develop ideologies about different aspects of social life. For example, individuals hold different political ideologies, such as a right-wing, conservative ideology (i.e., societies benefit from maintaining the status quo and hierarchy) or a left-wing, liberal ideology (i.e., societies benefit from social change and equality; Jost et al., 2008). Likewise, individuals hold different diversity ideologies regarding the nature of intergroup relations, such as a color-blind ideology (i.e., differences are not meaningful) or a multicultural ideology (i.e., differences are valuable; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000).

Drawing from this broader literature, we define work-life ideologies as an individual-level construct that captures beliefs regarding how work and life are related. Work and personal life are the two core domains of individuals' social worlds. Individuals must navigate these two domains and their associated pushes and pulls on a daily basis, as illustrated by the vast body of research on work-life conflict and enrichment (e.g., Eby et al., 2005; Williams et al., 2016). It follows that individuals likely form ideological beliefs regarding how work and life are related.

To identify the content of individuals' work-life ideologies, we assume that conflicting scientific viewpoints provide a framework for understanding how individuals—naïve scientists themselves (Heider, 1958)—construct work-life ideologies. Just as scholars have developed different theories regarding the relationship between work and life, individuals likely hold different work-life ideologies. Using existing theoretical tensions in the work-life literature, we propose that individuals hold three work-life ideologies: a fixed (versus expandable) pie ideology, a segmentation (versus integration) ideology, and a work (versus life) priority ideology.

We conceptualize each work-life ideology as a continuum, anchored at each end by opposing beliefs. Because the beliefs that anchor the ends

of each work-life ideology are largely antithetical to one another, individuals are unlikely to strongly endorse both ends. We therefore conceptualize each work-life ideology as a bipolar continuum, not two distinct constructs. We contend that some individuals hold beliefs that fall at the extreme ends of each work-life ideology, but others hold beliefs that fall in the middle, which is consistent with other ideology types. For example, political ideologies are a bipolar continuum, anchored by strong conservatism versus liberalism (Fraleigh, Griffin, Belsky, & Roisman, 2012; Ware, 1996). Some individuals hold strongly conservative or strongly liberal beliefs, but others fall in between—for example, because they hold only moderately conservative/liberal beliefs or hold liberal beliefs on some issues (e.g., social issues) but conservative beliefs on others (e.g., fiscal issues).

#### A Fixed Pie Work-Life Ideology

We propose that individuals vary in the extent to which they hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology, which we define as beliefs regarding whether work and life compete with or enhance one another. At one extreme, individuals with a strong fixed pie ideology believe that a finite set of psychological and physical resources exists and is available to devote to either the work domain or the life domain. As a result, investment of resources (e.g., time, energy, commitment, etc.) in work necessarily depletes the resources available for life, and vice versa. At the other extreme, individuals with a strong expandable pie ideology believe that the work-life pie is expandable. As a result, investment of resources in work creates more resources for life, and vice versa. Individuals who fall between the two extremes may hold only moderately strong fixed/expandable pie beliefs or believe that some resources are fixed (e.g., time spent working takes time away from one's personal life), whereas others are expandable (e.g., self-confidence at work creates self-confidence in one's personal life).

The idea that individuals hold varying beliefs regarding the extent to which the work-life pie is fixed (versus expandable) is grounded in the theoretical tension between the scarcity and expansionist perspectives on the work-life interface. According to the scarcity perspective—the historically dominant perspective in the work-life literature—there is a finite pool of resources to

devote to work and life, and these domains therefore compete with one another (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Consistent with this perspective, research documents that investments in work and life often conflict with one another (e.g., Allen, Johnson, Kiburz, & Shockley, 2013; Ford et al., 2007; Michel, Kotrba, Mitchelson, Clark, & Baltes, 2011).

More recently, scholars have proposed an expansionist perspective (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). In direct contrast to the scarcity perspective, the expansionist perspective posits that work and life can be enriching such that investments in one domain increase the resources available for the other. Consistent with this theoretical viewpoint, evidence supports a positive relationship between investments in work and life (McNall, Nicklin, & Masuda, 2010; Rothbard, 2001). For example, commitment to the personal life domain can facilitate performance and satisfaction in the work domain (Dumas & Stanko, 2016; Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007). In all, research on the scarcity and expansionist perspectives provides a theoretical basis for the notion that individuals' work-life ideologies likely vary along a spectrum ranging from strongly held beliefs that work and life are a fixed pie to strongly held beliefs that work and life are an expandable pie.

### **A Segmentation Work-Life Ideology**

We propose that individuals also hold a segmentation (versus integration) ideology, which we define as beliefs regarding whether work and life are independent versus interdependent. At one extreme, individuals with a strong segmentation ideology believe that work and life are independent domains, separated by strong and impermeable boundaries. As a result, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in one domain do not influence thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in the other domain. At the other extreme, individuals with a strong integration ideology believe that work and life are interdependent domains, separated by weak and permeable boundaries. As a result, thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in one domain often influence thoughts, feelings, and behaviors in the other domain. Individuals who fall between the two extremes may hold only moderately strong segmentation/integration beliefs or believe that the interdependencies between work and life flow in a single direction (e.g., work influences personal life, but not vice versa).

The notion that individuals hold varying beliefs regarding the extent to which work and life are segmented (versus integrated) is mirrored in theoretical debates about whether work and life are independent versus interdependent domains. The idea that work and life are independent domains that do not influence one another is the traditional perspective on the work-life interface, particularly in Western settings, which has been dubbed the ideology of separate spheres (see Kanter, 1977). This viewpoint can be traced to Aristotle (Gelfand, Leslie, & Fehr, 2008) and is supported by role theory and boundary theory (Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). Role theory posits that the most effective way to manage roles is to keep the tasks and responsibilities associated with each role as distinct as possible and to prevent roles from influencing one another (Goode, 1960; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Katz & Kahn, 1978). Boundary theory similarly posits that individuals construct strong psychological boundaries between domains, including the domains of work and life (Ashforth et al., 2000).

More recently, scholars have suggested that the notion that work and life are independent domains is a myth and that preventing work and life from influencing one another is neither beneficial nor possible (e.g., Ramarajan & Reid, 2013). Moreover, although boundary theory focuses on the psychological boundaries individuals construct between domains, this theory also acknowledges that boundaries vary in flexibility and permeability (Ashforth et al., 2000; Bulger, Matthews, & Hoffman, 2007). In all, debate over whether work and personal life are independent versus interdependent domains supports the idea that individuals' work-life ideologies vary along a spectrum ranging from strongly held beliefs that work and life are segmented to strongly held beliefs that work and life are integrated.

### **A Work Priority Ideology**

Finally, we propose that individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology, which captures beliefs regarding whether work or personal life is more important. At one extreme, individuals with a strong work priority ideology believe that their work is more important than their personal life. As a result, work demands and commitments have precedence over personal life demands and commitments. At the other extreme, individuals

with a strong life priority ideology believe that their personal life is more important than their work. As a result, personal life demands and commitments have precedence over work demands and commitments. Individuals who fall between the two extremes may hold only moderately strong work/life priority beliefs or believe that only some personal life aspects are more important than work (e.g., family, but not hobbies).

The idea that individuals hold varying beliefs regarding the extent to which work (versus life) is the more important domain has a basis in existing theory. Support for the notion of work priority comes from theory on the ideal worker norm (e.g., Acker, 1990; Hoffman & Cowan, 2008; Williams, 2000) and the Protestant work ethic (e.g., Mirels & Garrett, 1971; Weber, 2002). Common to these theoretical perspectives is the idea that employees are required to demonstrate unwavering commitment and dedication to work and to give work priority over personal life commitments. As a result, employees are negatively evaluated by managers when they signal commitment to their personal lives (e.g., Leslie, Manchester, Park, & Mehng, 2012; Uhlmann, Heaphy, Ashford, Zhu, & Sanchez-Burks, 2013).

The ideal worker norm is countered by theoretical perspectives that identify individuals' personal lives as the center of social life and therefore raise questions about the utility of placing higher relative priority on work (cf. Dumas & Sanchez-Burks, 2015). For example, in developmental psychology, Bronfenbrenner's (1986) theory specifies family as a central determinant of child development. As another example, family systems theory posits that individuals must be understood in connection with their families (Papero, 1990). These perspectives emphasize that personal life—specifically, family—is a crucial determinant of individuals' psychological experiences and is therefore more important than work. Theoretical support for variation in whether work or personal life is more important also comes from research on cultural values; individuals "live to work" in masculine societies (e.g., the United States) but "work to live" in feminine societies (e.g., Sweden; Hofstede, 2001). In all, theoretical tensions regarding the relative importance of work versus life support the idea that individuals' ideologies vary along a spectrum ranging from strongly held work priority beliefs to strongly held life priority beliefs.

