Coping Strategies for Working Parents with Children playing Competitive Hockey

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Abstract
Work-family conflict (WFC) is an expanding area of inquiry within human resource management and research associated with a high commitment context, where the potential for conflict generation is high, offers a promising empirical setting to extend WFC theory. A qualitative research design was used to explore WFC coping strategies gathered through interviews (n=23) and focus groups (n=12) with parents of competitive youth hockey players. The findings demonstrated that coping strategies enabled the parents to successfully manage WFC. Discussion focuses upon two main strategies related to: planning and supportive networks. Various organizational strategies are discussed to ensure reduced conflict for both the employer and the employees, where children’s activities have the potential to impede on balancing work-family obligations.

Introduction
Canadians are well known for their love of the game - ice hockey! Ask any parent with children enrolled in competitive hockey under the age of 16 years about the demands this particular sport places on the family and work, and you will hear the same reply: It is time consuming, competitive, expensive, and probably one the major enjoyments of her/his life. In 2010, Hockey Canada reported 572,411 registered male and female youth hockey players in
Canada (Hockey Canada, 2011). This number of players translates into approximately 1.1 million parents, which according to Statistics Canada (2011) represented 7 percent of the workforce.

Watching one’s son or daughter play hockey may be extremely satisfying, but a high demand activity such as a child’s competitive hockey places undue hardships on employers. Parents are away from work for varying time periods on a regular basis throughout the seven-month hockey season, sometimes stretching out to twelve months at more competitive levels. Conversely, a child’s competitive hockey commitment also places undue hardship on a family because of the excessive time required to attend practices, games, and/or tournaments. Competitive hockey is defined as amateur hockey played below the junior age level (16 years old), and involves a higher level of on-ice competition and coaching (Hockey Canada, 2011). An intense activity of this kind impacts an individual’s ability to negotiate both work and non-work spheres.

Consequently, the absenteeism of hockey parents from work poses a substantial loss of productivity for employers and highlights a need for both employee and employer-based strategies to help workers balance work and family and stem this potential loss of productivity. As noted by Beham and Drobnič (2009), the challenge of balancing work and family has attracted substantial scholarly attention and with good reason when one considers the high demand on time that a sport such as hockey places on work and family. Thus, this research aimed to determine the coping strategies parents utilize in order to manage the conflict that competitive hockey places upon their family and work obligations.
Work-Family Conflict (WFC)

The literature is replete with papers examining work-family conflict (WFC) (e.g. Allard, Haas, & Hwang, 2011; Bianchie & Milkie, 2010; Duxbury, Higgins, Lee, & Mills, 1991; Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brimley, 2005; Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Collins, 2001; Carlson, Kacmar, & Williams, 2000; Frone & Yardley, 1996; Hart, Hasbrook, & Mathes, 1986; Inglis, Danylchuk, & Pastore, 2000; Root & Wooten, 2008; Sagas & Cunningham, 2005; Winkel & Clayton, 2010). The study of WFC emerged in response to changes in traditional family roles, where women became active in the workforce, shedding their primary role as homemakers (Allard et al., 2011). What emerged were dual income families facing WFC not previously experienced. WFC increases employee stress, lowers organizational commitment, reduces job satisfaction, and escalates turnover in organizations (Allen, Herst, Bruck, & Sutton, 2000). These negative implications of WFC give reason for further research in this area.

