

NEGOTIATING IDENTITY & MANAGING ROLES:
A PHENOMENOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF VOLUNTEERS' LIVED EXPERIENCES

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

NEGOTIATING IDENTITY & MANAGING ROLES: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL
ANALYSIS OF VOLUNTEERS' LIVED EXPERIENCES

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Some people's hearts and souls will always be with you,
and it is their warmth and love that encourages you to go on even in the darkest of times.

This work is dedicated to those hearts and souls
that will forever be intertwined with mine:

To God who always gives me love and strength even when I feel the least
deserving of such unconditional love.

To my mother and father who have sacrificed greatly to see their daughter dream
and whose love and encouragement have fueled me and given me strength to persevere.

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ABSTRACT

Among the multiple frames used to view volunteering, many have described volunteerism as a staple of democracy, a valuable source of labor for the nonprofit sector, and a source of personal and work related benefits (Musick & Wilson, 2008; Salamon & Dewees, 2002). Without this voluntary work force, a number of nonprofit organizations would need to find alternative means of providing services to their respective publics. To date, much of the scholarship dedicated to understanding this phenomenon has sought to uncover predictors of volunteer behavior or determine causes for the decline in volunteerism (for review see Musick & Wilson, 2008). Absent from volunteer scholarship is a discussion of how volunteerism impacts overall social identity. This manuscript takes an alternative approach to understanding this phenomenon by focusing on issues of identity. Specifically, this paper focuses on the ways in which individuals discursively discuss the volunteer role in light of additional life demands.

By focusing in on the lived experiences of volunteers, this qualitative study sought to ameliorate the gaps present in volunteer research and work-life scholarship and begin building the foundation for additional scholarship on multiple roles. The focus of study was to explore a number of the currently unanswered questions including a) the ways individuals discursively frame their volunteer work in relation to work and family roles b) the ways individuals managed multiple roles, and c) the implications of multiple role engagement on individual identity. The findings from this study discuss a new form of boundary management, role collapsing, and present a new theoretical model that accounts for the ways multiple role engagement influences identity.

CHAPTER ONE: RATIONALE AND JUSTIFICATION

If mentoring programs such as Big Brothers and Big Sisters needed to pay for services currently offered for free by volunteers, how many fewer children would be served by the program? If Habitat for Humanity needed to compensate the labor of thousands of volunteers, how many fewer houses would be built to provide needy individuals with shelter? Volunteers are undoubtedly an important source of labor for many nonprofit organizations, giving nonprofit organizations the opportunity to provide services and accomplish tasks even with limited staff members and finances. If one were to calculate all of the labor provided by volunteers in the United States, the amount of free labor would be equal to the amount of labor provided by nine million full-time paid positions (Panel on the Nonprofit Sector, 2005). Furthermore, as the United States experiences an economic recession, one third of U.S. nonprofits (37%) reported increased the number of volunteers they use to provide services (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2009). It has been argued that in order for a democratic social system to operate, a high number of volunteers are needed (Schindler-Rainman & Lippit, 1975). An increased reliance on volunteers without an increase in the volunteer labor force could create strains and tensions for some nonprofit organizations. Even without an increased demand for volunteers, changes to the voluntary workforce may inadvertently affect the services offered by nonprofit organizations.

Scholarship has approached the phenomenon of volunteering with a desire to locate and remedy problems that prevent people from volunteering. Hypothetically, if

these problems were remedied, then there would be an increase of volunteers and volunteer labor to meet the needs of society. However, current approaches to volunteer scholarship have focused on the decline of volunteer labor's influence on society or on determining the factors that predict or influence volunteer behavior. These approaches do not take into account the processes by which individuals incorporate the volunteer role into their current roles. The addition of new roles into one's life creates additional demands on time and energy that ultimately may lead to experiencing strain (Marks, 1977). These processes of managing and engaging in multiple roles influences individuals' ability and time to enact the volunteer role. Thus, this study takes an alternative approach to volunteer research by problematizing those experiences where roles interact. Specifically, this study seeks to understand the fluctuating nature of volunteering by focusing on how one discursively and materially manages the challenges of being a volunteer in a world filled with increasing demands from all aspects of one's life.

The remainder of this chapter will address the current state of volunteer research and lay the groundwork for adding in an alternative approach to the study of volunteerism. To do so, this chapter will first discuss the assumptions guiding current volunteer scholarship. Next, the chapter will address the two current perspectives of volunteer scholarship: the social capital perspective and the social psychological perspective. Lastly, the chapter will present the communication perspective, which encompasses the processes individuals use to manage roles and how these processes influence one's identity.

Assumptions of Existing Research on Volunteering

Scholars who study volunteering are usually operating under several assumptions regarding the relationship between volunteering and the well-being of society. The first, and perhaps most implicit of these assumptions, is that people are willing to help others and engage in activities that will help society as a whole. Wilson and Musick (1997) called a culture or society in which individuals willingly help each other a *culture of benevolence*. Although cultures of benevolence are predominantly found in religious organizations (Wilson & Musick, 1997), this perspective on cultures in society explains why nonprofits can reasonably expect that people will volunteer or give financially for the betterment of others. A perspective of expectancy means that a nonprofit organization can flourish because it is expected that people will freely give of their time and resources to help others.

It is the expectancy perspective that leads to the second perspective, the perspective of decline. The perspective of decline encompasses all arguments regarding the decline in volunteering and philanthropy (e.g., present decline in social capital, civic engagement, and volunteerism) (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009; Putnam, 2000). Putnam (2000) used changes in memberships in certain organizations (e.g., bowling leagues, Junior League, etc.) to argue that newer generations were far less civic minded than older generations, causing less participation in community groups. Additionally, census data has indicated a decline in volunteering. In 2006, the percentage of Americans who reported themselves as volunteering decreased by 2.6% between the years 2005 and 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007). The following year, the rate dropped once again, but only by .5 percent.

While census data does report a slight decline between 2005 and 2006, there are some problems with the perspective of decline. The 2006 rate (26.7%) was only slightly less than the pre-September 11th volunteer rates (27.4%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007, 2009). After 9-11-01, volunteer rates increased to 28.8% and remained consistent for three years. During that time-frame, numerous natural disasters occurred (e.g., a tsunami hit Indonesia and Thailand; Hurricanes Ivan and Katrina hit the Gulf Coast, mudslides and forest fires devastated areas of California, etc.) possibly inflating the volunteer rate. Rich (1999) critiqued Putnam's argument by claiming Putnam's analysis included a narrow scope of traditional civic organizations. Rotolo and Wilson (2004) tested Putnam's arguments that younger generations are volunteering less. They found no generational differences in terms of enacting the volunteer role; however, Rotolo and Wilson did note in their review of volunteer trends that as generational cohorts increase in age, the amount of time spent volunteering increased. This increase is quite possibly due to increased time available to volunteer because of a decline in familial or work related demands. Census data reports also indicate that individuals in their twenties are least likely, out of all surveyed age groups, to volunteer (U. S. Census Bureau, 2009). One argument for why younger generations do not volunteer is that these individuals are adjusting to having less time due to increased life demands including getting married, starting new jobs, and having children (Osterle, Kirkpatrick, & Mortimer, 2004). Thus, time may be a factor in determining how and when individuals volunteer. If the assumption is true that individuals are inherently good and will help out their fellow neighbor, then a belief in a perspective of decline indicates something is hindering a person's ability to help.

In problematizing these expectancy perspectives, it is important to note that nonprofits do not demand nor require labor from individuals in society. Even though there is no requirement, decreases in government funding and government sponsored social services could lead to increased demands on nonprofit organizations who provide similar services (Rotolo & Wilson, 2004). While one third of nonprofits have already reported increasing their reliance on volunteers, almost half (48%) project increasing their use of volunteers in the future (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2009). These perspectives focus on the need for increased volunteers in society. Scholars who ground their research in these perspectives may clarify society's dependency on volunteer labor; however, they will not find ways to ameliorate the problems that create the decline in volunteerism.

Framing volunteerism through a rhetoric of decline assumes that volunteerism is a solution to the problems in society, and if volunteerism is in decline, these societal problems will remain (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009). The underlying argument is a belief that if individuals are volunteering less, they are less connected to their neighbors and less concerned with nation's affairs. Over the years, it seems that the well-being of U.S. society is framed as being dependent on volunteer behavior. Following small declines in reported volunteer behavior, scholars, presidents, and others began to question the state of society. For example, reports from the United States Census Bureau (2009) indicate that the proportion of Americans volunteering seems to have declined by 2.7% over the past three years. Coupled with numerous other reports regarding a decline in volunteerism, there seems to be a growing concern regarding the state of volunteerism in America. An underlying desire to "save volunteering" is present in numerous reports

from the Corporation for National and Community Service (2007), which has recently reported declines of volunteerism in metropolitan areas. When scholars approach the study of volunteering through the lens that volunteer behavior is expected and needed for the proper functioning of society, the focus of volunteer research is limited to effective recruitment, management, and volunteer retention.

Expanding Existing Research on Volunteering

Expanding research on volunteering or solving problems associated with volunteering means moving away from the desire to understand why society's rates of volunteerism shifts and instead approach the study of volunteering by focusing on the life of individual volunteer. As alluded to earlier, one way to understand shifts in volunteering over the years is to focus on the ways individuals' availability changes over time. As individuals take on additional roles with subsequent expectations, individuals are faced with the challenge of managing each role (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). To clarify, roles are a series of behaviors and actions that individuals engage in to fulfill the requirements and expectations of being part of an organization (e.g., work, family, community) (Kirby, Golden, Medved, Jorgensen, & Buzzanell, 2003). When an individual is a member of multiple organizations, multiple role expectations can create problems for the individual who is seeking to manage all of the different roles. Furthermore, since volunteering means adding an additional role, individuals experience additional demands on their time and resources, possibly leading to role strain (Goode, 1960; Marks, 1977).

Despite the potential for role strain, over a quarter of the United States population willingly engages in the volunteer role, and some find themselves managing the demands

for labor and time from multiple sources (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). The goal of this study is to begin the process of understanding individuals' experiences at the junction where multiple demands are present (e.g., work demands, family demands, and volunteer demands). Traditional scholarship on multiple role engagement and management has sought to understand the interactions between work and life domains by uncovering positive and negative consequences of role interactions (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006). The place where work and family roles intersect and sometimes conflict is the *work-family interface*. Work-family interface scholarship has primarily sought to understand how the role demands from both one's work life and family life impact each other, the individual, and the work produced by the individual in both realms. By problematizing volunteering on the individual level and focusing on the way individuals manage how volunteering creates additional role demands, scholarship on the work-family interface can be expanded and enhanced.

Additionally, incorporating the volunteer role into role interface studies means further exploration into the ways additional role engagement impacts identity. Rothbard and Dumas (2006) posited that one's identity is what influences how individuals manage their roles, yet they only focused on the family and work roles. Prior scholarship has not explored the ways individuals articulate the volunteer role or experience the interfaces associated with the volunteer role and other roles (e.g., work-volunteer role and relational-volunteer role). Thus, this study will focus on the ways individuals manage multiple roles and how multiple role engagement and management interact with identity.

Before delving into the theoretical issues surrounding management of roles and identity, the following sections will further explore the current state of scholarship on

volunteerism and the nature of volunteering in the United States. Each of these following research perspectives highlight approaches to viewing the nature and predictors of volunteering, including the social capital perspective and the social psychological perspective. After a review of current perspectives on volunteerism, the communicative perspective will be introduced as an alternative perspective to approaching volunteer research. This perspective will discuss the way communication scholarship is best suited to understanding the nature of volunteerism, role management, and influences of role management on identity.

The Phenomenon of Volunteering in the United States

Volunteering has a long and fruitful tradition in the United States. Not only is volunteering necessary for the functioning of some nonprofit organizations, but the nonprofit sector is also an important sector in American society. The nonprofit sector in the United States accounts for 5.2% of the gross national product and is responsible for 8.3% of wages paid in the United States (The Urban Institute, 2007). Further, this sector continues to experience growth. Between 1996 and 2004, the number of nonprofit organizations in the United States increased by 28.8% (The Urban Institute, 2007). Ideally, as this sector continues to grow, the number of volunteers meeting the needs of these nonprofit organizations will also continue to grow.

In order to provide a number of valuable services to the public, many nonprofit organizations must rely on volunteers (The Urban Institute, 2006). Volunteers are valuable to society for a number of reasons, including that they (a) provide an important source of free labor for medical and social welfare organizations, (b) serve as representative voices of needy populations, and (c) provide physical labor in order to

offer services to the public (Cull & Hardy, 1974; Salamon & Dewees, 2002). Even though the sector itself is beginning to diversify and grow, the growth in the number of volunteers is lagging behind.

Acts of volunteering may also have some political implications. Because the nature of volunteering may provide outlets to shape political legislation and keep individuals politically active and invested in society, volunteering has been viewed as a staple of democracy and a form of civic participation (Cull & Hardy, 1974; Rich, 1999; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Schindler-Rainman & Lippitt, 1975). For example, volunteers may assist in securing funds for organizations, in advocating on behalf of an organization, and in serving on boards of nonprofit organizations and associational membership organizations.

Although volunteers do provide needed support to nonprofit and governmental organizations, there have been some changes to the voluntary workforce over the past few years. As mentioned before, the volunteer workforce is equivalent to 9 million full-time staff members (Panel on the Nonprofit Sector, 2005). Recent reports indicate that in 2008, 61.8 million, 26.4% of the United States' population, volunteered at least once over the course of the year (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Although these numbers indicate that a large number of Americans are volunteering, when these statistics are viewed in light of volunteering trends, the percentage of individuals volunteering has declined 2.6% between 2005 and 2007 and only increased by .2 percent in 2008. The previous growth period in volunteer rates occurred in 2003 when rates increased from 27.4% to 28.8%, and remained stable for three years before declining to 26.7% in 2006 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007).

Some individuals have argued that the decline in volunteerism may very well be attributed to increased demands for individuals' time. A recent study by Thrivent Financial for Lutherans found a large discrepancy (40% difference) between the number of individuals desiring to volunteer and those who actually engaged in volunteer behavior (Preston, 2008). The study also found that individuals were more willing to contribute financially to charities than physically volunteer. In interpreting these findings, the director of public relations for Thrivent highlighted how it takes less time to make a financial contribution to an organization than a labor contribution.

When one takes a closer look at the present trends in volunteering in the United States, the groups with the largest declines are groups that are associated with certain life transitions. Although, the volunteer rates declined across the board over the past two years, those groups with the largest declines (3% or higher) included individuals between the ages of 16 to 24, individuals between 35 to 44, individuals with some college experience, and individuals with a Bachelor's degree or higher. Even though there was a larger decline in volunteer rates for those with some college experience or higher, overall individuals in college or with college degrees tended to volunteer at higher rates than those who did not attend college (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). These statistics do little to reveal any reasoning for the decline in volunteer rates; however, the groups with the greater decline tend to be groups that are susceptible to additional role demands (e.g., starting a new career, new families, or having present familial demands) (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006). Research presented in both the popular press and in academic journals has yielded some possible political and social

psychological explanations for the decline in volunteer rates, and these explanations are discussed in detail in the following section.

Despite the recent levels of decline, volunteering is still considered a staple of American society with over a quarter of individuals dedicating their time to at least one organization. However, three quarters of Americans do not volunteer and those groups with the lowest rates happen to be individuals between the age group of 25-34 and 35-44 years of age (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). So if volunteering is important to society, yet only a quarter of Americans engage in this behavior, what perspective helps us understand the processes that individuals engage in that limit or change individuals' volunteer participation?

Perspectives on Volunteering

There are three perspectives that can be used to describe current research and volunteering literature that seek to explicate the changing nature of volunteering. The first two perspectives are the social capital perspective and the social psychology perspective. These perspectives are prevalent in existing volunteer scholarship and both serve to provide explanations for the causes and outcomes of the act of volunteering. The third perspective, that this study hopes to advance, is the communicative perspective. A communicative perspective presents the opportunity to understand the processes that occur on the individual level. The communication lens moves volunteer scholarship away from demographic predictors to an understanding of what the individual does through communication to manage the interactions across multiple roles. Each perspective makes its own contributions to scholarship in the area; this study seeks to realize the potential contributions of a communicative lens. Before introducing the

communicative perspective, this section will explore the two current major perspectives on volunteering.

The Social Capital Perspective

The first major trend in volunteer scholarship is the impact volunteer roles have on social capital. Social capital, in academic realms, is described as the aggregate of social and community connections that a person may have, where these connections serve as resources to produce social or symbolic profits (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). Although individuals may seek out group memberships for no exploitative reasons, individuals may unconsciously profit from memberships in social groups. Some profits may include symbolic benefits (e.g., increased social status) and material benefits (e.g., use of exclusive group services). Putnam (2000) argued that “social networks provide the channels through which we recruit one another for good deeds” (p. 117). Not only do social networks serve as a recruitment tool, but they also help others cultivate a society where individuals pay attention to the welfare of others and seek to help others. However, if the rates of volunteering do decline, then there would be less social connections within society.

Although there may be some truth to the argument that people volunteer less because they are less connected to other members of their community, this argument is similar to the proverbial “chicken and the egg” argument. Are increased social networks a product or precursor to community involvement? If individuals do choose to volunteer less, then they have less interaction with other members of their community, resulting in fewer outlets for community involvement and so forth. The question that has not been answered is whether this cycle is initiated by people volunteering less or by less social

capital. Further, this explanation presents a less than satisfactory rationale for the decline in volunteerism. Even though a social capital perspective may explain some portion of the decline in volunteerism, perhaps there are other explanations.

The Social Psychology Perspective

If only the ways in which individuals volunteer is changing and not the act, then an analysis of the nature of volunteerism and the lived experiences of volunteers may assist in explaining recent societal changes. The process of managing multiple roles is itself a process of managing the nonrenewable resources of time and energy (Marks, 1977). The bulk of the scholarship regarding volunteerism takes a social psychology approach that seeks to predict how individuals manage the resources of time and energy. For example, research using the social psychology perspective has focused on the predictability of demographic variables (e.g., marital status, age, and race) and social variables (e.g., number of group memberships and hours spent going to church) on volunteer participation (e.g., Hooghe, 2003; Osterle et al., 2004; Smidt, 1999; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997). One example of psychology scholarship that deals with the issue of time argues that the decline in volunteerism may stem from conflict with work and family roles (Osterle et al., 2004). However, these scholars do not address the processes that underlie the decision to avoid or quit additional roles that take away time and energy from the work and family roles.

Although the social psychology perspective of volunteering does pinpoint some relationship between memberships in social categories and the impacts these categories may have on volunteerism, this explanation does not explain the processes individuals engage in to manage the volunteer role. Those individuals who choose to volunteer are

making a conscious choice to spend their leisure time volunteering for another organization (Fisher & Ackerman, 1998). There must be some explanation for why individuals are choosing volunteering as an option separate from leisure and work activities. One possible explanation is the connection between the volunteer role and one's identity (Lewis, 2005). The complexity of the identity construct requires far more consideration and analysis than can be currently met by the streams of scholarship in the social psychology perspective.

Using research from the social psychology perspective, the argument that can be made regarding the relationship between volunteering and identity is that potential outcomes of volunteer behavior (e.g., gaining personal satisfaction, receiving awards, and making a contribution) may motivate individuals to volunteer (Boz & Palaz, 2007). Mook, Handy, Ginieniewicz, and Quarter (2007) found that individuals volunteer because they believe in the organization; volunteering lets one utilize his or her skills to benefit the organization. In addition, volunteers experienced benefits such as sharpening one's skills and enhancing one's reputation with the organization. Furthermore, Boz and Palaz (2007) found that individuals chose to volunteer for three reasons including altruistic motivations, desire to be part of a group (affiliative reasons), and because volunteering offered some form of social improvement. These potential outcomes may increase the value an individual assigns to the volunteer role. It has been proposed that if an individual assigns a stronger value to the role, the individual may spend more time in the role (Sieber, 1974; Thompson & Bunderson, 2001).

Many of these and other benefits to volunteering stem only from formal forms of volunteering. Some scholars have sought to make distinctions between formal (i.e.

intentional volunteering) and informal (i.e. spontaneous helping) forms of volunteerism (Musick & Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2000). With formal volunteering, the act typically requires collective action, which forces individuals to establish and build social ties, which in turn creates social capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Rich, 1999; Wilson & Musick, 1997). Others may volunteer because serving as a volunteer for some organizations is a means to increase one's market value to current or future employers (Menchik & Weisbrod, 1987). Others join volunteer groups because the membership in the group serves as a means of self-realization or self-expression (Cull & Hardy, 1974). Each of these benefits demonstrates ways in which formal volunteering impacts how one views the self. These benefits also show how engaging in the volunteer role can enhance other areas of one's life.

Taken together, the social capital and the social psychology perspectives on volunteering yield a variety of reasons for why individuals volunteer, ranging from increasing one's social network to gaining additional skills sets. Yet there is still one important perspective regarding volunteerism that is missing—the communication perspective.

The Communication Perspective

A review of current volunteer research reveals that scholars have focused more on predicting why individuals volunteer than on explaining the processes individuals engage in as they volunteer. Prior research indicates that the volunteer role seems to interact with other roles in one's life, but there also seems to be some indication that the fixed resource of time limits individuals' opportunities to volunteer. In addition, increasing work demands constrict time and energy that can be used in the other roles (Gambles,

Lewis, & Rapoport, 2006). Since an addition of a role uses up time and energy resources (Marks, 1977), subsequently causing role strain (Goode, 1960), how does one account for those individuals who are able to successfully engage in all three roles? Previous research suggests that the answer to this question is that some roles actually enhance a person's experiences in their other roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Sieber, 1974; Thompson & Bunderson, 2001). The greater the value of the role to one's identity, the less likely the person is going to experience conflict between that role and other roles (Sieber, 1974). Additionally, although scholars in a variety of disciplines have explored various predictors to volunteerism, part of the complexity of volunteerism lies in how the role is enacted and embraced as part of one's individual identity (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

It seems that both the social capital and the social psychology perspective, although useful, are not well-positioned to explain how volunteers manage multiple roles and how multiple role engagement interacts with individual identity formation. It has been suggested recently that communication scholars are well-equipped to view the complex interactions between volunteering and individual identity formation (Ganesh & McAllum, 2006; Lewis, 2005). The author would also like to posit that communication scholars are well-positioned to enhance the present scholarship in both the communication and the management fields regarding work-family role management. A communicative lens also places the discourse of how one discusses the self in light of one's roles at the center of analysis.

Taking an alternative lens to previous findings on volunteer predictors reveals a number of additional explanations for how multiple roles may impact the enactment of a

volunteer role. Being a student, parent, or spouse are only a few of the roles individuals may take on and manage. Individuals may engage in additional life roles and one possibility of an additional role is that of volunteering. Just as the student, parental, or spousal role indicates aspects of identity (Lynch, 2007), the volunteer role may also indicate and communicate certain aspects of an individual's identity.

Role management and role enactment become a part of one's identity in that as an individual engages in a role, the individual is engaging in behaviors and processes that may have implications for the performance of roles and overall identity enactment (Jenkins, 1996; Lynch, 2007). The focus of this study is to begin the process of understanding individuals' enactment of the volunteer role and their individual discursive management of multiple roles as part of day-to-day life.

Conclusion

The overall body of literature regarding volunteerism remains in its' nascent stages. This chapter reviewed the current assumptions and perspectives of volunteer research. To date volunteer research has focused on the way volunteering impacts and creates social capital. Additionally volunteer scholarship has focused on the social and psychological factors that influence volunteering. Since role scholarship focuses on the ways individuals manage and engage in roles, focusing on multiple role engagement and management processes will help scholars understand how individuals incorporate and manage the work, relational, and volunteer roles. Using a communication perspective, this study will focus on the discourse individuals use to articulate and discursively manage roles. Furthermore, the communicative perspective on volunteering focuses on

the way the volunteer role influences volunteers' overall identities (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009; Jenkins, 1996).

This study used a phenomenological lens to explore the concepts of identity and role management as experienced by volunteers. Chapter Two lays the foundation for this study by first reviewing scholarship on social identity, which serves as both a means and an outcome of engaging in roles. The chapter then turns to the literature on role management. Lastly, the literature review discusses volunteerism and the presence of a volunteer role. Chapter Three presents the methods used to conduct the phenomenological analysis. Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven will present the findings regarding role articulation, role definitions, role management, and the interaction between role engagement and identity. Lastly, Chapter 8 discusses the findings, including theoretical and practical implications, strengths, limitations, and additional avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

As both a means to an end and an end in itself, communication allows individuals in society to both make sense of the world of experience and change the world in which they live. For example, Weick (1993) likened the communication process of sensemaking to cartography in that one seeks to interpret and understand the world in which one engages by creating interpretations, or maps, of the world of experience. These maps help individuals organize information and the world around them. Since this process occurs at the individual level, multiple interpretations of the world of experience are possible, creating the opportunity for multiple “maps” of how society operates (Weick, 1993). Similarly, a part of individuals’ lives is engaging in the process of moving through various roles. This study is particularly interested in understanding the experiences of individuals as they both engage in and manage multiple roles.

One of the challenges that individuals must face when interpreting experiences is the presence of dominant societal discourses. Dominant discourses refer to those interpretations of events or ideas that have been somewhat “fixed” through existing and reified social and political structures (Mumby, 2004). Dominant discourses may serve to constrain the way individuals make sense of the world by narrowing down the possible interpretation of events (Carbaugh, 1994; Mumby, 2004). Similarly, dominant academic discourses can shape or frame the way individuals approach the study of any phenomena. For example, currently the body of scholarship on the interaction among life roles heavily emphasizes the work and family domains. Although there is some mention of additional life roles (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2000; Kramer, 2004), the bulk of the scholarship on role

interaction only focuses on the interaction between work and family demands. This heavy focus on the two dominant domains of work and family renders the discussion of additional life roles or additional domains as unimportant or nonexistent (Taylor, 2004). Additionally, scholarship on the interaction between the work and family role usually accounts for heterosexual marriages and does not focus on alternative close relationships (Kirby et. al, 2003). This study seeks to ameliorate the present gaps in scholarship by accounting for the presence of additional life roles and alternative forms of close relationships.

By centering the focus on the communication processes of individuals' lived experience, this study focuses on the ways individuals proactively and reactively manage role boundaries. Just as individuals use communication and discourse to make sense of the world, individuals may also use communication as an empowerment tool to change the world by pointing out contradictions or challenging the status quo (Ashcraft & Trethewey, 2004). For example, those individuals who experience competing demands between work and family roles can seek to manage the conflict by requesting family leave or encouraging the adoption of flexible work schedules (Kirby et al., 2003). Furthermore, to understand the phenomenon of engaging in multiple roles, one must also take into account other factors and theoretical concepts associated with role management. For example, Rothbard and Dumas (2006) proposed that identity may influence the way individuals manage multiple roles. Thus, the goal of this study is to look at how individuals engage in and manage multiple roles, and how multiple role engagement influences the construction of overall identity.

In laying the framework for a study on volunteerism, identity, and multiple role engagement, the remainder of this chapter will review relevant scholarship from various fields. Since it has been argued that identity influences the ways individuals manage roles (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006), the first step is to review identity scholarship, specifically social identity. Then the following literature review will turn to understanding the communicative influence of engaging in multiple roles. The second section of the literature review will review the current landscape of work and family literature and point out key deficits in the current body of literature. Then the chapter will lay a foundation for how this study will remedy some of the gaps and problems present in current work life literature by exploring additional life roles as potential sources for meaning and identity development. Lastly, the chapter will explain why the volunteer role was chosen to help expand the scholarship on role interaction.

Problematizing Identity

Several scholars have encouraged future researchers to develop connections between identity and other communication concepts. Recently, Scott (2007) argued that communication scholarship using Social Identity Theory provides limited support for the ways communication influences identification processes. As previously mentioned, Rothbard and Dumas (2006) argued that one's identity is anchored by one of the roles an individual possesses. If a family role is salient to and anchors one's identity, then the person manages other roles in such a way that benefits the family role. Duckworth and Buzzanell (2007) argued for a connection between identity and role in engagement when they proposed that the interaction between the work and family role may impact how the person views the self. Lastly, Kirby and colleagues (2003) have called for scholarship

that problematizes the ways family roles influence identity and boundary management. This increased focus on identity means moving beyond seeing a role as a series of behaviors and actions an individual engages in to fulfill the requirements of the role in question (Kirby et al., 2003). The first step to focusing on the impact of role engagement on one's identity is to clarify the ways roles and identities are similar yet different.

Before comparing and contrasting roles with identity, the author would like to clarify the concept of the role. Classic approaches to roles within organizations focus on how the individual receives/sends information regarding role expectations from/to co-workers and how the individual responds to the information as exhibited through role behavior (Katz & Kahn, 1978). In their theoretical discussion regarding organizational role taking, Katz and Kahn accounted for the possibility of a person existing in multiple roles and subcultures in the organization. Because of the multiple roles and subcultures, individuals may experience a variety of, and sometimes conflicting, role demands. This perspective of roles only focuses on one's behavior within a role and does not account for the role's potential influence on identity. However, some authors have described engaging in more than one role as a process of enacting multiple selves (Nippert-Eng, 1996b).

Other definitions of roles take a more functionalistic perspective. Roles have been described as tools that shape individuals' identity in that roles are explicit, and sometimes implicit, descriptions of how a person should think and feel about the organization (Kunda, 1992). Here, the role and other's expectations of the role dictate behavior. This perspective of roles advances the belief that role behavior is socially determined by the role itself. While phenomena may appear to be fixed, phenomena are

socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Kunda's definition does not account for the ways individuals resist certain expectations while performing the role. There are situations that challenge the socially deterministic perspective of roles in that individuals do engage in processes of confirmation, resistance, and negotiation of role expectations (Simpson & Carroll, 2008; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

While roles and role expectations may appear to be fixed, both roles and expectations of roles are socially constructed phenomena. Social interactions influence the construction of the role and role behavior. A socially constructed perspective of the role means the role is only a "temporary stabilization" and is subject to change (Simpson & Carroll, 2008). Temporary stabilization means that roles are not fixed within an organization, but rather are temporary structures constructed by other members' expectations within the organization. As individuals interact with other employees, the individual learns what others believe the individual should think or feel while enacting role. During the process of balancing or rejecting others' expectations with one's own, an individual shapes his/her identity (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003).