## Relationships with Existing Constructs

In advancing the construct of work-life ideologies, it is important to define not only work-life ideologies but also their relationships with other constructs. The idea that individuals hold work-life ideologies has yet to receive scholarly attention; however, literature does exist on individuals' *work-life preferences*, a broad term that captures personal values and attitudes regarding work and life. Specifically, scholars have studied preferences for segmenting versus integrating work and life (e.g., Rothbard et al., 2005; sample item: the desirability of "not having to think about work once I leave the workplace"), as well as preferences for prioritizing work versus life (e.g., Cinamon & Rich, 2002a; sample item: "The goal of my life is to have an interesting career").<sup>2,3</sup>

Ideologies are distinct from personal preferences. Ideologies are general beliefs about how the world works and what is true in society, whereas preferences are specific evaluative judgments that capture the liking of or value placed on an action or entity that is specific to an individual (Maio, Olson, Bernard, & Luke, 2006; Scherer, 2005; *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2011). Work-life ideologies therefore differ from work-life preferences, in that the former is a higher-order construct that captures descriptive beliefs about how work and life are related to one another as a general principle (e.g., to what extent are work and life segmented versus integrated?) and the latter is a lower-order construct that captures liking of and value placed on strategies individuals use to navigate work and life that are person specific (e.g., does an individual like or dislike taking work calls at home during the evening?).

Although distinct, ideologies and preferences are related; ideologies are a heuristic that individuals use to determine their preferences for or

<sup>2</sup>Preferences, values, and attitudes are distinct constructs but are conflated in work-life research. For example, work priority preferences have been referred to as work importance, priority, salience, centrality, commitment, and identity (e.g., Bagger & Li, 2012; Beutell & Brenner, 1986; Carlson & Kacmar, 2000; Cinamon & Rich, 2002a,b; Kanungo, 1982; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010). We use the term *preferences* to refer to these constructs collectively for the sake of parsimony and because preferences, values, and attitudes are all lower-level constructs that are influenced by the higher-level construct of ideologies (e.g., Rohan, 2000).

<sup>3</sup>In prior work scholars have not investigated fixed pie work-life preferences.

against specific actions or entities (Barley & Kunda, 1992; Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Leaper & Van, 2008; McKinley, Mone, & Barker, 1998; Rohan, 2000; Tetlock, Vieider, Patil, & Grant, 2013). Individuals are cognitive misers who strive to make decisions quickly and use few cognitive resources (Fiske & Taylor, 2008). When determining preferences, individuals are often faced with multiple options. Ideological beliefs are a tool that individuals use to sort through multiple options efficiently, with the result that individuals' preferences mirror their ideologies. For example, endorsement of a conservative political ideology increases support for candidates with conservative values (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009), endorsement of a multicultural diversity ideology (i.e., differences are valuable) reduces prejudice toward outgroups (Wolsko et al., 2000), and women's endorsement of a benevolent sexist ideology (i.e., women need men's help) increases their preferences for men with significant resources who can care for them (Travaglia, Overall, & Sibley, 2009).

Following the literature on other ideology types, we expect that work-life ideologies are an antecedent of work-life preferences; individuals form preferences for navigating work and life that are consistent with their ideological beliefs regarding the relationship between work and life. For example, when determining their preferences regarding prioritizing work or life, individuals likely use their ideological beliefs regarding which domain is more important as a heuristic. As a result, the extent to which individuals hold a work priority ideology (i.e., the general belief that work is more important than life) increases their preferences for prioritizing work over life (i.e., a personal desire to devote more resources to work than to personal life).

### THE CONTEXTUAL BASIS OF WORK-LIFE IDEOLOGIES

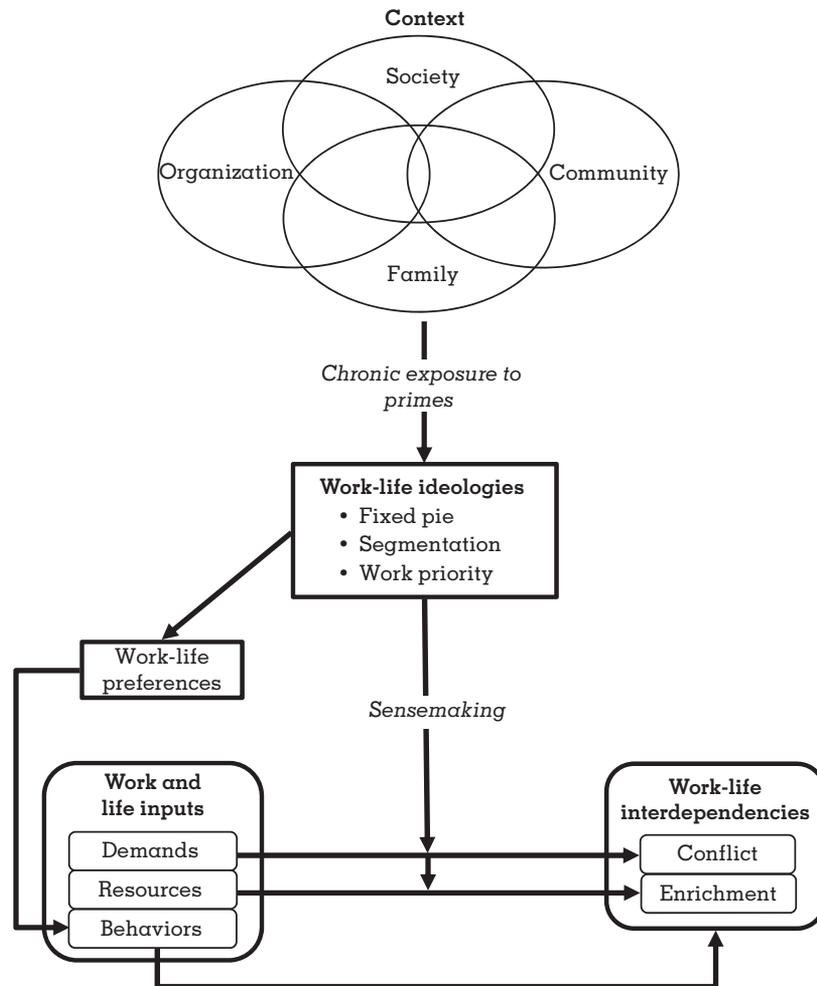
To the extent that individuals hold different ideological beliefs regarding the relationship between work and life, a natural question arises regarding their sources. Consistent with the literature on other ideology types, we contend that contexts shape individuals' work-life ideologies (e.g., Davis & Greenstein, 2009; Jost et al., 2008). It is intuitive that the contexts that individuals are exposed to play a central role in shaping their beliefs regarding how the world works. Indeed, Marxist scholars have long noted that ideologies

result from social life (Marx & Engels, 1970). Simply put, beliefs about the world come, in large part, from the world itself.

We theorize that contexts shape work-life ideologies through chronic exposure to primes (see Figure 1). Primes are stimuli that unconsciously activate social concepts and schemas (Bargh, 2006). Exposure to primes increases the salience and accessibility of certain concepts or schemas, which serve as a general lens through which individuals process information, including how they perceive entities and events, what they pay attention to, and what they remember. As a result, primes have far-reaching consequences for cognition, motivation, and behavior (e.g., Bargh, 2006; Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; Oyserman & Lee, 2008; Schröder & Thagard, 2012). Primes shape how individuals process information in general, with the result that the effects of a given prime extend beyond the specific domain in which it is experienced (Bargh, 2006; Schröder & Thagard, 2012). For example, exposure to business objects (e.g., a briefcase) primes competition and increases both perceptions of others' behavior as competitive and one's own competitive behavior in unrelated interactions (Kay, Wheeler, Bargh, & Ross, 2004). Likewise, exposure to fast food primes impatience and increases preferences for instant gratification and savings behavior in the unrelated domain of personal finances (DeVoe, House, & Zhong, 2013).

We adopt a priming framework and theorize that the primes individuals are exposed to shape their work-life ideologies. More specifically, we develop propositions regarding the prime associated with each work-life ideology; exposure to scarcity primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a fixed pie ideology, exposure to boundary primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation ideology, and exposure to market primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a work priority ideology. Because the concepts and schemas activated by a prime serve as a general lens through which individuals process information, we contend that primes affect individuals' work-life ideologies (e.g., a fixed pie ideology), even if they are unrelated to the relationship between work and life (e.g., scarcity of economic resources). Notably, individuals are often exposed to multiple primes simultaneously, which can reinforce (i.e., activate the same concept) or counteract (i.e., activate competing concepts) one another (Bargh, 2006; Schröder & Thagard, 2012). Moreover, work-life

**FIGURE 1**  
**The Contextual Basis and Consequences of Work-Life Ideologies**



ideologies are likely shaped by primes individuals are currently exposed to and those they were exposed to in the past (e.g., during childhood). Thus, we propose that work-life ideologies are a function of the constellation of primes individuals experience throughout their life; individuals hold a given work-life ideology (e.g., a segmentation ideology) more strongly if their exposure to the relevant prime is chronic and consistent (e.g., exposure to many boundary primes across time) than they do if their exposure is infrequent or inconsistent (e.g., exposure to few boundary primes or both boundary and continuity primes).

