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Management Work–Family Research and Work–Family Fit

Implications for Building Family Capital in Family Business

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In this article, 25 years of organization science research on work–family is summarized, and its implications for building the human, social, and economic elements of family capital in family business are developed. The impact of work–family conflict; sex and gender roles; role enrichment; work–family benefits, programs, and policies; and work, job, and organization redesign are emphasized. A social systems model of environment–environment fit—work–family fit—is developed. Implications for future research and for investing in family capital are discussed.

Keywords: *work–family; family capital; fit; organization; systems*

Family business leaders are in a strong position to impact the degree to which family and business systems support each other to impact individual and organizational outcomes that build family capital. The guiding values of family leaders, their leadership styles and practices, and the tone they set may affect family members in business and at home (Basco & Rodriquez, 2009; Salvato & Melin, 2008; Sorenson, 2000). The past 25 years of organization science and management research on the interface between work and family has identified many elements that are important to healthy integration of work and family life, making this literature a rich resource for family business researchers. Aspects of organizational cultures, procedures, programs, policies, and benefits available to family members can impact outcomes at the family and business levels, such as relationship quality, which in turn impact the capacity to build the human, social, and financial aspects of family capital (Danes, Stafford, Haynes, & Amarapurkar, this issue; Hoffman, Hoelscher, & Sorenson, 2006; Salvato & Melin, 2008; Zellweger & Nason, 2008). This article will provide a "bird's eye" overview of management and organization research on work–family with family business in mind to develop a model of work–family fit. Work–family fit emphasizes the importance of the support built into each system for the other, which is relevant to building sustainable human and social family capital that benefits family members and family businesses (Sharma, 2008).

Only 25 years ago, organization and management scientists knew little about the impact of employees' family lives on their paid work, and perhaps saw it as irrelevant. Paid work and family were largely viewed as "separate spheres" in the United States (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; MacDermid, 2005). In the early 1980s, as workplace demographics in the United States shifted, a stream of research began that has since changed the field of management and organizational science, so much so that *work–family* is now included in the list of primary topics in the Academy of Management and the Society for Industrial and Organizational Psychology. As MacDermid, Pagnan, and Remnet (2008) noted, "Over the past few decades, there has been an explosion of research on the relationships between work and non-work life" (p. 5). In this exploding field, scholars have studied the challenges, benefits, and strategies used for employees and organizations managing, balancing, and integrating work and family lives and have identified elements critical to successful integration.

As with other areas of management research, although a few exceptions exist, family business was largely left out of this growing research literature (Thompson, Kopelman, & Schriesheim, 1992), and similarly, family business researchers have only infrequently studied work–family per se (e.g., Karofsky et al., 2001; Moshavi & Koch, 2005; Smyrnios et al., 2003). Of three pivotal review volumes on work–family published in influential organizational science series (Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Poelmans, 2005; Zedeck, 1992), only one included a chapter on family business (Kaslow & Kaslow, 1992). Similarly, the committee for the Rosabeth Moss Kanter[1] Award for the best work–family research published in the previous year (see MacDermid et al., 2008) has not nominated a family business article in its top 20 runners-up and winners in recent years.

Despite this lack of attention to features distinctive to family business, family business researchers can benefit from knowledge of the primary findings of work–family researchers in management. This article summarizes the major themes in the influential volumes mentioned previously (i.e., Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Poelmans, 2005; Zedeck, 1992) and in the recent years of the Kanter Award nominees (MacDermid et al., 2008) in five primary sections—work–family conflict; sex and gender roles; role enrichment; work–family benefits, programs, and policies; and work, job, and organization redesign—and suggests implications of each for family business. In the final section, a model of work–family fit for family business is developed.

Definitions and Caveats

Work and family. The terms *work*, *business*, and *family* mean different things in the organizational and family business literatures. In this article, *work* will refer to paid and unpaid work for the family business by family members and *family* to the family system that includes family members who work in the business as well as those who do not. It also acknowledges that individuals who are considered family are not necessarily related only by biological or legal ties but also by ties like shared commitment over time (Distelberg & Sorenson, 2009; Rothausen, 1999).

Focus of review. When work–family was first identified as an area of research, it was characterized as a women's issue and an individual-level issue both in organizations and management research. Since that time, other family, business, and societal factors have been identified and studied, including demographics, job design, organization culture, managers, family members including men and children, the community, and government agencies. Work–family has become a subfield in public policy, as exemplified by the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993. Along with this expansion in understanding, research in the field has exploded and crossed many disciplinary boundaries (Kossek & Lambert, 2005; MacDermid, 2005; MacDermid et al., 2008; Poelmans, 2005). This article is written primarily from the management work–family perspective and is developed with the aspiration of making a contribution as a source of new research directions and policy ideas for family business owners and researchers.