Just as roles are socially constructed, the way the individual views and defines the self is the product of ongoing social construction. Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) distinguished between the concepts of the identity and the self by defining identity as a conscious "struggle to answer the question who am I? and [it has] somewhat of a more linguistic and social nature" (p. 1168). Self-identity is the definition of the self that the individual creates from interpreting their past behavior and is continuous across time and space (Giddens, 1991). Even though the concepts of identity and the self overlap, the discursive construction of identity informs and helps the individual understand the self

(Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Tying these concepts back to roles, as individuals balance and reject organizational and others' expectations of themselves, they are engaging in the struggles of understanding how the expectation ties into who they are as a person, which ultimately may influence the sense of self. The following section will further explore the concept of the self, specifically in terms of the ways social interactions influence one's definition of the self over time.

Defining the Self

As individuals partake in multiple roles in society, they are constantly engaging in processes of self understanding, self explanation, or self definition (Carbaugh, 1994). Even though a role may serve as a guide for behavior in a given situation, as individuals engage in roles they come into contact with historical and institutionalized discourses that impact both behavior and conceptions of the self (Ashcraft & Trethewey, 2004; Carbaugh, 1994). For example, enacting the wife or husband role will generate different expectations of and constraints on an individual's behavior, based on what the individual has learned from society (Carbaugh, 1994). This information may come from a variety of sources. In relation to work and family roles, individuals learn information on role management from messages they receive from their parents in early childhood (Medved, Brogan, McClanahan, Morris, Shepherd, 2006). Some of these messages included choosing jobs that provided adequate time to spend with one's family and prioritizing family over work. Connecting these two concepts, these messages regarding role management and organizational or familial expectations are information individuals must balance and reject as part of understanding the role and the self in relation to the role. Since knowledge and roles are socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), this

understanding of the self is subject to change as roles change and individuals learn more about society and systems in society. As individuals' definition and expectations of the self are challenged by others, the self is altered or reified, meaning the self is not fixed.

Socially Constructing the Self

A social constructionist's view on meaning argues that the meaning of objects or gestures do not preexist in society but rather are established and created as individuals seek to make sense of others' actions and behaviors (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Blumer 1969; Mead, 1934). Despite attempts to institutionalize or fix meaning, meaning remains in a constant state of slippage and may vary dependent upon interactions with other individuals (Mumby, 1997; 2004). In addition, meaning may shift as words and gestures are used in different situations.

Just as meaning is in a constant state of flux or slippage, so is the individual's identity. Rather than being a set of characteristics or personality traits that are imparted to the individual during birth, individual identity is constructed and continues to be constructed through social interactions with other individuals and groups of individuals (Alvesson, 2000; Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Additionally, these definitions of self do not remain stagnant, but are continuously formed, repaired, maintained, strengthened, or revised as the person's sense of self is challenged (Alvesson, Ashcraft, & Thomas, 2008; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Specifically, language and discourse shape the construction of the self. Tracy and Trethewey (2005) challenged past identity construction discourse by arguing that the self is fractured creating a "crystallized self". The crystallized self is in a continuously being (re)constructed through discourse and interactions with others. The crystallized self is

multifaceted which also accounts for the fact that the self is not born nor constructed through one role but many. Since each individual experiences and responds differently to social interactions, each crystallized self is unique.

Taking into account that a variety of social situations influence the development of social identity, one means of analyzing self-identity is to view the individual through the different selves the person enacts in a given situation. Individuals may take on or perform a multitude of selves including the public self as seen by others, the private self, genuine expressions of the self, and fake or a performance of a self (Carbaugh, 1996; Goffman, 1959; Nipert-Eng, 1996b; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Each role that an individual undertakes will impact the person's identity in a different way. Each one of these roles or selves possesses the ability to positively or negatively influence individual identity. Whether an individual is enacting an authentic self or performing a public role, in order to understand the implications of the enacted self, one must take a closer look at the role the person is choosing to enact. A starting point for the analysis of social identity is to understand the multiple roles individuals enact and how the definitions of the self within each of these roles interplay with each other to create a definition of the self. The following section will explore the way one's social identity influences the self.

Social Identity and the Self

The quest to understand identity forces one to confront a variety of epistemological and ontological questions regarding the existence and experience of identity. When confronting social identity, scholars must grapple with which components serve as the building blocks of identity and the extent of cultural and social influences on the construction of identity. In their most recent review of identity

scholarship, Alvesson, Ashcraft, and Thomas (2008) distinguish between personal/individual identity and social identity. Personal identity refers to a unique set of characteristics and attributes an individual possesses that are not shared by other groups whereas social identity refers to the individual's perception of oneself as a member of the group and one's emotional affect towards the group. In seeking to understand the complexities of the self, identity scholarship has sought to answer the question of whom a person is by proposing a wide variety of theories of what constitutes identity. The following section will explore several views of social identity that range from socially determined aspects of social identity to a social identity which is constantly in flux.

Social groups and social Identity. One of the various conceptualizations of social identity (SI) is that SI serves to explain how individuals define the self in relation to others. Initial conceptualizations of Social Identity Theory and Social Categorization Theory discuss how individual attributes lead to group membership and how these memberships serve as a guide to determine which groups one belongs to (Garfinkel, 2006; Turner, 1996; Turner & Bourhis, 1996; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Examples of groups may include demographic variables of race, sex, and age to social variables of education level, status, and occupation. Within this perspective, the individual belongs to an "in-group," and the "in-group" seeks to differentiate itself from the "out-group." During this process, the individual's identification with the in-group increases.

In line with this perspective on social identity, Social Identity Theory posits that the social groups that are present in society are comprised of individuals who view themselves as possessing the same characteristic or attributes as other members of the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These attributes may range from physical characteristics

to social and psychological attributes. Although individuals may be placed into social groups because of their gender or race, individuals may also belong to groups due to occupation, fandom, a common goal that all members of the group are working towards (Carbaugh, 1996) or other roles the individual chooses to enact in one's life (Stets & Burke, 2000). The person also identifies with others when both individuals have similar interests or when a person believes s/he has similar interests with others (Burke, 1969). In both of these instances, individuals identify with other individuals because of some common interest or characteristic, but individuals still have characteristics and interests that make them distinct. These other interests and characteristics may link the individual to other social groups that in turn influence social identity.

In addition to explaining group membership, social identity theory also assists in accounting for a number of implications that may occur when one views society through social groups. These categories serve as a means of not only identifying with others, but also establishing distinctions as to what a person is not (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Part of the definition of the in-group is that all individuals possess a characteristic that the members of the out-group do not, creating a situation where the construction of the group identity is relative (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Ideally, the salient characteristics of the in-group assist the group in developing a positive image of the group, providing a rationale for increased identification with the other group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). However, this identity process is not always the case. A person may belong to a social group due to characteristics and similarities to the group, but that person may not experience an emotional attachment to the group (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This

perspective on identity reduces the definition of the self to similarities and differences to others and oversimplifies the self.

Although this perspective on social identity theory can account for group identification within and across groups, an individual's overall identity is composed of a multitude of group memberships creating multiple social identities (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). One of the weaknesses of this social group perspective on social identity is the overemphasis on group membership and a lack of emphasis on the everyday lived experience of the individual and the impact social interactions may have on the construction of identity (Alvesson et al., 2008). Another weakness of Social Identity Theory research in organization studies is that the scholarship on organizational identification views organizations and the self as stable rather than dynamic entities that are shaped through social interactions (Alvesson et al, 2008).

Social interactions and Social Identity. Another perspective on social identity posits that identity formation occurs as an individual interacts with others and negotiates a sense of self based on others' interpretations of who the individual is and how the individual acts (Alvesson et al., 2008; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934). If one takes the perspective that an individual's social identity is a definition of the self, the meaning of the individual is placed at the center of analysis. Symbolic interactionists and social constructionists view meaning as something that is developed through social interactions with others. Blumer (1969) argued that meaning is a social product and that it is established through the interpretation process one goes through as the person engages with other individuals. When a person has multiple roles, they are usually engaging with different sets of people within each role, possibly creating different outcomes. As the

members one socially interacts with change, the definition of the self may shift such that new meanings are socially constructed through interactions.

This idea that the self is socially constructed is in direct contrast to a belief that the self (and in turn self-identity) remains constant throughout one's life. Mead (1934) argued that the self is not established at birth; rather the self is developed through social experiences and the individual making sense and assigning meaning to social experiences. This reflexive view of the self allows for the individual to view oneself as an object, meaning the person can indicate the self as an other. Through social interactions with others or with the self, meaning is established as individuals seek to make sense of the other person's (or one's own) gestures. With multiple roles, the context and individuals in which one is making sense of her/his behavior/self shifts as the person shifts through different roles. In sum, as the individual interacts with "the other" (e.g., friends, strangers, or oneself), the interpretation of the situation and the interaction helps the person assign meaning to objects, gestures, and the self.

Although the symbolic interactionist's and social constructionist's perspective discusses the ways meaning is socially constructed, this philosophy can also be applied to social identity. Just as individuals assign meaning to gestures, the individual may also assign meaning to/construct the self-identity. A social constructionist's approach to identity argues that an individual's personal identity is created, maintained, enhanced, and even threatened through embodied interactions (Alvesson et al., 2008).

This symbolic interactionist's perspective brings the social and societal effects on individual identity to the forefront and views the establishment, alteration, and maintenance of identity as a process (Jenkins, 1996; Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Rather

than viewing identity as something a person is imparted with at birth, this perspective views identity as the result of the interaction between how others and the self view the individual's construction of identity. Along these lines, Tracy and Trethewey (2005) argue that one's identity, while it may appear stable, is constantly in the process of (re)construction. Discourses help shape the individual creating a crystallized self that is free to grow and develop as one engages in everyday life. This crystallized self is both unique and multifaceted and accounts for the ways the self can be shaped across roles (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). This perspective on identity construction privileges external interactions influence on identity, but does not account for any enduring characteristics that may shape social interactions.

(Un)Stability of Social Identity. These two perspectives on social identity, social groups' influence and social interactions' influence, highlight two distinct epistemological approaches ranging from an a priori existence of identity through Social Categorization Theory to a more malleable form of identity that is in a process of formation and reformation as one engages in daily life. A third perspective of identity, and the perspective that will be used for this study, argues for a combination of the above two perspectives. Jenkins (1996; 2000) postulated that social identity is an ongoing process. At the core of this process there is an interplay between the personal definition of the self and others' definitions of the self. Jenkins accounts for how the self is constructed during certain moments as well as who the person is from moment to moment. One way this study seeks to extend identity scholarship is by accounting for the ways individual's identity within social situations (e.g., group memberships, social roles, etc) and one's definition of the self is both constructed while in roles and across roles.

Using the symbolic interactionist and social constructionist lenses to view identity, identity is considered to be always in flux despite appearances of stability. New social interactions, cultures, and power structures may influence or alter one's identity. Kondo (1990) described the way cultural differences may cause one's identity to collapse as one shifts contexts. A person's identity within one culture may not be the same in another culture. When the foundation upon which one's identity is built, or the culture, is altered, so is one's identity. If a complete cultural shift occurs, the identity may collapse. This collapsing of one's identity is due in part to the fact that identity "is constituted through social interactions and obligations to others" (Kondo, 1990, p. 22) and the social interactions and obligations that shape identity are embedded within a culture. Each of these cultures has different sets of expectations, different power structures, and different meanings. Since the person's definition of the self is developed within a context, the shifting nature of the context and the fact that individuals shift contexts when they switch roles may result in various identities.

This philosophy of the shifting nature of identity is similar to Mead's (1934) where the self is constructed within a moment and the same self may not be present in the next. Jenkins (1996) critiqued Mead's idea of the self in that Mead tends to focus on the in-the-moment construction of identity and does not discuss the ways identity is continuous across time. Thus, the meaning assigned to the individual's action is the meaning of the individual at the particular time and place. This self is considered temporary (Simpson & Carroll, 2008); however, as selves are enacted over time, these temporary selves ultimately could impact the overall self.

Overtime, the process of forming identities may create the impression that one's identity is fixed or stable. If one sees the in-the-moment constructions as different identities, then a structuration perspective of identity argues that these identities are both resources and outcomes (Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998). In social interaction, individuals enact aspects of their identity (resource). By enacting the identity, the identity itself is influenced (outcome). Scott, Corman, and Cheney also argued that individual identities can be anchored by one identity. If a certain identity is salient for the individual, this identity may anchor the others. Even though this anchor is influenced by the enactment of the identity, the anchor appears to be somewhat fixed.

The concept of anchoring, or semi-fixed identity, is similar to Jenkins' (1996) arguments that identity itself is a continuous process and outcome related to the dialectic of identity. The dialectic of identity refers to the ways individuals make sense of two sources of information regarding their identity. The first source is how others view the individual. The second source is the way the individual views the self. To only focus on the in-the moment constructions of identity means viewing the self as composed of several pieces or "bit pieces" which oversimplifies the self (Jenkins, 1996). Even though Mead (1934) claimed the unitary self is the culmination of the defined selves, the synergistic self, or overall self, is not accounted for (Jenkins, 1996). The synergistic self is not merely a collection of selves, but also includes the interaction across selves (Jenkins, 1996). By viewing social identity as the result of the interaction between the internal definition of the self and the external definitions of the self, one takes into account the links and gaps between moments that construct identity. Using information from both sources of information and identity construction presents a more complete

view of the (un)stable self that is constantly being produced. Since this study is not only interested in identity formation within roles but across roles as well, Jenkins' (1996) dialectic of identity will be used as a theoretical lens to view the construction of the self.

Applying Social Identity Theories to role engagement. As previously mentioned, identity construction occurs in various concepts. In applying the socially constructed perspectives of identity to role engagement, role enactment that may influence identity occurs in different contexts. Role contexts include a) behavioral (e.g., group/mob behavior), b) physical (e.g., buildings, houses, etc), and c) temporal (e.g., morning, evening, etc.) contexts (Biddle, 1979). If the contexts are completely separate from each other, each time a person engages in a context, the social others and the social obligations that impact identity will be different (Nippert-Eng, 1996b). The current study is interested in the work, family, and volunteer contexts. Thus, in-the-moment constructions of identity within the work context may lead to a different identity than the identity constructed in the family context. Therefore, a scholar using Jenkins' dialectic of social identity may study social identity construction at work, at home, and the interaction between both identity constructions.

Summary

In summary, social identity has been conceptualized in a variety of ways ranging from group memberships to the individual assigning meaning to who one is based on social interactions. Specifically, this study is interested in the ways individuals' interactions within certain roles influence their identity and the linkages between the identities formed in these roles. Jenkins' (1996) dialectic of social identity seems best-suited as a theoretical lens to accomplish the task of understanding multiple social

identities from roles and the relationship across all social identities as each works to define the individual's overall self-identity. The next section of the literature review will discuss scholarship regarding the interactions across two of the primary roles of interest: the work and the family role.

Work-Family Interface

Since social interactions impact the identity construction process, one can understand the dialectic of identity by looking at the day-to-day activities that serve as contexts in which identity is constructed. In a given day, individuals engage in a variety of roles which can be characterized as work and nonwork roles. A majority of the scholarship on nonwork roles focuses on one's family as the main nonwork role (e.g., Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000; Frone et al., 2002; Golden, Kirby, & Jorgenson; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Grzywacz, 2002; etc.). One noted exception is Kramer's (2002, 2004, 2005) scholarship involving community theater groups as additional life enrichment roles. Scholarship regarding work and nonwork roles focuses on the ways these roles interact with each other positively and negatively.

Different theoretical perspectives on social identity view role's influence on identity differently. Social identity that is determined by group memberships would argue that social identity changes through adding or subtracting of group memberships. As a person engages in a role that is part of a social group or system, both the expectations of the role and members of the system in which the role is housed change the person's identity (Alveeson et al., 2008; Katz & Khan, 1978; Kunda 1992; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). By using the socially constructed perspective of roles and identities, social identity is the product of social interactions. Simpson and Carroll

(2008) reconceptualized roles' interaction with identity by arguing that the role is an intermediary between individuals. As an intermediary, the role serves as a vehicle in which people interact with others. These interactions shape both individuals' identities and the role itself.

To further explore the ways a role acts as an intermediary, this study will look at the identity construction processes that occur as individuals manage and engage in roles. Before delving into the ways this study will examine the relationships between identities and roles, the following section will review literature on roles and role management.

Defining Roles

Roles are defined as positions within a system (e.g., family organizations, work organizations, volunteer organizations) where those who depend on the outcomes of the role help define the social norms, behaviors, and demands of the position (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Even though a position's demands stem from other individuals in the organization, role behavior is not solely socially determined (Biddle, 1979; Thomas & Biddle, 1966). Instead, the demands of roles are negotiated as individuals choose to respond to or disregard others' demands (Biddle, 1979; Katz & Kahn, 1978). An individual's response to the demands depend on personal factors such as a) the importance and value one places on the role, b) the individual's perspective of how much time is needed to satisfy others in the system, and c) if the individual experiences role strain (Goode, 1960). Even though roles themselves are socially constructed, role demands and behaviors may become institutionalized over time, giving the perception that certain roles enact certain behaviors (Biddle, 1979; Sieber, 1974). Thus, roles are defined as similar behaviors of individuals within a context (Biddle,

1979). To distinguish among roles is to distinguish the contexts and characteristics of the roles themselves (Biddle, 1979).

Distinguishing among the work, family/relational, and volunteer roles means confronting the ways contexts and characteristics overlap and are separate. The contexts themselves include physical and temporal contexts (Biddle, 1979). Physical contexts may refer to the office, one's home, a tutoring center, etc. Contexts also may be divided up according to time. With the work role, a person may be required to work between certain hours or simply asked to work a set number of hours over a period of certain days. With family/relational roles, spending time with one's family members is seen as one way to enhance relationships within the role (Hochschild, 2005). One way to distinguish between roles is to look at who owns the time within a given role. Time can be bought by an employer (public time) or portioned between one's family, relationships, and leisure activities (Zerebual, 1979). Combined, physical, and temporal contexts help differentiate the multiple roles from each other. However, these contexts do not limit or dictate what role is enacted within the context.

Not only do individuals engage in multiple roles, but individuals may enact different identities and behaviors as a part of each role (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995; Stets & Burke, 2005). Simpson and Carroll (2008) defined a role as an "ongoing process of social construction that depends upon the interplay between fairly predictable, static social order, and the creative actions of actors" (p. 30). Within these roles, individuals encounter socially determined rules of behavior and expectations (Katz & Kahn, 1978) that are subject to change dependent upon the actors in the system. When individuals engage in the processes of balancing expectations of the self within roles, they are also

engaging in identity (re)negotiation (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). Each role may possess a series of expectations associated with the role, but as one engages in the role and shapes the role, one is also shaping the sense of self as part of enacting that role (Simpson & Carroll, 2008). Thus, the meaning of the role and the individual engaging in the role are in a constant state of flux, and both the role and the individual in the role influence each other.

Experiencing Role Interaction

Until now, interactions that shape identity have been described using social interactions within one role. When individuals engage in multiple roles, individuals may engage in social situations that encompass the expectations, behaviors, and social actors of more than one role. These roles may interact in a variety of ways. Scholarship on role interaction has predominantly focused on the outcomes of roles including role conflict, role balance, and role enrichment (e.g., Freidman & Greenhaus, 2000, Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). In applying Jenkins (1996) dialectic of identity approach, one must look at all of the definitions of the self, which include interactions both within roles that influence the self and across multiple constructions of the self.

One of the major problems with role management scholarship is that it primarily focuses on the outcomes of role interactions rather than focusing on the processes that influence identity. The following section will explore current scholarship on role interactions before pointing to the ways in which additional scholarship can help bridge the gap between role management scholarship and identity.

Role conflict. When looking at systems or organizations as a whole, roles are the basic components that help the organization function. The stability of human organizations is maintained through the reenactment of certain patterns of behavior, or roles (Katz & Kahn, 1978). With each role, there are a series of behavioral expectations that must be accomplished in order for other roles in the organization to be successful. The expectations for each role are usually communicated to the individual via those who depend on the role (Katz & Kahn, 1978). When an individual takes on a role, that individual is agreeing to enact the behaviors and accomplish the tasks that are required to successfully perform the role (Kirby et al., 2003). However, as mentioned before, these expectations and demands may be altered or renegotiated as the person enacts the role. From the systems approach, if each person performs his or her role to its fullest potential, the organization will function at an optimal level. In the absence of additional roles, an inability to perform the role would depend on the individuals' desire or ability to perform the role.

When one factors in additional roles, inability to perform a role may be dependent upon other factors, such as conflict, related to the additional roles. The more roles an individual takes on, the more role expectations an individual has. The addition of roles creates additional demands on one's time and energy (Marks, 1977). Since time and energy are considered a scarce resource, as one engages in roles, the reservoirs of these resources are slowly depleted. Thus, individuals must manage how they choose to use their time and energy across roles.

As individuals manage the multiple demands and expectations of roles, they may run into situations where the roles conflict. Role conflict refers to "the simultaneous

occurrence of two or more role expectations such that compliance with one would make compliance with the other more difficult” (Katz & Kahn, 1978, p. 204). Although the level of compliance may vary, role conflict keeps the individual from completely committing to one role. Furthermore, if the roles one engages construct different identities, not only does the individual experience competing demands for behavior and expectations, but also these competing demands may affect identity construction.

Scholarship on role conflict has primarily focused on the ways the work and family role conflict with each other. Research on the interactions between the work and family roles has yielded a number of findings explicating the ways in which the two realms compete for the individual’s time (e.g., Freidman & Greenhaus, 2000; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985), enhance each other by allowing positive experiences in one realm to infiltrate the other realm (e.g., Freidman & Greenhaus, 2000, Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Grzywacz, 2002), and how individuals manage the boundaries of multiple roles (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2000; Bulger, Matthews, & Hoffman, 2007; Golden, 2001).

One of the primary ways scholars conceptualize the relationship between work and family roles is to view the roles in separate domains as conflicting or interrupting each other, also known as *work-family conflict*. Specifically, inter-role conflict refers to a form of conflict that occurs when “sets of opposing pressures arise from participation in different roles” (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985, p. 77). In order to reconcile the conflict, the individual must prioritize and decide which tasks he or she will accomplish (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006b). These decisions are based on the value one places on the role and the other members who are affected by the in/completion of the role expectations (Goode, 1960). Greenhaus and Beutell argued that three forms of conflict exist including: (a)

time-based conflict, (b) strain-based conflict, and (c) behavior-based conflict. Time-based conflict refers to the idea that if someone is spending time in one role, the individual cannot spend that time in the other role. For example, if a person has to spend additional time at work in order to meet a deadline, the person has to take away from the time he or she would normally be spending at home. With strain-based conflict, if a person feels overworked, stressed, or spends long hours in one role, the strain may cause fatigue, anxiety, irritability, and depression in the other role. The third form of conflict, behavior-based conflict, occurs when an individual is unable to keep behaviors that are appropriate in one role but not appropriate in the other role from being acted out in the inappropriate domain. Thus, the person may perform aggressive behaviors (that may be suitable and necessary to perform the professional work role) at home where the aggression is not appropriate or necessary. For example, bill collectors may use threats or express anger at work in order to persuade people to pay their bills (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987); however, this display of emotion may not be an appropriate persuasive tool at home. Although all three forms of conflict are present in life, the majority of the scholarship regarding these three forms of conflict seeks to reconcile the lack of balance of time spent on the two roles.

Time-based conflict. A vast majority of the scholarship regarding work and family domains focuses on the ways the domains conflict (Casper, Eby, Bordeaux, Lockwood, & Lambert, 2007; Reiter, 2007). From a time-based conflict perspective, researchers look at the fixed resource of time and how to manage the amount of time spent in each role. When a person engages in behaviors of the work role while supposedly engaged in the family role, the person is taking away from the time that could

be used to accomplish the familial role. Although role interruptions may stem from either work or family role demands (Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1992), individuals enact different strategies to manage these role interruptions in an effort to reduce stress and enhance well-being (Bulger et al., 2007; Grzywacz, Carlson, Kacmar, & Wayne, 2007; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000).

Several scholars approaching this area of research often focus on the way time spent on each role can be balanced, or *work-family balance* (e.g., Bulger, et al., 2007; Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2005). When balancing time in each role, individuals must also balance the expectations of time one must spend on each role. There are two ways to view time: fixed and discretionary. When roles have fixed time, those roles have set, inflexible schedules where one is required to either be in the role for a certain number of hours or has to be at a location at a certain time. Problems arise when only one role is set on a fixed schedule and the other two roles are somewhat discretionary. If the discretionary schedule involves other individuals, the demands of the discretionary schedule may arise while one is engaged in the activities of the fixed schedule. Usually, the work role has a fixed schedule in that the person is required to spend a certain amount of hours at an organization, the work must be accomplished at a specific location, or within a specific time frame. With the family role, the needs of the other dictate whether the schedule is discretionary or fixed. When a person encounters competing, legitimate demands for one's time, the person must then determine how one will handle the conflict.

Work-family balance assumes that one can achieve an optimal relationship or balance between the two realms. Multiple, and sometimes conflicting, perspectives of

balance are present in the *work-family* literature (Reiter, 2007). Some definitions of balance hold to the belief that there is a certain set of universal practices that can be undertaken to ensure that both the work and the family roles are performed to their fullest (e.g., Greenhaus et al., 2003; Drago, 2007). Some scholars have criticized this perspective of optimal balance because it reduces the relationship between work and family roles to a zero-sum balance of time (Golden et al., 2006; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002; Schultheiss, 2006).

Other scholars argue that work-family balance is dependent upon the individual's perception of whether or not time and resources are spent efficiently in both realms (e.g., Goode, 1960; Thompson & Bunderson, 2001; Zerubavel, 1979). Despite questions over what the optimal balance is, *work-family balance* upholds the perspective that there is a set amount of time that can be allotted for both realms and that sufficient time should be spent in both realms to accomplish role tasks. Some scholars value balance because they believe it is necessary for overall well-being (Grzywacz et al., 2007; Friedman & Greenhaus, 2000).

The work-family balance perspective tends to be slightly limiting because time tends to be at the forefront of analysis rather than how the individual or the processes the individual engages in to maintain balance. A noted problem in work-family research is that there is a dominant focus on outcomes of the interaction between the two domains (Kirby et al., 2003). When only focusing on time, the end goal is indeed balance and ensuring one's time is allotted appropriately to each domain. In essence, a time-based focus tends to look at what is occurring outside of the individual. The impact of conflict between work and family affects the system a person is a part of, but does not necessarily

affect the self. This perspective overlooks the way the individual's identity is influenced by the role conflict. As discussed previously, engaging in multiple roles possesses the opportunity to affect our identity in multiple ways, yet scholarship regarding identity and work-life interactions is in short supply (Kirby et al., 2003).

While time-based conflict tends to be the focus of work-family balance scholarship, individuals experience role conflict in other ways. These other forms of conflict may be related to time-based conflict; however, the focus is more so on behavioral aspects of conflict.

Strain-based conflict & behavioral conflict. The other two forms of conflict presented by Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) describe predominantly behavioral forms of conflict. Strain-based conflict occurs when an individual enacts behaviors or fails to accomplish tasks because of the stress experienced from a different role. Behavioral based conflict occurs when a person enacts certain behaviors from one role in another role. Even though both types of behavior are considered conflict, there are positive and negative ways roles may influence each other.

Scholarship on strain-based and behavioral conflict tend to fall under scholarship regarding *work-family interface* and *work-family enrichment*. The *work-family interface* is the place where roles intersect, or the role boundaries (Frone et al. 1992; Jennings & McDougald, 2007; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006). It is at the interface where there are opportunities for one realm to influence the other (Barnett, 1998; Greenhaus and Parasuraman 1999; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Powell Greenhaus, 2006a). Work-family interface scholarship tends to look at the ways emotions, identity, and resources spill over from one realm into the next. Scholarship on the *work-family interface* includes both

negative and positive spillover. For example, scholarship on emotional spillover may focus on how emotional exhaustion or stress from work may spill over into one's home life. Both forms of conflict operate along the interface between the two roles. Negative interactions include conflict, which has already been discussed, and negative spillover.

Negative spillover in the *work-family interface* tends to be emotionally related. Strain-based conflict is a form of emotional spillover where the stress one experiences while on the job is manifested in the family realm and vice-versa (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Another way one can experience emotional spillover is when one negatively reacts to role conflict. Judge, Ilies, and Scott (2006) found that individuals experienced both guilt and hostility (anger) when experiencing work-family time-based conflict in either domain. Even though individuals did feel guilt or anger when family interfered with work duties, these negative emotions did not impact job satisfaction. However, whenever work interfered with the family domain, guilt and anger did predict a decrease in marital satisfaction (Judge et al., 2006).

Not all emotional spillover is negative; rather, individuals may carryover positive emotions from one realm into another. Positive spillover refers to the positive benefits that may occur when work and family roles conflict (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Emotional spillover can also refer to ways in which satisfaction in one realm leads to satisfaction in the other (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000). When positive emotions spill over from one realm into another, there is the possibility of increased experience of positive emotions, reduced stress levels, and an overall well-being (Carlson et al., 2006; Freidman & Greenhaus, 2000).

In addition to emotions, behaviors and skills learned in one role may spill over into other roles. An example of skill spillover occurs when parents use conflict management techniques learned at the workplace to successfully manage conflicts that occur in the household and vice versa (Carlson et al., 2006).