Consistent with these ideas, research documents that other ideology types are a function of exposure to past and present contextual primes. In terms of past primes, exposure to parental job insecurity (i.e., many layoffs) as a child decreases

endorsement of a humanistic work ideology as an adult (i.e., the belief that work is inherently good and fulfilling; Barling, Dupre, & Hepburn, 1998), and exposure to an authoritarian parenting style as a child increases endorsement of a conservative political ideology as an adult (Fraleley et al., 2012). In terms of present primes, living in a community where liberal (versus conservative) attitudes prevail (e.g., the northeastern United States, urban settings) increases women's endorsement of a feminist ideology (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004), and exposure to current events that prime mortality salience (e.g., the 9/11 terror attacks) increases individuals' endorsement of a conservative political ideology (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Landau et al., 2004).

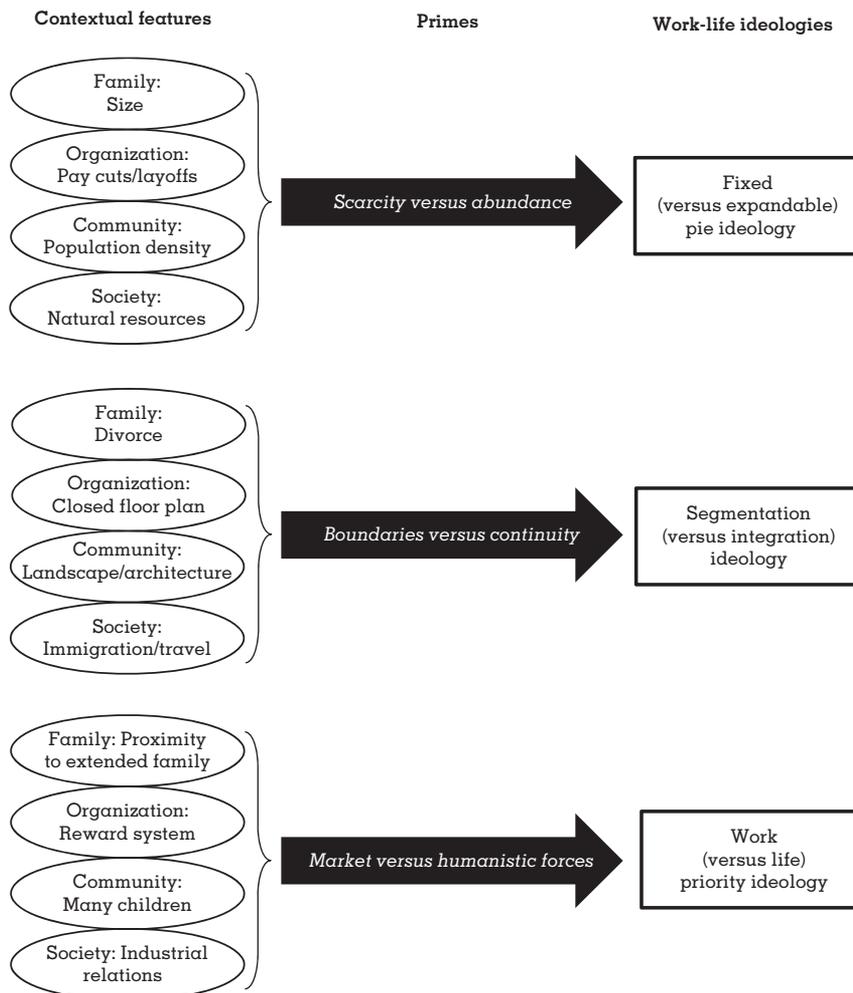
Our propositions regarding the primes that shape work-life ideologies are broad and, thus,

apply to multiple levels of context, including family (i.e., an individual’s household), organizational (i.e., the company an individual works for), community (i.e., the neighborhood, town, or city an individual lives in), and societal (i.e., the country an individual lives in) contexts. Thus, in addition to offering broad propositions, for each prime we illustrate our theory by providing four examples of specific contextual features—one each at the family, organizational, community, and societal levels of analysis—that make the relevant prime salient and, thus, shape the associated work-life ideology (see Figure 2).

In identifying contextual features relevant to each prime, we draw from socioecological psychology. Socioecological psychology focuses on how objective features of the social contexts—or

everyday environments—that individuals are embedded in shape their affect, cognition, and behavior (Oishi, 2014; Oishi & Graham, 2010). It also focuses on four types of objective contexts—economic (e.g., poverty rates), interpersonal (e.g., population density), political (e.g., laws and regulations), and physical (e.g., climate)—that can each operate at multiple levels of analysis (Oishi, 2014). We focus our examples on objective socioecological contexts for two reasons. First, consistent with our priming framework, socioecological contexts often operate through exposure to primes (e.g., Butz & Yogeewaran, 2011; DeVoe et al., 2013; Hill, Rodeheffer, Griskevicius, Durante, & White, 2012). Second, prior work-life research that accounts for context has often focused on individuals’ subjective perceptions of

**FIGURE 2**  
**Example Linkages Between Contexts and Work-Life Ideologies**



contexts (e.g., Allen, 2001; Ng & Feldman, 2012; Voydanoff, 2004; Williams et al., 2016). By identifying objective contextual features that affect individuals' work-life ideologies, we expand our understanding of the types of contextual features relevant to work-life research.<sup>4</sup>

### Scarcity Primes and a Fixed Pie Work-Life Ideology

We propose that chronic exposure to contextual features that prime scarcity (versus abundance) influences the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology. Various contextual features signal scarcity versus abundance and, in turn, shape cognition and behavior. Broadly speaking, "scarcity creates its own mindset, changing how individuals look at problems and make decisions" (Shah, Mullainathan, & Shafir, 2012: 682). For example, evidence indicates that declining economic conditions increase stereotyping (King, Knight, & Hebl, 2010); time scarcity increases focus (Karau & Kelly, 1992); monetary, time, and caloric scarcity increase attention to pressing needs (Shah, Shafir, & Mullainathan, 2015); and scarcity in childhood reduces savings behavior in adulthood (Griskevicius et al., 2013).

Extending these findings, we theorize that chronic exposure to scarcity primes also shapes ideological beliefs regarding the extent to which work and life are a fixed pie. When resources are scarce, individuals assume that dedicating resources to one entity or activity necessarily means there will be fewer resources available for others (Foster, 1965; Shah et al., 2015). Scarcity primes are therefore likely to increase the activation and salience of a schema in which resources are finite and fixed. The schema activated by a prime serves as a general lens through which individuals process information (Bargh, 2006), with the result that chronic exposure to scarcity primes likely influences how individuals think about the relationship between work and life. Specifically, when a schema in which resources are finite and fixed is chronically activated,

individuals are likely to apply this schema to their beliefs about work and life, and also notice and remember ways that resources devoted to one domain deplete resources available for the other, thereby increasing the likelihood that they hold a fixed pie work-life ideology.

In contrast, abundance primes increase the activation and salience of a schema in which resources are plentiful and expandable, which, in turn, shapes how individuals process information, including how they think about work and life. When a schema in which resources are plentiful and expandable is chronically activated, individuals are likely to apply this schema to their beliefs about work and life, and also notice and remember ways that resources devoted to one domain enhance the resources available for the other. Thus, chronic exposure to abundance primes increases the likelihood that individuals hold an expandable pie work-life ideology.

*Proposition 1. Chronic exposure to scarcity (versus abundance) primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology.*

Any number of contextual features at different levels of analysis may prime scarcity. As examples, we discuss four distinct contextual features—each of which operates at a different level of analysis (i.e., family, organization, community, society)—that prime scarcity and increase the extent to which individuals hold a fixed pie work-life ideology.

**Family context.** Family size is an interpersonal feature of the family context that likely primes scarcity (versus abundance) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology. In sociological research, a large family is often considered a risk factor for children (e.g., Downey, 1995; Shavit & Pierce, 1991). The rationale is that the total resources available in a household are divided by the number of people in it. Thus, as the number of children in a household increases, the resources any one child receives from their parents (e.g., time, attention, energy) become more diluted and scarcer, all else being equal. Being part of a large family, as either a child or an adult, is therefore likely to prime scarcity and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a fixed pie work-life ideology. By comparison, being part of a small family in which the resources

<sup>4</sup>For each prime we organize our discussion of specific contextual features by level of analysis (i.e., family, organization, community, society), not by social ecology type (i.e., economic, interpersonal, political, physical). At the same time, we indicate whether each contextual feature is an example of the economic, interpersonal, political, or physical context, and the set of contextual features we discuss provides multiple examples of each social ecology type.

available for each member are more plentiful, all else being equal, is likely to prime abundance and increase the likelihood that individuals hold an expandable pie work-life ideology.

**Organizational context.** Pay cuts and layoffs are economic features of the organizational context that likely prime scarcity (versus abundance) and, thus, shape the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology. Individuals are affected not only by their personal financial well-being (Berkman, Kawachi, & Glymour, 2014; Bornstein & Bradley, 2014) but also by the financial well-being of the contexts in which they are embedded. For example, economic downturns increase individuals' perceptions that success is a fixed resource such that one individual's success necessarily means it will be harder for others to succeed (Sirola & Pitesa, 2017). In organizations, pay cuts and layoffs similarly indicate that the financial well-being of an organization is declining, and they are therefore likely to increase perceptions of resources as finite and fixed. It follows that pay cuts and layoffs are likely to prime scarcity and, in turn, increase the likelihood that organizational members hold a fixed pie work-life ideology. Alternatively, pay increases and extensive hiring are likely to prime abundance and increase the likelihood that organizational members hold an expandable pie work-life ideology.