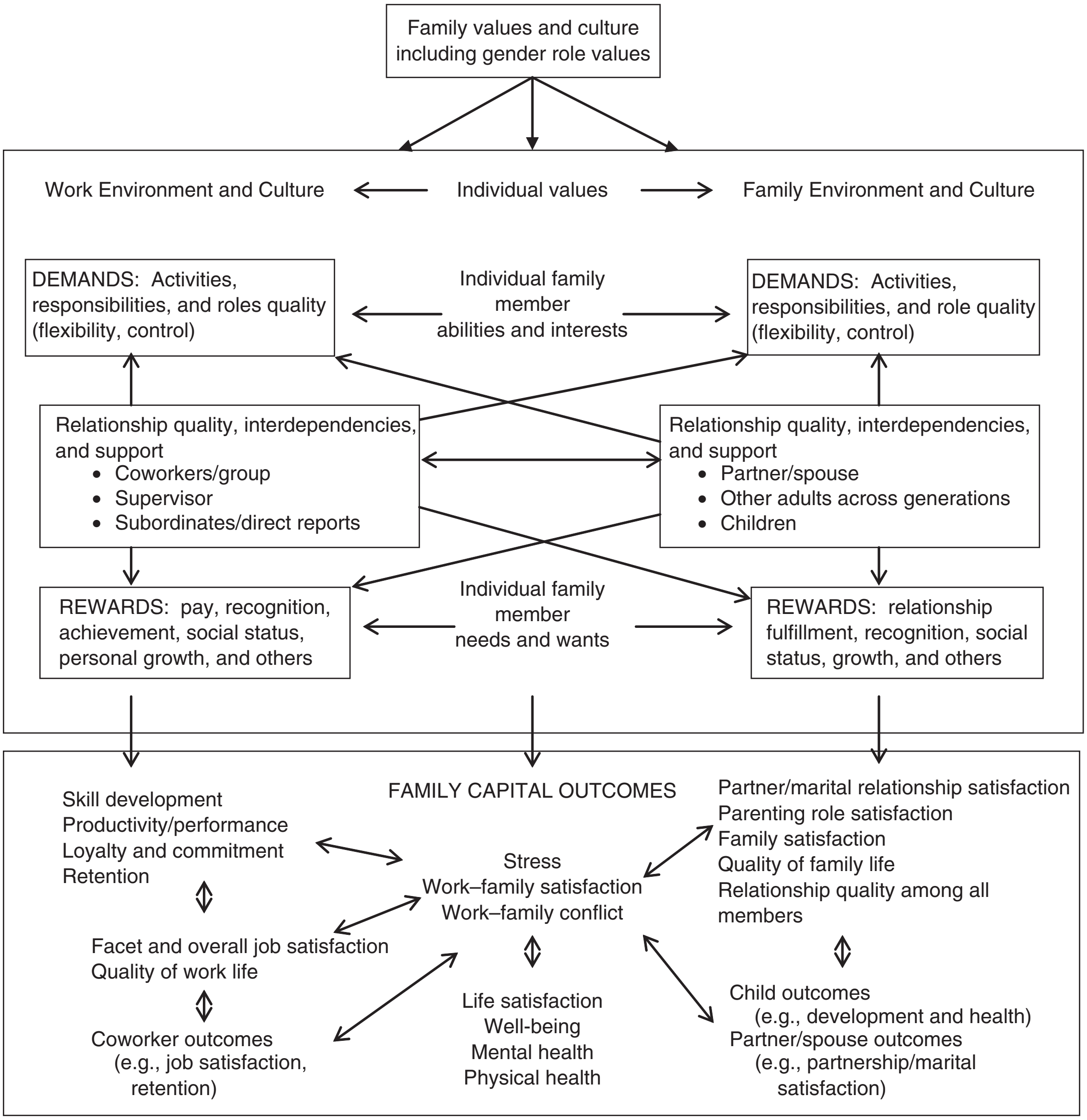
Family capital. Early organization researchers of work–family were interested in the impact of individuals' families on their work, thus work-oriented outcomes were of most interest. This first wave of studies showed that the structure of the family and being responsible for family members beyond financial provision were empirically linked to performance at work (Lobel & St. Clair, 1992), job satisfaction and intention to quit (Rothausen, 1994), mood at work (K. J. Williams & Alliger, 1994), and job involvement and withdrawal behaviors such as absenteeism (Hackett, Bycio, & Guion, 1989). All these outcomes relate to businesses' capacity to build profitability and are thus important to the economic aspects of family capital.

The success of family business is impacted by broader definitions of family capital that include economic but also incorporate human and social capital (Danes et al., 2009; Hoffman et al., 2006; Zellweger & Nason, 2008). Human and social capital is built when individuals have positive attitudes and strong physical and mental health that they can invest in relationships and in the primary facets of life such as work, family, and other passions (Danes et al., 2009; Sharma, 2008; Thompson et al., 1992). These outcomes are measured at the individual (e.g., job performance, commitment, job satisfaction, family satisfaction), interpersonal (e.g., support, relationship quality), and organizational (e.g., organizational culture and climate, business unit profit) levels. The human, social, and economic capital elements can interact synergistically to positively impact organizational effectiveness (Pieper & Klein, 2007; Zellweger & Nason, 2008). Investments in elements of work and family that have positive impacts on family members' outcomes at these levels are listed at the bottom of Figure 1. This approach to family capital outcomes uses the multilevel family capital models of Pieper and Klein (2007), Salvato and Melin (2008), and Danes and colleagues (2009) as a basis, adding specific psychological constructs from the work–family literature.

Themes of Work–Family Research in Management

In the first decade of management research on work–family, three themes emerged: work–family conflict, the

Figure 1
Family Business Work-Family Fit: Work–Family Social System Fit for Family Members Working in Family Businesses



Note: Horizontal arrows represent the fit of characteristics needed by the individual in both social systems. Vertical and diagonal arrows represent aspects of each social system that affect the other social system, such as work discretion, time discretion, and support.

gendered nature of work–family issues, and organizational responses to work–family conflict, including benefits, programs, and policies. Over time, interest in work–family conflict was countered and enriched by research on the positive impacts of role accumulation for individuals, their families, their organizations, and societies. The literature on programs and benefits was enriched by research on changes to the fundamental ways work, jobs, and organizations are designed. These five themes each have important implications for building family capital in family business.