WFC, by definition, is a form of inter-role conflict whereby work demands, time pressures, and strain from the work domain impact on the ability to meet demands and responsibilities from the family domain (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Netemeyer, Boles, & McMurrian, 1996; Rotondo, Carlson, & Kincaid, 2003). The impact on the relationships between work and family is reciprocal as the effects on one domain can impact the other (e.g. Dallimore & Mickel, 2006; Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1992; Netemeyer et al., 1996). What is known, is that work-to-family conflict, or the encroachment of work into family time, seems to be experienced more than family-to-work conflict, or the encroachment of family into work time (e.g. Carlson et al., 2000; Tang & Cousins, 2005), and is reported to have received more attention (Allard et al., 2011; Geurts & Demeouti, 2003).
With working parents facing many conflicts, there is no shortage on how the relationship between work and family is examined. Within the WFC body of work, researchers seek greater consistency in measurement, construct development, and sampling techniques (Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Rotondo et al., 2003). A review of literature demonstrates that the focus on work-family research is centered on quantitative research, that examines the relationships among variables related to job stress, job satisfaction, work social support, work role conflict, work time demands, and work role ambiguity, to name a few (Michel & Hargis, 2008). It would be difficult to argue this work does not provide great insight; however, there has also been a call to embark on qualitative research to build on WFC theory development. A search of the literature demonstrates a dearth of qualitative WFC studies (e.g., Kasper, Meyer, & Schmidt, 2005, Lo, 2003, Nippert-Eng, 1996, 1998; Srivastava, Srivastava, & Srivastava, 2009). What are the coping strategies that can lead to reduced work-family conflict? A qualitative exploration to answer this question is the basis of this study.

**Method**

*The Research Context - Hockey in Canada*

Ice hockey in Canada holds a level of cultural significance unmatched by any other sport or leisure activity (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993). While the game was given official designation as Canada’s national winter sport in 1994, its prominent role within many social spheres, including family, is well established and documented. For example, Podnieks (2006, 4) situated hockey as an integral part of the typical Canadian home when he articulated, “hockey pucks are part of kids’ bedrooms from coast to coast and are stashed away in every family basement or garage”. Further, Podnieks (2006) portrayed a powerful attachment between hockey and family life when
he claimed “any personal love of hockey begins in childhood and as such it is a family sport first and foremost” (5). Fundamental family-hockey experiences glorify parent-child experiences, such as father-son hockey activities (MacGregor, 1997), and emphasize how hockey and family share an important and valued social space. The context of the mass-culture practice of youth hockey in Canada offers a valuable opportunity to examine the nature of the interface between family and work spheres.

Berg, Kalleberg, and Appelbaum (2003) examined the effect of high performance work practices within a high commitment context and sought to recognize the impact of job intensity characteristics upon work and family. Intense contexts, be they work- or family-based, provide critical cases in which to examine WFC. Consequently, a selective sampling strategy (Patton, 2002) was employed for this study in order to ensure WFC coping strategies were examined within a setting where significant pressures impact an individual’s work and family spheres. Specifically, each participant was a parent of a child registered in competitive minor hockey.

Competitive hockey involves skilled players who play on a “representative” (a “rep”) team that travels to play similar teams from other centres (city or town). These teams belong to a minor hockey association that manages the sport within a community. On average, teams will have three to four sessions each week for practices and games. Each association sets the ice times depending upon player age and level, ice availability, and league preference. In an effort to make their teams more competitive, it is also common for coaches to purchase extra on-ice and off-ice times for training. Overall, the weekly hockey demands for families are immense and parents have little to no control over the amount and time of team sessions.
Generally, the younger age levels are assigned early morning or early evening practices, while the older players might also be assigned early morning practices and/or the later times. Ice time can be difficult to obtain, particularly in smaller centres (cities or towns), and so there may be variation in practice times which might occur earlier than usual, right after school, or later in the evening. Some of these times may also cause scheduling problems for parents, who are typically at work during many of those periods of the day.

Data Collection - participants and procedure

Participants were parents of a child registered in competitive minor hockey. Once a child attains the age of 16, s/he may obtain a license to drive a car, which can effectively reduce work-family conflict. Therefore, parents with children playing competitive hockey under age 16 (prior to the minimum age for a driver’s license in Ontario) were selected.

To examine the nature of WFC among hockey parents two phases of data collection were conducted. Phase 1 of the research involved three focus groups held in a meeting room at a hockey arena and at a local university in Southern Ontario. While it was believed WFC was an issue in this research context, it was necessary to determine if in fact there were conflicts due to the competing work-family demands, and how the participants managed both their work and non-work spheres. A total of 12 participants (n=12) took part in the focus groups. The focus group format was exploratory and included questions about the work-family conflict the hockey parents experienced, and how the parents met the high demands of both their child’s hockey commitment and their work commitment. Morgan (1997) suggested a focus group is a useful method to initially explore a new phenomenon and provides a basis upon which to refine subsequent data collection methods such as interviews. Given this, a sequential approach was
utilized for this study where focus group data about the understandability of questions and preliminary themes from Phase 1 informed the development of more detailed data collection and analysis strategy in Phase 2.