**Community context.** High population density is an interpersonal feature of the community context that likely primes scarcity (versus abundance) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology. Prior work indicates that population density increases perceptions of resources as limited, therefore motivating individuals to compete, rather than cooperate, with one another (cf. Hannan & Carroll, 1992). Indeed, higher population density is associated with less cooperation and fewer helping behaviors (e.g., Steblay, 1987). Living in a community with a high population density, where resources are limited and competition is high, is therefore likely to prime scarcity and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a fixed pie work-life ideology. In contrast, living in a community with a low population density, where resources are perceived as more available and there is less competition, is likely to prime abundance and increase the likelihood that individuals hold an expandable pie work-life ideology.

**Societal context.** The availability of natural resources is a physical feature of the societal context that likely primes scarcity (versus abundance) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology. Societies differ with regard to the availability of natural resources, such as farmland, safe water, and protein supply, which, in turn, has implications for cognition. For example, limited availability of natural resources is an indicator of scarcity and threat to survival that increases cultural tightness (i.e., the perceived strength of social norms; Gelfand et al., 2011). Living in a society with few natural resources is therefore likely to prime scarcity, thereby increasing the likelihood that individuals hold a fixed pie work-life ideology. In contrast, living in a society with many natural resources is likely to prime abundance, thereby increasing the likelihood that individuals hold an expandable pie ideology.

### **Boundary Primes and a Segmentation Work-Life Ideology**

We propose that chronic exposure to contextual features that prime boundaries (versus continuity) influences the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology. Various contextual features emphasize either separation and strong boundaries or continuity and weak boundaries. For example, in organizations, artifacts such as nameplates on doors and behaviors such as excluding others from a project are used to varying degrees to stake out territory and create boundaries (Brown, Lawrence, & Robinson, 2005). The human brain has evolved to be sensitive to such boundaries (e.g., Murray, Imber, Javitt, & Foxe, 2006), and boundary primes therefore have implications for cognition and behavior. For example, establishing strong boundaries around one's ideas reduces creative input from others (Brown & Baer, 2015), and the presence of fault lines that create boundaries among team members shapes team members' cognition (e.g., identification and satisfaction with the team) and behavior (e.g., level of conflict and performance; for a review see Thatcher & Patel, 2012).

Extending these findings, we theorize that chronic exposure to boundary primes also shapes individuals' ideological beliefs regarding the extent to which work and life are segmented. Boundary primes are likely to increase the activation

and salience of concepts such as separation and independence. The concepts activated by a prime serve as a general lens through which individuals process information (Bargh, 2006), with the result that chronic exposure to boundary primes likely influences how individuals think about the relationship between work and life. Specifically, when the concepts of separation and independence are chronically activated, individuals are likely to apply these concepts to their beliefs about work and life, and they are also likely to notice and remember ways that work and life operate independently of one another, thereby increasing the likelihood they hold a segmentation work-life ideology.

In contrast, continuity primes increase the activation and salience of concepts such as connection and dependence, which, in turn, shape how individuals process information, including how they think about work and life. When the concepts of connection and dependence are chronically activated, individuals are likely to apply these concepts to their beliefs about work and life, and they are likely to notice and remember ways that work and life are interdependent. Thus, exposure to continuity primes increases the likelihood that individuals hold an integration work-life ideology.

*Proposition 2. Chronic exposure to boundary (versus continuity) primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology.*

Like scarcity primes, any number of contextual features may provide boundary primes. As examples, we discuss four distinct contextual features—each of which operates at a different level of analysis (i.e., family, organization, community, society)—that prime boundaries and increase the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation ideology.

**Family context.** Divorce is an interpersonal feature of the family context that likely primes boundaries (versus continuity) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology. Relative to members of nondivorced families, members of divorced families encounter more boundaries in their daily lives, such as the boundaries between the households associated with each parent or between the times of the week children spend with one parent versus the other. Consistent with these ideas, scholars have noted

that divorce involves a renegotiation of family life in which boundaries become more pronounced and rigid (Emery & Dillon, 1994). Being a member of a divorced family is therefore likely to prime boundaries and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a segmentation work-life ideology. In contrast, being a member of a non-divorced family, characterized by fewer and less rigid boundaries, is likely to prime continuity and increase the likelihood that individuals hold an integration work-life ideology.

**Organizational context.** Whether an office floor plan is closed (e.g., offices or cubicles) or open (e.g., communal work spaces) constitutes a physical feature of the organizational context that likely primes boundaries (versus continuity) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology. Relative to open floor plans, closed floor plans create not only more physical barriers between employees but also more social barriers that manifest as decreased communication and social interaction (Ives & Ferdinands, 1974; Oldham & Brass, 1979). Because of the presence of physical and social separation among employees, working in an organization with a closed office floor plan is likely to prime boundaries and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a segmentation work-life ideology. In contrast, working in an organization with an open floor plan is likely to prime continuity and increase the likelihood that individuals hold an integration work-life ideology.

**Community context.** Landscapes and architecture are physical features of the community context that likely prime boundaries (versus continuity) and, thus, shape the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology. Indeed, landscapes and architecture affect the salience of boundaries. For example, American landscapes and architecture are well-defined, with many focal objects, therefore fostering bounded processing, whereas Japanese landscapes and architecture are ambiguous, with few focal objects, therefore fostering holistic processing (Miyamoto, Nisbett, & Masuda, 2006). Thus, living in a community with landscapes (e.g., rivers, mountains; Leach, 1997) and architecture (e.g., angularity, color contrasts; Cadenasso, Pickett, Weathers, & Jones, 2003) that prime boundaries may increase the likelihood that individuals hold a segmentation work-life ideology. In contrast, living in a community with

landscapes (e.g., open planes) and architecture (e.g., curved lines) that prime continuity may increase the likelihood that individuals hold an integration work-life ideology.

**Societal context.** The restrictiveness of policies that govern travel and immigration is a political feature of the societal context that likely primes boundaries (versus continuity) and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology. For example, the restrictive travel policies between East and West Germany from 1961 to 1989 likely provided a strong boundary prime, since they were enforced with a physical boundary (i.e., the Berlin Wall; Harrison, 2014). Likewise, the restrictive immigration policies associated with Great Britain's 2016 exit from the European Union have increased social divisions and strong boundaries between ethnic groups (Meleady, Seger, & Vermue, 2017). Living in a society with restrictive immigration and travel policies is therefore likely to prime boundaries and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a segmentation work-life ideology. In contrast, living in a society with permissive immigration and travel policies is likely to prime continuity and increase the likelihood that individuals hold an integration work-life ideology.

### Market Primes and a Work Priority Ideology

Finally, we propose that chronic exposure to contextual features that prime market (versus humanistic) forces shapes the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology. Various contextual features increase the salience of either market forces (i.e., factors that facilitate market systems, such as productivity, material wealth, and exchange) or humanistic forces (i.e., factors that facilitate overall quality of life, such as leisure, relationships, and family). Indeed, contexts vary widely in the extent to which policies and norms emphasize maximizing productivity and financial success versus quality of life for individuals and their families (e.g., Davies & Frink, 2014; Hofstede, 2001; Lewis, 2001; Williams, 1995, 2000). Research demonstrates that market primes affect cognition and behavior. For example, when market primes—specifically, money (e.g., sorting coins versus buttons)—are made salient, individuals adopt an exchange mentality, focus on practicality, report that they intend to work long hours, and perform

well on a variety of different tasks (for a review see Vohs, 2015).<sup>5</sup>

Extending these findings, we theorize that chronic exposure to market primes also shapes individuals' ideological beliefs regarding the extent to which work or life is more important. Market primes increase the activation and salience of concepts such as productivity and exchange (Vohs, 2015). The concepts activated by a prime serve as a general lens through which individuals process information (Bargh, 2006), with the result that chronic exposure to scarcity primes likely influences how individuals think about the relationship between work and life. Specifically, chronic activation of the concepts of productivity and exchange—concepts closely associated with the work domain—signal that these concepts are important and central in the world. In applying these concepts to their work-life beliefs, individuals are likely to see work as more important than their personal life and are also likely to notice and remember ways that work takes precedence over personal life, thereby increasing the likelihood that they hold a work priority ideology.

In contrast, humanistic primes increase the activation and salience of concepts such as leisure and family, which, in turn, shape how individuals process information, including how they think about work and life. Chronic activation of the concepts of leisure and family—concepts closely associated with the personal life domain—signals that these concepts are important and central in the world. In applying these concepts to their work-life beliefs, individuals are likely to see their personal life as more important than work and are also likely to notice and remember ways that personal life takes precedence over work, thereby increasing the likelihood that they hold a life priority ideology.