Work–Family Conflict

A natural outgrowth of the separate spheres doctrine was that early researchers assumed that when previously separate roles combined in one individual, the primary result would be conflict. MacDermid (2005) noted that early studies of work–family conflict were motivated by concerns about the anticipated negative impact of women deviating from traditional sex roles by working outside the home for pay. One of the most cited models in work–family research is the work–family conflict model developed by Greenhaus and colleagues (Greenhaus & Buetell, 1985; Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983). This model and its successors profoundly influenced work–family research in the management sciences.

In general, it was hypothesized that the more important the family role to the individual employee and the more responsibilities and stressors it had, the more conflict and interrole conflict the employee would experience and in turn the lower the organizationally desired attitudes and behaviors. This stream of research showed that work–family conflict (WFC) is empirically linked to job satisfaction, work involvement, overload, and withdrawal behaviors as well as other outcomes important to employees such as life satisfaction, satisfaction with family life, conflict in marriage, quality of marriage, psychological distress, and health outcomes (MacDermid, 2005), and some of this research showed that results or effect sizes differ between the sexes (e.g., Duxbury & Higgins, 1991).

In other studies, authors focused on antecedents in the work–family conflict model, specifically, on what determines the importance of work and family roles to individuals. For example, Bielby and Bielby (1989) examined how individuals form and balance work and family identities, and Yogev and Brett (1985) examined patterns of work and family involvement in couples. These studies supported the notion that sex roles in marriage played an important part in how individuals got involved in work and family. For example, researchers found that women gave priority to family whereas men felt no need to choose between work and family (Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Tenbrunsel, Brett, Maoz, Stroh, & Reilly, 1995); that women had more difficulty managing child care because they were expected to, and did, take more responsibility for it (Kossek & Nichol, 1992); that women's labor force participation, unlike men's, fell as family responsibility increased (Waite, Haggstrom, & Kanouse, 1985); and that WFC was more difficult for women than for men (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991), although Frone, Russell, and Cooper (1992) found that WFC models fit women and men equally well.

Some authors have noted that the separate spheres norms that led to this focus on conflict have become less relevant due to shifting demographic realities and the changing nature of work and workplaces (Barnett & Hyde, 2001; MacDermid, 2005). However, even recent work suggests that WFC not only exists but may continue to be important in the coming decades (Edwards & Rothbard, 2005). Two empirical studies in the family business literature suggest that WFC models also fit individuals in family businesses (Karofsky at al., 2001; Smyrnios et al., 2003). Given these general findings, it is likely that individual family members in family businesses who have higher levels of responsibility for the emotional and physical care of dependent and nondependent family members and who are also highly involved in paid or unpaid work for the family business are more at risk for significant WFC, which in turn could decrease their human capital available to the business. Family businesses that explicitly address WFC thus promote the fuller inclusion of these family members—who are more likely to be women—in the business.

Women and Men, Family and Work

Gender is fundamental to the study of work–family and to policies and programs related to work–family because work and family roles in our society are predicated on gender expectations. Much gendering takes place in the context of family, where the social ideals for femininity are what makes an "ideal mother," an "ideal daughter," or an "ideal wife," and the social ideals for masculinity are reflected in notions of the "ideal father" or the "ideal husband" (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; Simon, 1995). Expectations for the "ideal caregiver" and the "ideal worker" follow these norms. The ideal caregiver is empathetic, a good listener, sensitive, and devoted to care work (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005). Businesses define the "ideal worker," through performance appraisals and promotion criteria, as an employee who is assertive, a linear thinker, independent, rational, competitive, and single-mindedly devoted to the firm or the profession (Collinson & Hearn, 1994; J. Williams, 2000). Gender ideologies also impact how couples make work–family decisions (Jurges, 2006). One study found a category of men who were equal partners in parenting; however, by far the majority of men left the primary care work to their wives, whether those wives were working outside the home or not (Cooper, 2000; see also Hochschild, 1989; J. Williams, 2000). Research suggests similar patterns exist in family business (e.g., Curimbaba, 2002; Danes & Olson, 2003).

Masculine family roles (i.e., provider) as well as personal qualities (e.g., assertive, competitive) and the role of ideal worker are interdependent and complementary; however, feminine family roles (i.e., available nurturer) as well as personal qualities (e.g., sensitive, listener) and the role of ideal worker are independent and conflicting (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000; Simon, 1995; Williams, 2000). This creates more conflict for women and for men with balanced or feminine values. Thus, it is not only family roles but also work roles that are gendered.

Gender theories explain findings of sex differences in WFC. Where gender expectations are less rigid, positive aspects of combining roles can outweigh negative aspects caused by conflict (Barnett & Hyde, 2001). When roles are strongly gendered, women experience roles that are incompatible, which raises the stress of pursuing work and family roles (Duxbury & Higgins, 1991; Simon, 1995; Williams, 2000), causing women and individuals who participate in feminine gender roles to find work–family issues more salient to their lives and more important to consider. In fact, men who engage in feminine gender roles may face a “double jeopardy” in this regard, the penalty for feminine norms as explained previously plus an additional penalty for stepping out of expected masculine roles.

In family businesses, families with rigid or more segregated gender roles may make it more difficult for women and for men with feminine or balanced values or leadership styles to be included fully in the family business. If the family business itself has a culture of masculine norms embedded in its job customs and norms (e.g., long hours implying commitment, aggressive or competitive internal culture), it may also build unintended barriers to full involvement for family members with balanced or feminine values, which equates to barriers to the full use of the human and social capital of those members for the business.