Phase 2 of the research involved interviews. The semi-structured interview guide included questions on participant demographics, the nature of work-family conflict experienced by the parent, and the types of work-family coping strategies utilized by the parent. The telephone interviews lasted approximately 30-45 minutes. The sample for Phase 2 consisted of 23 participants from three different hockey associations in Southern Ontario. The sample included 10 women (mothers) and 13 men (fathers). One parent was single, two were divorced and the remainder was married. A total of 12 parents were between 46-55 years of age, 10 were between 36-45 years of age, and one was between 56-65 years of age. The average number of dependents was 2.04 while the average number of dependents playing hockey was slightly less at 1.43. The majority of parents were professional workers who were full time (n=20). Regardless of employment status, the participants worked at their current employer for an average of 13.5 years. The hockey commitment of each participant involved an average of 23 hours/week and given that each child playing hockey was a minor, this number reflects time committed by both the parent and child. Finally, the participants reported an average cost of $5,466 per season, or $3,697 per dependent in hockey.²

Data Analysis

Each of the focus groups and interviews were audio-taped and transcribed verbatim. Data analysis involved an iterative process whereby pre-determined codes derived from the literature directed early understanding and subsequent emergent themes elaborated upon the overall
interpretation (Patton, 2002). Interview data were coded and analyzed using the NVIVO-9 software package in order to identify common themes. Coding involved three steps: open, axial, and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Open coding involved the analysis of text by sentences or paragraphs (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). These bins of data were organized through axial coding into more general levels of abstraction, called categories and subcategories. Finally, selective coding facilitated the final connection of data and theory through patterns and concepts that provided a general explanation of how the parents coped with WFC. Data analysis also involved two strategies: direct interpretation of an individual instance and the categorical aggregation of multiple instances (Stake, 1995). Categorical aggregation allows the emergence of key themes from repetition of data whereas direct interpretation allows the emergence of key themes from critical instances of data (Stake, 1995).

**Coping Strategy Findings**

The data from this study indicated two underlying themes related to WFC coping strategies for these parents: planning and supportive networks. These are summarized in Table 1 and are discussed in more detail in the ensuing paragraphs.

**Table 1 – Frequency of Coping Strategies Themes and Sub-themes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Sub-theme</th>
<th>Categorical Aggregation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Sources (Participants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>COPING STRATEGIES</td>
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<tr>
<td>A. Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Task Avoidance</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Task Procrastination</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Task Completion</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Being organized</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Complete work outside work hours</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Hire people to help you</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Meal planning</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tbody>
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### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme/Sub-theme</th>
<th>Categorical Aggregation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of Sources (Participants)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Time Management</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Communication</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>B. Supportive Networks</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Supportive Work Environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Personal time</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Supportive manager/employer</td>
<td>21</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Flexible work environment</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Supportive Hockey Environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Supportive coaches</td>
<td>19</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Supportive hockey league</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Supportive Family-Hockey Community</strong></td>
<td>24</td>
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**Planning:** The first sub-theme within coping strategies, ‘planning’, included three sub-themes: *task avoidance, task procrastination, and task completion*. In the context of this study, planning referred to how participants managed day-to-day tasks in order to achieve task fulfillment. In order to reduce conflict between work and family, some participants avoided tasks altogether (n=5; n=5), such as P10 who stated, “There are chores, there are things around the home that do get left simply because you[‘re] not there to complete them” and P6 who indicated, “just not doing some of the things that are not a priority.” In other cases, participants (n=12; n=16) procrastinated, including P15 who admitted, “If you have too many things hockey usually wins out … unless its emergencies…” ‘Task completion’, was the most prevalent planning sub-theme. Several strategies were implemented such as ‘being organized’ (n=17; n=45), ‘communication’ (n=10; n=16), ‘completing work outside of regular hours’ (n=8; n=20), ‘time management’ (n=6; n=11), and ‘meal planning’ (n=5; n=6). While each of these tactics was helpful, the findings suggested organization was the most prominent. Specifically, P14 indicated successfully reducing WFC “takes really good organizational skills”, P5 credited her ability to reduce WFC to the fact she has “just been very organized from the beginning”, and P19 believed, “I think you
just have to plan your day in advance knowing what you have to get done that day, knowing the day before what you have to get done for the next day.”