*Proposition 3. Chronic exposure to market (versus humanistic) primes increases the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology.*

<sup>5</sup>Consistent with the other primes, we conceptualize market versus humanistic primes as a bipolar continuum, given that many contextual features likely vary on this continuum. For example, no paid parental leave in an organization primes market forces (i.e., a focus on productivity and exchange), whereas generous paid parental leave primes humanistic forces (i.e., a focus on family). Nevertheless, we acknowledge the possibility that some contextual features could prime both market and humanistic forces simultaneously.

Like the other primes, any number of contextual features may provide market primes. As examples, we discuss four distinct contextual features—each of which operates at a different level of analysis (i.e., family, organization, community, society)—that prime market forces and increase the extent to which individuals hold a work priority ideology.

**Family context.** The geographic distance between individuals and their extended family is an interpersonal feature of the family context that likely primes market (versus humanistic) forces and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology. Proximity to grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins increases family interactions, such as weekly dinners, attendance at children's activities, and celebratory events (Mulder & Cooke, 2009), which, in turn, signal the importance of family and leisure (cf. Bengtson, 2001). Proximity to extended family is therefore likely to prime humanistic forces, thereby increasing the likelihood that individuals hold a life priority ideology. In contrast, geographic separation from and infrequent interactions with family may signal that family and leisure are less important and that other pursuits, such as work productivity, have comparatively greater importance, thereby priming market forces and increasing the likelihood individuals hold a work priority ideology.

**Organizational context.** The reward system is an economic feature of the organizational context that likely primes market (versus humanistic) forces and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology. Some reward systems incentivize employees to work long hours—for example, by offering large bonuses to employees who work extra hours, compensating employees for unused vacation days, or paying for dinner and a ride home for employees who stay late at the office (e.g., Lyons, 2017). Such reward systems, which signal the importance of maximizing productivity, are likely to prime market forces, thereby increasing the likelihood that individuals hold a work priority ideology. In other organizations it is not possible to earn extra compensation by working long hours. The absence of such incentives may suggest that maximizing work productivity is comparatively less important and that other pursuits, such as spending time on family and leisure, have greater relative importance, thereby priming humanistic forces and increasing the likelihood individuals hold a life priority ideology.

**Community context.** The number of households with young children in a neighborhood is an interpersonal feature of the community context that likely primes market (versus humanistic) forces and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology. The number of households with young children is positively related to perceptions that a community is family friendly (Swisher, Sweet, & Moen, 2004). In such communities individuals frequently see children interacting and playing with their families, which likely serves as a reminder of the importance of leisure and family. Thus, living in a community with many children is likely to prime humanistic forces, thereby increasing the likelihood that individuals hold a life priority ideology. In contrast, living in a community with many singles or childless couples may signal that family and leisure are less important and that other pursuits, such as work productivity, have greater relative importance, thereby priming market forces and increasing the likelihood that individuals hold a work priority ideology.

**Societal context.** The industrial relations system is a political feature of the societal context that likely primes market (versus humanistic) forces and, thus, shapes the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology. Industrial relations systems that support social welfare (e.g., laws that limit work hours and provide generous health care and parental leave) are positively related to the well-being of individuals, owing to the greater accessibility of social support and resources they provide for the self and one's family (Pacek & Radcliff, 2008). Living in a society with an industrial relations system that supports social welfare is therefore likely to prime humanistic forces and, in turn, increase the likelihood that individuals hold a life priority ideology. In contrast, industrial relation systems that provide comparatively few social resources and supports, instead signaling that it is individuals' responsibility to secure their own resources and support, are likely to prime market forces and increase the likelihood that individuals hold a work priority ideology.

## CONSEQUENCES OF WORK-LIFE IDEOLOGIES

We have theorized that individuals hold distinct work-life ideologies that are shaped, in part, by exposure to contextual primes. Work-life ideologies, in turn, have consequences for the

work-life interface. Research on the work-life interface indicates that individuals' work and life inputs (i.e., behaviors, demands, and resources) affect the interdependencies they experience between work and life (i.e., work-life conflict and enrichment; e.g., Ford et al., 2007; Lapierre et al., 2018; Michel et al., 2011; see Figure 1). We extend prior work by theorizing that work-life ideologies affect the work-life interface through two mechanisms: preferences and sensemaking.

### Work-Life Ideologies As a Source of Preferences

We theorize that work-life ideologies have an indirect effect on work-life behaviors, including segmentation and work priority behaviors, via preferences. Prior work has shown that ideologies drive preferences. Individuals use ideological beliefs as a heuristic in forming their preferences such that their preferences mirror their ideologies (e.g., Tetlock et al., 2013). Work-life ideologies are therefore likely to shape preferences. The extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) ideology increases their segmentation (versus integration) preferences (i.e., preferences for maintaining the independence of work and life). Likewise, the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology increases their work (versus life) priority preferences (i.e., preferences for prioritizing work over life).

Evidence has shown that work-life preferences, in turn, drive behavior such that individuals behave in ways that are consistent with their preferences. Specifically, segmentation (versus integration) preferences are positively related to segmentation (versus integration) behaviors, which scholars define as behaviors that maintain the independence of (and strong boundaries between) work and life, such as not doing work, checking email, or talking about work while at home and not talking about one's personal life, displaying family photos, or doing personal life tasks while at work (e.g., Kossek & Lautsch, 2012).<sup>6</sup> Likewise, work (versus life) priority preferences increase work (versus life) priority behaviors, which scholars define as behaviors that involve allocating resources (e.g., time, energy, effort) to

work instead of life, such as working long hours, arriving at work early or staying late, and choosing work activities over personal life activities (e.g., Brett & Stroh, 2003; Cinamon & Rich, 2002b; Lobel & St. Clair, 1992).

Notably, unlike segmentation and work priority, scholars have not investigated preferences for viewing work and life as a fixed (versus expandable) pie. This is not surprising, given that a fixed pie ideology is unlikely to exist as a preference; individuals who strongly believe that work and life compete with one another are unlikely to believe that this reality is desirable. We therefore expect that segmentation and work priority ideologies, but not a fixed pie ideology, have an indirect effect on work and life behaviors, through preferences.

*Proposition 4: The extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology increases their segmentation (versus integration) work-life preferences and, in turn, their likelihood of engaging in segmentation (versus integration) work-life behaviors.*

*Proposition 5: The extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology increases their work (versus life) priority preferences and, in turn, their likelihood of engaging in work (versus life) priority behaviors.*

As shown in Figure 1, prior work demonstrates that work-life behaviors affect work-life conflict (i.e., perceptions that demands and obligations in one domain interfere with demands and obligations in the other; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985) and enrichment (i.e., perceptions that resources and experiences in one domain enhance resources and experiences in the other; e.g., Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Specifically, segmentation (versus integration) behaviors create strong boundaries between work and life, therefore reducing both work-life conflict—by preventing the nonactive domain from creating interruptions and distractions that take away from the domain an individual is currently engaged in—and work-life enrichment—by preventing the cross-domain transference of beneficial resources (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2000; Boswell & Olson-Buchanan, 2007; Bulger et al., 2007; Hecht & Allen, 2009; Kossek, Ruderman, Braddy, & Hannum, 2012). In contrast,

<sup>6</sup>Segmentation (versus integration) behaviors have also been referred to as boundary management strategies and practices (e.g., Bulger et al., 2007; Kossek, Lautsch & Eaton, 2006).

the effects of work (versus life) priority behaviors on work-life interdependencies depend on directionality; work priority behaviors (e.g., working long hours) increase work-to-life conflict, because devoting considerable resources to work reduces the resources available for life, whereas life priority behaviors (e.g., spending a lot of time on personal life activities) increases life-to-work conflict, because devoting resources to life reduces the resources available for work (e.g., Byron, 2005; Ford et al., 2007). Alternatively, work (versus life) priority behaviors do not have consistent effects on enrichment (e.g., Lapierre et al., 2018). The previously established effects of work-life behaviors on conflict and enrichment suggest that work-life ideologies also have indirect effects on conflict and enrichment, via preferences and, in turn, behaviors.

### Work-Life Ideologies As a Source of Sensemaking

In addition to the main indirect effect on work and life behaviors, via preferences, work-life ideologies also likely moderate the effects of demands and resources on work-life conflict and enrichment. Research indicates that demands and resources, like behaviors, are inputs into the work-life interface that affect conflict and enrichment. Work and life demands are aspects of one's work or personal life that require sustained effort, skill, or attention and, thus, are costly in terms of resources (e.g., work role overload, personal life stress; cf. Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). The demands experienced in one domain reduce resources available for the other, resulting in a positive effect of demands on work-life conflict (e.g., Michel et al., 2011). Alternatively, work and life resources are aspects of one's work or personal life that reduce demands, facilitate goal attainment, or promote personal growth (e.g., social support at work, positive affect at home; cf. Bakker & Demerouti, 2007). The resources available in one domain can be used to facilitate positive outcomes in the other domain, resulting in a positive effect of resources on work-life enrichment (e.g., Lapierre et al., 2018). We build on these established relationships by theorizing that work-life ideologies moderate both the effect of demands on conflict and the effect of resources on enrichment, via sensemaking.