If the individual did not engage in multiple roles, then the opportunity for positive or negative experiences in one domain to influence the other is removed. When the positive spillover leads to an overall better performance across life roles, the domains are viewed as enhancing each other, or *work-family enrichment* (Carlson et al., 2006; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006). Experiences from one domain may enhance the work conducted in another domain, thus improving the quality of life of the other domain (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

Efforts to develop a theory of *work-family enrichment* have sought to review and narrow the types of spillover that can be considered positive spillover. Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) recent meta-analysis of *work-family interface* and *enrichment* literature collapses all forms of spillover into two categories. The first form of *work-life enrichment* includes those situations in which skills, abilities, and values from one role are applied in other roles. The second form of *work-life enrichment* includes those situations where affect or emotion is carried from one role into another role. Although these two forms can be equated to behavior-based conflict and strain-based conflict, Greenhaus and Powell's (2006) forms of *work-life enrichment* focus on the positive benefits associated with work life interaction. Scholarship regarding the work life enrichment perspective has focused on a number of positive spillover issues including (a) using one's social network from other domains as social support (Adams, King, & King,

1996; Wayne, Randel, & Stevens, 2006), (b) using roles as a buffer or an escape from life in other roles (Grzywacz & Marks, 2000), and (c) using positive experiences in one domain as positive momentum to handle events in other domains (Stephens, Franks, & Atienza, 1997).

One of the primary benefits of engaging in multiple roles is that each additional role provides an additional social network for the individual. One's family and friends serve as a social network for the home domain, and one's work colleagues serve as the social network for the work domain. A person may seek social support from the social network for problems that occur in the other domain. For example, Adams, Adams, and King (1996) found a significant relationship between familial social support and overall life satisfaction. However, if one's work interfered greatly with one's family role, the familial emotional support would be less than in those cases where work interfered less with one's home life. Additionally, scholarship has confirmed that familial emotional support did predict *family-work enrichment* (where the family domain improves the person's overall ability to enact one's work role) (Wayne et al., 2006). In addition to serving as a form of emotional support, social networks may also provide other resources in the form of social capital (Grzywacz et al.; Wayne et al., 2006).

Summary. As individuals incorporate more roles into their lives, the number and types of interactions that may occur increase. The current body of scholarship on role interaction is heavily grounded in the interactions between work and family domains. Specifically, this scholarship looks at the ways the roles interact positively and negatively along the interface. However, this scholarship is outcome oriented. The experiences of conflict and enrichment are the end results of boundary management processes

individuals use to manage multiple roles. The following section will now turn to the way individuals manage role interactions.

Managing Role Interaction

In the process of managing roles, individuals are managing demands, time, and other individuals in the system. These management processes affect the way roles interact with each other. The process of managing roles, means managing the boundaries surrounding the roles.

Even though roles can be conceptualized as distinct from each other, roles themselves are not incommensurable. The individual is the common denominator across all roles. If an individual wishes to keep roles separate, the person must engage in processes that keep these roles separate. Keeping roles separate may include avoiding behaviors or communicating to others that the roles must remain separate. Likewise, those individuals who wish to integrate their roles must engage in behaviors and communication that support role integration. Nippert-Eng (1996b) likened the process of boundary management to sculpture in that individuals actively engaged in the process of creating boundaries around roles.

Scholarship on the communication of boundaries and privacy distinguishes between personal and shared information boundaries. Personal boundaries are those boundaries a person creates around personal information, whereas shared boundaries occur when more than one person has access to personal information (Petronio & Caughlin, 2006; Petronio, 1991; 2002). When boundaries are shared with others, there are certain privacy rules individuals (co)create that aid in controlling the boundaries. Likewise, because roles and role demands are subject to other individuals within

organizations (e.g. work, family, and volunteer organizations) (Katz & Kahn, 1978; Lynch 2007), these role boundaries are socially (re)constructed.

There are two ways individuals may create and manage boundaries. The first way is to create boundaries that are permeable or impermeable. When boundaries are permeable, roles are able to interact with each other (Ashforth et al., 2000). Individuals may also create flexible or inflexible roles. When roles are inflexible, a person must engage in the role at a certain time or space. Scholarship on role management has focused on the ways individuals (a) manage roles by creating and managing boundaries around the role “spaces” (Ashforth et al.; Bulger et al., 2007; Heller & Watson, 2005; Kreiner et al., 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006).

Creating permeable boundaries. When individuals create boundaries around a role “space,” the person is creating rules that help narrow the scope of what can and cannot be accomplished within a given role (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). Within one’s role space, the person enacts the role and accomplishes the role demands that are associated with the role. Thus, only work is performed within designated work spaces and family demands and family roles are performed in designated family spaces. Furthermore, the identity that is constructed in the role is only affected by those actions and individuals who are part of the role space.

One way of managing these role “spaces” is to create permeable or impermeable boundaries which set limits on how much role “spaces” intersect. Permeability of boundaries refers to the ability to be physically present in one role at work and mentally be or behaviorally act the same way they would at home or in their family role (Ashforth et al., 2000; Hall & Richter, 1988). These boundaries serve to define the activity within

the domain and the connections between domains (Kreiner et al., 2006). Even if an individual seeks to create highly impermeable boundaries by setting aside physical spaces for the work domain, work-family conflict is still a possibility, especially for those who work from home (Kurland & Bailey, 1999). Highly impermeable boundaries are often found in those individuals who avoid accomplishing work tasks or work demands when they are on vacation or with their family. Those individuals who keep their roles from intersecting are engaging in the process of segmentation (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996). Another way to manage the interaction between work and family roles is create highly permeable boundaries and merge roles “spaces” by answering work e-mails from home or handling family business while at work. This second form of boundary management has been referred to as integration (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b).

Those individuals who integrate their life roles may shift between family roles and work roles several times (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b) creating opportunities for the interaction of the identities constructed within a role. Integration is possible because the boundaries that separate roles are not only self-imposed, but they are also permeable. In the construction of these permeable boundaries, both the organization and the individual may introduce elements such as technology, on-site child care, and other work policies that allow for interruptions from other domains (Chesley, 2005; Lim, Walrave, van Wee, & van der Hoorn, 2009; Rothbard, Philips, & Dumas, 2005).

The boundaries individuals, and sometimes organizations, create may be physical, temporal, or behavioral (Kreiner et al., 2006, 2009; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006). For example, a person may clearly segment their work life

by only focusing on work related issues between the hours of 8:00 and 5:00. Others may create or designate physical spaces where they only enact their work roles and separate spaces where they enact their family roles.

The demarcation of role “spaces” is not a black or white scenario, nor is the choice to segment or integrate a permanent decision for the employee. Rather, it is argued that individual’s boundary management practices may exist anywhere on the continuum where complete integration and complete segmentation are the two extreme ends of the continuum (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b; Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006). Additionally, changes to work demands and family demands may influence the level of integration and conflict in the future (Dikkers, Geurts, Kompier, Taris, Houtman, & Heuvel, 2007; Gambles, Lewis, Rapoport, 2006).

Not only does the demarcating of role spaces demonstrate how individuals manage their time between the two domains, but the types of boundaries individuals erect may also reveal aspects of the individuals’ identity. Within each role, the person constructs an identity for that role. Transitioning from one role to the next also means transitioning from one role identity to the next role identity (Ashforth et al., 2000). The difference between role identities, or contrast, depends on the core and peripheral features the role identities have in common (Louis & Sutton, 1991). If there is a large difference between identities, the individual must engage in a transition with a greater magnitude than in those situations where role identities share more core or peripheral features (Ashforth et al., 2000). When the roles are highly segmented, the identity constructed at work and the identity constructed while with one’s family are separate from each other and evolve separately (Ashforth et al., 2000). When roles conflict and integration is not

possible, prioritization of work and family demands may depend on saliency of each role identity (Goode, 1960; Rothbard et al., 2005).

Both the roles and the role boundaries become further blurred as organizations take on “family-like roles” and infiltrate the personal/private domain by offering health and wellness programs, peer counseling programs focused on personal/private matters, creating religious “spaces” for meditation or praying (Kirby, 2006), and even offering family consulting (Hochschild, 2005). However, there are some negative consequences to some of the work-family policies. For high segmenters, on-site day care policies directly conflict with the individual’s desire to keep both domains separate and may in turn reduce the employee’s organizational commitment (Rothbard et al., 2005).

Additionally, flex-time, which assists in segmenting roles, helped increase organizational commitment for segmenters. Thus, organizational commitment tended to vary based on how congruent work-family policies were with the employee’s desire to manage their boundaries (Rothbard et al., 2005).

As these roles interact, the process of managing roles may present implications for individual identity and organizational identity (Kreiner et al., 2006; Lynch, 2007). In order to explore exactly what these implications are, scholars must begin focusing on how individuals construct the identities within these roles and how these identities interact with each other.

The process of demarcating role spaces is individuals’ conceptualizations of what behaviors should or should not be enacted in certain physical or temporal spaces. However, since boundaries around roles and role spaces are socially constructed, the individual must communicate the rules regarding the boundaries or alter boundary rules

when others breach these boundaries. In addition to demarcating role spaces through im/permeable boundaries, individuals also create flexible boundaries.

Creating flexible boundaries. Another way of managing roles is by creating flexible role boundaries. Individuals may choose to implement flexible boundaries, which means the person is able to shape the time and space of his or her job to work around other roles in one's life (Bulger, et al., 2007). Previous scholarship has linked flexible boundaries with an increase in overall life satisfaction (Bulger, et al., 2007). Bulger, Matthews, and Hoffman (2007) found that flexible boundaries in one role led to successful performance in the other role. Therefore, a single parent could be satisfied if s/he found a job with flexible boundaries allowing her/him to schedule work around spending time taking care of her/him children. These findings present the idea that individuals may seek out certain employment because of the boundary flexibility associated with the job. So, if an individual needs to create a work schedule that allows for them to leave for two hours every day to handle family business, the person is enacting flexible work boundaries.

This form of boundary management exists in organizations that offer *flex-time* to their employees. *Flex-time* serves as one way of segmenting one's work space from family roles because the employee has the option to determine when one will be in the work "space" and when the person will be in the family space" (Rothbard et al., 2005).

Summary

Because these self-imposed boundaries between work and family are often blurred, individuals' reactions and attempts to create or maintain boundaries should be considered a part of the overall work individuals undergo to make sense of their lives

(Olson-Buchanan & Boswell, 2006). Individuals may vary in terms of how they handle the time demands of both work and family. Scholarship has both confirmed and pointed out insufficient explanations to the above theories of managing time.

A number of the time management techniques previously mentioned are predominantly theoretical in nature. When these time-management techniques are applied to everyday life, more questions regarding work-life balance begin to surface including how individuals engage in these processes and what are the identity implications for these interactions.

Even though Bulger and colleagues (2007) did discover positive outcomes for those individuals who chose to integrate their work and life roles, several of their findings negate theoretical arguments that individuals segment and create strict boundaries across roles (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nipert-Eng 1996a, 1996b). It has been argued that some individuals choose to segment time spent in one role by engaging in practices that keep roles separate (e.g., using different clothes for different roles, keeping different calendars for each role, keeping two different key rings) (Nipert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). The findings from Bulger and colleagues demonstrated that people either highly integrate their roles or only slightly integrate their roles. Their study yielded no significant evidence for the notion that people completely or highly segment the domains. These findings contradict part Nipert-Eng's preliminary argument for segmentation. At the same time, these findings provide some support for the integrating of roles.

The idea that roles are to some extent integrated brings forth questions of how individuals actually manage the interface between the roles. More importantly, if

additional roles do indeed exist, then the question remains as to whether or not these additional roles are segmented or integrated with the work role, family role, or both.

Problems associated with moving between domains arise when individuals experience incongruence between the two roles, creating feelings of strain or stress; yet one should note that all three forms of work-family conflict yield negative feelings or negative reaction toward the invading domain. Olson-Buchanan and Boswell (2006) found that increased work identification correlated with a permeable nonwork to work boundary and resulted in more family to work conflict. However, the researchers only measured whether an individual experienced negative reactions to role interruptions and did not account for positive reactions to family-work conflict. Not becoming upset when a family member calls at work is not the same as appreciating one's job because family members can call them at work. From a theoretical perspective, time-based conflict management scholarship and practices approach the experience of managing roles from a negative scholarship perspective. Negative scholarship refers to research that seeks to solve the problems present in organizations (Roberts, 2006).

As scholarship regarding work and family domains continues to expand, scholars should begin looking at the way multiple role interactions enhance people's lives and make them overall better individuals (Roberts, 2006). To some extent, work-life enrichment scholarship has begun expanding this area of scholarship by demonstrating ways positive emotions and skills spillover from one role to the next (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006).

Additional problems present in the current work-family balance scholarship surrounds the issues of transitions. Whether a person is a high segmenter, high

integrator, or anywhere in between, there is a transition period one must go through as the person switches from one domain to the next. As mentioned before, the place where two role boundaries intersect is the interface. So if one's personal life is interrupting one's work role, the exact moment where one is simultaneously both a parent and an employee is a separate area of interest. Ashforth and colleagues (2000) refer to these theoretical spaces as role overlap or micro-transitions. However, the proposed micro-transitions are ritualistic in nature and do not account for unplanned conflict and unplanned shifting between roles which individuals may sometimes encounter (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006b). These unplanned conflicts may force the individual to cancel work or family commitments. Powell and Greenhaus (2006b) found that family and work identity played a role in deciding which commitment to cancel when both family and work commitments could not be rescheduled.

Moving beyond the temporal issues, integration of roles may have an impact on the performance of identity. Kreiner, Hollensbe, and Sheep's (2006) argued that the individual and the organizational identity are interrelated. Kreiner and colleagues argued that changes to both role identities may occur at the interface between the work and family role. It is at the interface of roles when individuals are engaging in both the work and family identity construction at the same time. The interface between the work and role domain merits attention because of the role identity and overall identity changes that may occur from the interaction of multiple roles. However, the later argument has yet to be tested.

Expanding Work-Family Scholarship

These conceptualizations of work role and family role interaction demonstrate how work life may influence family life and vice versa, but these descriptions do not account for other life roles in which an individual may engage. In Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) foundational article on the work and nonwork interface, the authors chose to focus solely on the work and family domains despite recognizing that other roles may also serve as sources of conflict. One of the problems of limiting scholarship to these two domains is that it forces all forms of work and leisure into two categories and marginalizes all other forms of leisure or work (Taylor, 2004). Further, the focus on these two roles dismisses how additional life roles may impact identity. Despite Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) acknowledgment of the existence of additional forms of work and nonwork conflict, much of the subsequent scholarship that builds on this work has focused on attempts to thoroughly understand the work-family interface and has shelved or marginalized the presence and experiences from other roles outside of the two domains.

A noted problem in work-family research is that there is a dominant focus on outcomes of the interaction between the two domains (Kirby et al., 2003). Communication scholars have sought to remedy the field's sole focus on outcomes, for example, through analysis of the experiences working parents have managing both roles and how this impacts identity (Duckworth & Buzzanell, 2007; Golden, 2001). Although there have been some advances regarding the interaction of work-family conflict and identity, more can be learned by focusing on additional interfaces.

Despite these advances in work-family scholarship, there still exist opportunities to extend and build upon this area of scholarship. There is the possibility that other domains and sources of potential conflict may compete for individuals' time, skills, and labor. Scholars have acknowledged the presence of additional roles, life-enrichment roles, non-work leisure roles, and third-roles in several discussions of role management or boundary management (Ashforth et al., 2000; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Kramer, 2002, 2004, 2005; Rothbard et al., 2005). Despite the mention of multiple roles, the scholarship on additional role interactions is largely absent from discussions of work-life interactions.

As this scholarship on work-family interface and work-family enrichment begins to gain momentum, it is important to begin to look at the other roles that may affect life enrichment or life satisfaction. Limiting scholarship to two domains of work and family in the initial theoretical considerations may be useful to increase the depth of an area of scholarship; however, at the same time, it renders other domains valueless (Taylor 2004) and provides an incomplete picture of role engagement and management. The division of all work into two main domains presents the first question that must be addressed, which is whether or not individuals conceptualize and discuss their lives in terms of having multiple and additional life roles beyond work and family.

Research Question 1: How do volunteers articulate distinct roles that comprise their identity?

Much can be learned by considering the positive and negative spillover effects of additional roles that lie outside of the work and family domains. Since volunteering is a form of labor that neither receives monetary compensation nor is it a form of leisure

activity that is engaged in solely for enjoyment (Wilson & Musick, 1997), this form of labor presents a new realm outside of work and family. Since a quarter of the United States' population does spend a portion of their allotted leisure time willingly volunteering for another organization (Fisher & Ackman, 1998), this volunteer realm merits a closer inspection.

Volunteering

As individuals choose to enact certain identities and take on additional roles in their lives, questions arise including what role volunteerism plays in altering individual identity and how is volunteerism an expression of identity. The overall scholarship on volunteerism has experienced a large growth in the past two decades. Scholars in sociology, psychology, and public affairs have all sought to explain aspects of volunteerism, ranging from predictors and motivations for volunteering to the impact volunteering has on social network or social capital development (Isham, Kolodinsky, & Kimberly, 2006; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Rich, 1999; Smidt, 1999; Wilson, 2000). Overall, previous scholarship on volunteerism has sought to look at the antecedents and outcomes of volunteerism, yet few studies have looked at the processes surrounding volunteering, particularly relating to roles and identities. In extending the body of volunteer scholarship, this study seeks to unpack the experience of volunteering in relation to one's social identity. Yet, before pulling apart and analyzing the experience, it is important to have a clear conceptualization of the concept under study.

Despite advances in scholarship regarding the nature of volunteering, the complexities of the volunteer role have led to mixed findings and questions regarding what aspects of volunteerism have been explored and have yet to be explored (Musick &

Wilson, 2008). To begin with the broad definitional issues, volunteering has been used to refer to a wide variety of activities, including a) helping others in a one-on-one situation (e.g., helping someone pick up papers from the floor, helping someone move, etc.), b) participating with members of the community to better a neighborhood (e.g., participating in neighborhood watches, building a playground with neighbors, etc.), c) spending time working to maintain or help an organization (e.g., campaigning for an organization, serving as a representative of one's employer on a community board), d) and making a formal commitment to help an organization (e.g., volunteering as a mentor for a year, helping build a home for Habitat for Humanity) (Cull & Hardy, 1974; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997). These forms of volunteering range from informal spur-of-the moment behavior to planned premeditated acts of volunteering. Other definitions of volunteering have included a) giving financially to organizations (Cully & Hardy, 1974; Jones, 2006), b) advocating on behalf of an issue or organization, c) and offering physical labor to help the organization or help others (Cull & Hardy, 1974; Musick & Wilson, 2008; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997). These definitional differences bring into question what individuals may be self-reporting as volunteer activity since the Census Bureau's questionnaires merely ask how many hours an individual spends volunteering for an organization (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007, 2008, 2009). These definitional concerns also create questions as to whether or not contradictions currently present in volunteer literature are a result of actual contradictions or measurement reliability issues (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Although these definitional issues do exist, the focus of the current study is to look at the role of volunteerism and the impact the volunteer role has on individual

identity negotiation. Part of achieving this understanding of a volunteer social identity is to understand what behavior the individual views as a part of a volunteer role.

Understanding the behavior that volunteers themselves articulate as central to the role may lead to clues as to the identity enacting those behaviors (Hogg et al., 1995). This study seeks to understand volunteer behavior and volunteer identity by those who engage in formal forms of volunteerism.

Therefore, one of the first steps in approaching this study of volunteer roles is to clearly define the type of volunteerism under study. One criterion for defining volunteering is to distinguish forms of volunteering based on the level of intention and dedication to the subject or recipient of the volunteer activities. In general, informal volunteering, or spontaneous helping, is a form of volunteering that requires little to no prolonged commitment to an organization or entity and includes such activities as helping neighbors during times of crisis, donating food or money to a homeless person on the street, or helping a neighbor with the groceries (Finkelstein & Brannick, 2007). In contrast, formal volunteering requires a formal commitment of time and effort to an organization and is considered a more intentional and proactive behavior (Wilson, 2000). Despite these definitional differences, at the core, research suggests that volunteerism refers to the offering of services or labor to help others without expectation of monetary compensation (Cull & Hardy, 1974).

In addition to understanding the roles that comprise people's identity, this study is also interested in how individuals describe additional life roles that are a part of one's identity. Since volunteerism is the role of interest that will be used to expand role

management scholarship, a clear definition of how participants define and experience volunteering is needed. Thus, the second research question asks:

Research Question 2: How do individuals define and experience volunteering?

Although services and labor are offered without the expectation of remuneration, there are some positive effects individuals experience that stem from engaging in volunteer activity. For example, individuals may volunteer in hopes of receiving recognition, rewards, or simply to make a contribution to society or an organization one belongs to (Boz & Palaz, 2007; Mook et al., 2007). Volunteers may also experience benefits such as sharpening their skills and enhancing their reputation within the organization. All of these positive actions can be considered forms of *work-family enrichment*; however, the positive spillover is stemming from another realm that is neither the work nor the family domain.

Similarly, some volunteer scholarship has uncovered ways in which work and family domains limit opportunities to engage in the volunteer role. For example, prior scholarship on volunteerism has linked increases and decreases in volunteerism to changes an individual encounters when moving through certain life stages (Oesterle et al., 2004). Specifically, individuals tend to primarily volunteer during youth or elderly stages. One life-stage where motives for volunteering yields mixed results is the transition from youth to young adulthood. Although studies provide mixed reasons for volunteering during the youth to adult life-stage, factors encouraging volunteering include religious affiliation (Oesterle et al., 2004; Smitdt, 1999; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997) and prior volunteer experiences (Hooghe, 2003), whereas beginning a new career, having children, getting married, or going through other dramatic changes in life-

style may be factors that decrease the likelihood of volunteering (Oesterle et al., 2004). Despite these findings on whether or not youth and young adults volunteer, volunteering in earlier stages in life may impact future efforts to volunteer, especially when incentives for volunteering are reduced or become more symbolic (i.e. increases in social status and self-esteem) (Finkelstein & Brannick, 2007; Taylor & Pancer, 2007). Coupled with motivations for volunteering, the predictors of volunteering only seek to explain a small portion of the volunteerism concept as a whole.

What is absent from these two discussions of volunteering is the ways the volunteer role interacts with other roles. Lewis (2003) argued that multiple roles and permeable boundaries may serve as sources of multiple satisfactions yet provided little empirical evidence to support this claim. Rather, her findings center on the integration of work and leisure due to the changing nature of work. As the nature of work changes and the boundaries of work become more permeable, attention must be drawn to the ways in which multiple roles interact with each other (Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). Thus, the third research question focuses on the interfaces of the work, family, and volunteer role:

Research Question 3: How do volunteers discursively manage role interfaces?

Overall, much progress has been made regarding predictors of formal volunteering; however, much of the landscape of volunteering has remained under-explored (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009; Lewis, 2005). Moving beyond the demographic and sociographic variables to focus on how individuals enact and engage in a volunteer role will increase the depth of our understanding in terms of volunteer identity enactment (Ganesh & McAllum, 2009). Finally, by increasing our overall understanding of the

interaction between the three roles, scholarship can further understand how the enactment of a volunteer role may impact overall identity and identity conducted in the family and work domain.

If individuals are freely choosing to engage in a volunteer role, then the experience of these roles and the expression of individuals' identity present in these roles are important. The interaction between and among all of these roles may impact individual identity (Ashforth et al., 2000). Musick and Wilson (2008) argued that individuals are choosing to freely engage in an alternate form of identity expression through volunteering, yet these scholars do not provide empirical evidence to address this claim.

As individuals manage the multiple roles that comprise identity, the question becomes how do these identities interact and how are they enacted by individuals. To what extent do individuals enact the identity of parent and co-worker in complex environments where individual identities and role identities are constantly in flux? Though much of the research focuses on the interaction of work and family roles, limiting roles to these two domains excludes other forms of work and activities that may exist outside of the market/public domain and home/private domain (Ransome, 2007; Taylor, 2004). In addition to the paid work and family life/care work, there is the potential of enactment and conflict of third roles. Thus, the final research question focuses on the ways identity informs role engagement and management.

Research Question 4: How are role engagement processes influencing and influenced by identity negotiation processes?

In review, the goal of this study is to extend scholarship on the work-family interface by including the interaction of additional roles. Using Jenkins' (1996) dialectic of identity, this study seeks to take a closer look at how engaging in volunteering both impacts the identity constructed through social interaction within the role and overall identity that is constructed from the interactions of constructed identities across the work, family, and volunteer roles. Additionally, this study is interested in understanding the role of communication in managing these multiple roles.

Conclusion

There is a present need to expand the scholarship regarding the discursive management of interrole interfaces, particularly because individuals do not solely operate within the domains of work and family. Rather, individuals may participate in a number of roles often referred to as life enrichment (Kramer, 2002) or third place roles (Ashforth et al., 2000). Despite the mention of such roles, scholars researching the work life interface have followed Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) example of only focusing on the work and family roles. Restricting scholarship to these two domains devalues the presence of other forms of work or leisure that may enhance one's life or interact negatively with other roles.

One of the first steps in expanding the breadth of the work-family interface scholarship is to consider the ways identity construction is impacted by the interaction among work, family, and the volunteer roles. One ways to expand the scholarship is to view the impact additional roles have on the two roles currently under study with an emphasis on social identity construction.

The study of volunteerism affords scholars the opportunity to begin understanding the multirole interface using an additional role that is common among United States citizens. Through a focus on role interactions, role transitions, communicative boundary management, and identity, scholarship possesses the opportunity to add depth to the present understanding of volunteers and multiple role interfaces.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

As one contemplates the act of volunteering, a number of examples and experiences may come to mind. The struggle over the meaning of volunteering is neither a new discussion nor does this study seek to create a comprehensive taxonomy of the acts that constitute volunteering. This study seeks to further understand the lived experiences of individuals who embody the volunteer role. This process includes understanding how the person discursively enacts the volunteer role in conjunction with other life roles and how the embodiment of a volunteer role influences the individual's understanding and expression of the self.

Understanding the lived experiences of volunteerism and the transition across roles requires a research and methodological lens that looks at the various ways individuals reveal how they encounter the experience. Scholars operating under the interpretive paradigm employ a variety of tools and practices in order to access, understand, and begin the process of piecing together the world of experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Levi-Strauss 1966). Additionally, qualitative research creates opportunities to understand a phenomenon as it exists in society as well as the meaning individuals attribute to the phenomenon (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). This chapter will further explore the interpretive paradigm and establish phenomenology as the appropriate approach to accessing how individuals participate in a volunteer role in addition to other roles in their lives. Next, the chapter will review the methods and tools used in the study to collect data. Lastly, the chapter will review the data analysis techniques used to answer the research questions.

Interpretive Paradigm

The interpretive paradigm is often invoked by scholars who seek alternative explanations of phenomenon than those explanations presented through traditional positivist scholarship. Whether labeled positivist, post-positivist, or functional thought, traditional scholarship in the sciences seeks to explain and predict phenomena present in society (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Despite positivists' attempts to predict phenomena through an objective stance, Lévi-Strauss (1966) argued that there are additional ways in which knowledge and reality become accessible, which creates complications for how scholars construct knowledge. Even though reality is partially accessible through the concrete material aspect of objects in society, the meanings assigned to these objects and the references associated with objects, or concepts, create another avenue of accessing reality (Lévi-Strauss, 1966). Although the meaning behind concepts may ultimately become constrained or institutionalized through the discourses present in society (Lévi-Strauss, 1966), this meaning is also vulnerable and subject to redefinition based on cultural practices (Mumby, 1997). The latter form of accessing reality brings to light the workings of the human mind and how a phenomenon becomes a part of the human consciousness through interpretations of the world.

Natural vs. Human Sciences

In most theoretical discussions regarding the interpretive paradigm and qualitative research, scholars usually begin by referencing Wilhelm Dilthey's initial juxtapositioning of the concept of *Naturwissenschaften*, known as the natural and physical sciences, and *Geisteswissenschaften*, known as the human sciences (Schwandt, 2003; Van Manen,

1990). The core argument for distinguishing these two concepts is that both the nature and the purpose of natural sciences and the human sciences are fundamentally different. The former form of science seeks to locate and understand the causal explanations for social and physical phenomenon, whereas the latter seeks to understand human behavior and how individuals both assign meaning and make sense of the world in which they engage (Schwandt, 2003; Van Manen, 1990). At the core of this concept is the focus on understanding the experience while shelving explanations that seek to predict the presence of the phenomenon.

In order to understand and make sense of the world as experienced by others, the interpretive scholar must employ a variety of tools or methods that serve to illuminate how others interpret and experience the world rather than define and constrict the world of experience into set categories or patterns. Levi-Strauss (1966) likened the interpretive scholar to a bricoleur, or quilt-maker, who weaves together different people's experiences in order to make sense or provide a complete picture of the phenomenon. Other metaphors used to describe the work of qualitative researchers include a filmmaker who creates a depiction of society or a lifeworld by creating a montage of experiences that build upon each other to create an overall story (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Additionally, Goodall (1994) used the metaphor of a detective to describe the care scholars must use when approaching a new scene, particularly referencing the need to look around every corner and avoid contaminating the scene with prior information or knowledge that one may think should be in a scene. Metaphors aside, the goal of those operating under the interpretive paradigm is to seek in-depth and participant-focused understanding of the experience or phenomenon of interest.

Assumptions of Interpretive Scholarship

Whichever metaphor one seeks to use to represent the interpretive paradigm, there are a number of assumptions that serve as underlying guidelines of interpretive scholarship that are relevant to this study. Paradigmatic assumptions represent the approach the paradigm's scholars have towards the discovery of reality, and serve as both a recruitment tool for new scholars and a distinguishing tool for those seeking to understand the differences across paradigms (Kuhn, 1996). Two of the foundational assumptions of the interpretive paradigm are the belief that reality is socially constructed (ontological assumption) and meaning is intersubjective (epistemology) (Schwandt, 2003).

Rather than viewing meaning as fixed and pre-existing in society, interpretive scholars argue that meaning is developed through interaction with others. Although physical action is tied to the body, the meaning assigned to action is not tied to the physical form. Rather, meaning is socially constructed and reconstructed as individuals in the social interaction attempt to define and clarify the meaning behind gestures (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934; Mumby 1997). Since discourse is the key to construction of knowledge and the social world, to understand the individual is to focus on the discourse the individual uses to make sense of the world (Mumby, 1997). This social construction of meaning also can be applied to the self. It is through communication that the self is shaped, formed, and altered (Mumby, 1997). Even though a sense of self may appear to be fixed, the meaning behind the self is social created and altered through interaction.