Supportive Networks: The second coping strategies sub-theme, ‘supportive networks’, included three main support environments – supportive work environment, supportive hockey environment, and supportive family-hockey community – that participants accessed to help them reduce WFC.

Within the ‘work environment’, participants explained they utilized vacation, sick or lieu time in order to reduce conflict (n=11; n=20). For example, P6 stated “my job is personally flexible enough so I’ve been able to take vacation time when I’ve needed it to take him places ....” A “supportive employer or supervisor”, was also valuable (n=21; n=53). In some cases a supervisor’s understanding was due to the fact s/he was sympathetic to the challenges hockey presents. P21 noted, “I’ve got some flexibility there and then it helps that my vice principal’s a former hockey player too so he’s got a bit of understanding also as to what exactly I’m going through right now”. P3 also acknowledged “my boss also has children who play travel sports [s/he’s] very understanding.” In other cases the employer promoted a family-oriented culture and in so doing afforded opportunities for employees to reduce WFC when a family commitment arose. P14 stated, “I think [the employer] would be supportive either way but he understands the role of family and the importance of family definitely, family time”, and P15 commented, “Anything to do with the kids he’s supportive with anything related to family, so no, not because of hockey just because of family stuff.”

Another workplace characteristic that better enabled participants to reduce WFC was ‘flexible work arrangements’ (n=13; n=26). P11 stated, “As I’ve told you I’ve changed
meetings and so on and so forth because of it but I’m very fortunate to have a job that I have, if I didn’t I wouldn’t be able to manage nearly as well.” Additionally, P22 noted “… it’s nice to have that flexibility right now and I’m taking advantage of it without completely taking advantage of my employer. P8 discussed how useful flex time is: “I think the whole flex time being able to leave early or come in late if I have a morning practice and stuff, all those things relieve some of the stress.” Overall, work time and work location flexibility allowed parents to adjust to difficult demands of work and family. This did not mean employees failed to complete their work. Rather, it meant the employees found ways beyond the typical daily work format to complete their duties.

Within the “supportive hockey environment”, “supportive coaches” (n=19; n=31) were understanding of the significant demands of hockey and willing to help, as was evident from P9’s statement, “if [the coaches] schedule an extra practice and not a regularly scheduled one they’re pretty good about it, understanding that you can’t make it.” Parents also benefitted from supportive hockey leagues (n=17; n=21) as P13 indicated, “I found the scheduling pretty fair; I mean [hockey league organizers] didn’t schedule very many games during the week.”

The final “Supportive Network” sub-theme was “supportive family-hockey community” (n=24; n=76). Every participant identified this theme as a coping strategy. For example, “Having a great plan and network of friends to accommodate that, either teammates or family members…” (P15), and “… so you have to be willing to help other people in order to get you know basically get help from other people so I find that the best strategy…” (P19). Therefore, drawing assistance from one’s family and the broader hockey community was a very common coping strategy and helps reduce WFC.
Discussion

The purpose of this study was to determine the coping strategies parents utilize in order to manage the conflict that competitive hockey places upon their family and their work obligations. The data indicated this sample of hockey parents employed various WFC coping strategies which enabled these parents to successfully manage WFC. “Coping Strategies” included sub-themes related to “Planning” and “Supportive Networks” (see Figure 1) emerged to explain what coping strategies worked for the families in our study.