Sensemaking is the process through which individuals interpret and give meaning to their

experiences (e.g., Brown, Stacey, & Nandhakumar, 2007; Maitlis & Christianson, 2014; Weick, 1988, 1995; Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005; Whiteman & Cooper, 2011). Central to this perspective is the idea that, rather than interpreting their circumstances in a purely objective way, individuals vary in their interpretations of and the meaning they assign to the same situations. Thus, theory on sensemaking suggests that although demands and resources are positively related to conflict and enrichment overall, individuals likely vary in the extent to which they interpret the same demands and resources as sources of work-life conflict and enrichment. This is particularly likely because work-life conflict and enrichment are perceptual variables and, thus, may be influenced not only by objective circumstances but also by subjective interpretations. For example, among working individuals who care for their children one afternoon during the workweek, some individuals might interpret this demand as a significant intrusion on work (e.g., having to provide child care during the workday every single week) and perceive high levels of work-life conflict, but others might interpret the same demand as a relatively minor intrusion (e.g., having to provide child care during the workday for only a small portion of the week) and perceive lower levels of work-life conflict.

Prior work has identified ideologies—filters that shape how individuals interpret and give meaning to their circumstances (Trice & Beyer, 1993; Weick, 1995)—as a key source of this variation. We therefore propose that work-life ideologies affect the degree to which individuals interpret demands and resources as creating work-life conflict and enrichment, respectively, and, thus, moderate the effect of demands on work-life conflict and the effect of resources on work-life enrichment. Individuals have a general preference for consistency (e.g., Festinger, 1957) and are also motivated to interpret their circumstances in a way that confirms and reinforces their ideological beliefs (e.g., Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004). Hence, our hypotheses are grounded in the general idea that individuals interpret demands and resources in ways that are consistent with and tend to reinforce their work-life ideologies.

**A fixed pie ideology.** The extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie ideology likely strengthens the positive effect of demands on work-life conflict. Individuals who strongly endorse a fixed pie ideology believe that

work and life necessarily compete with one another. These individuals are likely to interpret demands in one domain as necessarily taking resources away from and interfering with the other domain in a strict one-to-one fashion (e.g., hours spent traveling for work take the same hours away from personal life), resulting in a particularly strong positive effect of demands on conflict. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse an expandable pie ideology believe that work and life do not necessarily compete—and can enhance—one another. These individuals are comparatively less likely to interpret demands in one domain as inhibiting the other domain in a strict one-to-one fashion and are also likely to realize the ways that demands in one domain can benefit the other domain (e.g., traveling for work allows catching up on sleep, which generates resources for one's personal life), resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of demands on conflict.

Conversely, the extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie ideology likely weakens the positive effect of resources on work-life enrichment. Individuals who strongly endorse an expandable pie ideology are fully aware of and attuned to ways that resources in one domain can benefit the other (e.g., positive affect at home leads to positive affect at work). These individuals are particularly likely to interpret increased resources in one domain as benefiting the other domain, resulting in a strong positive effect of resources on enrichment. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse a fixed pie ideology are likely less aware of and attuned to the ways that resources from one domain can benefit the other domain (e.g., positive affect at home is largely contained within the personal life domain). These individuals likely interpret resources in one domain as comparatively less beneficial for the other domain, resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of resources on enrichment.

*Proposition 6: The extent to which individuals hold a fixed (versus expandable) pie work-life ideology (a) strengthens the positive effect of work and life demands on work-life conflict and (b) weakens the positive effect of work and life resources on work-life enrichment.*

**A segmentation ideology.** The extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) ideology likely weakens the positive

effect of demands on work-life conflict. Individuals who strongly endorse an integration ideology believe that work and life are interdependent domains and that demands experienced in one domain are highly relevant to the other domain. These individuals are particularly likely to interpret demands in one domain as necessarily creating substantial interference with the other domain (e.g., work role overload necessarily creates strain that makes it harder to fulfill family responsibilities), resulting in a strong positive effect of demands on conflict. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse a segmentation ideology believe that work and life are independent domains and that demands experienced in one domain have less relevance for the other domain. These individuals are likely to interpret demands in one domain as creating comparatively less interference with the other (e.g., the strain associated with work role overload is largely contained within the work domain), resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of demands on conflict.

The extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) ideology also likely weakens the positive effect of resources on work-life enrichment. Individuals who strongly endorse an integration ideology believe resources in one domain are highly relevant to the other. These individuals likely interpret resources in one domain as particularly beneficial for the other domain (e.g., self-confidence at work creates self-confidence at home), resulting in a strong positive effect of resources on enrichment. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse a segmentation ideology believe that the resources available in one domain are less relevant to the other domain. These individuals are likely to interpret resources in one domain as comparatively less beneficial for the other domain (e.g., self-confidence at work is largely contained within the work domain), resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of resources on enrichment.

*Proposition 7: The extent to which individuals hold a segmentation (versus integration) work-life ideology weakens (a) the positive effect of work and life demands on work-life conflict and (b) the positive effect of work and life resources on work-life enrichment.*

**A work priority ideology.** The moderating effects of a work priority ideology likely depend on

the source of the demands and resources (work versus life) and the direction of conflict and enrichment (i.e., work to life versus life to work). The extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology likely strengthens the positive effect of life demands on life-to-work conflict. Individuals who strongly endorse a work priority ideology believe work-related activities are highly important. These individuals likely interpret life demands as a source of significant interference and conflict because life demands prevent individuals from pursuing work-related activities, which are more important (e.g., attending a child's school event during the workday is a major intrusion into work), resulting in a strong positive effect of life demands on life-to-work conflict. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse a life priority ideology believe personal life activities are highly important. These individuals likely interpret life demands as a source of comparatively less significant interference and conflict because life demands involve pursuing the activities that are most important (e.g., attending a child's school event during the workday is a minor intrusion into work), resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of life demands on life-to-work conflict.

Conversely, the same logic suggests that the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology weakens the positive effect of work demands on work-to-life conflict. For individuals with a life priority ideology, work demands likely have a strong positive effect on work-to-life conflict because work demands prevent them from pursuing personal life activities, which are more important. In contrast, for individuals with a work priority ideology, work demands likely have a comparatively weaker positive effect on work-to-life conflict because work demands involve pursuing the activities that are most important.

The extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology also likely strengthens the positive effect of life resources on life-to-work enrichment. Individuals who strongly endorse a work priority ideology believe work activities are highly important and salient. These individuals are particularly likely to interpret life resources as assets that can be used to benefit work (e.g., a supportive spouse frees up time to devote to work), resulting in a strong positive effect of life resources on life-to-work enrichment. In contrast, individuals who strongly endorse a life

priority ideology believe personal life activities are highly important and salient. These individuals are likely to interpret personal life resources as comparatively less beneficial for work and, instead, focus on how they benefit the personal life domain (e.g., a supportive spouse is a source of positive affect and energy in one's personal life), resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of life resources on life-to-work enrichment.

Conversely, the same logic suggests that the extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology weakens the positive effect of work resources on work-to-life enrichment. Individuals with a life priority ideology are particularly likely to interpret work resources as benefiting the personal life domain, resulting in a strong positive effect of work resources on work-to-life enrichment. In contrast, individuals with a work priority ideology are likely to interpret work resources as primarily benefiting the domain of work, resulting in a comparatively weaker positive effect of work resources on work-to-life enrichment.

*Proposition 8: The extent to which individuals hold a work (versus life) priority ideology (a) strengthens the positive effects of life demands on life-to-work conflict, (b) weakens the positive effect of work demands on work-to-life conflict, (c) strengthens the positive effect of life resources on life-to-work enrichment, and (d) weakens the positive effects of work resources on work-to-life enrichment.*

## DISCUSSION

In this article we introduce the construct of work-life ideologies and propose that individuals hold three distinct ideological beliefs regarding the relationship between work and life. Because beliefs about the world come, in large part, from the world itself, we advance broad propositions regarding the contextual primes that shape individuals' work-life ideologies; scarcity, boundary, and market primes increase the extent to which individuals hold fixed pie, segmentation, and work priority ideologies, respectively. We also illustrate our theory through example features of the objective socioecological context—at the family, organizational, community, and societal levels

of analysis—that make each prime salient and give rise to each work-life ideology. Finally, we substantiate the importance of the work-life ideologies construct by theorizing that ideologies drive individuals' work-life preferences and also shape how individuals make sense of demands and resources, thus having implications for work-life conflict and enrichment.

### Contributions to Theory

Broadly stated, our theorizing advances the work-life literature by providing an expanded view of the critical role of cognition in understanding individuals' experiences at the intersection of work and life. Although in prior work-life research some scholars have focused on cognitive resources (e.g., engagement; Rothbard, 2001) and the cognitive processes used to manage work-life boundaries (e.g., Nippert-Eng, 1996), cognition has often played a relatively minor role in the work-life literature. In contrast, cognition takes center stage in our theorizing; we introduce a new type of work-life cognition—work-life ideologies—and propose that both the antecedents and consequences of individuals' work-life ideologies are a function of cognitive processes—priming and sensemaking, respectively. By advancing theory regarding cognitive influences on the work-life interface, we offer a number of more specific contributions to work-life research.