From Conflict to Positive Aspects of Role Accumulation

WFC may be caused by how workplaces and families are designed and structured and not by any implicit conflict between the two domains per se. Whereas conflict and its negative aspects can arise, research has shown that positive impacts outweigh conflict when certain factors are present (Kirchmeyer, 1992; McBride, 1990). Given good roles—those characterized by flexibility, support, and autonomy and that are recognized and rewarded—more roles generally lead to better outcomes (see Barnett & Hyde, 2001, for a review). There has been a recent, striking increase in research on positive aspects of work–family, including work–family supportive culture (Grandey, Cordeiro, & Michael, 2007), work–family facilitation (Grzywacz, Carlson, Kacmar, & Wayne, 2007), work–family enhancement (Gordon, Whelan-Berry, & Hamilton, 2007), work–family enrichment (Carlson, Kacmar, Wayne, & Grzywacz, 2006), and work–family positive spillover (Hanson, Hammer, & Colton, 2006), in addition to the expansionist theories of role accumulation articulated by Barnett and Hyde (2001). Being involved in both work and family can increase skill development, improve mood, and increase the overall support in one’s life, and work can provide personal fulfillment and success that benefits the worker’s family as well as the individual worker (Carlson et al., 2006). Authors of conflict studies have added elements of social support and found that the work–family interface is characterized by both conflict and positive aspects like support or enhancement (Adams, King, & King, 1996; Gordon et al., 2007). All these studies highlight how work–family supports can build human and social capital. In family business this investment accrues to the family in the personal, family, and business domains.

Although this work is new compared to WFC research, it suggests that the quality of the roles and the support built into each system for the other system are what determine whether conflict or enrichment results. For example, Valcour (2007) found that job complexity and control over work time were positively related to work–family satisfaction and that when work hours increased, workers with low control experienced decreases in work–family satisfaction, whereas workers with high control did not. Thus, control over time is one characteristic of role quality (Reynolds & Aletraris, 2006). Other factors, such as family-supportive work cultures, have also been identified (Grandey et al., 2007), and it is likely that a work-supportive family culture is also important—one in which family members support and facilitate each others’ work roles.

This new research suggests some critical elements to building family capital in family businesses. Role quality, both at home and at work, may be critical, as may the values, norms, and the culture that family business leaders build in both domains. Facilitating the growth of knowledge and skill in both domains for more family members could increase family human capital (Sharma, 2008). More family members included in both domains could lead to greater shared vision, shared goals, and stronger, more multidimensional social ties, all of which are important dimensions of family social capital (Pearson, Carr, & Shaw, 2008).

Work–Family Benefits, Programs, and Policies

Another early and continuing stream of research in the management literature on work–family examined the impact of organizational responses designed to support employees' home lives and thus alleviate WFC. Two primary types of responses were time related and benefit related. Programs and policies on time included leaves—paid and unpaid—and alternative work arrangements such as flextime, telecommuting, compressed hours, part-time work, and job sharing. Other programs and policies created benefits such as on-site or subsidized child or elder care, outside care support or information, and elder care resources (Den Dulk, 2005; Lambert & Waxman, 2005; Sutton & Noe, 2005).

In general, lower WFC, higher job satisfaction, and lower stress and intention to quit are found for those with interest in, access to, and who use child care benefits (Kossek & Nichol, 1992; Rothausen, Gonzalez, Clarke, & O'Dell, 1998), parental leave (Grover, 1991), information and referral services and flexible schedules, and who have supervisor support (L. T. Thomas & Ganster, 1995). Although benefits do not entirely ameliorate the stresses of being a caregiver, they do function to make it possible for caregivers to continue to work while maintaining caregiving (Pavalko & Henderson, 2006), which makes it possible for the individual to keep benefits of being involved in work, such as pay, skill development, and self-confidence.

More recently, attention has been drawn to the difference between formal policies, their actual implementation, and how employees experience them (Lambert & Waxman, 2005; Moss, Salzman, & Tilly, 2005). Organizational elements such as total workload, manager quality, structure, and culture moderate whether, and which, employees actually use the programs and policies that are "on the books" (Moss et al., 2005; Sutton & Noe, 2005). Recent research also emphasizes that programs and policies not specifically designed for work–family are nonetheless also important to employees' ability to integrate both, such as job security, skill development, income stability and growth, and health care benefits (Lambert & Waxman, 2005).

An implication for family business decision and policy makers is that human capital will grow in the presence of programs and benefits designed either to decrease WFC directly, or to support human capital more generally, and that both formal policies and benefits and the informal evaluation of those who use such policies and benefits are important. For example, if a family member has the opportunity to work a flexible schedule but is then viewed by key decision makers as a less serious contender for succession, it may ameliorate the stresses of being highly involved in both arenas but will not likely provide incentives for people who want to be viewed as family business leaders to make use of the available opportunities. Taking a negative view of a family member who avails himself or herself of such benefits is an example of taking a "business-first" orientation. Basco and Rodriquez (2009) found that families that take a balanced orientation toward business and family considerations have similar business outcomes but better family outcomes when compared to business-first families.

In one of the rare exceptions to the lack of inclusion of family business in work–family research, Moshavi and Koch (2005) found that small family-owned businesses adopt work–family practices less often than other small businesses, and this is in line with research that suggests similar findings with respect to other human resource practices (Basco & Rodriquez, 2009). Moshavi and Koch suggested that this may be due to family business owners being accustomed to work interfering with family and therefore not seeing it as a problem for themselves or their employees, which is also indicative of a business-first orientation. This suggests a possible barrier to adopting work–family benefits, programs, and policies that may have to be overcome before family businesses can capitalize on their distinctive advantages in addressing the work–family aspects of building human and social capital.