Another assumption of the interpretive paradigm is the focus on how realities become shared among individuals. Scholarship in the interpretive paradigm argues that shared reality does indeed exist even though reality is not necessarily embedded in the material elements of society (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Meaning of objects, gestures, and interactions are created or reified through interaction with others, and it is through these interactions that the meaning becomes shared across individuals (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1962). Thus, meaning does not lie in the material object; rather meaning is intersubjective.

As scholars approach and seek to explain social phenomenon, the interpretivist uses a specific lens to view the meaning of the social phenomenon. The interpretivist views social action as “inherently meaningful” (Schwandt, 2003, p. 296). There is meaning behind the action and meaning assigned to the action. In order to understand the meaning of an action, the researcher has to access the meanings the actors assign to the action. Not only does this goal of understanding include the assigned meaning, but also how these meanings and actions reference other areas of one’s social life, or the indexicality of meaning (Schwandt, 2003). This form of understanding one’s social world is a useful tool when seeking to understand both individual processes and how these processes fit into the overall construction of one’s social world. The following section will elaborate more on phenomenology and the quest to understand the lived experience.

Phenomenology as a Methodology

Within the interpretive paradigm, there are numerous methodologies an individual may employ in order to gain a greater understanding of the phenomenon. In

understanding a phenomenon, one is interested in how individuals enact behaviors, experience, and assign meaning to the phenomenon. Since this study seeks to access a deeper understanding of lived experiences of multiple role engagers, a phenomenological approach is most appropriate (Van Manen, 1990). Taking a phenomenological approach means focuses on various individuals' experiences of the phenomenon in an attempt to understand the phenomenon itself. As individuals interact with other individuals in society, they become phenomenologically located. When a person is pehenomenologically located the definition of the situation in which the phenomenon is experienced includes all of the actors involved and their interpretations of the experiences (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Given that individuals experience the phenomenon in different times, locations, and with different social actors, the experiences of the phenomenon may vary per individual and per situation. In order to understand the phenomenon in question, a scholar must sample a variety of individuals' experiences of the phenomenon in hopes of identifying the universal essence or meaning of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Van Manen, 1990). By piecing together the experiences of the phenomenon, the scholar can gain a clearer picture the phenomenon itself.

A scholar seeking to use phenomenology must, in line with interpretivism, approach the phenomenon devoid of previous explanations of the phenomenon in question (Van Manen, 1990). When a person experiences a phenomenon, they do not experience the phenomenon in its entirety. Rather, as each individual describes his/her experiences of the phenomenon, these experiences are only a fraction or reduction of the way the phenomenon is experienced (Van Manen, 1990). If the researcher does not shelve his or her own experiences or previous conceptions of the phenomenon, the

researcher may fail to explore additional areas of the experience s/he may discover along the way. Additionally, those wishing to conduct research under the guise of phenomenology must also consistently view situations and experiences as parts of the whole experience (Van Manen, 1990) that will later be used to complete the bricolage or overall picture of the phenomenon as it exists in society (Levi-Strauss, 1962). Using individuals' experiences as guides, the researcher focuses on the connections across experiences in constructing the essence of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990).

These qualities of a phenomenological approach ground the process of understanding the phenomenon in the everyday experiences of individuals. To ensure this process occurs, one must select a method that encourages individuals to reflect on their own experiences with the methods used to encourage individuals to reflect upon their own experiences of the phenomenon.

Phenomenology as a Method

In line with assumptions of the interpretive paradigm and phenomenology, the method used should also fall in line with the assumptions of the interpretive paradigm. Interviewing methods vary in depth and scope ranging from highly structured to completely unstructured interviewing formats. Scholars using a semi-structured interviewing format may employ the use of a questioning route with content probes to help guide the researcher (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Patton, 2002). During this interview process there are two levels of meaning construction occurring. The individual is reflecting on and reflexively assigning meaning to her/his own experiences. At the same time, the interviewer is engaging in the process of meaning construction as well by asking and probing about certain aspects of the participant's experiences. As the

interviewer probes into the interviewee's experience, the interviewer explores different parts of the interviewee's stock of knowledge (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Thus, this tool is particularly useful in exploring the various aspects of an individual's experiences with the phenomenon.

Incorporating a phenomenological approach to the interviewing process means the researcher engages in two processes during the interview: the interview itself and the search for the essence of the phenomenon. A phenomenological method uses conversational interviewing where the researcher engages in the interview and is free to explore new avenues regarding the meaning of the phenomenon that may arise during the data collection process (Van Manen, 1990). The conversational interview method affords the researcher with opportunities to access and probe deeply into the person's experiences while accounting for the way the experiences and the meaning behind the experiences are constructed during the interview. Part of accessing the lived experiences of individuals is a careful attention to the way in which the individuals reflect, assign meaning to, and essentially construct past behavior (Van Manen, 1990). While the researcher may use a questioning guide to aide in the interviewing process, the researcher also must consider how the interview itself explores the phenomenon. Thus, not only is the researcher guided by potential questions and content probes from the questioning guide, the researcher should constantly refer back to the phenomenological question of interest. In doing so, the researcher may slightly alter the questioning protocol by adding in new questions that explore new avenues of the phenomenon that are brought to light in the interview.

If the interviewer has previously experienced the phenomenon, the researcher has only experienced a part of the phenomenon. To minimize researcher bias in the constructing of the essence of the phenomenon, the researcher must engage in two processes (Van Manen, 1990). Prior to the gathering of the data itself, the researcher must engage in phenomenological reduction by bracketing the researcher's experience of the phenomenon. During the interview, the researcher must also practice phenomenological reduction by employing an interview method that captures the meaning individuals have ascribed to the phenomenon through transformations of the lived experience (e.g. narratives, anecdotes, reflections of the experience, etc).

Phenomenological Reduction

When a person experiences a phenomenon, the individual is only experiencing a part of the phenomenon. Any experience of the phenomenon is called a phenomenological reduction (Van Manen, 1990). When discussing the phenomenon in an interview, individuals reflect and describe their experiences of the phenomenon that may vary from how others experience the phenomenon. Since multiple experiences and interpretations of the same phenomenon may exist, amassing various phenomenological reductions is the first step to discovering the essence. In the first step of the phenomenological process, the researcher gathers information about experiences as individuals experience it (Van Manen, 1990). Interviewing is one process that allows for the individual to give anecdotes and reflect on the phenomena s/he have experienced. However, since the interviewing process is a subjective method of gathering data, the researcher must engage in her/her own phenomenological reduction of the phenomenon

in order to discover potential biases that may influence the interview process (Creswell, 2007; Giorgi, 1997).

As the researcher conducts interviews regarding the phenomenon, the interviewer should explore all experiences of the phenomenon. If the interviewer does not initially bracket his/her experiences with the phenomenon, the researcher's perspective may limit or constrict the interviewer's exploration into other individuals' experiences.

For this particular study, the author did engage in phenomenological reduction prior to conducting the interviews. While the author did not meet the criterion of engaging in all three roles (i.e., work, relational, and volunteer) at the time interviews were conducted, the author of the study did have some prior experiences balancing multiple roles. The author briefly wrote a memo about her own experiences of multiple role engagement and made note of her biases. These biases included conceptualizations of volunteering as a) physical labor to social service organizations, b) an activity that led to positive relationship development, and c) a high ranking role. While constructing the interview protocol, the researcher developed an exhaustive list of questions (Appendix A) that sought to explore the a) participants' experiences in roles, b) participants' management of roles, and c) participants' experienced interaction between role engagement and identity construction. Furthermore, the researcher gave participants opportunities to provide additional information that was not covered in the interview. The act of bracketing one's own personal experiences with the phenomenon is the researcher's process of phenomenological reduction.

One exception to the researcher's phenomenological reduction is to not bracket his/her previous knowledge of research and theories (Giorgi, 1997), which in this case

were the disciplines of communication and management. The researcher was aware of previous scholarship before conducting the interview protocol. One situation where the researcher did not engage in phenomenological reduction in regards to previous scholarship was during the exploration of volunteering. The author was aware of the definitional problems associated with volunteering (Musick & Wilson, 2008) and thus spent time exploring participants' definitions of the act. However, in this process the researcher did bracket her own definition of volunteering during the recruitment process and allowed the participants to self-identify themselves as belonging to all three roles. Prior scholarship on volunteering, definitions of volunteering, or the researcher's personal conceptualizations of what constitutes the act of volunteering were not used to screen potential participants for this study. In fact, when participants asked the interviewer whether or not their activities would be considered volunteering, the researcher's response was that the individuals themselves needed to decide whether their activities constituted volunteering based on their own definition of volunteering.

Interviewing

As discussed previously, one of the tools that allows the researcher to access how the person feels and thinks about one's world is the qualitative interview (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Even though the researcher may begin the interview with a set of core concepts he or she seeks to explore, the interview process grants the researcher the opportunity to alter the path of the interview and explore new terrain as new aspects of the phenomenon are discovered (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Although flexibility and active listening are both important, one must also recognize the interview process as an overall construction of meaning. Not only is the

interviewee constructing and assigning meaning to past experiences during the interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), the interview also plays a role in co-constructing the knowledge being produced (Kvale, 1996).

In line with Phenomenology, an appropriate tool to access the lived experiences of individuals is a conversational interviewing technique (Van Manen, 1990). Conversational interviewing is similar to emergent and semi-structured interviewing techniques. The semi-structured and emergent interviewing gives the researcher the latitude to alter the interviewing guide to delve into the interpretive processes that individuals use to make sense of their everyday experiences (Kvale, 1996). The purpose of the conversational interview is two-fold. First, the conversational interview may be used to gather “experiential narrative material” (e.g., personal stories or recollections of past experiences) that will later become texts that can be analyzed to develop a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990, p. 66). Secondly, the interview itself can serve to ignite a discussion with the interviewee on the phenomenon.

As part of the interview process, the researcher constructed an interview protocol with a list of potential questions and content probes (Appendix A). Content probes refer to the concepts and experiences the interviewer seeks to uncover with the question (Patton, 2002). During the process of conducting interviews, as new content areas or new questions emerged, the researcher amended the questioning route to reflect new developments in the exploration of the phenomenon. While the interviewing protocol was present, the author engaged in active listening and explored the experiences of the phenomenon as they emerged (Giorgi, 1997; Van Manen, 1990).

The conversational interview differs from the emergent interview in that the interview process itself is guided by the overarching phenomenological question of how individuals experience the phenomenon of interest. The interviewer does not ask the interviewee the phenomenological question outright; instead, the interviewer uses questions that illicit examples of the experiences of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). While listening and reflecting on what is being said in the interview, the interviewer reflects on the phenomenological question and whether or not that question is being answered in the interview process. The phenomenological question helps ground the interviewer in the phenomenon of interest. Rather than asking the participant what they believe the essence of multiple role management's impact on identity to be, the interviewer uses the interview process to gain examples of the person's lived experiences of the phenomenon. These experiences are later aggregated into themes which are then used to determine the essence of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). Van Manen described the difference between themes and the essence by equating themes to stars in the sky that you use to map out the essence (constellation). Since individuals' experiences are a reduction of the phenomenon, the conversational interview technique will provide the material regarding those reductions of the phenomenon, which will then be used in the thematic analysis.

Given the focus of the study was to understand the phenomenon, the researcher used a conversational interviewing style. Furthermore, the author grounded her interviews in the phenomenological question, which was: *What influences how volunteers manage multiple roles?* Midway through the interviewing process, it became apparent that how volunteers managed roles involved a bidirectional relationship with identity.

Identity influenced how individuals managed multiple roles and vice versa. Thus, the interview protocol was adapted to include two-way interactions between identity and the lived experience of managing multiple roles. For example, rather than simply asking “how do your roles and priorities inform who you are as a person,” the question was altered creating the new question of “how do these roles and priorities inform who you are? Or is it the other way around?”

Summary

Approaching the study of a phenomenon through a phenomenological lens means the researcher is incorporating additional procedures into the data collection process. By engaging in phenomenological reduction and centering one’s interview on the phenomenological question, the interview process becomes one of exploration into different facets of the phenomenon beyond the researcher’s own experiences. Furthermore, centering the interview around the phenomenological question means exploring the different ways the participant has experienced the phenomenon in their own lives and finding connections among those experiences on their own and in conjunction with other’s experiences. Engaging in both of these process yields a rich text with varied experiences of the phenomenon.

Data Collection

This particular study was interested in exploring the experiences and lived experiences of individuals who engage in multiple roles. As a result, 38 individuals were interviewed about their experiences engaging in multiple roles. The following section will detail the methods used to collect the data.

Sampling

With phenomenology, the sample will be homogenous in regards to certain criteria all members possess. Because each person in the sample must have experience with the phenomenon, a criterion sample was used (Creswell, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Since the phenomenon of interest was how individuals manage multiple roles, the researcher used the criterion of engaging regularly in a work, relational, and volunteer roles. Each person had to have enacted all three roles in the previous month. Given the limitations of previous work-family research (i.e., use of marital relationships, traditional family model) a relational role was used which encompasses familial relationships and other close relationships.

Once the criterion for the sample was established, the researcher engaged in snowball sampling techniques to identify potential participants (Lindlof & Tayler, 2002). The researcher began developing the sample by personally or electronically contacting individuals within the researcher's social network. Each personal contact was asked if they could recommend potential study participants that fit the criterion of engaging in all three roles. The researcher also asked participants at the end of the interview if they knew of other individuals who met the study's criterion. When the chain of recommendations ended, the researcher still needed to reach a larger level of diversity. Thus, the researcher contacted volunteer managers at local nonprofit agencies. The researcher described the project and then asked if the researcher's contact information could be forwarded to potential participants. As a result the researcher was able to identify more potential participants and restart the snowball.

The decision to stop or continue adding participants to the sample is largely based on whether or not a clear understanding of the phenomenon has been reached (Sandelowski, 1996). Thus, the researcher focused on the saturation of the phenomenological question. One has reached saturation when no new themes emerge or the essence of the phenomenon has been discovered. During the latter half of the data collection process, the researcher was also simultaneously transcribing, verifying, and occasionally creating memos. After one particular interview, the researcher realized and created a memo regarding the possible connection between identity and role management. Keeping this connection in mind, the researcher conducted the remaining scheduled interviews and found a similar connection, signaling the researcher to stop sampling participants.

Participants

A total of 38 participants were identified and interviewed. Most of the participants lived in the Midwest, followed by seven interviewees in the southern regions of the United States and two more in the coastal regions of the United States. Participants ranged in age from 21 to 59 (mean age: 37). Of the 38 participants, 17 were male and 21 were female. Despite the author's intent, a majority of the participants were Caucasian (23 white, 3 black, 2 Hispanics, 1 Native American, and 1 Indian). When the researcher did contact volunteer managers to diversify the sample, the researcher was told by two managers that unfortunately the agency had relatively few minority participants. All the participants were employed either full time (32) or part-time (6). The relational role varied from casual dating relationships to married to divorced and dating. Lastly, participants ranged from light volunteering to heavy volunteering (1 to 150 hours per

month; mean=25 hours per month; 12 participants volunteered 20 or more hours each month). Individuals participated in a wide variety of volunteer activities including Big Brothers/Big Sisters, tutoring, fundraising events, church and missions work, river cleanups, and collecting or delivering donations to organizations.

The Interviewing Process

The interviewing process spanned six months. Once participants were identified, the researcher scheduled an interview at a location that was mutually convenient (e.g., coffee shops, person's homes, person's offices). At the start of the interview, the participants signed a consent form and filled out a demographic questionnaire (Appendix B). The demographic questionnaire asked general questions about the person's race, gender, education level, volunteer activities, relationship status, work status, and religious affiliation. At this time, individuals were given the opportunity to select a pseudonym. If the interviewee did not select a pseudonym, the researcher assigned one. Once the demographic questionnaire was completed and participants gave verbal consent to have the interview audio taped, the author began the conversational interview process. To begin, each participant was "If you were to meet someone at a cocktail party or meet-and-greet for the first time and they asked who are you? What would be your response?" Using the response to the first question, the researcher probed the various ways the individuals identified themselves.

With the exception of four phone interviews, the interviews were conducted in person. The length of the interviews ranged from thirty minutes to an hour and 40 minutes resulting in a total of approximately 37 hours of audio files.

Transcribing

In order to ensure the accuracy of the interview information for the analysis portion of the study, each interview was transcribed verbatim, yielding a total of 782 pages of single-spaced text (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The researcher along with two other individuals transcribed the interviews. Each transcript was verified by the researcher in order to ensure the accuracy of the transcription.

Post Interview Discussion

After each interview, the author asked each participant if they had any questions for the researcher. This question often led to a conversation regarding the topic of interest. Even though this is an alternative form of conducting phenomenological analysis (engaging the individual in the discussion of the phenomenon), the researcher did not use the information generated in these discussions in the analysis of the data. Rather these discussions simply served as a way for the individual and the researcher to co-reflect on the topics discussed in the interview. These discussions were not included in the analysis.

Data Analysis

Once the author transcribed the data, the author engaged in various processes to analyze the data. While Van Manen (1990) does highlight the process of data collection and analysis one must undergo in conducting a phenomenological study, these steps are vague. Van Manen briefly discusses thematic analysis as an initial phase of the analysis process; however, his discussion focuses mainly on the nature and articulation of themes and not on how one discovers these themes. These themes are later used to develop the mapping of the essence of the phenomenon. Since the process of developing themes was

not discussed, the author borrowed analytic tools from Charmaz (2006), Strauss and Corbin, (1998), and Kvale (1996). These analytic tools helped to ground the researcher in the data to create themes.

The initial phase of the analysis was to uncover themes present in the data. Phenomenological themes are “a form of capturing the phenomenon one is trying to understand” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 87). Van Manen articulates several properties of themes. A theme is a) something that points to the meaning behind an experience, b) a simplified definition of the essence that often falls short of describing the essence of the phenomenon, c) intangible, and d) an attempt to capture the phenomenon.

The first step to analyzing the data was to engage in selective reading (Van Manen, 1990). Selective reading is simply reading sections of the text several times to determine which statements or phrases reveal aspects of the phenomenon. Before engaging in selective reading, the researcher read the entire document. Then the researcher went paragraph by paragraph to code the data. This process is similar to constant comparison methods where the researcher may choose to compare line by line, paragraph by paragraph, or document by document (Strauss and Corbin’s, 1998). With the assistance of Atlas.ti, qualitative analysis software, the author used open and axial coding to code the passages (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). Open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) or initial coding (Charmaz, 2006) means coding the actions that are occurring in the data. As the researcher compared each paragraph to each other within the transcript, she would highlight incidents that described a common idea and create a code for the idea. These initial codes were specific in nature and often include such codes as identification by work, experiencing conflict, giving back, helping others in need, feeling

overwhelmed, volunteering with relational other, etc. These open codes or initial codes were then aggregated to create larger categories, or axial codes (Strauss & Corbin, Charmaz, 2006). These axial codes included segmenting between work and family, definition of volunteering, benefits of volunteering, etc.

During the open and axial coding process the researcher also created memos for each research question and additional themes that fell outside the realm of the research questions. The memos helped to identify which themes were the most prevalent and powerful (Charmaz, 2006, Kvale 1996). The researcher structured her memos based on research questions. Within each research question memo, the researcher would include quotes and reflections on the quotes. The following is an example of the researcher's reflections in response to research question 2:

RQ 2: How do volunteers discursively manage role interfaces?

Code: Flexibility of Current roles around the demands of being a parent.

This quote demonstrates the flexibility of boundaries. The ability to create work "spaces" and work "areas." Spaces and areas here refer to those spaces where one physically sees themselves at work. In this quote we have a move from the job to the home and then back to the office. "Working from home" in a way is discursive indicator of being able to transform into the work self outside of the physical boundaries and settings of the office. Thus a work self can be present at home, in a separate state, etc. The importance of indicating the work self and realizing that it is outside of the boundaries of the physical setting where work occurs, is that the person can transform into the work self at any given time and location indicating the permeability of role spaces among the roles and allowing for situations of layering, intertwining, etc. Boundaries are free to move in this given situation because of the flexibility of one's job and the ability to work outside of the office. In this instance, the same is occurring with the family self. Even though the person was able to previously work from home, the family self or the demands on the family self are ever present and looming and can create demands for that role to be manifested.

In situations where themes required further exploration, second interviews were conducted with earlier participants. These interviews served to clarify certain concepts that were not as deeply explored in the initial interview. Specifically, the researcher clarified the concept of articulating need with two participants. Lastly, these axial codes were aggregated to develop themes. These themes are interpretations of the data that go beyond the participant's understanding of her/his experience. These themes encompass a "wider frame of understanding than that of the subjects themselves" (Kvale, 1996, p. 214-215).

As discussed earlier, one of the problems associated with themes in a phenomenological sense is that they are an incomplete expression of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990); however, these themes may be used to map the world of experience, and hence, map the essence of the phenomenon. Once again, Van Manen described the outcome of the analytic process, but does not lay out the process one engages in to move from the themes to capturing the essence of the phenomenon. Thus, using the axial codes, the researcher first developed themes from the data. The researcher used the themes and memos to extrapolate the essence of the phenomenon from the themes. The author reviewed all the memos and themes to determine which themes were essential to explaining the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). By looking at the connections between themes, the author was able to discern the essence of the phenomenon. For example, themes of role management included role segmentation and integration. Explanations for how individuals managed these roles were not present in the memo on role management. However, one miscellaneous memo on contradictions discussed the ways individuals'

priorities did not coincide with their role behavior. Additionally, a memo on the possible connections between identity and role management created during the interviewing process clued the researcher into the possibility of an essence. Here are a few examples of memos that indicated a relationship between roles and identity:

Engaging in roles help us grow and often puts us in situations to reevaluate the roles around us and our situations to see if we can grow.

For each volunteer role she describes a certain element or connection of who she is as a person and how that led her to volunteer with certain organizations.

The person identifies herself as someone who enjoys meeting people so the volunteer activity she chooses to be involved in taps into that aspect of meeting people and talking to others.

Further exploration yielded two additional memos regarding levels of role identity. Thus, the researcher reread through each transcript and compared each transcript to each other (constant comparison) to further focus on the way role management and identity interacted. Using this data, the researcher was able to discover the essence of the phenomenon, which will be explored in the write-up of research question four.

Validation

Given the subjective nature of qualitative data, several measures were taken to validate the findings. Qualitative validity refers to the steps the researcher takes to ensure the accuracy of the findings (Creswell, 2009). Creswell and Miller (2000) identify disconfirming evidence (lens of the researcher), prolonged engagement in the field, (lens of the participant) and thick, rich descriptions (lens of people external to the study) as the three forms of validity of the constructivist/interpretive paradigm. The researcher used disconfirming evidence and thick, rich descriptions as validation techniques.

Engaging in validation from the lens of the researcher means minimizing personal/researcher bias in the analysis and the write-up of the results. In addition to bracketing the researcher's bias and previous experience on the topic, the researcher also looked for disconfirming evidence of the phenomenon under study. Looking for disconfirming evidence occurs when one establishes preliminary themes and then looks through the transcripts for evidence that contradicts the themes (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994). In selecting participants, the researcher looked for a variety of participants that would represent the various ways individuals could engage in all three roles. The range of participants includes heavy volunteers to light volunteers, single parents to individuals in casual dating relationships, and part-time to full-time workers. The wide variety of participants resulted in rich yet varied data set. As the researcher created memos and themes, the researcher made note of evidence that would serve as negative or unique cases. For example, one participant combined her work, family, and volunteer role. These cases were included in the write-up of the analysis.

The second form of validity used was providing rich, thick descriptions in the writing and presentation of the results. These descriptions provide detail on the participants' background and their experiences managing multiple roles. Additionally, the researcher presented large excerpts from the transcripts in the write up of the results to illustrate how the participants articulated their experiences of the phenomenon. Rich, thick descriptions help establish the external credibility in that the reader of the study is able to use the detailed account to assess the results and conclusions of the researcher (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

The one form of validity the researcher did not engage in is the lens of the participant. While member checking, in which participants review and respond to the findings, is a form of testing the validity of the results through the lens of the participant (Creswell, 2009), some scholars have argued that this form of validity is inconsistent with the constructivist/interpretive paradigm (Creswell & Miller, 2000) and the practice of phenomenological inquiry. Since member checking serves to confirm and establish themes, Creswell and Miller (2000) argued that this technique is a part of the post-positivist paradigm. Phenomenological inquiry looks to understand the phenomenon by first approaching reductions of the phenomenon (reflections of experiences) and then using these reductions to piece together themes that indicate aspects of the phenomenon, but do not completely capture the essence of the phenomenon (Van Manen, 1990). These themes are then used to explain the phenomenon of interest. Having participants engage in member checking of the themes means the individuals are reading and commenting on only a reduction of the phenomenon where the themes themselves fall short of explaining the essence of the phenomenon.

One way the researcher did attempt to engage the participant in a discussion regarding the phenomenon or the essences of the phenomenon was to allot time at the end of the interview for questions and further discussion on the topic. However, as mentioned before, these discussions were not used in the analysis.

Summary

This chapter discusses in great detail the processes engaged in to collect and analyze the data regarding role engagement, role interaction, and identity. While the researcher primarily used Van Manen's (1990) conceptualization of phenomenology to

approach the data, Van Manen begins his analysis of the data at the thematic level. The author had to incorporate analytic tools from other data analysis techniques to develop the themes. Using these themes, the researcher was able to answer the three research questions. Lastly, the researcher used the themes as guideposts to map out the essence of the phenomenon. The essence of the phenomenon coincidentally tied into the fourth research question.

The following sections will discuss the findings from the data. Chapter Four will demonstrate the ways participants articulate the relationship between roles to answer the question of whether or not participants view roles as separate. Chapter Five will focus on how participants defined the volunteer role. Next, Chapter Six will further explore the processes individuals engage in to manage roles interfaces. Lastly, Chapter Seven will discuss the ways identity and role engagement interact with each other.

CHAPTER FOUR: ARTICULATION OF ROLES

The main goal of this particular study is two-fold: to understand how volunteers manage multiple roles and to understand how these experiences interacted with individual identity. Before answering these important questions, there are several assumptions scholars should address. First and foremost, there is the question of whether or not participants view the work, relational, and volunteer roles as distinct roles. Roles are “behaviors characteristic of one or more persons in a context” (Biddle, 1979, p. 58). Scholarship in the area of work life/family interaction often assumes that these roles are separate roles, each with their own set of demands, values, and beliefs. Furthermore, these roles are discussed as interdependent with other roles in their respective system (Katz & Kahn, 1978), but not across systems. Even though roles have been theoretically described as unique entities, do individuals in fact articulate roles in this manner? Thus, this chapter answers the question: *Do volunteers articulate distinct roles that comprise their identity?*

Participants did articulate the work, relational, and volunteer roles as distinct roles. Each interview began with a global question where participants were asked how they would introduce themselves if they were to meet someone for the first time. For the most part, participants in the study identified themselves through their work and their relational role. In describing these group memberships, individuals would often describe their job and later shift into describing their family or relationships; thus, indicating that both roles were separate. Some participants also began by describing their volunteer

activities. Chapter Seven explores in greater detail how individuals initially identified themselves as a form of identity construction.

The answers to the initial global question gave participants the opportunity to articulate their roles without the interviewer giving the participant guidance on how to answer the question. Additionally, towards the latter half of the interview, participants were asked to describe their priorities. In answering this question, participants articulated their roles in relationship to each other. It was the participants' ability to recognize a relationship between their roles (e.g., placing one as a higher priority or arguing one supports another role) that demonstrates and supports the conclusion that individuals view roles as distinct. This chapter will present findings on how participants articulated the work, relational, and volunteer aspects of their lives as separate entities that interact in relation to one another. Additionally, the chapter will explore the use of metaphors to describe roles. Since the metaphors for roles were usually similar objects (e.g., hats, irons in the fire) that one possessed multiples of, these metaphors provided additional support for the argument that participants view roles as separate.

Relationships Among Roles

One indication that participants viewed roles as separate is the way participants described the value (i.e., financial) and meaning of the work role in relation to other roles. First and foremost, the *work role* is valued as a source of income for most individuals. Even if participants were married, work served as a particular revenue source that allowed participants to both support one's family and engage in activities outside of work. Susan and Saul, two participants who were married, each spent some

time during their interviews¹ framing their jobs as sources of financial stability. In Susan's interview, she described her current and future employment plans:

And [Saul] stayed in a job he absolutely hated because it paid well and it was flexible. And he did that for the kids. Which was why he was so sad when [our son] left [home for college]. So. My god what do I do now? And so I feel like it's [Saul's] turn. So I will stay [in my job] until either he gets another job with benefits as good as ours, which would be hard to do or I get old enough to retire in my own right.

When Susan mentioned "it is his turn," she referred to the fact that she was able to be a stay-at-home mom when the children were younger while Saul prioritized his work role to support the family. During Saul's interview, he confirmed and expounded on his job and the meaning behind his job:

Probably because you know, my job hasn't given me a lot of meaning directly for probably 10 years anyway. But it's been uh, you know, good, steady platform for raising kids. And uh so I just kind of had to derive its meaning from that.

Both Susan and Saul described work as a means to support one's family. The family role gave meaning to the work role; however, these roles were still separate as demonstrated in their relationship to each other. Because work was a source of financial security, Saul intentionally stayed in a job he found inherently meaningless. Since the children were no longer living at home, the couple reassessed their current and future employment. In this example, a change to the relational role occurred before there was a change to the work role. If these roles were not separate, the change would occur simultaneously.

Other participants more clearly described the roles as distinct as they made decisions regarding the work role in relation to their desired relational roles. Aaron, a soil scientist, consciously deviated from his father's career of farming in order to make sure he had a job that gave him time to spend with his family:

I saw my dad um work 24/7, 365 as a farmer, worrying about whether it rained or not, whether or not the crops would grow or not, and he worried himself to death. . . . So I always said I wanted a job that was 9 to 5, I had my evenings weekends free for my family and my kids. And I didn't want a stress level where I couldn't enjoy that.