First, by introducing the construct of work-life ideologies, we contribute to current understanding of the types of cognition relevant to the work-life interface. Of the three work-life ideologies, the concept of a fixed pie ideology is particularly novel. Although prior work has manipulated the extent to which individuals view work and life as competing versus compatible (van Steenbergen, Ellemers, Haslam, & Urlings, 2008), the idea that individuals vary in whether they believe work and life are inherently a fixed versus expandable pie has yet to receive scholarly attention. In contrast, prior work has demonstrated individual differences in segmentation and work priority (e.g., Cinamon & Rich, 2002a; Rothbard et al., 2005); however, these constructs have been studied as personal preferences, not ideological beliefs. We contend that the construct of work-life ideologies is consequential for a variety of established constructs and relationships in the work-life literature. Our theorizing therefore suggests that prior models of the work-life interface that do not include

work-life ideologies are underspecified and that gaining a full understanding of how individuals navigate work and life requires accounting for the work-life ideologies they hold.

Second, by proposing that contexts shape work-life ideologies through the cognitive process of priming, we provide a broader perspective on the types of contextual features relevant to the work-life literature. Scholars have noted insufficient attention to context in the organizational behavior literature in general (Johns, 2006, 2017) and in the work-life literature in particular (Eby et al., 2005; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). Moreover, work-life research that does account for context tends to focus on contextual features directly relevant to navigating work and life, such as family-supportive organizational cultures (e.g., Allen, 2001) and the availability of work-life policies (e.g., Butts, Casper, & Yang, 2013). We adopt a priming perspective (e.g., Bargh, 2006) and theorize that exposure to scarcity, boundary, and market primes has implications for individuals' work-life ideologies, even if the primes are not directly relevant to the intersection of work and life. Our priming perspective therefore suggests that a far wider variety of contextual features affects the work-life interface than prior theory can account for.

Various contextual features at different levels of analysis can prime scarcity, boundaries, and market forces and, thus, can shape work-life ideologies. Drawing from socioecological psychology, for each prime we provide four examples of objective contextual features, one each at the family, organizational, community, and societal level of analysis, that make the relevant prime salient and, in turn, shape the associated work-life ideology. Our inclusion of community contexts is particularly noteworthy. Prior work-life research that accounts for context focuses on family (e.g., Duxbury, Higgins, & Lee, 1994), organizational (e.g., Butts et al., 2013), and societal (e.g., Spector et al., 2007) contexts, often to the exclusion of community contexts (for a notable exception see Voydanoff, 2001), which is surprising given that community contexts affect various aspects of human cognition and behavior (e.g., Oishi, 2014). Similarly, prior work-life research that accounts for context often focuses on individuals' subjective perceptions of contexts (e.g., organizational culture, sense of community, perceived embeddedness; Allen, 2001; Ng & Feldman, 2012; Voydanoff, 2004; Williams et al.,

2016). In contrast, our socioecological approach suggests that objective features of the economic, interpersonal, political, and physical context have implications for the intersection of work and life. An expanded view of the types of contexts relevant to the work-life interface may prompt scholars to incorporate a wider set of contextual features into other aspects of work-life research.

Third, our focus on cognition offers new insight into a number of well-established constructs and relationships in work-life research. Specifically, we theorize that work-life ideologies shape individuals' work-life preferences. Prior work on antecedents of work-life preferences often focuses on individual differences, such as gender (Cinamon & Rich, 2002a; Hecht & Allen, 2009; Powell & Greenhaus, 2010; for an exception, however, see Ashforth et al., 2000). Our theorizing suggests that work-life preferences are also a function of individuals' work-life ideologies and, more distally, exposure to contextual primes. Thus, by expanding theory regarding the cognitive influences on the work-life interface, we provide a broader perspective on the sources of individuals' work-life preferences. In addition, we propose that work-life ideologies also have consequences for the work-life interface through the cognitive process of sensemaking; work-life ideologies affect how individuals interpret demands and resources in their work and personal lives, and they therefore moderate the effects of both demands on work-life conflict and resources on work-life enrichment. The overall positive effects of demands on conflict and resources on enrichment are well established (e.g., Ford et al., 2007; Lapiere et al., 2018; Michel et al., 2011), yet sensemaking has generally received little attention in the work-life literature. Our theorizing contributes to current understanding of two central relationships in the work-life interface by suggesting that sensemaking explains why individuals interpret the same demands and resources as creating varying degrees of work-life conflict and enrichment.

### Future Research

Our theory offers a number of avenues for future work with regard to validating the work-life ideologies construct, investigating antecedents, and investigating consequences.

**Work-life ideologies.** As a first step, it is important to validate the work-life ideologies construct

by testing whether individuals hold the three work-life ideologies we identify and whether each work-life ideology is best conceptualized as a bipolar continuum. Specifically, for each work-life ideology, items should be generated that capture both opposing poles, and they should be subjected to exploratory factor analysis. If our conceptualization is correct, all items capturing a given work-life ideology will load on the same factor; the items capturing one pole will load positively, and the items capturing the other pole will load negatively. It is also important to verify that work-life ideologies are distinct from (i.e., only moderately correlated with) the related construct of work-life preferences. Although conceptually distinct, measures of work priority preferences at times include items that capture a work priority ideology (e.g., "The most important things that happen in life involve work"; Kanungo, 1982) more than personal work priority preferences (e.g., "The goal of my life is to have an interesting career"; Cinamon & Rich, 2002a). It is important to design and use measures that do not conflate the two constructs.

**Antecedents.** After establishing the validity of the work-life ideologies construct, a next step is to test whether work-life ideologies are influenced by contexts that prime scarcity, boundaries, and market forces, including both the specific contextual features we propose and others. Notably, our theorizing encompasses types of contexts (e.g., objective features) and levels of analysis (e.g., community) that have received relatively little attention in work-life research, which suggests that new methodologies may be needed. For example, global information system mapping, which allows researchers to connect geographic locations to vast sources of information about those locations (e.g., King et al., 2011), may be a particularly useful tool for studying objective features of community contexts (e.g., landscape and architecture, households with children).

We focus our examples on contextual features not directly relevant to navigating work and life, yet contextual features more germane to the work-life interface also likely shape work-life ideologies. For example, although we provide the example of closed (versus open) office floor plans, organizational policies that forbid working from home are also likely to prime strong boundaries and increase the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation ideology. Likewise, although we focus on objective contextual features, subjective

contextual features also likely shape work-life ideologies. For example, family-supportive organizational cultures likely prime humanistic forces and increase the extent to which individuals hold a life priority ideology.

We theorize that individuals' work-life ideologies are a function of the constellation of primes they are exposed to. Accounting for the multiple contextual primes within a given context (e.g., the same organization might have some features that prime boundaries and others that prime continuity) will therefore afford a fuller understanding of the work-life ideologies individuals in that context hold. Moreover, because they are influenced by contextual primes at multiple levels of analysis, work-life ideologies likely vary not only between but also within contexts. For example, the work-life ideologies held by the members of a given society are unlikely perfectly homogeneous, because members of a society are embedded in different community, organizational, and family contexts, each characterized by different primes. Thus, research that accounts for primes at multiple levels of analysis simultaneously will afford a more powerful approach for explaining variation in individuals' work-life ideologies.

Exploring factors that affect the strength of contextual antecedents of work-life ideologies provides another avenue for future work. We theorize that contexts affect work-life ideologies through chronic exposure to primes. The effect of a given context on work-life ideologies should therefore increase with the exposure an individual has to that context. For example, community contexts likely have a stronger effect on individuals who work and live in the same, versus different, communities, as well as on individuals who grew up and currently live in the same, versus different, communities. Likewise, new organizational members are unlikely to change their work-life ideologies overnight; however, as tenure in an organization increases, chronic exposure to organizational primes is likely to shift individuals' work-life ideologies. As another example, a given context likely has a larger effect on the work-life ideologies of individuals with a stronger psychological connection to that context. Significant identification with one's family, organization, community, or society likely increases the salience of the primes present in that context, resulting in a stronger effect on individuals' work-life ideologies. As a final example,

the primes individuals are chronically exposed to during their formative years (e.g., childhood family context) may have stronger and more lasting effects on their work-life ideologies than those they are exposed to later in life (e.g., current organizational context).

We theorize that contexts affect work-life ideologies, which is consistent with prior evidence that contextual primes have a causal effect on individuals (e.g., DeVoe et al., 2013). Yet alternative possibilities exist. Although the primary focus is the effects of contexts on individuals, socioecological psychology acknowledges that individuals can shape contexts (Oishi, 2014). For example, high community turnover increases individuals' preferences for familiar objects, which, in turn, lead to the construction of chain stores that offer familiarity (Oishi, Miao, Koo, Kisling, & Ratliff, 2012). Thus, future work should explore reciprocal effects between contexts and work-life ideologies. For example, we theorize that industrial relations systems that provide social welfare engender a life priority ideology. Individuals with a strongly held life priority ideology may, in turn, push for changes that further increase social welfare. Another possibility is that the relationship between contexts and work-life ideologies is driven by selection. For example, we theorize that contexts that prime boundaries engender a strongly held segmentation ideology, but individuals with a strongly held segmentation ideology may also be attracted to contexts that prime boundaries. It is important for future work to use methodologies that can rule out such selection effects (e.g., experiments, longitudinal designs).