From Programs and Benefits to Fundamental Redesign

Work, jobs, and performance standards created in the separate spheres era value masculine characteristics and virtually exclusive involvement in the work sphere (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005; J. Williams, 2000). Many authors have called for an evaluation of which masculine work norms, if any, are needed for productivity (Cleveland, 2005; Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005). "Face time," for example, which reflects an assumption of single-sphere involvement, is often seen as the ultimate sign of commitment to work but may not actually be productive for organizations (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Similarly, the design of jobs with inflexible and long hours is one of the primary barriers in work–life integration. Career tracks also reflect this; many professional organizations were designed to be "up or out" organizations with the most pressure for performance coming at the same time of life as significant increases in responsibilities for dependents (J. Williams, 2000; Meyerson & Fletcher, 2000).

One estimate is that 30% of business professionals are highly involved in both work and family at the same time (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Mothers are most likely to be very heavily involved in both, and approximately 90% of women in the United States become mothers, making this issue one of equal employment opportunity for women (Dickson, 2008; J. Williams, 2000). Add elder care concerns and temporary and permanent mental and physical illness and disability, and the great majority of Americans will be concerned with work–family issues at some point in their lives. In fact, 80% to 90% of workers will likely be heavily involved in both work and family at the same time at some point in their lives (Sutton & Noe, 2005).

These facts suggest that businesses take a serious look at redesigning basic aspects like jobs, performance norms, career tracks, and organizations themselves. Fletcher and Bailyn (2005) argued that "only a reconceptualization of work, competence, commitment, and time—a radical redesign—can achieve the double goals of equity (for women) and effectiveness" (p. 172). They went on to suggest that the structure, culture, and practices of work should reflect the new reality of people's lives. Family businesses are in a position to lead in this redesign because unlike other businesses, many family businesses already consider human and social capital in both systems in their decision making and measurements of success (Basco & Rodriquez, 2009; Hoffman et al., 2006; Salvato & Melin, 2008; Sharma, 2008).

The Distinctive Position of Family Business

Decision making in many organizations, including decisions about the structure of jobs, definitions of success, and career tracks, are generally made in the interests of a relatively small and privileged subset of stakeholders. Accordingly, measures of success used most frequently in business reflect these narrow interests, including a focus on measuring job performance at the individual level and return on financial investment at the organization level. However, defining the success of businesses using only these measures "ignores the broader effects of work and work demands on the social systems that are central to our lives (e.g., families)" (Cleveland, 2005, p. 320); in other words, ignores human and social capital.

These measures of success—job performance and profit—are important to family business, but so is the set of other measures having to do with family member well-being as reflected in Figure 1, such as child well-being and health and the well-being and physical and mental health of adult family members. Although the "work of the business" is in some sense separate from "the work of the family" as it is for most employees, in family business both systems often have overlapping sets of primary stakeholders (managers, individual adult family members, families, children) and decision makers (owners, family leaders). As Distelberg and Sorenson (2009) pointed out, the primary function of the ownership subsystem is to manage the overlap between the family subsystem, including the individuals in the family and the family itself, and the business subsystem, including the individuals in the business and the business itself, where all three are subsystems of the larger family business system.

Pearson et al. (2008) identified shared vision and collective goals as two of the important dimensions that comprise *familiness*, which is that idiosyncratic bundle of resources and capabilities that differentiates the family business from other businesses and that can be a source of competitive advantage for family businesses. Family leaders can consciously build support for work–family, which may in turn build familiness, by incorporating a broad set of criterion for measuring success that includes the well-being and development of all individuals in the family, including dependent members who may be elderly, children, or disabled. In addition, family leaders may influence who is considered a family business member (Distelberg & Sorenson, 2009). If these leaders include employees' families as well as their own families as members of the system, family businesses have the potential to play a prominent role in the policy arena on work–family in business.

How Family Business Can Lead on This Issue: Work–Family Fit

The notion of person–environment (P-E) fit has long been a focus of theory and research in vocational, organizational, and related research domains (Chatman, 1989; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Edwards & Rothbard, 2005; Holland, 1985; Kristof, 1996). Underlying the fit concept is the notion that individuals will be more satisfied and perform better and that organizations will be more effective when attributes of the person and situation match are congruent (Chatman, 1989), and much support for this assumption is found (Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Edwards & Rothbard, 2005; Holland, 1985; Kristof, 1996). One way to think about the fit between individuals' work and family is to keep the two spheres separate and assume that if there is congruence between a person and his or her work environment and between that person and his or her family environment, then positive outcomes would be maximized. However, the fit between a person's work environment and that same person's family environment may be equally or more important.

If the business/work and home/family environments clash, negative outcomes would likely result. Just as a P-P fit may be important to certain work (e.g., person–supervisor) and family (e.g., person–spouse/partner) outcomes, it is likely that the way two environments in a person's life fit together (i.e., E-E fit) is important to outcomes for that individual and others in the individual's work and family social systems. A recent meta-analysis shows that outcome variables identified as primarily work or primarily family outcomes are affected by what goes on in the other environment (Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). In the family business work–family fit (FBWFF) model developed in the following and represented in Figure 1, the concept of E-E fit is used to frame and give shape to these interdependencies for family members involved in family businesses. Family leaders, who have influence on both domains, may be able to engineer work and family roles and cultures to increase work–family fit for family members.

Types of Fit

Linking mechanisms cannot occur unless some separation between business/work and home/family exists (Edwards & Rothbard, 2005; Kristof, 1996). Although management researchers may have overplayed the separation historically, there are certain elements of work that are separable from family. Fundamentally, most people could probably tell you which activities they perform for their business and which for family members, although these activities may not occur separately and things that happen while engaging in one set of activities may affect things that happen in the other domain. Kristof (1996) explicated three types of fit that may apply.