Figure 1 – Coping strategies used by parents of children playing competitive hockey

The data indicated parents utilized a supportive work environment to reduce WFC. This finding agrees with existing literature that argues there is a beneficial impact of workplace human resource practices upon work-life balance (Berg et al., 2003; Bloom, Kretschmer, & Van Reenen, 2011). Our data demonstrated other strategies similar to previous research such as
supportive supervisors (Brunetto, Farr-Wharton, Ramsay, & Shacklock, 2010) and work schedules (Shamir, 1983). The most prominent workplace strategy in this study was a flexible work environment and this factor is also addressed in the broader WFC body of work (Pas, Pascale, & Doorewaard, 2011; Hill, Hawkins, Ferris, & Weitzman, 2001). It should be noted that similar to Saltzstein, Ting, and Saltzstein (2001) who suggested the positive influence of family-friendly policies upon an employee’s job cannot be attributed to one ‘best’ workplace policy or set of policies, this study indicated various work environment characteristics enabled the hockey parents to better manage WFC.

The findings also demonstrated the ability to cope with WFC was facilitated by a supportive community beyond the work domain. Very little is understood about what community entails within work-family research, but Chaitt-Bennett and Gareis (2008) acknowledged the importance of this factor when they stated “workers and families reside in communities, and their lives are structured by the resources that are available to them in their communities” (72). Voydanoff (2001) highlighted six aspects of community that are important to reducing conflict and reaching a work-family balance and two of these are relevant to this study. First, community social organizations (CSOs) may contribute positively or negatively to an individual’s WFC. In this study CSOs refer to minor hockey associations and leagues that contribute positively or negatively to a parent’s WFC because these stakeholders determine when and where the child’s hockey activity occurs. Second, social actors within the community, namely coaches and other hockey parents, may provide support, such as rides for players to and from practices and games, and in certain instances this help was invaluable for reducing WFC. The support from friends was valuable for this sample of hockey parents, which concurs with Valcour (2007) who indicated social support provides important resources to decrease WFC.
From an organizational perspective, it is important for employers to recognize the inevitability of WFC and find ways to manage this form of conflict in the workplace (Lewis, Kagan, & Heaton, 2000). There is an assumption by many employers that work and family domains are separate and that the worker detaches her/himself from family while at work, and vice versa (Bruce & Reed, 1994). However, the findings in this study demonstrate the opposite – WFC is a constant that continuously crosses into both work and family domains. Consequently, it is valuable to discuss how employers and employees can implement HRM practices based upon the framework proposed in this study in order to effectively manage WFC, and in so doing maintain rather than lose employer productivity, and enhance rather than inhibit employee work-family balance (WFB).

Human resources have a key role to play in positioning parent’s work schedules to meet their children’s sport demands. Employees will continue to have families, and children will continue to be involved with outside activities demanding their parent’s time at periods of the day that are not aligned with work schedules. The parents in this study were committed to their work demands; however, they made concerted efforts to accommodate their children, mainly due to the fact that their managers were very understanding about the activity. This is consistent with Lewis et al. (2000) who argued employees are anxious to repay good treatment from employers by carefully considering when to take leave from work.

A great deal of literature endorses work-based WFC strategies such as schedule flexibility (Anderson, Coffey & Byerly, 2002), schedule control (Kelly, Moen, & Tranby, 2011), and supportive managers (Brunetto et al., 2010) but this study supports practices that extend beyond just the workplace. The findings support a “mutual flexibility” approach where both employees and employers play a role in WFC strategies. One key HRM practice that
encompasses a need for shared understanding is recruitment and the implementation of realistic job previews (RJs) that enable both parties to appreciate what each other presume a job will entail. Richardson, McBey, and McKenna (2010) argued recruitment involved a holistic process encompassing both RJs and realistic living conditions (RLCs). A holistic view offers a forum in which employers and employees may proactively discuss what they value when it comes to WFB.

RJs conducted within a WFB climate allow employees to make sure one’s work is an environment that will meet her/his needs. At the same time, employers, who face a limited number of potential staff due to the decreasing number of skilled workers, need to adjust who they will hire. For example, research indicates new generations entering the workforce are not about the work – they are about making a life not making a living (Ng, Schweitzer, & Lyons, 2010) and companies need to think differently about WFB if they want to build a capable workforce. Support of work and non-work challenges is important to young work applicants (Cunningham, 2009) but employers will not feel secure enough to provide such allowances unless they are confident the employee will return the good will. This is why RJs are important because a strong person-job fit will only be beneficial for proper WFC management later.