The broader literature on ideologies indicates that they develop as function of not only contextual factors but also individual differences (e.g., Feldman & Johnston, 2014; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, & Sulloway, 2003). Future work should explore individual-difference antecedents, such as personality and demographics. In terms of personality, individuals with a high need for closure (i.e., preference for certainty, dislike of ambiguity; Kruglanski, 2004) may develop a segmentation work-life ideology. In terms of demographics, work-life ideologies may vary with marital and parental status. Single, childless adults may be more likely to have a work priority ideology than adults who are married or have children.

**Consequences.** Scholars should test our predictions that work-life ideologies have a main indirect effect on behaviors, via preferences, and that they also moderate the effects of demands

and resources on conflict and enrichment, via sensemaking. Work-life ideologies may also have additional consequences for the work-life interface. Work-life conflict is negatively related to—and work-life enrichment is positively related to—work and personal life satisfaction (Ford et al., 2007; Shockley & Singla, 2011). Work-life ideologies may also moderate these relationships, via sensemaking. For example, individuals with a fixed pie ideology believe work-life conflict is an unavoidable reality. The extent to which individuals hold a fixed pie ideology may therefore weaken the negative effect of conflict on satisfaction. As another example, because individuals with a segmentation ideology believe that work and life are independent, the experience of work-life conflict contradicts their worldview. Thus, the extent to which individuals hold a segmentation ideology may strengthen the negative effect of conflict on satisfaction.

Future work could also explore additional complexity in the consequences of work-life ideologies. For example, we theorize that a segmentation ideology increases preferences for preventing work and life from influencing one another. Yet segmentation preferences are often directional; individuals can hold different preferences for preventing work from influencing life, versus preventing life from influencing work (e.g., Kossek & Lautsch, 2012). The interaction between segmentation and work priority ideologies may predict directionality in segmentation preferences such that a strong segmentation ideology coupled with a strong work priority ideology increases preferences for preventing life from influencing work, whereas a strong segmentation ideology coupled with a strong life priority ideology increases preferences for preventing work from influencing life. Similarly, there may be additional complexity in how ideologies shape preferences. For example, we theorize that an integration ideology leads to integration preferences. However, if individuals with descriptive ideological beliefs that work and life are interdependent also believe that the interdependencies between work and life are detrimental, they may form segmentation preferences and engage in segmentation behaviors as a strategy for minimizing the detrimental effects of work-life interdependencies.

A fixed pie ideology may also have additional consequences beyond those we propose. Unlike segmentation and work priority ideologies, a fixed pie ideology is unlikely to have a direct

analog in individuals' work-life preferences. Instead of an indirect main effect through preferences, a fixed pie ideology may have a direct main effect on work and life behaviors. For example, if individuals hold a strong a fixed pie ideology and, thus, believe work-life conflict is an unavoidable reality of life, they may take preemptive steps to reduce work-life conflict, such as outsourcing personal life responsibilities (e.g., using a laundry service).

We theorize that work-life ideologies have a moderating effect on the work-life interface, whereas work-life preferences have a main effect on work and life behaviors. Our theory is consistent with prior work on the main effect of work-life preferences on behavior (e.g., Cinamon & Rich, 2002b; Kossek & Lautsch, 2012); however, some research suggests that preferences also moderate the work-life interface (e.g., Carlson & Kacmar, 2000; Day & Chamberlain, 2006). Notably, the moderating effects of work-life preferences likely differ from the moderating effects of work-life ideologies. For example, work priority preferences (i.e., high job commitment) magnify the positive effect of work demands on work-to-life conflict, presumably because individuals shift resources from life to work to meet high work demands (Day & Chamberlain, 2006). In contrast, we theorize that a work priority ideology decreases the positive effect of work demands on work-to-life conflict; individuals with a work priority ideology interpret work demands as a relatively minor source of interference and conflict because work demands involve pursuing the activities that are most important. Future research should explore the possibility that work-life ideologies and work-life preferences have simultaneous yet opposing moderating effects on the work-life interface.

The construct of work-life ideologies also likely has consequences for other value and belief systems, such as Rokeach's (1973) human values (e.g., ambition, mature love, etc.). For example, the extent to which individuals hold a work priority ideology may increase the value they place on ambition, given that the work domain provides opportunities for advancement. Conversely, the extent to which individuals hold a life priority ideology may increase the value they place on mature love, given that the personal life domain provides opportunities to cultivate loving relationships. Work-life ideologies may also have implications for gender role orientation—that is,

beliefs regarding the roles that men and women are best suited to fill in society (Hochschild, 1989; Larsen & Long, 1988). For example, a work priority ideology may interact with sexism to predict gender role orientation such that a work priority ideology is only positively related to a traditional gender role orientation (i.e., men should prioritize work while women prioritize life) among sexist individuals, who believe that men's superiority (women's inferiority) makes them well-suited for the more (less) important domain.

Exploring whether work-life ideologies affect the work-life interface through active versus passive processes provides another avenue for future work. We theorize that contexts shape work-life ideologies outside of conscious awareness, which is consistent with evidence that contextual primes operate through implicit processes (e.g., Bargh & Chartrand, 1999; DeVoe et al., 2013). Yet it is less clear whether work-life ideologies have consequences through active versus passive processes. Sensemaking, one of the mechanisms through which work-life ideologies affect the work-life interface, is often described as an active process (e.g., Maitlis & Christianson, 2014). Scholars also note, however, that individuals may not be aware that ideologies shape sensemaking (e.g., Weick, 1995). It is similarly unclear if individuals are aware that work-life ideologies drive work-life preferences. Qualitative research may be particularly useful for determining whether work-life ideologies affect the work-life interface through active versus passive processes and, thus, further enhance our understanding of their consequences.

### Practical Implications

Our theory offers several practical implications for organizations. Organizational leaders are likely aware that employees hold different religious and political ideologies, but they may not recognize that employees hold different ideologies about the relationship between work and life and that these, in turn, have consequences for employees' preferences and behavior. For example, managers who strongly endorse a fixed pie ideology and therefore believe that work and life inherently compete with one another may penalize employees who signal commitments to their personal life—for example, by having children. Our theorizing suggests that training may be needed to prevent managers' fixed pie ideologies

from impacting how they evaluate employees. As another example, because individuals likely vary in their beliefs regarding whether work and life are segmented versus integrated, organizational practices that strictly enforce either work segmentation (i.e., forbidding access to email outside of work hours) or integration (i.e., requiring employees to check email outside of work hours) are likely to be a source of dissatisfaction for different subsets of employees. As a result, a preferable strategy may be to provide employees with options that support diverse work-life ideologies (e.g., offering employees the freedom to either segment or integrate work and life).

Our research also suggests that the organizational policies aimed at facilitating work-life balance may be differentially effective. For example, we theorize that work-life ideologies affect how individuals make sense of demands and resources and therefore moderate their effects on work-life conflict and enrichment. As a result, organizational efforts to provide employees with resources (e.g., generous paternity leave) are likely to be a stronger source of work-life enrichment for some employees than for others. Finally, we contend that organizational contexts are one factor shaping individuals' work-life ideologies. Organizational leaders should therefore be aware of and attuned to the ways aspects of the organization—both that are (e.g., work from home policies) and are not (e.g., open versus closed floor plans) directly related to the intersection of work and life—may shape the work-life ideologies employees hold.

### CONCLUSION

Work-life scholars have devoted considerable attention to understanding the relationship between work and life but have paid surprisingly little attention to understanding how individuals *think about* the relationship between work and life. We propose that individuals hold three distinct ideological beliefs regarding how work and life are related to one another. Moreover, we contend that individuals' work-life ideologies are constructed, at least in part, in response to the contexts in which they are embedded and also have consequences for how individuals navigate the work-life interface. By introducing the construct of work-life ideologies and building theory regarding likely antecedents and consequences, our research expands our understanding of the

critical role of cognition and provides a unique and important new foundation from which to study the intersection of work and life.

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**Lisa M. Leslie** (lleslie@stern.nyu.edu) is an associate professor in the Management and Organizations Department at the Stern School of Business, New York University. She received her Ph.D. in organizational psychology from the University of Maryland. Her research focuses on diversity in organizations, cross-cultural organizational behavior, and conflict management.

**Eden B. King** (eden.b.king@rice.edu) is an associate professor of psychology at Rice University. She received her Ph.D. in psychology from Rice University. Her research identifies current manifestations of discrimination and barriers to work-life balance in organizations, as well as individual and organizational strategies for reducing discrimination and increasing support for families.

**Judith A. Clair** (judith.clair@bc.edu) is an associate professor of management and organization in the Carroll School of Management at Boston College. She earned her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California. Her recent research focuses on identities, gender, and diversity in organizations.