Supplementary fit. Supplementary fit occurs when an element of either the work or the family social system agrees with or is the same as that element in the other social system (Kristof, 1996). An example of a supplementary link would be an individual who has good relationship management skills when he or she has authority over people. This person may be good at the set of tasks called "supervision" in the workplace and "parenting" with family; although "supervision" and "parenting" are different in many ways, there may be a core set of skills that enables one to be good at both. Alternatively, spillover supplementary fit would occur if the individual takes skills that are learned in supervising employees, modifies them, and applies them to parenting or takes parenting skills and modifies and applies them in supervision.

For family business, an important form of supplementary fit is likely the quality of the relationships between individuals. If I have a strong relationship with my grandfather, who is also the CEO of the firm, it will impact outcomes in terms of relationship quality and productivity at work and at home, which together contribute to the building of human and social capital.

Complementary fit. A second type of fit is complementary fit, which occurs when an element of one system adds something desired that is not present in the other system (Kristof, 1996). An example of complementary fit would be a person with broad interests who meets the need to engage some of these interests in one social system and others in the other social system. For example, an individual may enjoy building financial models and performing child care, but it is difficult to find a job that involves both or a family in which both play a primary role. However, that individual can enjoy financial modeling at work and child care in the family, creating a complementary set of task demands that meets both sets of interests and abilities. Family business may be in a strong position to design complementary fit because knowledge of each family member's full set of abilities, interests, and talents spans both professional and personal life.

Facilitative fit. The third type of fit is facilitative fit, which occurs when something in one system facilitates or supports success in the activities of the other system or facilitates outcomes in that other system. Several examples follow. Researchers have demonstrated that positive experiences in one domain influence satisfaction in the other (Adams et al., 1996; Ford et al., 2007); for example, the building of self-esteem through success in work roles may facilitate a general self-confidence that builds marital or parenting skills. A spouse who believes in and is interested and involved in one's job or career would likely facilitate success in the activities of work and also contribute to more positive attitudinal outcomes related to work; recent research suggests that men may have this type of support more than do women (Matthews, Del Priore, Acitelli, & Barnes-Farrell, 2006). Similarly, a manager who knows and cares about one's children may facilitate the individual being better able to care for those children; for example, having work shifts that do not coincide with school schedules, such as nonstandard shifts, results in less effective parenting, all else being equal (Strazdins, Clements, Korda, Broom, & D'Souza, 2006). A final example is an individual who meets others in a "new parent group" and brings business sales into his or her work social system from that parent-role connection, thus contributing economic value or capital.

Whether supplementary, complementary, or facilitative, the fit between the work and family systems does not replace or supersede the fit between person and work system or the fit between person and family system. However, the fit between the two systems may be equally or for some individuals more important. It is possible that individuals could find themselves in situations in which work was congruent with the person, and family was congruent with the person, but the work system was not congruent with the family system.

Elements of Fit

Values and culture. In family businesses, the values and leadership styles of family leaders can set the tone for the climate, culture, and behavioral norms in both the family and work/business settings (Basco & Rodriquez, 2009; Björnberg & Nicholson, 2007; Denison, Lief, & Ward, 2004; Sorenson, 2000). One relatively recent addition to the management literature on work–family is the construct of work–family or family-supportive culture (Allen, 2001; Thompson, Beauvais, & Lyness, 1999). In general, culture has been defined as shared values (Chatman, 1989). Thompson et al. (1999) and Allen (2001) demonstrated that the values of the organization as reflected in the work-family culture and employees' perceptions regarding the extent their work organization is family supportive predicted individuals' organizational attachment, work–family conflict, job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and turnover intentions above and beyond that attributable to work–family programs and benefits. Although these studies focus on work outcomes, it is likely that family-supportive culture at work also facilitates family outcomes.

Family culture can be operationalized as shared values among family members (Björnberg & Nicholson, 2007; Denison et al., 2004; Moshavi & Koch, 2005). If a family culture is work supportive or the family has a strong work–family culture, individuals' partners, parents, and/or children value their work or occupation, which in turn may have an important impact on how individuals feel and perform as workers (Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000). Because family leaders set the tone and impact the culture in both domains, they have the opportunity to create business/work and home/family environments that are mutually supportive.

Demands and rewards. In P-E fit, many models highlight fit between demands in the environment and abilities of the person and between rewards in the environment and needs of the person (Dawis & Loftquist, 1984; Edwards & Rothbard, 2005). In the FBWFF model, demands in each arena should fit each other as well as the family member's abilities and interests, and rewards in each arena should similarly fit. In the case of work and family, demands include time spent in tasks, duties, and responsibilities in both domains; and rewards include tangible rewards such as pay and intangible rewards such as the fulfillment of the needs for social interaction, achievement, social status, and approval.

Key elements in making systems demands fit may be flexibility and control. Flexibility and control over how activities occur in the business and at home likely have a major impact on the ability to integrate work and nonwork aspects of life (Fletcher & Bailyn, 2005). Sociological and legal work–family research is replete with calls for organizations to reexamine norms and assumptions about how work gets done, or the amount of skill discretion workers have (Barnett, 1998; Williams, 2000). Skill discretion (also called work or job discretion) is similar to autonomy. An established research finding is that autonomy on the job is related to positive work attitudes and other outcomes (Hackman & Oldham, 1976).

Families may also have rigid or flexible role requirements (e.g., gender roles), which in turn affect individuals' control over how family activities occur. More flexibility and control over how activities occur in both systems likely leads to desirable outcomes in both (Ford et al., 2007). The more flexible the work social system is with respect to how work gets done, the more control the individual has over his or her own work, and the more likely it is that the individual can adapt work to family when needed. In other words, flexibility at work may have a facilitative fit with family, which in turn affects family outcomes. Similarly, individuals with flexibility in their family may find that this element has a facilitative fit with work. Flexibility as to how family-related activities are performed and who plays what roles in the family may allow the individual to adapt the family activities to work when necessary.