Finally, this study demonstrated that the participants led highly complex lives and while they recognized the complexity placed intense pressure upon both work and family, the participants’ desire to meet both family and work obligations was steadfast - the parents found a way to ‘make it all happen’. The idea that the challenges these participants faced to reduce WFC played a role in how rewarding both family and work life felt to each of them may seem odd but appears more plausible when understood in the context of Hackman and Oldham’s (1976) extensively researched job characteristics model. A key argument of the model is that, when
challenge is added to a job through such characteristics as variety, autonomy, and decision-making, the worker experiences increased job motivation and satisfaction (Wall, Clegg, & Jackson, 1978). Consequently, in conditions of high WFC, such as parents of youth in competitive hockey, engaging a mutual flexibility approach can provide opportunities for autonomy and decision-making that improve employee satisfaction and in turn, reduce WFC.

Further, it is valuable for employees to demonstrate their resourcefulness when it comes to managing and resolving WFC. Research indicated the spillover of family into work is noticed by workplace supervisors and can negatively influence a worker’s performance evaluation because WFC is assumed to have an adverse impact on one’s productivity (Carlson, Witt, Zivnuska, Kacmar, & Gryzwacz, 2008). It was evident from the data in this study that the resolution of WFC was well communicated by participants within family and to some extent, community spheres. Although it is just as important that workers do the same within the work domain, the findings are not clear this was the case for these participants. Carlson et al. (2008) argued it is ‘beneficial for employees to demonstrate [their conflict resolution strategies] as much as possible [and] in a way that the supervisor is aware of the positive transfer” (p. 47). An employee who approaches WFC according to the strategies identified in this study demonstrates a proactive problem-solving approach to inherent work-family challenges. S/he needs to ‘blow her/his own horn’ to ensure the message is loud and clear in the workplace otherwise the supervisor will assume the visible WFC has a detrimental effect upon the employee’s productivity.
Limitations and Conclusion

There are some limitations to this study. Firstly, the results of this study cannot be generalized due to the sample size. Although there is an intuitive appeal regarding the findings, future research may employ a survey research methodology and reach out to a larger sample across hockey centres in various countries to confirm our findings. Secondly, the random sample resulted in primarily professional employees, who by virtue of their position have more autonomy than other types of workers. Although the sample was randomly drawn, why were there no blue collar workers in the sample? Based on the high costs associated with this particular sport, would it be reasonable to assume that professional employees would be in a better position to afford this sport, and therefore, in a better position to address the conflict that emerges? Future research should seek out different levels of workers to determine if the same types of HRM strategies would be more effective for one group compared to another. In addition, although competitive youth hockey was the context of this study, the same issues may apply across a range of other children’s activities. For example, are there similar or different concerns related to WFC competitive soccer, basketball, dance, and music, to name a few? Other dynamics of a child’s competitive sport experience, such as athlete injuries and rehabilitation, may also influence WFC.

In conclusion, it must be reiterated that work-family research reflects a new and interdisciplinary field (Chaitt Bennett & Gareis, 2008). Within this literature, work and family conflict is a complex, dynamic phenomenon (Matheson & Rosen, 2012; Fouad & Tinsley, 1997). Despite a historical trend to distinguish between work and non-work domains within the literature, the current view recognizes claims by scholars such as Geurts and Demerouti (2003) that work and non-work are highly interrelated domains. Any parent who reads this study may
begin to reflect upon how the experiences of these participants relate to her/himself, and his/her own child’s/children’s activities. As such, this is an significant initial study that requires further attention to ensure that productivity is maintained in organizations, and that parents’ conflict is reduced.

**Works Cited**


ENDNOTES
1 In Canada, the various provinces and territories set the minimum age requirement for obtaining a driver’s license. In our study, our sample was located in Ontario, where 16 is the minimum age to obtain a driver’s license.

2 For further information on the demographics, please contact either one of the authors of this paper, to obtain a detailed chart.

3 The first number in the parenthesis represents the total number of participants who identified the sub-theme. The second number represents the total number of instances the sub-theme was coded in the data.