Aaron later admitted that his job also provided him with the opportunity to retire early.

Aaron articulated spending the additional discretionary time he acquired after retiring to volunteer more and spend time with his grandchildren. Jake, an assistant professor and medical researcher, framed his job as a form of financial security that related to other elements of his life. Prior to the interview, Jake had spent several weekends preparing grant applications that he hoped would fund his research for the next few years and increase his chance of getting tenure. When asked what role volunteering would play in his future, Jake described his future volunteer activity in relation to his work and future relationship status:

Honestly, I'd like to stay at about a similar level of [volunteer] participation but a lot depends on several things. Number 1, if I become very successful in this cycle of grants, it will improve my [job/financial] security a little bit, but I'm not sure it's going to help that much 'cause I'll still have to work very hard. Number 2, a lot's going to depend on what kind of relationships I evolve into.

For, Jake, the ability to continue, increase, or decrease his current volunteer activity depended upon the demands of the other two roles. Other participants used similar frames of financial security to discuss their work role. Financial security seemed to be a prerequisite to engaging in additional roles. Articulating roles in relationship to each other demonstrates an acknowledgement that the participants did view these roles as separate.

In some instances changes to the relational role led to changes in the work and the volunteer role. In addition to Jake, three of the other participants in the study recently moved to a new location. Cynthia's family had to move to another state because her husband was pursuing a graduate degree:

I started at Financial Lending as a teller . . . We found out we were going to move down here and [Financial Lending] doesn't have any branch banks to transfer to but they had an opening for a part-time processor . . . So it was kind of a perfect opportunity for me to work part-time in the morning and then get some of the non-profit experience um in the afternoons,

Changes to another family member's roles resulted in the other person making adjustments to his or her roles. These changes demonstrated the interdependence of roles in the family system. Another example can be seen in those individuals who decided to be a stay-at-home parent. Making this decision often meant that the other individual must work to support the family. Changes to the breadwinner's employment or if one's salary was not sufficient to support the family, meant that the family had to alter the working arrangements. Maggie, who began as a stay-at-home mom, changed her work role when her children went off to college. She began doing secretarial work for a couple of companies in California. However, when changes happened to her husband's work role, the family's financial security weakened:

In California we're close to losing our home because of in the 90s— my husband was working in aerospace at the time, and the aerospace industry just died . . . So he lost his job and he was in his fifties. And I mean people were lined up [at the unemployment office]. He had always worked and always taken care of us and two weeks after he lost his job I lost mine. I was laid off and I took a \$2500 cut in pay. He couldn't find work. And we finally sold our home and moved back down to where my parents lived.

Maggie later described how she sought employment after the move and is now the breadwinner of the family. Once again finances played a role, but in this case, Maggie's husband's job security impacted the importance of Maggie's job and forced Maggie into the role of sole breadwinner, a different family role. Without her husband's previous salary, it became difficult to survive in California. Maggie later described in her interview that her salary, after her pay cut, was barely enough to cover her house payment. Eventually Maggie lost her job, forcing the family to make decisions which ultimately resulted in moving to the Midwest. While not all participants experienced the same drastic changes that Maggie and her family experienced, the above excerpt does demonstrate how a loss of financial security in a work role affects family roles and decisions. These examples serve to illustrate the way participants in the study articulated the relationships between the relational role and the other roles.

In addition to describing the stability of one role as necessary for the stability of other roles, participants also implicitly mentioned relationships among roles when they described their priorities. Towards the end of the interview, each participant was asked about their top four priorities in life. Participants tended to rank their roles as their priorities. Duffy's answer is representative of many participants:

Well I guess you say, have to say your top priority in life would be God, you know, your church and right there with that would be your family and you know I'm pretty dedicated at work, so you'd say work and then you'd say your volunteering activities. And then I guess below that would be recreation.

There were some exceptions where individuals described "enjoying life" or "personal happiness" as a priority, but most individuals included their career/job and their family as separate priorities. Several participants mentioned "faith" and "relationship with God" as

a priority. Volunteering was only occasionally mentioned as a priority. Participants also described their priorities in relationship to each other. Some even went so far as to describe situations where priorities and actions were not in sync. For example, Sandy describe a mismatch between her priorities and actions when she said, “It's real easy to get your priorities messed up and your kids to be here at the house and you're at school and you're not around them enough.”

Whether it is describing roles as necessary for the engagement of other roles or mentioning roles when ranking priorities, participants described the work, relational, and sometimes the volunteer role as distinct roles. If these roles were not distinct, it would be difficult to articulate a relationship between the roles or explain why a change in one role influences a change in the other role. One more additional source of support for the notion that participants articulated roles as separate is present in the participant's occasional use of metaphors.

Metaphors of Roles

One more indication that participants view roles as distinct stems from participants' use of metaphors to describe the multiple roles they managed. Sometimes participants described their roles as “hats” or “irons in the fire.” Emily used the “irons in the fire” metaphor to describe all of her roles. She worked part-time at two different organizations, was married, a graduate student, and an active volunteer. When describing her priorities, Emily reflected on her newest part-time position, “[The part-time marketing position] was just the perfect fit so that I could, hopefully in the end, achieve [my career and educational] goals while having all these irons in the fire.” When asked

to clarify the multiple “irons in the fire,” Emily referred back to the various roles in her life as the irons.

Another metaphor used by a participant to describe their roles was the “hat” metaphor. Susan is a prime example of someone whose work and volunteer role were highly related. She worked for a university and her job involved developing programs to assist low-income individuals. In her volunteer role, Susan served on the board of a grassroots organization, the Housing Extension Program (HEP), which also developed programs and advocated on behalf of low-income individuals. These jobs themselves seem very closely connected. When asked how she would describe the various things she was involved in, Susan described the roles as different “hats”:

Disraelly: How would you describe all these things you’re involved in?
How do they influence who you are on a daily basis?

Susan: [LAUGHS] I wear a lot of hats. And some of them don’t seem to go together immediately. Like you don’t think of like the PTA room mom necessarily as the one whose helping with you know leafleting, protesting militarism, or um memorial parade or something. . .I sometimes wear both of them [HEP and Work Role]. They’re stacked, but on a typical day at work, if I have nothing to do with HEP, I ...[describes a laundry list of work tasks including conducting workshops, serving on committees, and screening potential new co-workers].

In this excerpt, one can see how Susan articulated her perceptions of the different demands in her life. She used the hat metaphor to represent each role. When Susan wore her work hat, she conducted workshops, served on university committees, and other tasks associated with her job. Her volunteer work primarily fell under HEP, the grassroots organization. When Susan wore her HEP hat, she helped to develop and organize programs to benefit low-income individuals. Since some of her work for the university and some of her work for HEP were interdependent, she was able to intermix these jobs

and resources. For Susan, HEP enhanced her job and helped her pursue the mission of helping low-income individuals. Even though both of these roles helped her pursue her mission and both can be done simultaneously, her metaphor for the roles still described the roles as different. Susan did not mention a combined HEP and university employee hat; rather she claimed that sometimes her hats are “stacked” allowing her to engage in two roles simultaneously.

Both of these metaphors used distinct objects to describe different roles. If participants did not view these roles as separate, they would not describe their roles through these metaphors. Having “irons in the fire” or “wearing different hats” means a person can change roles (hats) or remove certain roles from their lives (irons). Changing or removing roles from one’s life is consistent with the ways individuals described managing multiple roles (see Chapter Six).

Conclusion

By looking at the way participants described the relationships between roles and the metaphors participants used to describe roles, one is able to see that participants viewed and articulated these roles as distinct. Whether they were hypothetically introducing themselves or describing their priorities, participants did mention the relational role and the work role separately. In terms of the volunteer role, while participants overall did not articulate volunteering as being as high of a priority as the work and family roles, those who did mention volunteering described it as a separate priority.

This chapter seeks to establish the foundation upon which much of role interaction scholarship is built. Whereas past scholarship has assumed that individuals do

view roles as distinct, this chapter begins the discussion of findings by acknowledging participants' ability to distinguish between the three roles. By building this foundation first, the interaction between roles are a result of individuals managing the roles rather than merely experiencing role interaction.

CHAPTER 5: THE VOLUNTEER ROLE

Before exploring the ways participants managed the additional interfaces created by the volunteer role, scholars need to understand how participants view and define volunteering as a role. The second research question asks: *How do individuals define and experience volunteering?* One of the critiques of volunteer research is its failure to use a consistent definition across studies (Musick & Wilson, 2008). This chapter's discussion of the ways volunteers define volunteering will clarify the volunteer role. In order to develop an understanding of the complexity of the volunteer role, study participants, who self-identified as volunteers, were asked to provide a definition and give examples of volunteering. Because of the use of self-defined volunteers, competing definitions were expected. For example, one participant may identify certain philanthropic behaviors as volunteering whereas others would not. This chapter offers the various participant-generated definitions of volunteering, confirming, disaffirming, and expounding on previous definitions of volunteering. This chapter presents the strongest trends of how individuals defined volunteering as an act. This chapter also discusses the rationale behind the act of volunteering and the benefits individuals incurred by volunteering.

Defining Volunteering

The interview protocol itself prompted participants to discuss all three roles in depth. After participants were asked to talk about their volunteer role, each participant was asked how they would define volunteering itself. While participants provided a wide variety of answers, there were some specific trends that emerged. Specifically, participants described volunteering as a) helping others in need, b) providing unpaid

work, c) giving back to the community or an organization, and d) as beneficial to the volunteer.

Volunteering as Helping Those in Need

The most common element of the definition of the volunteer role was finding ways to meet individuals' and groups' needs. Group needs refers to nonprofit organizations whereas individuals could be someone's neighbor, a member of the church, a homeless person, etc. Less than half of the participants (47%) defined volunteering as meeting other's needs. Some individuals gave the vague definition of helping individuals in need while others gave a rationale for why they were helping those in need (e.g., improving one's community). Additionally, 24% of the total participants engaged in a volunteer activity that fell under the umbrella of social justice. Social justice work itself is a form of working to ameliorate inequalities that were created by dominant interests in society. These dominant group/interests created a need for change.

Helping with individuals' needs. Many participants defined volunteering by describing how they identify need and worked to meet the individual needs of those around them. Megan who regularly organized and collected donations for a local men's homeless shelter described volunteering as "meeting needs":

I feel like there's couple of different [definitions] but volunteering is when you hear that there is a *need*, [and] you try and fulfill it. So I mean if you're volunteering with your 90 year old neighbor next door sitting with her for an hour every Monday, that's volunteering because it's something that your neighbor needs. And something that you can do to make her happy. So sometimes it's you know fulfilling a need and sometimes it's just fulfilling somebody's desire but you're still you're still caring about others instead of yourself when you do something you know.

In Megan's example, she described need as discernable. A person can see that the neighbor doesn't have much social interaction. One can make the assumption that a neighbor's social needs are not being met. Likewise, if a person is homeless, their shelter needs are not being met either. Carlos, who heavily participated in a local Hispanic ministry and assisted other non-English speakers with their tax forms, also described the volunteer role by saying, "I'm concerned with serving others and see that the needs of others that have needs are met or that they're ah people are being— the needy are being provided [for]." Despite requests to elaborate on what he meant by serving others in needs, Carlos continued to reiterate the idea that one helps others when the person is in need.

Implicit within both of these examples is a person's ability to recognize when others are in need². As need was left ambiguous by participants, the author followed up with two respondents to understand how they discerned need. In a second interview, Sofia gave an example of the ways one can find those individuals in need:

[From Interview 1] I just see [volunteering] as time that you set aside to focus on someone else's needs before your own.

[From Interview 2] I think sometimes the need is preestablished. So like at the free trade store there is a need in other countries to be gainfully employed. Otherwise they turn to things like prostitution to give their kids food. So sometimes it's preestablished. And then other times, and this isn't any time recently but sometimes its deduced. Um example: there are older adults in my church like I assume, that you know 75 year old sister Smith wasn't going to be able to rake her yard for much longer, so you just ask if they needed help.

Sofia claimed that there were two ways of identifying needs. The first way to define need refers to a preestablished need. To described a preestablished need Sofia used the

example of her volunteer work with a free-trade organization. The organization was mostly run by volunteers, and the money raised from the sale of goods went back to the artisans in third world countries. Similarly, organizations like food pantries, homeless shelters, soup kitchens, and tutoring centers all serve preestablished needs. These nonprofit organizations were founded to meet a specific need in the community that were not being served adequately by the government and other nongovernmental agencies. Volunteering with an organization that is meant to satisfy a particular need coincides with Wilson and Musick's (1997) definition of formal volunteering.

The other way Sofia described establishing need was to infer that a stranger, a neighbor, or family friend needed assistance accomplishing a task. This perspective of helping others in need falls in line with Wilson and Musick's (1997) definition of informal volunteering. Even though Sofia described two ways one can discover a need, she did not make an official distinction between formal and informal forms of volunteering. For Sofia, the difference between concepts was in whether or not she discerned the need or if someone else (e.g., individual, church, organization) did.

Like Sofia, participants' responses to the types of volunteer activities they engaged in varied from formal to informal forms of volunteering. For example, Bobby gave examples of volunteer activities that included working with the prison ministry and volunteering to help a neighbor with their yard. In discussing need, participants gave examples of helping neighbors with their gardening, donating to homeless shelters, and asking members of the church if they needed assistance.

From this perspective, to embody the volunteer role means to help individuals in need. While theoretically there is a difference between formal and informal forms of

volunteering, these differences were not noted by the participants. Rather the participants' examples of volunteering as helping fulfill individuals' needs fell under both forms of helping (informal and formal).

Helping with organizational/group needs: social justice volunteering. In seeking to achieve maximum variation, the researcher intentionally sought out different types of volunteers. As one way of seeking diverse participants, the researcher intentionally sought out religious and nonreligious or spiritual participants. Some participants (58%) volunteered for religious reasons or with religious institutions whereas other participants (24%) volunteered for social justice reasons³. Social justice refers to the acts of advocating or working on legislation in hopes of reducing inequalities among those groups of individuals that have been historically oppressed in society (e.g, women, minorities, homosexuals, etc). In seeking to understand the definition of social justice, participants were asked to compare and contrast social justice and volunteering. One participant claimed that social justice work means working to advance a social movement:

Casey: If you're volunteering for a cause I guess it's social justice, but I guess you're always volunteering well I don't know. Can you repeat the question?

Disraelly: Yeah no ah compare and contrast social justice and volunteering.

Casey: Well the social justice movement is like I guess the advancement for human rights just across the board. Like immigrant rights, LGBTQ rights, women's rights, uh stopping violence against women, multicultural rights. Stuff like that. Um and volunteering you can volunteer within the social justice movement or you can do it for other stuff. You can volunteer at the hospital. Um so I guess it's what you choose to volunteer for and what you choose is the greater cause.

Casey's definition places social justice activities under the umbrella of volunteering.

Casey used currently established movements in her definition of social justice to highlight which organization or movements were in need. Each of the movements mentioned are movements for equal rights or movements that protest a violation of rights for a group of people in society.

The needs that social justice movements try to ameliorate are needs that were created when a group experienced injustices or oppression by another group or organization. Cloke elaborates on who the privileged and underprivileged are within some of the social justice movements:

Social justice is working to combat social injustice, just social inequalities. There are so many isms: racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism. There are so many things that—and they all intersect um because you can't really be ready to take on one of them unless you're ready to take them all on because you have people who are being affected by one or more of these. So it's not just trying to raise awareness but taking action and taking steps towards bringing about more equality for people. Because if you look at it in the way— who are the main agents of oppression in all of these? It's the same really . . . in that it's typically white Christian men who come from upper middle class. And you have those types of people who have set these boundaries on so many people that now they aren't questioned nearly as much anymore. So it's really important to try and fight all of these on the same level in order to bring about more equality for everyone.

Thus, social justice is a form of volunteerism that seeks to not only help those individuals in need, but the volunteer acts themselves seek to critique or oppose the power structures that create the need. Individuals who engage in social justice work seek to do more than fulfill basic needs of others. Usually these volunteers find themselves advocating and educating those around them about social inequalities.

Volunteering is one way in which individuals seek to meet others' needs. When volunteering, individuals give freely of their time and labor to help those individuals and

groups in need. The next section addresses another essential part of the way participants described the act of volunteering.

Volunteering as Unpaid Work

In addition to fulfilling the needs of individuals and groups for the betterment of the community, participants also described volunteering as an unpaid form of labor. Economic metaphors of role strain argue that there is a finite amount of resources one can use in a given day (Epstein & Kalleberg, 2001; Marks, 1977). Two of these resources include time and energy. With paid work, individuals are monetarily compensated for giving their time and labor to an organization. In contrast, with volunteering, one is giving part of their time and energy without receiving payment for the use of those resources. Two-fifths of participants referred to volunteering as freely giving of one's labor, knowledge, skills, or abilities to help others. Two-fifths of participants described volunteering as freely giving of one's time. Very few participants described giving both of one's time and labor to help out an organization. The rationale behind this may be that time infers giving of one's labor as evidenced by the inclusion of energy in some of the definitions that described giving of one's time. The following excerpts are some of the ways in which participants defined volunteering as unpaid work:

Julie: Like volunteering would probably be to *give of your time and energy... um... without expecting anything in return.*

Steve: Um doing a project, a service project for the greater good *without pay*. Well without pay is kind of implied in volunteering.

Megan: Giving of your *time* for a cause that you believe in and *not getting paid* for it.

In the above excerpts, the common threads in the way participants define volunteering are italicized. There are two key elements of volunteering present in the definitions above.

The first element is the clarification that the volunteering act itself is giving of one's energy or physical labor to another entity free of charge. The second element is the giving of one's time to benefit someone else which is also done free of charge.

Implicitly, volunteering is being compared to the work role where individuals get paid for their labor and time. The following sections will further explore the elements of unpaid physical labor and unpaid time that participants noted as part of defining volunteering.

Unpaid physical labor. One of the most common threads among participants' definition of volunteering is that it could be defined as "unpaid labor" or "unpaid work."

In some cases, those individuals who embody the volunteer role are physically giving their labor to help others. Emily, whose definition is synonymous with those already mentioned, clarified her definition by providing an example of physical labor:

I think volunteering is just giving your *time* to an organization or [a]cause or a person. It doesn't necessarily have to be an organization. It could be, you know, a lady next door who needs help cleaning her windows 'cause she can't do it, you know. . . [With] volunteering you're *not going to get paid like a wage*, you know. I mean, there are a lot of times perks with any kind of volunteer position but um, I don't think that should be the motivating factor at all.

As Emily's definition turned to the lack of remuneration in volunteering, she used the term wage. Usually wages are the form of remuneration of paid employment. Thus, when volunteering is defined as an unpaid physical labor, it is being defined as unpaid work.

Unpaid time. Just as individuals freely give of their own skills and abilities to benefit another, they can also freely give of their time. Like physical labor, time is

something that can be purchased by an employer or donated to another organization.

Work organizations buy out individuals' time (Zerubavel, 1979); however, individuals who volunteer are not being paid for their time. Instead, individuals donate their time to help others.

The time volunteers donate to organizations or others can conceivably be used for other roles, especially since time is a limited resource. Within a given day there are only 24 hours and these hours have been partitioned based on the tasks the individual must accomplish (Epstein & Kalleberg, 2001). If one is employed, there are a certain number of hours allotted to the employer. Additionally, time is partitioned out to spend with family members or relational partners based on others' demands and how salient the role or relationship is to one's identity (Goode, 1960; Thompson & Bunderson, 2001). Those hours that have not been allotted to work or family may often be described as one's free-time. While the uses of free-time vary, participants who discussed free-time often described the ways in which they attempted to use free-time productively by volunteering for others:

Cloke: I am giving up my *free time* to go and help other people who I feel like need it more because in my free time, I wouldn't be doing anything productive probably. I mean I don't consider free time like the time I'm doing homework or the time when I'm eating. It's time that I would just be spending watching TV or doing something that's not really as important. So if I can use that free time in helping others that I know need help, even with small things.

Sofia: And I think of [free time] like that I guess. Obviously, there are a lot of things that I could be doing during that time and I have to make that very conscientious choice to not [laugh], you know, help myself but that there's some greater need out there and I need to, you know, make that sacrifice, um, and help somebody else.

Both Cloke and Sofia described how their personal time or free time can be used for other activities such as watching television. Instead, both make a conscious choice to spend their free time doing something productive or helping someone in need.

Summary. The second major trend in how individuals define volunteering is to relate volunteering to paid work. With paid employment, individuals give of their time and labor and in-turn are receiving some form of payment. However, with volunteering, individuals are donating time or labor to help others. Thus, volunteering is described as a form of unpaid work.

Volunteering as Giving Back

In addition to describing the act of volunteering, some participants gave a rationale for why they engaged in the volunteer activity as part of defining the concept. One-sixth of the participants described volunteering as a way of giving back to the community. For example, when asked to define volunteering, Cynthia said, “Probably *giving back* without expecting anything in return. At least nothing material.” Cynthia’s definition does not mention any type of work or any form of activity in her definition. While this aspect of the definition doesn’t describe the act itself, it does give some insight as to why individuals engage in the behavior. As mentioned before, slightly less than half of the participants gave “helping individuals in need” or “helping the community” as their definition of volunteering. Giving back deviates from the previous definition of volunteering since “helping others in need for the betterment of the community” and “giving back to the community” signifies that a person has benefited from the community when s/he was in need. Commodore links both giving back and helping one’s community in his definition of volunteering:

Well on the surface it's working for no pay. I mean that's the short story. The long story to me is *giving back* to your community or to your religion or to whatever entity you contribute to. It's a form, giving is different from tithing you know from the monetary form.

Commodore is one of the few individuals that elaborated on the recipient of the "giving back." When giving back is viewed in light of the previously discussed notion of helping those in need, there is a question regarding why there is a desire to "give back." Perhaps, having one's needs met by others creates a desire to give back.

The use of the term "giving back" in participants' responses suggests that the person has somewhat benefited from someone, an organization, or the community at large. This recipient is often left ambiguous in participant's descriptions of whom they are giving back to. The following are excerpts where individuals described giving back, but the "other" they are giving back to is unclear:

Bobby: It's doing something that you don't have to do. Uh doing something that you want to and *giving back* to your community back to your country, back to society.

Randall: I think ah for me personally ah volunteering is ah is a way of *giving back*. And when I say *giving back*, it could be to somebody who did an organization that did something for me ah or just an organization in general for a cause or something like that or community. So it's a matter of yeah that would be my two word [definition]. It's *giving back*.

Bobby named his community as the receiver of the labor whereas Randall is slightly more specific and mentioned giving back to organizations within the community. Both statements are still vague. The use of the phrase "giving back" indicates that participants feel that they have received "something" (e.g. blessings, mentoring, financial assistance, wealth, etc.) or benefitted in some way from another individual or organization. For example, the following participants give their rationale for why they give back:

Julie: I've been given this life. Basically for whatever reason I feel like I've been given a great life and you have too [give back]. But like some people haven't and then like their lives have led them to a place and maybe they're so passionate about a certain cause because of that.

Aaron: It's something, it's a blessing that I'm able [to volunteer] because my main thing now is I have so many blessings as far as family and every other way that um I'm trying to give back as much as I've gotten.

Both Julia and Aaron believe that they have been blessed in some way which includes the opportunities they have had in their lives. Because of these "blessings" they hope to help those individuals who are not as fortunate. The "something" or the "someone" one has benefitted from often is left ambiguous in the interviews; however, the desire to give to those in need may signify that the "something" is having more than one's basic needs met.

Volunteering as Beneficial to the Volunteer

Even though one does not get paid for volunteering, the act itself is not completely devoid of benefits. All participants in the study described some benefit they received from volunteering, including emotive benefits and increased social networks. For example, one disabled participant claimed volunteering made him more active, which overall made him happier:

Kyle: The volunteer work, it gets me out and a little bit [to be] more active so I'm not sitting in front of the desk on the computer all day long. Um so that's helpful. [Getting involved in the volunteering] is because of the dog training.[Volunteering] makes me happier. It makes me happier to see people that respond so well. Like there'd be little kids that will really respond to the dog and that's kind of exciting to see. Um [I've made] lots of friends from going to dog school and dog training. So there's that aspect of people that you know, a bigger social network to rely on.

Emotive benefits include feelings of joy, happiness, and feeling thankful. Additionally, participants described benefits of as "having a community to come to with anything"

“connect[ing] with people”, and having “fun”. Other participants were able to expand their social networks through volunteering. These benefits are seen as separate from payment. Even though these benefits are related to the volunteer labor itself, participants do not view these benefits as a form of payment, but the benefits to the volunteer were a theme in participants’ definitions of volunteering.

Conclusion

This chapter reviews the ways volunteers embody the volunteer role by mapping out how participants described volunteering. Throughout the years, there have been several attempts by scholars to define and categorize volunteerism. After reviewing the various elements of the volunteer definitions given by participants, volunteering can be defined through the forms of labor and the rationale for the labor. Those that embody the volunteer role are using their time or are giving physical labor to the benefit of someone or something else (individual person or organization) without expecting any form of monetary compensation. However, these individuals may receive some emotional or social benefits as a result of volunteering. Individuals may choose to engage in volunteering to contribute or give back to the community. This definition expands on Tilly and Tilly’s (1994) conceptualization of volunteering as noncontractual labor offered to others free from obligation to one’s family or work by including the lack of material reward (a component of Musick and Wilson’s (2008) definition). However, the definition from this study suggests that Wilson and Musick’s (1997) bifurcation of volunteer acts into formal and informal forms of volunteering is not a distinction acknowledged by volunteers.

For the participants in this study, volunteering is defined as one way to help

individuals or organizations in need and give back to one's community. Furthermore, volunteering is defined as giving freely of one's time or labor as a way of giving back to the community. Lastly, the benefits from engaging in volunteering and the opportunity to give back provide meaning to the volunteer role itself. How this role interacts with the other two roles and one's overall identity will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER SIX: MANAGING MULTIPLE ROLES

The third research question explores how volunteers discursively manage role interfaces. The previous two chapters have demonstrated that individuals do recognize and articulate being involved in the *job role*, *relational role*, and *volunteer role*. This chapter focuses on how volunteers manage the interfaces between roles and across all three roles. As a reminder, the interface is the location where two role boundaries interact (Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002). Managing role interfaces involves creating and managing boundaries between roles (Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). Boundaries may range in flexibility (highly flexible to inflexible) and permeability (highly permeable to impermeable) (Ashforth et al., 2000). High role flexibility gives individuals the opportunity to set their own work hours (e.g., flex-time). High role permeability creates porous boundaries, giving individuals opportunities to integrate roles across boundaries (e.g., handling family business while at work). In managing roles, individuals engage in behaviors that create opportunities for roles to interact or remain separate (Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b).

Even though individuals possess the agency to establish their own boundaries, these boundaries are constantly being socially (re)constructed as others breach or challenge these boundaries. Communicative creation and management of boundaries has previously been discussed using the management of private information (Petronio, 1991; 2001; Petronio & Caughlin, 2006). As with communication privacy management theory's boundaries, individuals (co)create rules with other individuals and organizational entities to manage their role boundaries (Craig & White, 2006; Kreiner et al., 2009). In

exploring communicative role boundary and interface management, this chapter will focus on those rules and behaviors that create, recreate, and manage these role boundaries. To begin, this chapter builds on previous research regarding work and family boundary management by discussing individuals' use of *role segmentation* and *role integration* across all three roles (Ashforth et. al, 2000). Based on the results, the chapter also introduces a new form of boundary management called *role collapsing*.

Managing Role Interaction

There are a number of ways in which individuals discursively manage situations where their roles interact. Individuals engage in processes that can either limit or enhance interaction across roles. Work/family border theory views the work and family domains as distinct systems that individuals enter and leave (Clark, 2000). When individuals move from one system to the next, they are crossing the system boundaries. Those individuals who choose only to cross the boundaries of the domains when their work shift begins or ends are segmenting their roles (Ashforth et al., 2000; Bulger et al., 2007; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). While in the work role, these individuals do not handle demands or responsibilities from the other domains. These individuals may even keep separate calendars, key rings, and sets of clothing for each domain (Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). Those individuals who cross boundaries frequently during the work day are labeled integrators (Ashforth et al., 2000; Bulger et al., 2007; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). When one integrates boundaries, the roles overlap a) in location/space, b) in identities, and c) membership characteristics (Ashforth et al., 2000). Because of the similarities in location, identities, and memberships, boundary crossing is frequent and unpredictable. Additionally, requests for boundary crossing (testing of boundaries) can

come from others in the systems. Thus, the person must negotiate and manage boundaries when outside requests and demands are made on the person.

While some participants in the data set described using role segmentation and role integration, these two forms did not exhaust the ways in which individuals viewed and described the interaction across roles. There was a third way in which roles interacted. Some participants in the study described some roles as being so closely integrated that they were engaging in two roles simultaneously. For these individuals the boundaries have been collapsed, allowing these individuals to engage in two roles without having to cross any boundaries. This form of boundary management is termed *role collapsing*. The following sections will provide in-depth accounts of how participants managed their multiple roles through boundary segmentation, boundary integration, and boundary collapse.

Role Segmenting

A person who segments his or her roles avoids conducting “expected” behavior from one role while in another role (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). These expectations include tasks and demands of employers, family members, etc. These individuals demarcate role spaces by creating boundaries that are highly inflexible and impermeable, (Ashforth et al., 2000) which, in-turn, protects the role space. When boundaries are highly inflexible and impermeable, the roles fail to interact in any way. Because such roles are segmented, the values and beliefs from one role *do not* interact with the other role (Ashforth et al., 2000). *Role Segmentation* is the end result of processes that individuals and organizations engage in to limit interactions across roles (Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). Over half of the study participants (53%) described using

segmentation processes to create or enforce impermeable and inflexible boundaries. The following sections will discuss the various processes individuals use to segment role spaces.