Time demands are salient to work–family because time is a finite resource. However, the meaning attributed to this reality is disputed. Early in management work–family research, there was a pervasive assumption on the part of organization managers and management researchers that more time and energy spent with family would lead to less time and energy spent at work, creating an automatic struggle between the two for the individual's time and talents. One of the primary types of conflict studied in management research on work–family conflict is time-based conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). However, some research suggests that the impact of time on WFC and job, family, and life satisfactions is more subtle. In a review of studies that have used work hours (operationalized as a continuous variable and as part-time vs. full-time work) as a predictor of conflict and other outcomes, Barnett (1998) concluded,

> The data dispute the widespread belief that long work hours exacerbate and reduced hours ameliorate work/social system issues. Indeed there is strong evidence that the nature of the work (e.g., more control and autonomy in a supportive environment) is more important than the number of hours worked. (p. 145)

Reynolds and Aletraris (2006) showed that mismatches between the number of hours worked and the number preferred by the worker was what led to negative outcomes. Family business owners who design organization and family roles to allow family members choice, control, autonomy, and support may find higher levels of the human and social capital outcomes shown in Figure 1.

Several things may influence the degree of flexibility about and control over when and where activities occur both at home and at work; they may be influenced by the job level, activities required, expected extrarole behaviors, the attitudes and support of the people at work and at home, the absolute level of responsibility at home, and the attitudes of critical family members. Another element that may contribute to individuals' control is having other people who can do their work and family activities if necessary. This gives individuals more flexibility because if they need to leave one environment to spend time in the other, someone could "take over." This is a form of "cross-training" not only at work but also at home that can support productivity and effectiveness in both domains. Having the financial resources to bring in extra help to do an individual's work activities or family activities if necessary (e.g., a temporary worker in the work environment, a nanny, house cleaner, or yard service in the family environment) may also contribute to that individual's time and place discretion.

Having involvement in both family and work systems opens up the rewards available in each domain to the individual. Rewards in the form of material resources impact the types of FBWFF that are possible; research has shown that different strategies and resources for work and family occur at different socioeconomic levels and that more resources generally provide more flexibility (e.g., Caputo, 2000; Wells, 2000). In addition to an indirect impact via flexibility, resources may have a direct effect on work–family outcomes because people who are freer from resource constraints may be more able to focus on activities in each social system.

As with some of the earlier elements of fit, more resources at work (e.g., higher pay) likely affect work outcomes, and more resources in the family (e.g., partner's high income, independent financial resources) likely affect family outcomes. In addition, work resources may play a facilitative role for the family, and resources in the family may facilitate work outcomes. For example, higher wages at work may facilitate the ability to involve dependents in high quality care, which could affect child development outcomes, family satisfaction, and quality of family life. Analogously, material resources in the family may facilitate an employee's ability to invest in a small employer, which could increase work involvement or may free an employee to find work that he or she truly loves which facilitates work outcomes such as involvement, satisfaction, and retention (Thompson et al., 1992). Nonfinancial rewards in each system can impact outcomes in both as well. For example, recognition at work can create a sense of accomplishment and success that impacts how one parents or is a spouse, and mood created in either system can spill over into the other (Carlson et al., 2006).

Relationships. Relationships may be especially salient in family business for at least three reasons. First, roles may be filled by the same individual in both spheres; that is, your mother may be your boss or your nephew your direct report. Second, family members not directly involved in the business can have substantial influence (Van Auken & Werbel, 2006). Third, cross-generational relationships transfer knowledge and resources that can impact the human, social, and financial capital available to the firm over time (Salvato & Melin, 2008). In these ways, family and organizational social capital merge and create the potential for synergies that benefit the family itself and the family business (Pearson et al., 2008). Thus, the FBWFF model includes relationships as a central element in the social systems of work and of family for family members.

Although not included in many P-E models, one's relationships are often the conduit for both demands and rewards. Managers, coworkers, life partners, children, elders in one's family, and extended family members all contribute to the level of demands made and rewards given. In addition, social support comes from relationships. The buffering hypothesis states that social support buffers individuals from stress resulting from adverse conditions, stressful life events (Cohen & Wills, 1985), and stress at work (Ganster, Fusilier, & Mayes, 1986). Social support has also been shown to be positively related to desirable work–family social system outcomes (Adams et al., 1996; L. T. Thomas & Ganster, 1995). By buffering an individual from stress and conflict, relationship support from key individuals at home and at work may facilitate positive outcomes related to productivity, job satisfaction, and family satisfaction.

Family capital outcomes revisited. Investments in human, social, and financial capital at the individual, family, and organization levels can have synergistic effects across levels of analysis to positively impact the organizational effectiveness of family businesses (Pieper & Klein, 2007; Zellweger & Nason, 2008). FBWFF can build family capital, including attitudes, behaviors, and health outcomes for family members, all of which affect the individual at work and at home, thus impacting coworkers, partners, children, and other individuals in both work and family systems. Attitudes may be proximal or distal to work–family issues (Rothausen et al., 1998); FBWFF is more likely to strongly affect proximal attitudes like stress, WFC, attitude toward managing work and child care, or desire for more work–family balance. FBWFF will likely have an indirect, less strong relationship to distal attitudes like overall job satisfaction, employee commitment, overall satisfaction with the life partnership, and satisfaction with family life. Through impacts on WFC and stress, fit may also affect mental and physical health. Individual outcomes in a social system affect the system and the other individuals in the system; therefore, through the effects on the individual, fit may also affect dependents (including children), partners, coworkers, and the organization as a whole.

Discussion

Both conflict and enrichment can result from being deeply involved in both work and family life. Enrichment may directly build the family capital outcomes listed in Figure 1, such as job, family, and life satisfaction; skill and ability development; and productivity, in both arenas. Family business leaders are in a distinctive position to be able to impact the degree to which the family and work systems support each other by focusing on intentionally designing jobs, family roles, organizations, and families; improving relationship and role quality; setting family and work norms and values that support the fulfillment of all members of the family; and using stakeholder wellness as criteria for family business success. Benefits that help with work–family enrichment are needed, as is redesign of organizations based on updated realities of peoples' lives.

Implications for Future Research

Researchers can test the implications of the model developed in this article. Critical questions include: Do the values of family leaders determine both the family's culture and the business culture? When the cultures match, is there more or less conflict for family members? Although some evidence suggests that family-owned businesses adopt work–family benefits, programs, and policies at lower rates than do other firms (Moshavi & Koch, 2005), when they do adopt such programs, do they accrue more benefit than nonfamily-owned businesses due to the synergies between outcomes like attitudes across both dimensions of life? Do family norms around gender roles impact the ability of all family members to be effective both as family members and as workers in the family business? Are family businesses that exploit the skills of family members developed in both domains for the improvement of both the family and the business more effective? To the extent that family and work roles overlap, does the quality of the relationships between individuals impact individuals' sense of well-being and their productivity both at home and at work? Are family businesses in which family business leaders try to decrease WFC more effective in doing so than nonfamily business organizations that attempt this?

A theoretical implication of the FBWFF model is that it suggests constructs, in Figure 1, that could be included in or be antecedents to other models of family capital (e.g., Hoffman et al., 2006). Similarly, the model's outcomes partially answer calls in the family business literature to identify measures of success beyond those related to financial health (e.g., Distelberg & Sorenson, 2009). The FBWFF model may suggest additional components of constructs like familiness (Pearson et al., 2008). Improving work–family fit for family members will likely facilitate the inclusion of more family members in both the family and the business domains, which in turn would increase family human capital (knowledge, technical abilities, emotional strength, intellectual capital, and family social capital); cohesiveness; shared goals and vision; strength, quality, and intensity of social ties; and identification with the family and the family business. Thus, actively facilitating the involvement of more family members in both domains, including family members who may otherwise have been relatively more excluded from the business, will likely increase the human and social capital available to both the family and the family business (Pearson et al., 2008). Finally, FBWFF emphasizes the importance of the mutual support of both subsystems for the other. As Sharma (2008) pointed out, it is as critical that the business system support the family as it is that the family build the business if the benefit of social capital flows between the two subsystems is to be sustainable.

Implications for Family Businesses

The primary practice implication of this article for family business is that decision and policy makers consciously develop values and cultures and design organizations and families to be supportive of work–family integration and support. This involves investing in relationship and role quality in both the home and at work and investing in benefits and role redesigns that facilitate FBWFF for family members. It suggests examining family gender role ideologies and individual family members' preferences for family and work role participation and encouraging both where appropriate. Both relationship and role quality may be vitally important to the ability to fit work and family together in a way that maximizes outcomes for working individuals, dependent individuals, families, and the business. These actions will likely increase the human, social, and financial capital available to the business. In other words, business decisions, including those about strategy, governance, human resources, and succession, should include a holistic consideration of both the family system and the business system (Basco & Rodriquez, 2009), as well as how they fit together.

Limitations

The model developed in this article is directed toward U.S. family businesses, although many aspects of it will also be relevant in other cultures. The United States has a unique approach among industrialized nations with respect to work–family in that the ability of individuals and family units to successfully manage both work and family activities and commitments is privatized. In European countries for example, the state plays an active role in many aspects of work–family systems, including child care and laws mandating gender equity (Den Dulk, 2005). In the United States, these functions are left to individuals' families and their employing organizations and are thus left to market forces and the values of the dominant culture. In other cultures and economic systems, different aspects of work may be important to work–family and human and social capital outcomes (D. C. Thomas & Au, 2002; Rothausen, Gonzalez, & Griffin, in press).

This article has reviewed research from the management literature and thus is focused on the work or business domain. A review of research on the family side of work–family could highlight other aspects. For example, social capital outcomes are enhanced when individuals have choice and control over the roles they play at home rather than by any specific configuration of family such as sole earner versus dual career (Barnett, 1998). Finally, the FBWFF model will likely be of most interest and benefit to the subset of family businesses that have a balanced emphasis—that is, that value outcomes in both systems, as opposed to family-first or business-first family businesses (Distelberg & Sorenson, 2009).

Conclusion

Family business leaders have the distinctive opportunity to set values, culture, and policies for the interacting systems in individual family members' lives. This could operate either to improve outcomes for family members and the family business or to harm these outcomes, depending on whether supportive or rigid norms and tones are set. Attention to work–family conflict, gender role expectations, the positive potential of role accumulation, family-friendly benefits, and job, work, and organization redesign are five areas in which family business policy makers can have impact. In addition, making business and family decisions keeping in mind the fit between both environments may have an impact. Family business policy makers have the potential to play a prominent role in the policy arena on work–family and provide leadership on holistic, ethical practices in work–family if these practices spill over from family members to all employees in family businesses because so many U.S. employees work for family businesses. Thus, the potential for positive work–family fit could spill over to a large proportion of the U.S. workforce should family business leaders choose to view employees' families as part of the larger family business system.

Note

1. Rosabeth Moss Kanter is the Ernest L. Arbuckle Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School. She authored the influential treatise on work–family, *Work and Family in the United States: A Critical Review and Agenda for Research and Policy*, in 1977 (MacDermid, Pagnan, & Remnet, 2008).

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