Segmenting role resources. One way individuals protected role spaces was to only use the role system resources for activities related to the role. In this study, some individuals segmented work resources that one uses to communicate with others. Specifically, participants would avoid sending relational and volunteer related e-mails through their work accounts or using their work phones to make personal phone calls. Randall, a policy development specialist for the state government, viewed his job, work resources, and his salary as materials paid for by state tax dollars. Since the tax dollars paid for his equipment at work, he tried to avoid using state resources, such as his workplace phone, for personal reasons:

The phone that I use, I'm not on the phone a lot, but the phone in my opinion, that's the state phone. ... Not that I don't have good voicemail on my phone. But I don't want [work phone's voicemail] clogged up [with personal messages]. I want that to have [the voicemail] for work.

Therefore, when family members or volunteer organizations try to contact Randall via the work phone, Randall reacts in a way that protects and segments that work resource from his other roles. With volunteer organizations, Randall usually asks the caller to send the request to his personal e-mail account. If it is a family member, Randall has a conversation with the family member about not calling him while he is working. In total, a little over one fifth of participants (24%) segmented their roles by not using one's work phone or work e-mail for personal use.

In some instances, giving someone a personal e-mail address served as a way to manage interactions. Switching over to e-mail from a boundary crossing phone call meant not having to respond immediately to the organizer, and it created a new mode of contact between the individual and the other person/organization. Even if there was no workplace-instituted policy preventing personal phone calls on work phones, these participants created and described personal rules regarding the use of these work resources. These rules help in creating impermeable boundaries that prevent boundary crossing from occurring.

There were very few examples of protecting relational and volunteer role resources. Carlos was the only participant who mentioned protecting/creating relational or volunteer role resources from encroachment by work roles. Carlos received a monthly pension from the military and those funds went directly to his volunteer work with Hispanic ministries. It is quite possible that Carlos could have used the funds on his family; however, Carlos made a decision to restrict this monetary resource to his volunteer activity. Other participants checked their personal e-mail at work or answered their personal cell-phone while at work (an integration strategy), but the use of these communication tools was mostly done to avoid using one's work resources. Participants tended to segment the relational role and the volunteer role from the work role more so through describing separation of physical role spaces, as will be discussed below, rather than through solely separating role resources.

Segmenting physical spaces. Participants also described engaging in role space segmentation by only completing role tasks and demands while in the physical location most clearly associated with a role. When participants segmented based on location they

would usually avoid taking work home or dealing with personal matters while at work. Roughly one third of participants (32%) described situations where their physical boundaries around the locations of work and home were segmented. Sometimes the space-based role segmentation was a result of intentionally avoiding taking work home or an inability to take equipment or work materials home. Approximately 16% of participants had jobs where the physical resources needed to perform their jobs limited the participants from taking work home. Carlos, an accounting supervisor, could remotely connect to his work's computer server, giving him the opportunity to telecommute and work from home after a full work day. However, new security measures implemented by the organization changed this practice:

But now the technology avenue has been closed because [the company's computer server] has a [connection] limitation [where I'm] no longer able to do work from home. So right now my time when I'm at home, I'm at home.

The changes to the company's off-site connectivity kept Carlos from working at home, allowing him to spend his time at home with his family rather than working on work matters, thus segmenting the roles. In this situation, the organization changed the boundary rules limiting work tasks to the physical location of the building. Other participants created personal rules such as leaving work papers at work, avoiding phone calls from employers, and avoiding checking work e-mail while at home. These individuals were personally trying to protect the relational space. Overall, participants either created rules to help segment work and family or the organization put into place rules that created role segmentation.

Similar to the boundaries around work and relational role spaces, participants created and adhered to rules that segmented the volunteer role from the other two roles. Participants did not necessarily discuss the boundary between volunteering and either of the other two roles as intentionally segmented, but sometimes they shared rules in place that led to this segmentation. Overall, less than half of the participants (45%) segmented the relational and volunteer roles, and approximately one third (34%) segmented their work and volunteer roles. In many instances, the volunteer labor had to be conducted in certain physical locations. For example, Bridget volunteered with a local food co-op. Her volunteer work with the organization mainly entailed data entry that needed to be conducted at the organization:

And then one of the people who ran the co-op said that an opening had um opened for uh the person who does the order entry for the orders on the computer and [asked if] would I be interested? And I was like, "Yes! That will get me out of the rain and snow." And so that's what I do now and I've done it four years, probably? Um so I go in once a month but it's a higher order of work 'cause you're doing computer stuff. And basically I take whatever orders are there, I record what money they paid, um if they paid with their order, and then I enter all of the numbers for the items that they want, check them against the computer to make sure it's the right ...It's supposed to be three to four hours but if it's a week, like sometimes around a holiday the orders are really small so I can be done in an hour... It doesn't take very long when I'm there. ... So if something were to come up, and I do it on Sunday afternoons so I don't do it during the workday. So usually Ben is always available to be with Tyler.

Because of the nature of the volunteer activity, entering data into a system, Bridget must physically travel to the location of the nonprofit. Thus, Bridget had to travel to the volunteer site, which was separate from the work and home locations. When Bridget conducted the volunteer activity, she articulated doing the activity on a Sunday, separating work and the volunteer roles through time as

well, which will be discussed in a later section. Additionally, Bridget mentioned Ben, her husband, as taking care of her son while she participated in the volunteer role. Thus, this example demonstrates the ways in which the relational and the work role are separate from the volunteer role.

There were a few instances where participants reported segmenting the volunteer role from the relational role. Two reasons for segmenting these two roles were because the relationship was in its early stages or the activity itself did not meet the interests of the relational partner. For example, Jake said, “I guess if I was going to bring somebody into a volunteering activity, I'd be kind of serious about them.” Commodore, who usually spent Thursday through Sunday volunteering with river clean-ups, asked his wife to go to the river clean-ups with him when he first started going. After several unsuccessful attempts, he stopped asking his wife to join him. These examples fall under role space segmentation in that the relational other ends up not being present at the volunteer site.

Segmenting role values. Another way participants segmented roles was by articulating the conflicting values associated with each role. Within this study, segmenting based on values was only discussed in relation to the volunteer role. Participants did not discuss segmenting the boundaries between work and family/close relationships through value-based rules. Marie, a Women’s Rights Outreach Coordinator, heavily volunteered with organizations that advocated on behalf of women’s reproductive rights. Marie was also a strong supporter of early sex education in schools. The values and beliefs she possessed clashed with her parents’ beliefs and values:

Marie: My family life um... it's more of me trying to [laughing] choke back my activism or my volunteering and—

Disraelly: Is that with your parents or?

Marie: Yeah, not so much with my mom but with my dad. My dad's very conservative. And um his wife is incredibly conservative. And we really don't get along very much.

Even though Marie integrated other roles in her life, she clearly segmented the family and activist roles due to incompatible values between the two roles. Saul who expressed not wanting to volunteer in the same organization as his wife reported another example of value-based segmenting. In general, Saul felt that his skills and strengths could be used to benefit another organization. His wife, Susan, was heavily involved in a grassroots organization that helped to create programs and advocate on behalf of low-income citizens. Saul wanted to volunteer with organizations that were in line with his passions and strengths and did not feel that his wife's organization, HEP, would be the best outlet:

And then I'm probably more interested in working with um... children and um, you know, college students. Whereas [Susan] does her work with um poor people. Which it's just like a slight difference, anyway, in terms of I have always had this thing about seeing people's potential and helping [them] to realize it. And it's between not wanting to both be riding the same wave and um a slight difference in interests, uh so far I haven't been moved in that direction.

Later on in the interview, Saul discussed segmenting due to a difference in perspective as well. He feels the women in HEP tended to discuss men in a negative light:

There are personalities involved--I don't think I could work with the director that she works with. I mean... they're long-time friends but um, you know... she's, you know, I don't find her to be a great listener, particularly to men. So maybe maybe that's unfair but particularly to me, you know.

Saul described segmenting his relational role from his volunteer role because he and his partner preferred and valued different elements of philanthropic work, and he felt some

female members of the organization his wife volunteered with devalued men. Thus, in both of these cases the values that led individuals to volunteer with certain groups and work with certain populations drove the desire to segment the relational roles and the volunteer role.

Keeping membership categories, values, and beliefs separate from role to role are all processes of segmentation (Ashforth et al., 2000). Both Saul's and Marie's examples expressed how participants articulated roles as distinct via distinct values. Just as with the interactions between work and relational roles, participants either were subject to the boundary rules of the volunteer organization (e.g., having undergone training, being on-site for tutoring) or participants created their own rules regarding boundary interaction that segmented the volunteer role from one or both of the other roles.

Segmenting role time. In addition to segmenting roles via material resources, physical locations, and values, participants also used a time-based approach to segmenting their roles. Slightly less than one fifth (18%) of participants reported segmenting based on time. In addition to protecting the resources of the organization, time segmenters focused on the amount of time they were spending at work (number of hours), or they set a deadline for when the workday would end. These time conscious individuals felt they were paid by the company to work 40 hours a week and felt that they should give the company those 40 hours. However, tensions and stress arose when the organization demanded more than 40 hours a week. If a person is a salaried worker, the salary is based on a certain number of hours. Sometimes work demands force a person to work well-over the number of contracted hours without repayment. Likewise, spending the 40 hours working on other role projects, means accepting pay for time *not* spent on

work activities. Carlos, the accounting supervisor, viewed this practice as “stealing time” (the company steals time from the employee):

[Breaking up my schedule] started actually from the military...There's a time when I needed to stop working. The lunch [break] was my time. So ... if I was hired to work 8 hours, as long as I was doing my 8 hours of work [the time] would be just for work. I would try not to use that time for personal time. If I used that [time for personal things] I would extend my time [at work]. I would [leave] late, late from work or but my I would give my eight hours of work always. If I use [work time] for personal [errands], I consider that I'm basically stealing from [my employer] So I I put boundaries cause that's the only way to of trying to [do] all those things.

Carlos does not segment his roles in terms of resources or physical locations, but in terms of time. He views the work time as work time only. Problems arose when Carlos ended up working over 40 hours a week because he viewed the additional hours spent at work as time that is taken away, or “stolen”, from the relational and volunteer roles. Therefore, time segmenters view time as part of a contractual obligation with their employer. Within the contractual obligation, there is a set amount of hours the employee is expected to work, and time segmenters seek to live up to that obligation. When the obligation is not reach, the employee is at fault, and when the employer requests more time, the employer is at fault.

Another example of time segmentation and management enacted by participants occurred when participants adjusted their schedule later on in the week if they unexpectedly ended up working more than 8 hours in a given day. Some work demands force a person to stay later at work. When employees are faced with increased work demands and occasional longer hours, some may find ways to adjust their schedule for the rest of the workweek. For Erin, an administrative assistant in an academic department

at a university, long nights usually resulted in clocking in a little later the following morning. Erin described using this practice, “Now in the past, if I stayed late then I usually come in you know a little later to compensate [those hours] because you know I can’t wear myself out.” Erin’s time management served to help her avoid working too much overtime. Erin recognizes that the academic schedule and the normal 8 to 5 work schedule do not always coincide. Since Erin is responsible for relational role demands and family demands, she intentionally engaged in this time segmentation practice that only allots certain hours to each role in order to avoid too much role strain from the work role. In order to use this practice to manage role strain, the job itself must be somewhat flexible. Those individuals who come into work late or leave work early because they already have worked additional hours earlier in the week are attempting to protect the number of hours they have for the other two roles. Role strain may occur because time and energy are considered scarce resources that are being used up as the day proceeds (Marks, 1977). Thus a focus on time and only working certain hours in a given week reduces the chance of a person completely depleting all of the resources at work. If one were to only focus on accomplishing a certain set of demands in a given day, they may lose sight of how much they are working and accidentally may work far longer than the person is contracted to work.

In sum, participants may choose to manage role boundaries by creating, sharing, and engaging in segmentation strategies. These segmentation strategies are rules that prevent boundary crossing by the individual. Individuals enact segmentation strategies by protecting the role resources, spaces, values, and time. These rules may be self-imposed by the individual or imposed by the organizations in which one participates, but

these rules are also subject to change as individuals implement the rules and strict boundaries are tested. Overall, the process of segmentation may help reduce overextension and depletion of sources (time and energy) since the individual avoids multiple task demands in one role space/time. However, in a society of increasing work demands and globalization (Gambles, Lewis, & Rapoport, 2006), segmentation may be more of a described ideal than an actual practice. Furthermore, participants' descriptions of segmentation strategies showed these strategies as protecting the work role more so than the other two roles.

Role Integrating

In contrast to segmentation, it has been argued that individuals engage in *role integration* (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). In order to integrate roles, the roles must have flexible and permeable boundaries. One way to visualize the integrated boundary is to picture a net separating two spaces. Even though one can physically see the net dividing the space into two spaces, objects can still pass through the net from one space to the next. When roles are integrated, one is able to handle task demands from other roles while situated in one role context. For example, while situated in a volunteer role (e.g., working at an afterschool program) one may answer a phone call from work or from a relational other. Even though the person is handling task demands from another context, the person is still physically located within the volunteer context. The physical context is part of the volunteer role, while the task demand is from the work or relational role. When roles share similar physical locations or similar group memberships, the boundary crossing is frequent and quick (Ashforth et al., 2000).

Another element of integrated boundaries is the flexibility of boundaries. When a role's boundary is flexible, the role can be altered to accommodate the other role in a person's life. These alterations include mild to frequent interruptions. For example, a person may work a traditional eight to five shift. If a person had a sick parent, they may alter the schedule to incorporate one's parent or running errands during the day. This differs from the aforementioned time segmentation example in that the individual is focusing on tasks rather than how much time is spent in each role. Thus a person may leave work for an hour or more and simply return to work later to accomplish the days tasks. Other integrators may physically be located at the workplace, but choose to work on other role activities for several hours at a time. Overall more than half (61%) of the participants described using integrating strategies with two or more roles. Since these role strategies usually occur across two roles, the discussion of integration will focus on each set of boundaries, starting with work and relational role interfaces.

Integrating work and relational role boundaries. Prior scholarship has found that individuals typically integrate work and family roles (Bulger et al., 2007). However, these scholars focused on people's perceptions of their ability to accept phone calls at work or leave the office, but did not measure the extent that people engaged in these integration strategies. This study asked participants to recall and provide examples of actual occurrences of roles interacting with each other. Over one third (37%) of participants reported integrating work and family roles. Integration strategies included talking to relational others while at work (physical integration), leaving work to take care of family members (temporal integration) (e.g., take a family member to the doctor

outside of one's lunch period), leaving family members to take care of work, and working from home.

Role integration was bidirectional, but participants described relational role to work role integration slightly more than work to relational role integration. Over a quarter of participants (26%) provided examples of the relational role integrating into the work role space. These interactions (physical or electronic) occurred in two ways, including communication with family members while at work and conducting family related errands during one's work day. Many participants also perceived they had the ability to leave work to handle family matters, but only seven participants reported actually leaving work for other roles. Participants tended to only take advantage of leaving work for an emergency. Reasons for leaving work included a sick child, ailing parent, or a death in the family. Thus, even though boundaries were described as permeable, participants did not always integrate their roles.

Even though some participants did not integrate their roles all of the time, others integrated roles by engaging in frequent ongoing instances of interaction with individuals outside of the work system. For example, Brandon, an assistant manager in an engineering company, usually kept a pretty busy work day. For the most part, Brandon articulated maintaining permeable boundaries. In addition to dealing with the tasks and demands of his paid work while at work, Brandon also handled new demands from the nonprofit Sports Association Board for which he volunteers. In the midst of all these demands, Brandon also is prepared to leave work to help his mother:

Well I have my mother, who was 74 years old, whom I take care of. She lives here in the Capital and she has Alzheimer's. And it's another issue in my life. So I make sure that that I check [my personal e-mail] here three

four times a day and I visit her at least three times a week. And many times you know she is not feeling well. I have to go and take her to doctor and this is another issue in my life. This is additional thing. But again, family comes first. I tell you what. It does.

Brandon articulated his family as his first priority. Brandon took advantage of the flexibility and permeability of his work boundary, which allowed him to leave work to take care of his mother.

Likewise, new mothers also took advantage of the work boundary permeability to check in on their children. Jasmine, a single full-time mother and part-time law student, often called to check-in on her newborn son:

Being my first child, ... I can honestly say part of the first month, no I'd probably say first few weeks I was here whatever, all day long I was thinking about my son. You know and I knew that he was in good hands with my sister-in-law, but I was calling four and five times a day and checking on him.

Just like Brandon, Jasmine articulated her work role boundary as flexible enough to give her the opportunity to take a few minutes to see how her child was doing. Being able to check up on loved ones gave the person some peace of mind to know that their relational other was healthy and doing okay. The other participants who engaged in frequent boundary crossing by talking to relational others, usually engaged in quick phone calls or e-mails to check in with loved ones. There were a few instances where participants discussed family members dropping by the office, but these were few and far between.

Participants also articulated creating or maintaining a permeable home boundary where a person may conduct work and/or volunteer tasks while at home. When asked about instances where the work role and relational role interacted, one fifth (21%) of participants provided examples of conducting work tasks or responding to work phone

calls and e-mails when they were at their home. These participants ranged from having a home office and telecommuting to those participants who were in management positions and had to consistently be on call if something were to happen at work. Tina juggled the demands of teaching classes at the local community college, writing her dissertation, and serving as a research assistant on two major tri-county projects. Rather than working at her office at the university, Tina worked from home, overlapping her home location and her work location. Tina did attempt to keep traditional time boundaries by working from eight in the morning till five or six o' clock at night. When her husband was employed, Tina was able to use his home arrival as a boundary marker for when she needed to switch over into the relational role. However, when her husband was unemployed, Tina had to manage frequent interruptions of her work boundary and had to renegotiate when she would transition from one role to the next:

[Managing the work and family demands] was a little more difficult because of the fact that we were home together all day. I would stop and have lunch with my husband and he found himself sleeping later so I would be up working in the morning and I found with him being home it wasn't as easy to say okay he usually gets home at 5:00 so I start dinner at 5:00. Sometimes I'm finding it's more like 6:30. ... He's really good [at] suggesting middle of the day sorts of [activities to do together].

Here Tina is managing the demands of her job as well as the requests from her relational partner to spend time together. Since the physical locations overlapped, Tina created and articulated temporal boundaries between the two roles. Because her husband was at the time staying home, there were increased relational role demands, creating more moments of boundary crossing and boundary management.

Courtney was the only other participant who kept a home office as one's primary work space. Courtney held two jobs, one with a local theater, and the other job was a new company she was helping to start. When she was not working at the local theater, she spent a large portion of her free-time working on her business. Since her husband was deployed for six months at a time, Courtney intentionally worked late every night at her home in order to keep busy. In describing her reaction to a situation where her business partner called and asked her to go to a meeting when Courtney was on her day off, she said:

I couldn't even really enjoy myself, and I finally went [to the meeting] because it was— like the other day, . . . I was able to go [to the meeting] but it like always [there was] like this pressure to keep work work work and I can never really fully relax. And it made me really jealous of other people that just had normal jobs that just got to go home at the end of the day.

Whenever Courtney's husband was deployed, the previous boundary markers of spending time with her husband were gone, creating a situation where she could work all the time. In situations where individuals do work from home, not only do individuals potentially experience frequent boundary interruptions, these individuals also may experience situations where they do not completely transitioning out of the work or relational role and end up accomplishing tasks from other roles all day.

While the vast majority of integrator participants did not telecommute, many participants described role integration in the form of working from home for a couple of hours late at night or on the weekends. Here the participant's relational role space experienced interruptions from the work role. Usually participants would leave the office around five or six in the evening in order to spend time with their family, but later on in the evening these participants would check their work e-mail or receive phone calls from

work. For example, Michael, a pharmacy informatics manager, described trying to get home by a certain time and then working from his home office when his family was watching television or after the children went to sleep:

I've always tried to be home, you know, and ... after supper and be around when the kids are still awake. And um, [that's] not a time for me to, you know, [be doing work]. [I might] start doing some kind of work later on, you know, [around] 10:00 ... Cause they're also in [living room] watching TV and I'm not going [to] watch TV anyway. ... And when the kids were younger, you know, I tried to, you know, be around while they were awake and when they were [asleep], I felt more freedom to go do whatever else I felt that needed to be done.

Once again priorities played a role in how individuals managed their roles. For Michael, his family was a higher priority than his employment. He articulated the job as a means to provide for his family. Elsewhere, Michael described a very permeable work boundary where his children would call him during the day and he would leave work to pick up his children. Because his family was his first priority, he limited the amount of paid work that he would accomplish at home; however, he still integrated the boundaries across the two roles when conducting small work tasks while at home. Once the interactions with relational others shifted to less interactive activities (e.g., watching television), Michael felt free to spend some time checking e-mail and handling small business matters. The ability to work from home occurred in those participants with the capability to have work tasks that can be accomplished outside the office.

Overall, a person may choose to integrate roles or the inflexibility of some role demands may force the person into findings ways to integrate the roles if one is to maintain their membership in both role categories. Participants' reporting of job and

relational role integration strategies are consistent with prior scholarship regarding integration of these two roles. This project also explored additional boundary integration opportunities that are created by participants identifying with a volunteer role.

Integrating volunteer and other role boundaries. The role that individuals tended to integrate the least with the other roles is the volunteer role. About a third (29%) of participants reported using integration strategies with the volunteer role. Participants in this category tended to integrate the volunteer role more with the work role (24%) than with the relational role (13%)⁴. Articulating the volunteer role as integrated with either the work or relational role meant that the individual did some volunteer work, mainly organizing, during the time or in the location where the person was also enacting the work or relational roles. Julia, a sales manager, heavily integrated her work and volunteer roles when she was organizing a church mission trip. Julia was part of the organizing team for a 120 person mission team that built three houses in the United States. These houses were then transferred to Mexico. Julia was responsible for the pre-build days, which involved organizing everyone to build the houses:

I was full-time working in sales, management, for a staffing company. So I was doing, I would honestly try to fit [volunteer related work] in the mornings. I would try to respond to all the emails from the church, and then respond to [others from volunteers] so I did it sort of like during work time. But that just really pushed a lot of my work stuff till a little bit later.

So there was just literally probably 20 emails [a day] for like a full month or two months from all these people [there were over 120 volunteers]. Certain days it was more like when . . . I would send out a reminder [about the build]. Oh, and I had to manage all their money for this trip, and they were fundraising. So like that was a lot of the emailing the[m] questions. Like, "Hey, you still owe \$100," and whatever it was. So that came, that

definitely interfered with work time. So it, like I said, it made me push work back. So and then as far as like all the meetings, I would have to schedule client appointments around other appointments that I was doing [for the volunteer activity] ... It was almost like having my job times like 1.5, you know ...

Disraelly: Did you stay late at your job then, if you had a lot of

Julia: Yeah.

Disraelly: Planning?

Julia: I usually stayed till like 7. I usually would work like 8-7 and then I would email [the volunteers] again. So I'd really work at my job more like 10-7 and I would kind of do the church type work from like 8 to 10 and then again at night from like 9-10 before I would go to bed.

Julia's volunteer role required a lot of time and energy on her behalf. When one's volunteer responsibilities include calling individuals and setting up meetings, sometimes it is necessary to perform some of those tasks during normal business working hours. However, these hours overlap with the time one usually spends at work. One way in which Julia was able to manage the time issue was to spend her morning hours in the office making initial phone calls and organizing the pre-build days. Responses to the phone calls or e-mails would trickle down into the time she spent at work, but to make up for the time she spent volunteering, Julia would often stay a couple of hours later in the office to make sure she was still putting in an 8 hour work day. Likewise, five other participants also engaged in organizing activities related to the volunteer role during work time. For the most part, organizing activities involved sending and receiving e-mails and phone calls from others related to the volunteer activity. Two of the participants reported counseling (e.g., alcoholics anonymous and spiritual counseling) others while at work.

The flexibility and permeability of their work role allowed these participants to take a couple of minutes to talk with individuals who seek out their guidance.

The other way in which individuals articulated the volunteer role as integrated into their other roles was if the participant could leave work for a couple of hours or rearrange their schedule in order to volunteer. Rearranging one's schedule or leaving work relate to the flexibility of the role boundary surrounding the work role. Four participants reported taking advantage of work role flexibility to volunteer. For example, Marie, an outreach coordinator for a women's rights organization, had one of the most flexible jobs in the sample, which she used to her advantage. Marie was able to leave work to volunteer for a wide variety of activities:

I've left work to go volunteer for things. [chuckle] And I will do that on election day too [D laughs], you can bet your ass. [chuckle] I won't be working on election day. Uh. So I've left work to go volunteer.

While the Election Day example is more an example of using vacation time to take a full day off to volunteer, Marie also reported leaving during the work day to help volunteer for other organizations. Whereas prior examples have demonstrated the ways individuals' roles share physical spaces, leaving the job while still being paid to do that job and other forms of job flexibility means sharing role time. A flexible schedule, by its nature, means an individual has some agency in deciding which hours they will work, but one's schedule must be communicated to others, especially in work systems where other individuals (e.g., employees, clients, etc.) depend on one's labor. Furthermore, this work schedule must be confirmed or deemed acceptable by the organization. Participants in this category valued having a flexible work environment and were not afraid to use the

flexibility to their advantage. Additionally, these participants were able to engage in volunteer activities that met their interests but conflicted with the traditional work day.

Finally, some individuals articulated their volunteer role as integrated with their relational role. The few (13%) individuals that integrated these two roles tended to engage in volunteer activities while at home with their relational other. For example, Skipper Parrish was the secretary of a city sports association. The association is completely run by volunteer members. As the secretary of the association, Skipper was primarily responsible for all electronic and written communication to the organization's members. During the evenings, Skipper would watch television with her husband while also accomplishing some of her secretarial duties:

Definitely the evening is a time when I can enter in forms for the [sports] association or send e-mails or make sign-in sheets or whatever they need for that while we're watching tv or something. I can just bring my laptop out into the living room and do that.

Similarly, other participants in this category used the evening or weekend hours to plan or prepare for volunteer activities. Overall, participants spoke of the volunteer role as integrated with other roles when they were involved in leadership positions within the volunteer organization and were responsible for planning activities or the affairs of the organization.

In sum, the process of *role integration* refers to those situations where locations, time, and memberships may overlap, allowing the person to tend to one role's demands while technically in the other role's space or time. Participants tended to describe using integration strategies along the work and relational role interface more so than along the other two interfaces involving the volunteer role (volunteer-work and volunteer-

relational). Integration strategies gave participants opportunities to check in with relational others, engage in volunteer activities that occurred during the regular work day, and sometimes engage in more intense volunteer roles that otherwise would be difficult to accomplish using only evening and weekend hours. What is not accounted for in the previous two discussions of *role segmentation* and *role integration* is the ability for a person to be simultaneously enacting two different roles. The next section will discuss a new approach to role boundary management called *role collapsing*.

Role Collapsing

Initial conceptualizations of role interactions view roles as either being segmented or integrated (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). With integration the roles overlap to some extent. Even though the level of integration varied, integration does not account for the role management strategy of condensing two roles into one. Rather than having permeable boundaries that allow for values, beliefs, and skills from one role to be transferred into another, some participants described partial to complete overlapping of roles. When roles are heavily overlapped, an individual is simultaneously enacting two or more roles. The boundaries, that normally would separate the two roles, are collapsed. Where role collapsing differs from integration is that the focus of the time and space serves to enact both roles simultaneously. When volunteering with a relational other, a person might say that he/she is both building the relationship with the person and helping the organization. Over three quarters of participants (76%) described their role interface management by collapsing roles. Participants articulated role collapsing as occurring across all three roles, but role collapsing was more common when participants discussed the volunteer-work and

volunteer-relational interfaces. The following section will go through each of the interfaces and describe the ways participants collapsed roles.

Collapsing the work and relational role boundary. The collapsing of the work and the relational roles was fairly uncommon. Three participants (8%) reported collapsing the work and the relational role. Two of the participants did so when their work required quite a bit of travel. Rather than leaving their children at home with their spouse, these women chose to travel with their children. Additionally, family tasks (e.g., breastfeeding) may create situations where individuals (re)create boundaries that allow for the collapsing of roles. There were two situations where the job role served as the shared space in a collapsed work-relational interface. Megan, an assistant professor, described having collapsed her work and relational roles early on in her career. Being able to collapse these roles and have her children with her did lead to increased strain, but there were also benefits to taking one's children with her while she was on the job:

On the one hand it was a consolation to me to be able to bring my babies ... especially when I was nursing. You know it's hard to deal with all that sleep deprivation and travel and all of that, but it's a great consolation to have my baby with me. I feel like I'm not leaving her.

Both Megan and Sally, another assistant professor, had jobs that required them to conduct training seminars away from home. The ability to bring one's children on the trips allowed them to still spend the time with their family while they were on the trip rather than staying alone in an empty hotel room. Sally described being able to see her son after training seminars as a "great comfort." Megan later gives an example of conflicting inflexible demands between work and her parental role that led to a situation where role collapsing occurred:

And I'd hate to say ... there were times when I had the nursing baby on the floor of my office and it's three in the morning and I'm writing a grant because the deadline is this week and it's just not a very humane um environment for women faculty sometimes.

In this situation the child needed to be near the mother, and the mother needed to accomplish work from her office, so the mother had to use the office as a temporary shared space for work and family roles. In these examples, the inflexible work and relational role demands were met due to the ability to collapse role boundaries and simultaneously engage in two roles at once.

Collapsing the work and volunteer role boundary. Individuals who articulated their work and volunteer role boundaries as collapsed typically were in or sought jobs in fields that were connected to their societal commitments (e.g., feminism, minority affairs, etc.) or belief systems. Over a quarter of the participants (25%) engaged in some form of boundary collapsing around the work and volunteer roles. Participants reported collapsing the work and volunteer boundary in two ways. The first form of role collapsing occurred when participants enacted to role memberships at the same time. The second form occurred when roles were fused together. The following section will explore both of these forms in greater detail.

Role enactment. During the discussion of role interaction (Chapter Four) there is a brief mention of the "hat" metaphor. Susan described her roles as various hats that she occasionally stacked on top of each other signifying wearing both hats at the same time. The following sections explores the two ways role collapsing may occur. Because the nonprofit organization she volunteered with was an outgrowth of her current job, there are situations where she able is able to mold her work tasks to help the nonprofit

organization. She was able to work on programs that benefit both her work and volunteer role at the same time and in the same space.

Another way individuals collapsed role boundaries was to find volunteer opportunities that were an outgrowth of one's employment. These individuals found opportunities to use their current work tasks to find ways to benefit a nonprofit organization. One example occurred when individuals served on committees as a representative of one's place of employment. For example, Tina, a graduate student, served on several departmental and university wide committees as part of her volunteer activities:

I would say right now of course work and volunteering interact the most. Because it's all tied in together. All of my service right now [has] to do with the department I'm involved in right now.

Like Tina, some participants were asked to serve on committees or nonprofit foundation boards by their employer or another member of the board. Whether it is serving on committees, serving as a representative of the department/university to other groups in the community, or incorporating volunteer activities into the classroom, the person is simultaneously enacting two or more roles. For example, when Tina is serving on a community board as a member of the university organization, she is enacting her work role as well as a volunteer role. With the collapsing of roles, it becomes difficult to separate the enactment of one role from the other.

Role value fusion. In addition to enacting two or more roles at once, some individuals engaged in role fusing. As discussed earlier, individuals may segment their roles by resources, space, time, and values. At the same time, individuals may use resources, time, and physical spaces to simultaneously enact two roles. For example,

enacting the volunteer role and relational in the same physical space or buying resources that can be used for two or more roles. However, role boundary collapsing is slightly more complicated where values are concerned. While values are included in Ashforth and colleagues' (2000) framework, subsequent discussions of work life interactions do not tend to focus on the value element (e.g., Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2009; Hecht & Allen, 2009; Kreiner, 2006; Kreiner et al., 2006). When participants mentioned the ways their values interacted across roles, there were some instances where both the work role and the volunteer role grew out of the same value base. Both roles served to enact the same values or causes. These individuals sought or engaged in employment that helped promote certain values. Instead of the roles sharing time or physical spaces, these roles shared the same cause (or social commitment). Only a small portion of the sample (18%) engaged in role fusion. For example, Reshaun's work and volunteer role focused on disadvantaged youth. Reshaun, an assistant director of student services, spent his paid work time helping minority college students with their academic career path. Reshaun also spent his volunteer time serving as a Big Brother and volunteering through his fraternity to provide leadership programs to minorities. Both roles attempt to advance the lives and opportunities for minorities and underprivileged individuals. Reshaun described his work as a labor of love:

Disraelly: Can you tell me a little bit more why you called this line of work a labor of love for you?

Reshaun: It takes a special kind of individual from my perspective to go into this kind of work. This is not glamorous work at all. . . . We've got to challenge young people. And for me, I got tired of seeing highly intelligent young people just making poor decisions. They can be

successful but with a little guidance and some sm-, some minor tinkering, they can they can be extremely successful.

For Reshaun, both his work role and his volunteer role were heavily built on a desire to motivate and help underprivileged children. Likewise, Marie, the women's outreach program coordinator and Casey, an office assistant at the women's outreach program, both spent their volunteer work engaging in activities that were closely related to the women's outreach program's mission but were not considered part of one's job. This included helping sister organizations with events or speaking to student groups on issues related to reproductive justice. Therefore, one of the ways individuals collapse roles is to have both roles grounded in the same social commitments. Because both roles grow out of the same values these roles are fused together in such a way that one's job and volunteer work advance the same social commitment. This way, the individual is able to use two roles for the benefit of the social commitment. If one looks at the social commitment as being the center of the area where the roles overlap, then the boundaries around that center are collapsed.

Collapsing relational and volunteer role boundaries. The most common articulation of boundary collapsing occurred between the relational and volunteer roles. Over half (55%) of the participants in the study reported volunteering with relational others. These participants volunteer with their spouses, fiancés, or children, creating a simultaneous enactment of the relational role and the volunteer role. There were a number of added benefits to the collapsing of the relational and volunteer roles. Specifically, participants felt that volunteering with loved ones allowed them to grow and appreciate the relational other in their lives:

Sergio: With family I try to do as much volunteering [as possible]. Taylor and I talk about volunteer activities that we'd like to do together. Um and we try to make that a point to do together. So it doesn't really take away from family because we're doing it together. ... When I get married with Taylor um you know we have our family, one of the things that we want to do as our children grow up, we want to do kind of volunteer activities together.

Sofia: I would say I probably enjoy [volunteering] more when I'm with Aiden. It's really cool to um. . . I don't know. It's really great to see like the person that, you know, you love, like helping other people. You know, and it just kind of reinforces, "That's why I like this guy."

Both Sergio and Sofia were engaged to others. For both of these couples, volunteering together gave them the opportunity to work together and learn more about the person they were looking to marry. Other couples experienced similar situations where they spent time with their relational others through volunteer work.

Couples that had been married for a long time also discussed benefits of being able to volunteer together. For example, Duffy and his wife have been married for over 25 years, and Duffy described benefits from them volunteering together:

To me a marriage is doing as much together as you can. You know, it's just not having the same address or sharing a phone number. To me that wouldn't be very much, but like we went on a church mission trip last November. It was a habitat build ... it was the Gulf Coast area of Texas. It just seems like the volunteering time's a whole lot easier when it's something you really enjoy. It was like that week with my wife and I going down to Beaumont, Texas. It was a week of vacation time for us, but I enjoyed it just as much. ... If you do it with a family member, like if both spouses enjoy the same thing versus being more time apart not being a couple, that seems to help a lot.

If one buys into the scarcity principle that there is limited time one can use in a day (Marks, 1977), collapsing the boundaries between the volunteer role and the relational role allows the person to spend time with their relational other and still reap the rewards of volunteering.

Just as volunteering together helped to build romantic relationships, volunteering with one's children served as an avenue to enhance parent-child relationships. Some benefits to volunteering with one's children included building familial relationships and socializing children to have certain values. For Jasmine, a single mother and coordinator of student recruitment at a university, managing a heavy work schedule and a newborn proved to be challenging, especially when she still had a variety of additional volunteer commitments. One way Jasmine was able to still uphold previous volunteer commitments while still spending time with her son, is to take her 9 month old child with her to an afterschool program:

The students enjoy [having the baby at the facility]. Also too, because some of these students are in households where they have a number of a siblings but the attention is not really on them. ... But I think it enhances interaction actually so with him being a baby so.

By spending her volunteer time with her son, she is able to spend time volunteering while providing her son, an only child, with additional social interactions. In addition to spending time together with one's children, participants viewed joint volunteer activities as a way to help socialize their children into certain benevolent values:

Phil: I mean getting your family involved is really important. They get to see caring parents doing good for the community and instill that um the thought in [the children's] head that hey this is a good thing. They get to do it and they get to feel good about it.

Through volunteering with tree keepers (i.e., a city program that teaches people landscaping skills and about tree planting), Phil was able to spend more time with his daughters and teach them new skills associated with landscaping. Other participants who echoed Phil's sentiments viewed volunteering with one's family as a way to serve as role models to their children.

Overall, when participants articulated the volunteer and relational roles as collapsed, they also typically discussed how the collapse benefitted the relational development while simultaneously benefitting the organization. A potential problem may arise if there are tensions present in the relationship and a couple has a commitment to volunteer together; however, participants did not report experiencing relational role tensions while volunteering.

Collapsing all three role boundaries. Only one participant fully collapsed all three boundaries by doing paid work with an organization she volunteered with and that her partner worked for as well. Kelly, an employee with Save Our River, was in a personal relationship with the director of the organization. Furthermore, Kelly had previously volunteered with the organization. Kelly sometimes worked well over the number of hours she was scheduled to work for the organization. During the interview Kelly mentioned that it is difficult to distinguish between volunteering and working for the organization. Kelly is an extreme case of work-volunteer-relational role collapsing, and there are some unique issues she faced as a result of collapsing all three roles:

I am especially impatient when [it] comes to learning computer stuff. And uh so you know my impatience gets in the way a little sometimes. But um usually after I leave the office, I kind of just let all that [tension from work] go. And you know and I don't hold anything against [my partner]

and I think vice versa. So now we we're we kind of where we finally found that groove where you can you can work together without totally driving each other crazy. So it's good.

Disraelly: So you leave the office then between 5 and 10 and 5 and 11, how often do work issues come up?

Kelly: A lot.

Disraelly: A lot.

Kelly: Yeah it is really hard cause it's pretty much just like this organization is kind of just taking over our lives. I mean it is our lives. It's like our work is our lives. Um you know when we're not in the office, we're either hauling vehicles or loading gear or in meetings. Or we're hanging out in my house with my roommate who also has been with Save Our River since 01. And um and then we just start talking about it, about the problems [in the organization] ... well a lot times, like my boyfriend and my roommate, ... they'll be talking about [the problems or brainstorming about changes] and I'm just like I'm done. And I just like go out on the porch or go to bed.

For Kelly, working with one's relational other did lead to some negative consequences.

Kelly described moments of frustration or burnout associated with always talking, brainstorming, and dealing with matters of the organization. While Kelly recognized that collapsing the work, volunteer, and relational roles led to some added benefits (e.g., social network), she may find that the relational role no longer serves as a buffer from work related problems.

Conclusion

The overall focus of this chapter has been to explore the ways in which participants discursively manage role interfaces. In managing role interfaces, individuals (re)create and describe boundaries that allow certain role interactions to occur. The

above findings indicate that individuals articulated a wide variety of interface management practices and strategies. The results from the study have both supported and extended previous scholarship on role interfaces. First of all, the chapter began with the multiple strategies individuals engage in to segment and integrate roles. Individuals may enact specific segmenting strategies that serve to protect role spaces and role time. Role segmenting helps individuals manage the amount of time they spend in each role. Integrating boundaries gave participants the opportunity to take care of relationship matters, such as checking in on family members, while on the job. Integration techniques also gave full-time employees the opportunity to engage in more complex organizing volunteer roles.

The chapter also introduced a new role management technique: *role collapsing*. This form of role management occurs when an individual simultaneously enacts more than one role or fuses both roles that grow out of the same value commitment. When one is able to collapse the work and volunteer roles around certain social commitments, the person is able to create a dual platform in which to advance a social cause. However, the collapsing of the volunteer and relational roles served a different purpose. When the volunteer and relational roles were described as collapsed, participants claimed they were able to spend more time with their relational others and build those relationships. The presence of a collapsed boundary may be due in part to the introduction of the volunteer role as the additional role. Nonetheless, there are added benefits and empirical support for this role management strategy.

Managing role interfaces also means actively managing the boundaries surrounding each role. The findings in this chapter explore the ways participants

discursively manage role boundaries. Boundary breaches or negative outcomes from current boundary management techniques may cause alterations to the way the individual currently manages role boundaries.

The findings presented here provide the processes individuals engage in to manage multiple roles. Whereas previous scholarship has described roles based on their properties and the properties of the boundaries surrounding each role, this study looks at those particular strategies that help maintain and create those boundaries. As individuals negotiate and implement strategies to segregate, integrate, or even collapse, the boundaries are being maintained or changed. The interaction between role management and identity negotiation is the topic of interest of the next chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ROLE ENGAGEMENT AND IDENTITY NEGOTIATION

Up until now, the results of the study have mainly provided descriptions of how individuals articulate roles and manage role interfaces. The fourth and final research question moves the discussion of the findings beyond the descriptive nature of role engagement (i.e., enacting roles) and management. The fourth research question asks: *How are role engagement processes influencing and influenced by identity negotiation processes?* There are a few challenges present in answering this research question. First, in the absence of a direct challenge to one's identity, how does one discuss the processes of identity management? Secondly, if identity is fluid and subject to change, do the roles impact identity or do changes in identity impact roles? The results from this study suggest that identity and roles influence each other.

Identity is a complex construct whose uses include indicating a culmination of a series of character traits (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), serving as the rationale for why individuals engage in certain behaviors (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985), explaining role involvement (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Sieber, 1974), or explaining identification within social groups (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Each individual maintains a set of beliefs, assumptions, habits, values, and other preferences that influence the individual's identity; however, identity also serves as the anchor that helps inform these core beliefs and assumptions (Scott et al., 1998). Identity is a social concept in that identity is manifested in communication and interaction with others (Jenkins, 1996; Scott, 2007; Scott et al., 1998). And it is through communication that individuals express their identity and the saliency of certain social memberships (Scott,

2007). The following results explore the ways identity was manifested as individuals reflected on their prior experiences.

Throughout the interview, participants were asked both implicit and explicit questions regarding who they were and the importance of certain behaviors in their lives. Specifically, each interview began with the hypothetical scenario of meeting the interviewer on an airplane or at a cocktail party. Participants were then asked how they would respond to the global introduction question of *who are you and what do you do?* The interviewer then used the participants' responses to ask more about each area of a person's life. These areas typically included one's work and relational roles, and occasionally included one's volunteer roles. Participants also mentioned personal belief systems (e.g. feminism, Christianity, environmentalism). Sometimes these belief systems were mentioned in their answer to the global question or when participants were providing a rationale for certain behaviors. Last but not least, the interviewer concluded each interview with two questions. The first question was in what way did one's roles and behaviors inform who they were or vice versa. The second question was a variation of the first question. The rationale for both of these questions was to determine how participants viewed their roles and behaviors as influencing who they were. The rationale for the second question was also to see if participants would alter their description of the self after a focused discussion about their life. The results that developed from this practice negated the author's previous assumption of the interaction between identity and role engagement.

Reviewing the previous scholarship on work and family and identity had led the author to some initial assumptions about the interaction between identity and role

engagement. In the literature review, the author posited that role engagement and interactions with others within role systems had the opportunity to influence one's identity. During the course of the interviews, the author noticed that some participants articulated the reverse direction and others articulated both. More importantly, the ways in which participants identified themselves also varied based on the types of information individuals wanted to share. Lastly, a few participants themselves articulated a struggle to identify themselves through labels despite others' tendency to do so for them. After grappling with the notions of identity, role engagement, and the essence of these practices, the author saw evidence that identity was indeed both a process and an outcome. Consistent with Scott, Corman, and Cheney's (1998) conceptualization of a structuration theory of identity, participants engaged in roles and these roles impacted identity, which in turn impacted the roles in which individuals engage. These processes ultimately impact identification with certain roles.

This chapter will explore the process of mutual influence between identity and role engagement by using three levels of identity negotiation that build on Scott, Corman, and Cheney's (1998) concepts of identity and identification. Specifically, this chapter will focus on describing and defining *surface level identity*, *system level identity*, and *central purpose identity* as revealed in the data set. Identification refers to the affective attachment to the organization housing the role (Scott et al., 1998). The affective attachment or the value behind one's role does impact the way the individual views one's engagement in the role and may impact how individuals manage their roles (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Sieber, 1974, Zerubaval, 1974). In developing the model, the author was interested in how discourse reveals the various levels of identity that will eventually

impact identification. The author uses identity, which is both a resource and an outcome, to refer to the various layers (surface, system, and central purpose) that comprise one's identity; however, the author introduces the new term of identifier. Identifier refers to the discourse that participants use to signal the identity itself. The remainder of the chapter will discuss in detail the three levels of identity (*surface level*, *system level*, and *central purpose identity*) and how they function in role engagement and identity negotiation processes.

Levels of Identity

In exploring participants' experiences of living with and managing multiple roles, participants were asked a variety of questions that explored how individuals would identify themselves to others and describe their identity. For example, the first global question asked participants how they would introduce themselves if they were to meet a new person at a meet and greet or a cocktail party? This question and other similar questions (e.g., How do these behaviors inform who you are? Or, how does your sense of self inform the roles in which you engage) were designed to encourage participants to reflect on the interaction between their identity and how they managed and engaged in roles. Even though the interview questions did not request a list of labels or social memberships, throughout the course of the interviews, participants used various terms and labels to describe themselves or their actions. In discussing how they would identify themselves, some individuals used labels that represented their job or parental role whereas others used labels that described their beliefs. These labels, or identifiers were ways in which individuals mentioned introducing or identifying themselves to others. The use of labels to identify the self is consistent with social categorization theory (Tajfel

& Turner, 1986). These labels do not necessarily indicate the person's identity or their level of attachment to said identifiers, yet individuals do choose these labels to describe some associations they may have to others (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Individuals' conscious choices to initially identify themselves to others through the use of labels present some interesting questions as to why individuals choose such labels to identify themselves.

As the author reviewed the transcripts and the structure of the interviews, it became apparent that the interviews themselves were exercises in discovering the various levels and depths of one's identity. This perspective of various identity levels was articulated by Courtney as she critiqued the "who are you?" question. Courtney, who reluctantly identified herself as an entrepreneur, marine wife, and employee of a nonprofit organization, described her mental struggle with the identifiers she embraced:

[The] difference between who you are and like what you do? Like I can say like Courtney who are you? Well you know my first answer would be "Oh I work at Clarion Hall and I you know did one of the most successful fundraisers for Clarion Hall. And I'm a I coordinate um marketing and you know that's who I am." When in reality who I am is um someone that's searching for ways to show love or how-and I know it's like uber annoying and philosophical or whatever, but it's like those are intangible and they're hard to describe so it's a lot easier and much more comfortable for us to say I'm a marketing director for Clarion Hall. That's who I am. Um and like the other day I read this e-mail which most forwarded e-mails are really annoying. But it was like this guy who found a bunch of um clay these balls of clay. And like he found them on the beach and he was just picking them up. And he was throwing them out into the ocean. He was skipping rocks or whatever. And um one of the clay balls broke. Like he dropped it on accident and it broke open and he realized it was full of jewels inside. Well then he realized oh my gosh I just threw away millions, not millions, I threw away like 10 of these clay balls into the ocean before I just realized every single one of them is filled with these really incredible expensive jewels. And here I was you know just tossing them out into the ocean. And it's kind of like the whole analogy was like people are like that. Like we're all clay balls. And like until you find out

who someone is and what and what they're capable of or what their worth is, you're really just throwing them away.

Here Courtney is using an analogy to demonstrate her understanding that individuals themselves are complex. In this case, the person on the beach is unaware that despite the exterior look of the clay ball, there exists something valuable inside that has yet to be discovered. Unless the person is fortunate to gain a glimpse into the clay ball, the person will never know that the jewels lie just beneath the surface. Individuals are not inanimate objects but rather living, breathing, dynamic beings creating additional opportunities and levels of depth in how individuals discursively identify themselves. The notion of the crystallized self echoes this idea that individuals' identities are multifaceted and constantly growing and changing (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005).

When introducing oneself when meeting someone new, a person may use those identifiers that describe the roles and behaviors they enact. These particular identifiers only serve to describe what a person does. These identifiers give a glimpse into the social categories and identity of the individual but may not describe the value or saliency of the identifier to one's identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). In a way, these initial labels are similar to the surface of the clay balls in that they merely describe one's actions or what is seen by others. These appearances may be deceiving. Using the analogy of crystal, even if the crystal appears to be solid, the crystal is in a state of growth and change. Likewise, the crystallized self may appear to be solid but is indeed in a state of change (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). According to Courtney's story, one must go below the surface to understand what guides an individual's actions. As one spends time with other individuals, one is able to go beyond a person's social memberships and learn more

about how and why individuals engage in behaviors. As one looks beyond the surface, they discover the “jewels” which in a way represent the richness, uniqueness, and complexity of the self. A failure to move beyond the surface means not taking the time to engage and understand the complex nature of identity.

After analyzing participants’ responses, three levels of identifiers, or discursive ways of describing oneself, were apparent. The first two levels refer to the articulation of roles and social categories, whereas the third level of identity refers to the essence of the individual. The top two outer layers include *surface level identity* and *system level identity*. The third level moves beyond role engagement and taps into scholarly debate about the authentic self. The data suggests that what individuals articulate as an authentic or true self is found at the *central purpose level*, which itself is unstable. This multi-layered perspective of identity coincides with Jenkin’s (1998) idea of the dialectic of self-identity in that the overall self is constructed of a) the definitions of the self within moments and b) across moments. Thus, a definition of the self can be found in the various layers, but one’s identity is not complete unless one accounts for the relationships across levels of identity. The *surface level* and *system level* demonstrate areas where individuals construct the self within moments. Through the process of enacting these roles and belief systems, the person enacts or alters their *central purpose identity*, which represents the self across moments. The following sections will clearly define and provide examples of participants discussing each of these three levels of identity as part of their role engagement and identity negotiation processes.

Surface Level Identity

As mentioned previously, the interview itself was an exploration into how individuals discursively identify themselves to others. It is not unusual that the response to the question “who are you?” results in a quick response that either contains the person’s job title or family role or both. In fact, all but four participants quickly identified with either their work role or their family role. The four that deviated from the norm, such as Courtney, still identified themselves through one of the two roles after first giving a short critique of why these labels described them but did not truly signify who they were as an individual (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This pattern of identifying oneself based on their roles in life indicate one the outermost layer of identity, or the *surface level identity*.

Surface Level Identity (SLI) refers to discursive acts of identity negotiation and role engagement that give some indication of who a person is based on the social memberships or labels one possesses (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Individuals who use the labels of their social memberships as identifiers are indicating to the others the roles they play and where they spend their time. However, these identifiers lack depth as to how this social group influences the person on a daily basis. SLI serves as a means of identifying oneself by situating a person as a member of a group. For example, Jasmine described herself as:

There’s no way else to sum it up besides being you know the law student, the full-time employee, you know the mo-single mother you know. It’s just kind of hard for me to kind of define myself otherwise until I am at point where I am just working on job and not trying to go school.

Jasmine described herself as engaging in multiple roles and one can infer certain characteristics from these roles. For example, Jasmine seems busy, is well-educated, and self-sufficient. However, unless an individual engages Jasmine in a discussion to further find out about these roles and how they interact, there is an incomplete picture of her identity. Lacking from the excerpt above are passions or beliefs that lead her to engage in these roles. Furthermore, one is unable to ascertain from the excerpt the experiences and motivations that lead her to engage in so many roles. From this description, one is unaware that Jasmine has a passion to help out underprivileged individuals or that her past experiences have led to her current employment. One is also incapable of knowing the strength of Jasmine's identification with the roles. Instead, these labels identify her social memberships which themselves serve as a means of distinguishing oneself from others who belong to other social memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Where social categorization theory seeks to explain within group and intergroup behavior, SLIs are the individual's discursive actions that identify oneself as members of said categories or groups.

Using SLIs helps to give others a slight indication of the roles one currently engages in and must manage. Many SLIs lack additional explicit information beyond the role itself. For example, when Sandy says, "My thought was wife and mom," one can discern that she has children and that she is married. There is no indication within the statement itself as to how she enacts those roles or how strongly she identifies with that enactment. While this example demonstrates how a person may identify oneself through their relationships, individuals also use work-related, volunteer-related, leisure-related, and demographic-related SLIs.

One common use of SLIs occurred when participants identified themselves through their work role in response to the initial question:

Commodore: I work for a local company that installs services, electronic base control systems, for lighting and card access cooling. We basically work within 150 miles from here. I still have some travel, but mostly around here.

Once again, Commodore's choice of identifier leaves a lot to the imagination. While one can ascertain where he works and what type of work he does, there is no indication of the type of employee Commodore is. Individuals may strongly or weakly identify with either one of these roles. Yet these are the types of responses individuals provided to the general question of "Who are you?"

In addition to the work and relationship SLIs, individuals also used SLIs that described their volunteer activities. These types of SLIs were slightly less prominent than the work and relational SLIs. Furthermore, the volunteer SLIs provided a little more insight into the person's values in that some volunteer activities pointed to certain values (e.g., volunteering with peace activists groups indicated values of peace and respect for others). With the volunteer role, the SLIs were sometimes more ambiguous than the work SLIs. Individuals would say they have volunteered or they enjoyed volunteering. Other times, the specific volunteer roles that individuals offered as SLIs were not indicative of all of their volunteer work. For example, while Aaron volunteered with the citizen's academy, chamber of commerce, and 4-H programs, he only mentioned blood donation in response to the first question:

[I] volunteer extensively, I had for years. I started volunteering the first day on the job. We went into a church basement. A fellow I was with said this was a requirement. We went downstairs and there are people laying all over the basement bleeding. Um it was the Red Cross blood center.

Later on in the interview Aaron admitted that being a blood donor was his “biggest proudest volunteer activity because it saves lives every day.” While Aaron could have simply said he was a blood donor, he provides additional information that describes why certain volunteer activities are important to him. This additional description provides the other with additional information regarding what the person values. Participants did not necessarily provide this type of information for the work and relational roles.

With the volunteer role, some individuals also provided emotive attachment indicators which signaled the value of the volunteer role for the individual. An emotive attachment refers to the emotion one experiences towards one’s work (Miller, Consodine, & Garner, 2007). Rather than simply giving the general identifier of volunteer activities to the first question, Randall described his affinity for volunteering, “I enjoy volunteering because it’s a thing beyond the work. You look for something beyond the work to do. Randall later provided a laundry list of his volunteer activities, but the use of “enjoy” here signifies some level of attachment to this identifier. These emotive attachments can also be found when individuals say: they love their job, they love certain leisure activities, or they love spending time with other individuals. These emotive attachments unfortunately do not describe how or why individuals are attached to one’s job. To understand the rationale behind the emotive attachment one must spend more time with the person to understand the way SLI is incorporated with the other layers of identity.

In this study, the most common SLIs were predominately work roles and relational roles followed by the volunteer role, education role, faith role, health leisure

role, and place of origin. The following section will give examples of these forms of SLIs and discuss how they relate to identity negotiation.

Work roles. The most discussed SLI was one's work role. In response to the global question of "who are you," the majority of participants (79%) quickly identified themselves through their career or through their place of employment. Additionally, sometimes participants would mention the length of time they have been at the organization or their educational training. For example, Bobby said, "I'm employed by [Midwestern University] and I'm an analyst in records and I've worked in this department for 30 years." Given the commonality of this surface level identifier it seems like a standard practice to identify the self through one's occupation. This trend may be a product of societal practices and norms, as noted by Megan when she said, "people in America like to jump into job-wise, so job-wise I am a cosmetologist so I cut, and color, and highlight hair all day. That's what I do." The use of this form of discourse to identify oneself is not only common among participants, but also seems to indicate a societal norm of discursively identifying oneself through one's employment.

There were some noted exceptions to this dominant articulation of work SLIs. For example, even though Sergio provided an initial work role SLI, he immediately critiqued using a work role by itself to identify him, by claiming his identity is far more than an employee at an organization:

Usually at meet and greet events people go you know so "what's your name?" and I tell them my name. And "they say what do you do?" I tell them basically you know my name is Sergio Rodriguez. What I do is ah I am a technical account manager for Electronics Inc. and my responsibilities for that is to basically take customer requirements that they have on their phone, take those customer requirements and basically build up software um to those requirements and hardware to those requirements

so we can deliver a handset into the marketplace. And you know that's not who I am, you know um but it it's what I do. Um you know and people ask me you know "Who are you?" I just tell them I am a Christian and pretty much yeah.

Technically, Sergio's choice to identify himself as a Christian is a form of resistance to identifying oneself through his work role by choosing to identify through a separate type of role. The role of Christian may also signify far more than one's membership in a category. This identifier indicates a particular belief system with which Sergio identifies that will be discussed more in the section on system level identity. Yet, what this excerpt indicates is that there is a dominant discourse in terms of the identifier's used and that some individuals resist or struggle in identifying themselves through these identifiers.

Overall, *work role* SLIs were the most common form of identifying oneself when meeting new individuals. These SLIs are primarily descriptive in nature. *Work role* SLIs serve to provide some insight into the individual in that they provide information on where the individual spends a portion of his/her time. While individuals in the study did tend to report the *work role* SLI the most, some did report other SLIs.

Relational roles. Next to the work role, the second most common SLI that participants articulated (61%) was the person's relational role. Relational roles refer primarily to romantic or familial attachments people have to others. These roles may include the labels of father, mother, husband, wife, fiancé, boyfriend, girlfriend, partner, etc. In this study, relational role descriptions tended to be present in those relationships that involved strong levels of intimacy and commitment, particularly where children were involved. For example, Sandy's response to the first question included her husband and newborn:

And my husband Adam and I have been married for ten years. We met in Iowa and um [have] been happily married for ten years. And this summer we had a little baby, Benji. I have pictures of him in his Halloween costume if you'd like to see later. And um so he's uh he's five months now, next week.

Many of these labels come from legal proceedings or social rituals. For example after a formal engagement, an individual may embrace the title of fiancé and after a commitment or marriage ceremony, the person may embrace the label of husband, wife, or spouse.

However, some of these socially constructed labels are less institutionalized in society:

Michael: Um. I'm my kid's dad.

Disraelly: Okay. Why would you use that as your description?

Michael: Oh, well some years back um, when they were going to preschool, you know, you became you know, Kim's dad or Stacy's dad or Leslie's dad. And the kids would see us as as such and such's dad or you know, if a car pulled up, you know they recognized the car, so dad or the mom, I mean this announcement went through the whole building because whoever was in the front room could see the cars coming in. And um, I thought, "That's not bad to be associated as my kids' dad, you know, because it must mean I spend a little bit of time with my kid." And um it um just you know kind of defines [me] as at least somewhat of a family person.

Here Michael has fully embraced the label “my kid’s dad,” which stems from labels others have placed on him when he engages in the fatherly role and is active in his children’s lives. Thus, these relational role labels may come from institutionalized labels in society or they may come from less recognized labels that develop more organically through social interactions with others.

Not all participants immediately identified with a relational role; the relational role was not articulated as a SLI for nearly 40 percent of the participants. There are two possible explanations for the absence of the relational role as a SLI for some participants.

The first explanation is that the relationship is not considered salient by the participant. The lack of saliency of the relational role occurred in participants whose dating relationships were in nascent stages or where there was an open relationship. The second explanation is that the individual had recently left a relational role and therefore, did not have a relational role to articulate. Leaving a relational role includes divorce or breaking up with one's relational other. Discussions regarding recent breakups or divorces were brought up during conversations of conflict across roles, but participants did not identify themselves as divorced (or otherwise lacking relationships) in their answer to the initial question.

Volunteer roles. In addition to identifying oneself through one's work role and relational role, some participants (42%) also initially identified themselves by describing some of the volunteer roles in which they engaged. Because of the recruitment procedures, participants were aware that they were selected based on their volunteer activity (e.g., participants were recruited because of their volunteering, and participants were asked to list their volunteer activities on the demographic survey). As mentioned in chapter four, participants described volunteer roles in one of two ways: by claiming they enjoyed volunteering or by describing ongoing volunteer commitments. Bobby initially identified himself as a person who loves photography and loves volunteering. Similar to Randall's story earlier, Bobby used an emotive attachment (love) to describe his relationship to the volunteer role itself.

Participants who moved beyond describing their affinity for volunteering to describing their actual volunteer role in the initial discussion of roles, often mentioned those activities where they engaged in a leadership role within the activity or

organization. For example, some participants (24%) described their volunteer roles in terms of ongoing commitments they have to the community:

Alethia: I wanted it to be something that was more about how I lived my life every minute of the day and wanted to start putting my energy into movement work. And so now I and a few other women started this thing called Move Your Body collective and it is basically [an] umbrella group for anyone who is interested in movement as a tool for peace, and health, and connection to spirit. So that's actually where I volunteer my time more now because everyone who facilitates is volunteering their time and energy.

Courtney: I coordinate short-term mission trips. We just had one to Mexico which I'm really stoked about.

Both of these participants identified themselves through ongoing volunteer commitments.

In this particular case, both volunteer roles mentioned above are examples of volunteer roles where the person was responsible for organizing an activity or organizing volunteers. These direct organizing volunteer roles could signify a level of identification with the volunteer organization where the person is somewhat invested in the outcomes of the organization. However, one is unable to make these conclusions unless additional information is provided or assumptions are made based off of the labels one uses to describe oneself.

In addition to describing volunteer role commitments, some participants (13%) also described their volunteer work through a religious perspective:

Carlos: I do some ministry work, volunteer work, at the prison. And also in the community and in different locations at my local church and another church that is outside the area.

Bobby: I enjoy volunteering. I enjoy a ministry. Um I enjoy my church and my church family and volunteering in my church serving God and serving my fellow man.

There is a strong connection between the actual volunteer work and the religious belief system in that Carlos and Bobby were organizing an activity that served as an extension of the church's ministry. Like other religious participants in the study, Carlos and Bobby did volunteer at their church, yet their level of involvement extended beyond ushering or working the sound system on a Sunday morning. Both men were involved in prison ministries that served a particular minority group. However, due to institutional and bureaucratic constraints, the churches had lost their abilities to support the prison ministries. Similar to the earlier cases of Alethia and Courtney, these men were fully responsible for these ministries, thus creating a sense of identification attached to the success of the organization with the volunteer role.

Even though the volunteer role was not as prominent a SLI as one's work role or relational role, participants still offered examples and descriptions of the types of service activities in which they engaged. Just as with *work role* SLIs, these identifiers described activities or social memberships of the individuals. There were some additional SLIs that participants used to identify themselves which will be explored in the following section.

Other Roles. Among the other surface level identifiers mentioned less frequently by participants in this study were the educational role, place of origin, faith role, and health leisure role. Only a small number of participants identified themselves through these role identifiers. Slightly under a third of participants (31%) mentioned their current or past educational training. One-fifth of the participants (21%) identified themselves as students who were currently enrolled in classes either part-time or full-time at the time of the interview. Others used their past education to introduce themselves to others. For example, Aaron identified himself as "born and raised in Iowa. [I] went to a State

University and then went to another State University and graduated from there.” These statements just served to indicate where they went to school or their educational training.

Another role identifier individuals discussed to respond to the initial question was location. Over a quarter (29%) of participants identified themselves based on where they were born, raised, or had recently lived⁵.

One-fifth of participants also indicated their religious memberships when answering the first question. These individuals either identified themselves through the religious denomination (e.g., Presbyterian) or the spiritual label of Buddhist or Christian. Courtney even articulated an emotive attachment to her religious membership when she said, “I um am a proud member of Courtyard United Methodist Church.” Others, like Mandy, simply said, “I’m involved in church a lot so that’s how I get most of my fun.” The religious role, more than other SLIs, may both describe a role in which one engages, and it may provide some information about the person’s religious beliefs. Thus, religious memberships may be a surface level identifier or a belief system identifier. This concept will be discussed further in the systems level section below.

Lastly, over a third of participants (34%) mentioned health leisure SLIs as part of their social memberships. Leisure SLIs encompassed working out, engaging in a sports team, or engaging in a lifestyle fitness activity. For example, Duffy used the identifier of “bicycle commuter” to indicate that he frequently rode his bike and that this identifier was also noticed by others. These SLIs were either related to their lifestyle or overall health maintenance. For Reshaun, working out served as a form of “self-preservation”. For other participants, the leisure role was one of their top priorities. For example, Brandon described himself as an “athlete” while Jake engaged in competitive lifting.

Consistent with prior scholarship on physical and social health, individuals engage in both physical exertion activities and stress release activities as part of their overall health maintenance (Zoller, 2003, 2004). In terms of SLIs, these leisure roles signify that these leisure activity group memberships are salient to some individuals' identities and that these individuals consider these activities as reoccurring activities in their lives.

These additional roles provide some insight into the ways individuals choose to identify themselves to others. The education role, faith role, location role, and health leisure role were salient enough in some participants' perceptions of who they were as a person that the participants used these roles to identify themselves.

In summary, communicating surface level identifiers is just one of the ways that individuals seek to identify who they are in the presence of new "others." Using SLIs gives the other person an idea of the types of roles and behaviors in which one engages. However, this type of identifier may be considered a shallow, incomplete, or temporary form of describing oneself, as is demonstrated in Sergio's critique:

So I think um and it's not a fine line that some people would think it is um. A lot of times people allow work to identify who they are. You know so like you know I've heard this similar question is you know how would you define yourself? And many times I've been in places where um work defines the person and sometimes that can be detrimental. You know there has to be an identity outside the work because if you lose your job who are you? You know and um ultimately I think that at the end of the day work is just work. You know you need to have, there needs to be some beliefs and some ah some background and some convictions that you have that define who you are.

SLIs are indeed temporary forms of identification in that one's involvement in the role depended on one's relationships to other organizations and other individuals. One is a spouse as long as they are in a committed relationship with another person. One is a

marketing director as long as both the employer and the employee agree that the person should maintain that title and position within the company. Thus, it is interesting that individuals are so quick to produce labels as surface level identifiers, given the relatively unfixed nature of some of these labels.

Belief/Value System Level Identity

Individuals did not solely identify themselves through *surface level identifiers*, rather, some individuals identified themselves using labels that have more to do with the beliefs and values they hold. Belief/value system level identity (BVSLI) refers to sets of beliefs and values individuals hold that ultimately influence their behavior. In the earlier section of this chapter, Sergio's choice to initially describe himself as Christian presented a challenge to the concept of SLI. The role of Christian does indicate a social membership category; however, this membership also signifies a belief system that may guide Sergio's behavior. The same usually cannot be said of relational and work role labels alone. Instead, a person must inquire further into the other person's BVSLI in order to validate these assumptions about beliefs. A person may use a role label and have no value attached to the role. For example, if Person A says "I have two children," Person B may make several assumptions, including that Person A values, cares for, and spends time with the children. However, these assumptions may be wrong. What if Person A rarely spends time with their children nor has developed a relationship with their children? In contrast, if Person A says he or she is family-oriented (a value system level identifier), Person B can now more confidently make assumptions that part of Person A's identity is valuing family. Thus, BVSLIs are identifiers individuals use that provide more depth into who the person is. Overall, SLIs labels are present in society,

but understanding of belief and value systems helps interpret the meaning of the SLI in terms of someone's negotiated identity; BVSLIs provide understanding of the meaning behind SLI labels and the value individuals place on these roles as part of their identities.

BVSLI encompasses those driving forces that influence a person's behavior. These systems include values, beliefs, and core commitments that influence the roles in which individuals engage. These belief systems may be revealed explicitly or implicitly through conversation as individuals interact. Only a few participants (16%) described a belief system in response to the initial interview question. Belief systems were often mentioned later on in the interview as participants provided rationales for their behavior or discussed a rationale for the ordering of their priorities. Overall, half of the participants either implicitly or explicitly described a belief/value system that influenced the roles in which they engaged. The two most prominent belief systems were spiritual and social justice belief systems.

Spiritual belief systems. One of the belief/value systems that participants articulated as influencing role engagement and identity management was the spiritual belief system. Those individuals who identified with a religious belief system, tended to identify with a Christian belief system. These individuals described situations where they based decisions on personal spiritual growth, helping others, and seeking spiritual guidance through prayer and worship. During a discussion about priorities and the tendency for actions to contradict priorities, Michael, a Methodist, articulated basing decisions on a moral compass:

Michael: I think that the compass is strong enough that we come back to where we're supposed to be.

Disraelly: The compass?

Michael: Like the guiding compass that's like, you know, God, family, occupation, however you want to, you know, grow. I think there may be moments in time where it becomes all about the occupation but I don't necessarily feel like the family suffers because of the fact that that's, I don't feel like we're off [on our priorities] long enough that that's a problem. And um that, you know, relationship with God may suffer momentarily, but I feel like you know God's a good God but God's also a forgiving God and understanding God. So it's not really an excuse but it works out Okay.

Like Michael, other participants described situations where their relationship with God, as a BVSLI, helped guide them both in their activities and the time they spent in their various roles. For Sergio, experiencing increased work demands resulted in spending longer hours at work and working from home. He experienced large amounts of time-based conflict and strain-based conflict. Sergio did attempt to manage the conflict by reducing his number of volunteer commitments, terminating his relationship at one point, and seeking spiritual guidance. However, there were instances where Sergio recalled difficulty shifting from one's work self to one's relational self:

Sergio: It's affected me physically, it's affected me uh emotionally because stress impacts other relationships. Because you're kind of in a go go go mode and when you find you have the opportunity to sit down with that one you love, you treat them like a project or it's hard to shift out of that mode from working that way all week.

Sergio: When you're doing things as a project [at work] you expect things to happen a certain way. It's easy to put things into molds. ...When you're in project management mode, things follow a timeline. Sometimes we can take that mentality into a relationship. When I say project it's also how you handle a project. So for me I'm a very concrete sequential. This is the way it has to be done. Things follow a process. They need to occur. And when you become that way, there's no room for grace. You try to

control the other person. You know you try to make them do things that you want them to do or behave in a certain way that you want them to do just the way that you manipulate a project. ... My conversations with her basically have become more like a check in my box of okay let me give her call I have a free break. Okay that's done so I've appeased her. ... We should enjoy it and take it day by day and just enjoy the relationships that we have in our life. And um over the last two weeks because of all of the stress that I'm under with work I've kind of lost sight of that.

Sergio recognized that his relationships with his girlfriend and his friends have changed as a result of the increased pressure from his job. Sergio acknowledged that he was approaching his relationships with others the same way he would approach a project at work. Relationship maintenance became an outcome of several task processes including assessing the needs of the other just like he would assess the needs of his clients. His work experiences have taught Sergio that assessing customers' needs and producing a product to match customers' needs would lead to satisfactory outcomes. After recognizing that his actions and priorities were contradicting each other, Sergio went through a period of reprioritization by actively discussing with his girlfriend their communication and his behavior towards her. The couple's response to the changes was to seek spiritual guidance through prayer. Sergio later described in his interview how being God-centered helps him manage his roles in moments where he is not stressed:

But it it's ultimately when you're calm and you're cool and collected on the inside and you have that sense of peace, you can do anything. I think. I really just yeah all that being calm, cool, and collected, and getting things done, it really stems—
when I start doing I'm doing the things, I'm seeking God and I'm asking God for wisdom and thinking about things and evaluating those things and being oh "What's important in God's eyes." That always tells me to get the priorities that are in my life at that moment done.

In the above excerpt, Sergio is rationalizing during the interview process itself how his belief system influenced his decision-making processes. In reassessing his priorities and what was important in his life. Sergio realized that his actions and his priorities were in conflict with each other. In rationalizing his past behavior and future behavior, Sergio relied on his belief system for guidance. Whereas Sergio could have simply said he reassessed his actions and altered his behavior, the choice to discuss his roles in light of the BVSLI is a communicative act that expresses one's BVSLI.

In communicating BVSLIs, individuals either directly used the beliefs system spiritual identifier or used words that related to the BVSLI. For example, for some participants giving back through volunteering was related to multiple religious blessings they said that they had experienced in their own lives. Articulating outcomes as blessings is one indicator of a spiritual belief system. For example Aaron, who had just retired as a government employee, spent the vast majority of his time volunteering. His activities ranged from the volunteer police academy work to coaching a high school baseball team. According to Aaron, he has been greatly blessed, a spiritual perspective, and he hoped to continue to bless others through his actions:

For whatever reason I've you know, the good Lord's blessed me with that. [Volunteering] is faith driven. I believe [my life] is um whether it's just all been maybe it's all just been one big coincidence, and I've just been the luckiest guy around, and I've been at the right place of the right time. And you know all those things that happen are just coincidences or just freaks of nature.

Throughout Aaron's interview, he consistently referred back to feeling blessed. He viewed a number of circumstances in his life as blessings from God including his health and his family. Because of these blessings, he felt like he needed to give back to others

and bless others and do “good works” to help others. It was this belief that led him to consistently volunteer and help out others. Towards the end of his interview he even mentioned that the main reason he is still on earth is that he believes there is some activity he still needs to do:

I think for whatever reason the main reason that I’m here [on earth] and that I feel like I do and that I’m optimistic as I am is because I don’t think I’ve met the person or deed [or] thing or the situation that I’m meant to ultimately volunteer for yet.

The discourse of being blessed and blessing others are communicative manifestations that the individuals holds a spiritual BVSLI. These men’s examples serve to demonstrate the way individuals describe their behavior in relation to the Christian belief system.

While these discourses serve as identifiers, the rationalization process present in the above excerpts also demonstrate the way roles and identity influence each other. As individuals engage in roles that are linked to the belief system, these interactions in the role influence the identities enacted in the role (Simpson & Carroll, 2008). Thus, the role of volunteer serves as an intermediary where the person’s SLI and BVSLI are enacted and shaped by interactions.

While a majority of those describing a spiritual belief system articulated the Christian belief system, there were a few participants who discussed another belief system. These other spiritual belief systems included Buddhism and Quakerism⁶. Steve described how his volunteer work connects to his spiritual belief system (Quaker):

Steve: It’s very satisfying to help people. It makes me really happy. Like compost, making compost makes me really happy.

Disraelly: Why?

Steve: Well for religious reasons than anything else.

Disraelly: Why religious reasons?

Steve: Well this is a whole another story, but my explanation for God is that God is energy and life that flows through all living things. ... We eat food and that food was alive at some point and got energy from some other point. Well so that energy that energy that keeps things alive and like competition for this energy and like nutrients and all these things, that's what God is in my opinion. God is that energy that keeps everything moving. And I make compost and in one pound of compost there's probably a million to a billion bacterial cells and I got a pile that 4,000 pounds big so there's trillions if not zillions of bacteria in there. That bacteria's life and it's energy you can just stand next to it and feel like this energy that pulses off of it. And that's God and it's like ooooh wow. It's a very religious experience.

In the above excerpt, Steve articulated how his volunteer work is a way of experiencing god. In this way, he was connecting his volunteer SLI to a belief system, creating a nuanced understanding of his identity. The one participant who articulated belonging to a Buddhist belief system did not describe how the belief system influenced her role interactions.

Since there was a lack of alternative spiritual beliefs systems, these results primarily focused on the Christian spiritual belief system. The values and actions of the Christian religion are present in these examples, especially in the terminology. These individuals make active strides to place God first, pray about their future directions, and even consider certain circumstances in their lives as blessings. As one's attachment to the social category of Christian increases, the more likely the person's actions and behaviors will fall in line with the ideas, values, and beliefs of the organization. As a result, individuals make decisions that align with the wishes of the organization, in this case, the Christian religion (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985) that is influencing both the SLI and BVSLI elements of participants' identities.

Social justice belief system. In addition to a spiritual belief system, some participants ascribed to a social justice belief system. As described in chapter four, social justice encompasses acts that attempt to rectify social inequalities that have occurred as a result of oppression by a dominant majority. These social inequality issues include women's and minority rights. Over a quarter of participants (26%) discussed engaging in volunteer and work roles that sought to eradicate social injustices. These participants engaged in a wide variety of activities, including working for or volunteering with organizations that dealt with women's health or reproductive rights or programs that helped to advance the lives of minorities or low-income individuals.

When describing their roles, some participants engaged in multiple roles that related to a set of social justice beliefs. As an example of identifying with a feminist social justice belief system, Casey initially identified herself through her student, employment, and volunteer status. Casey has worked with the Women's Center at a Midwestern University, volunteered extensively with campaigning for women's reproductive rights, and served in leadership roles in several feminist organizations on campus. All of these roles are rooted in this feminist belief system. When the final question was asked, Casey used the term feminist to give an overall description of herself:

Disraelly: Well looking back at all the things we've talked about today. We've talked about your family life, your social justice activities, and everything. If I were to ask you again well then who are you? What would be your response?

Casey: That I'm a feminist because I think that that just encompasses a lot of who I am.

Casey's statements indicated a strong attachment to the feminist belief system. Like the religious belief system, the strong attachment leads a person to act in the best interest of the belief system itself. Thus, Casey's behaviors and actions will promote feminist ideals and she described this BVSLI as an essential element of her identity.

Likewise, those individuals promoting the social justice causes of minority advancement and low-income individuals often engaged in roles targeted towards these groups. Erin, a pastor's wife and administrative assistant, spent a large portion of her time mentoring young women because she saw an increase in teen pregnancy in her community. Similarly, Reshaun's work role and education role focused on helping and retaining minority students in higher education:

I said, "I need to do something to impact the numbers of students who are who are coming back to our communities and not progressing. And so when I had an opportunity to go back to grad school and I said, "Well, I want to be involved in retention. I want to be involved in critically looking at what are some of the barriers to students succeeding in college rather than just, you know, getting a an unlimited pipeline of students to go." It's not enough to just send them, you've got to make sure that they're successful once they get there. So that's what kind of got me into the retention business

Like Erin, Reshaun articulated seeing a need among minorities. He saw many minorities enter college and leave before graduating. Participants that tended to identify with these social justice causes saw a need for action and were either in positions or were able to engage in roles to help out others. As mentioned before, the identification with a social justice belief system ultimately guides individuals to make decisions and choose to engage in roles that fall in line with this belief system.

Overall, BVSLIs encompass the terminology that indicates values, and beliefs that inform the role individuals enact. Participants articulated both spiritual and social justice

belief systems. Two individuals also ascribed to an environmentalist belief system. Similar to participants with the other two belief systems, these individuals volunteered for environmental causes and adopted sustainability practices in their personal lives. Ultimately, belief systems provide a more in-depth understanding of the individuals than SLI labels. To some extent, the belief systems serve as a foundation for social group memberships.

Interaction Between SLIs AND BVSLIs

With both the surface level identifiers and the belief system identifiers, individuals use labels to signal who they are. With surface level identifiers, individuals articulate specific social group memberships. Belief system identifiers provide a stronger indication of a person's values and beliefs. As mentioned before identifiers are the discourses used to signal memberships whereas identification refers to one's attachment to a particular role (Scott et al., 1998). With organizations, when an individual's organizational identification is strong, the individual makes decisions that align with the wishes of the organization (Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). Similarly, the stronger one's identification is with a belief system, the more the belief system will influence the person's actions, roles, and behaviors to align with the ideas, values, and beliefs of the BVSLI.

As individuals socially interact with others, they learn about each other and clarify assumptions one may hold about the other individual. It is possible to interact with an individual and only gain knowledge of their roles. If a person does not initially identify through a belief system, BVSLIs may be learned as individuals communicate and the knowledge of the other becomes more complex. However, there seems to be another

level that has yet to be discussed. Jenkins' (1996) definition of social identity accounts for an individual's identity within and across roles. One question that has yet to be answered is what informs one's attachment to a belief system and what unites multiple belief systems? The answer to this question, as revealed in the data, is one's central purpose identity.

Central Purpose Identity

When conducting the phenomenological analysis, the researcher used the themes (surface level identity, and belief system identity) that emerged from the data to discern the essence of the phenomenon. The phenomenological question for this study is: *What influences how volunteers manage multiple roles?* In answering this question, one must look to the themes of how participants identified themselves and the relationship between those themes. Individuals used the surface level identifiers to describe their roles. Belief system identifiers provided information about personal beliefs and values that may in turn influence role engagement. If a person has a spiritual belief system and a family-oriented belief system, there is still a question as to what influences which belief system is the first priority? Rothbard and Dumas (2006) posited that one of the roles would anchor one's overall identity. The role that served as an anchor would influence how the individual prioritized their roles in every day behavior or when roles conflicted with each other. In practice, the findings from the study indicated that the relationship between roles and priorities is far more complex than initially posited. The findings from this study demonstrated that individuals prioritize their belief systems and roles based on their overall purpose. This third layer, or central purpose identity, is an unstable form of identity encompassing one's passion and purpose. Purpose extends far beyond one's

short-term and long-term goals and refers to an overarching quest (e.g., quest to be real, a quest to overcome oneself, a quest to help others) that is a daily part of one's lived experience. This core purpose is also unstable in that social situations and interactions influence a person's quest.

One way the author attempted to assess the "essence" of the phenomenon was to ask participants about their priorities and passions in life. Participants ranged from being incapable of articulating a passion and purpose in life to being able to articulate their passions and purpose very clearly. In describing their purpose or passion, some participants tended to use the same terms and labels as their SLIs. In terms of individuals' passions, some individuals would either pinpoint their main passion using SLIs or BVSLIs or they would articulate what they believed to be their purpose in life. Even if priorities coincided with SLIs, participants would typically use different terminology to describe one's passions or purpose. This terminology also did not necessarily coincide with belief systems.

It was during the process of describing one's purpose or passion that individuals began to articulate relationships between one's central purpose and their roles. Those individuals who felt they were aware of their passion mentioned that they were working to ensure that their actions and roles coincided with their purpose or passion. In some instances Alethia's "quest to be real" or Bobby's "journey to overcome the self" seemed to inform belief systems. For example, in seeking to be a real individual and true to herself, Alethia reduced a number of her various volunteer commitments to create more time for those roles that were central to her core purpose in life.

Even if individuals had and were aware of their central purpose identity, others seem to interact with the SLIs. Duffy, an avid cyclist and Boy Scout troop leader, described the ways in which other individuals seem to recognize his “exterior identity,” or SLI, but not what goes on in his or someone else’s mind:

It's your exterior identity. So I always tell people, I go, you know when you're talking to somebody you have no clue what is going on in their head. I mean you're looking at their face. You're getting feedback, maybe happy, unhappy. Puzzled, but you really don't know what's going in their head, but if I'm in my Scout uniform I mean your identity right then is “oh, he's a Boy Scout leader.” You know if you're at church and you're helping serve communion or you're doing home communion or you're doing nursing home visits, you know, now I'm a church elder. I'm a church deacon. You know if I'm on my bicycle commuting to work and you can tell by what you see here [pointing to bicycle helmet]. I'm a bicycle commuter. People say, oh, Duffy's, he's a bicycle commuter.

In Duffy’s account, he describes both the roles he plays and how others identify him through his roles. In this excerpt, the identifiers used by others point to Duffy’s behaviors and roles and do not indicate Duffy’s core assumptions, purpose, or rationale for behavior. As Duffy remarks, knowing someone’s behavior does not mean someone knows what a person thinks or believes. This excerpt demonstrates a personal acknowledgement that one’s exterior identity, what other individuals see and interact with in social groups, and our internal identity are not one and the same.

Furthermore, the exterior identity may include roles that do not directly coincide with one’s BVSLIs or central purpose identity. Individuals may engage in roles in order to appear to be a certain kind of person who values certain things and/or is on a certain quest. These individuals may engage in roles and behaviors in hopes of communicating a certain identity or ideal self (Tracy & Trethewey, 2005). Bobby, who worked in records management and identified strongly with the Christian belief system, claimed that,

through continued interactions with others, one might be able to discern discrepancies among those who try to present a particular self and those individuals who present an authentic self. In the following interview excerpt, Bobby describes the connection between roles and the person's identity but then argues that some individuals can intentionally present a false self:

Bobby: I think the [roles] that I'm involved in help mold me as a person. I think the things that you do is actually who you are. It's like the things that you *say* are actually who you are.

Disraelly: How so?

Bobby: Well that's a Biblical term. The Bible says that out of the abundance of the hearts the mouth speaks. So what you're saying what's coming out in your mouth is actually who you are. The only other way that I can know who you are is I would have to be able to see your spirit [or soul] and I can't. Because you look at people but you don't really see the person, you see the house that they live in. You know the real you is invisible because you're spirit. You're not just flesh and bone. You're also a spirit, an eternal spirit. So we're back to faith again. The Bible says that they that worship me must worship me in spirit and then truth because God is spirit and we are spirits and our spirits are eternal. We either going to go to heaven or we're going to go to hell when our body our vehicle crashes and burns or goes into the ground whichever you know. So um so that's what I meant by that statement is that um there's more to us than meets the eye. In other words and so if you listen to someone talk long enough you'll discover what's in their heart. You know I can deceive you with my words. But if you spend enough time with me you'll see through my deception if in fact I have deception. And if I'm a wonderful person you'll eventually discover that as well. But if I'm a deviant person who is has some angle that I'm working, you'll eventually discover that too. Unless of course you are not in tuned to those things. Some people are not. Some people are what they call naïve and you know you can pull the wool over their eyes 24-7 and they would never realize it.

There are two ways to approach Bobby's remarks. In response to the question of how role engagement influences who he is as a person, Bobby claimed that the roles he engages in mold who he is as a person. Furthermore, the roles and what he says are

indicators of who he is. Bobby claims that the words one speaks and one's actions are manifestations of a person's spirit. Thus in this instance one can see the interaction between roles and the levels on identity. However, Bobby does acknowledge that in some cases the exterior level can be deceptive. Elsewhere in the interview, Bobby clarified that individuals can deceive others through their words. If Person A is lying, Person B will either be naïve enough to believe the words or Person B would eventually realize that another individual is lying. Extending this idea further to the roles, Person A may engage in roles that will give off the perception that the person is philanthropic when, in actuality, the person is only engaging in the philanthropic activity as a means to an end. For example, a student may engage in community service not because s/he enjoys helping others, but so that the student has a greater chance of being accepted into certain university programs. If one can deceive through roles, one may also be able to deceive others through the labels s/he claim to hold. Thus, the first element present in this excerpt is the idea that roles may or may not coincide with one's central purpose level identity.

The second element in Bobby's excerpt is a demonstration of the way his reflections of his roles influence his core identity. Whereas the first element discusses whether or not the SLI and central purpose coincide, this second elements focuses on the ways one can change or influence the other. Laden throughout Bobby's comments are signifiers of a spiritual belief system that are deeply anchored by Bobby's central purpose identity of serving God over the self. Bobby's passion in life is overcoming the self, or selfishness, in order to serve God more. Before describing how his roles mold him as an individual, Bobby described his passion in life:

I'm most passionate about trying to overcome myself. Because I think myself along with other people can be my worst enemy. I think people have to overcome themselves because we're selfish sinful people. And even though we have love and joy and good will and all of that, we have some other things that are contradictory to those. And so I'm trying to live a life of overcoming life. I'm trying to die and live at the same time. And it's a pretty tough challenge because of all of the influences that we have and all the distractions that we have.

This purpose of overcoming the self to serve others is embedded in the relationship Bobby maintains with his family, in the volunteer roles Bobby engages in, and in how Bobby acts towards others at work. Overall, both Duffy and Bobby's accounts demonstrate an acknowledgement that exterior identity or what people see the person do are not necessarily what a person's actual identity is. In other words, SLIs alone do not provide a complete enough picture of one's identity. Even though the three elements of identity may be closely aligned, there is the potential for intentional or unintentional deceptive exterior manifestations of identity.

Whether the exterior identity reflects one's roles or the fake self one hopes to portray, one's identity may still be shaped by these interactions. Some individuals may engage in roles that support one's central purpose or passion or one may seek to discover their purpose or passion by trying new roles. Furthermore, the central purpose itself is not stable; rather behaviors, actions, and role engagement influence the purpose identity (Alveeson, et al., 2008; Carbaugh, 1996). This section has explored the ways the individuals talk about central purpose level identity in relation to the other roles. The next section explores the ways these levels interact in more detail.

Processes of Mutual Influence Across Levels of Identity

The previous sections have reviewed the various ways individuals articulate their identity. In some cases, individuals used labels to describe themselves. For others, their discourses signaled that they held certain belief systems. Yet individuals did more than just describe their social memberships. Some individuals went so far as to articulate relationships that occurred across levels of identity. Just as the SLIs and BVSLIs influence each other, the purpose level identity influences and is influenced by the other two levels of identity. Using Bobby's previous example, Bobby's initial role engagement in church or other spiritual belief communities led to a purpose of overcoming the self to serve God and others. Bobby's purpose now guides Bobby's behavior towards others. This process demonstrates the ways purposes serve as a tool to influence identity and how identity is also a tool that influences the roles in which individuals are involved.

What influences the ways these roles influence identity is dependent upon the individuals' attachment to the role. As discussed earlier, identification refers to one's emotive attachment to the role or the value one places on the role (Scott et al., 1998). Goode (1960) argues that individuals make decisions regarding roles based on the value one places on the role. The more salient a role is, the more like the person will prioritize the role over others. Since roles are only a tool that help shape identity, as these tools are enacted, the identity may change. As one's identity changes, the identification towards a certain role may also shift. Thus, the influence is bi-directional.

The interaction between role engagement and overall identity is a process of mutual influence. It has been argued that the meaning and value behind roles influences how individuals manage the roles themselves (Goode, 1960; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006).

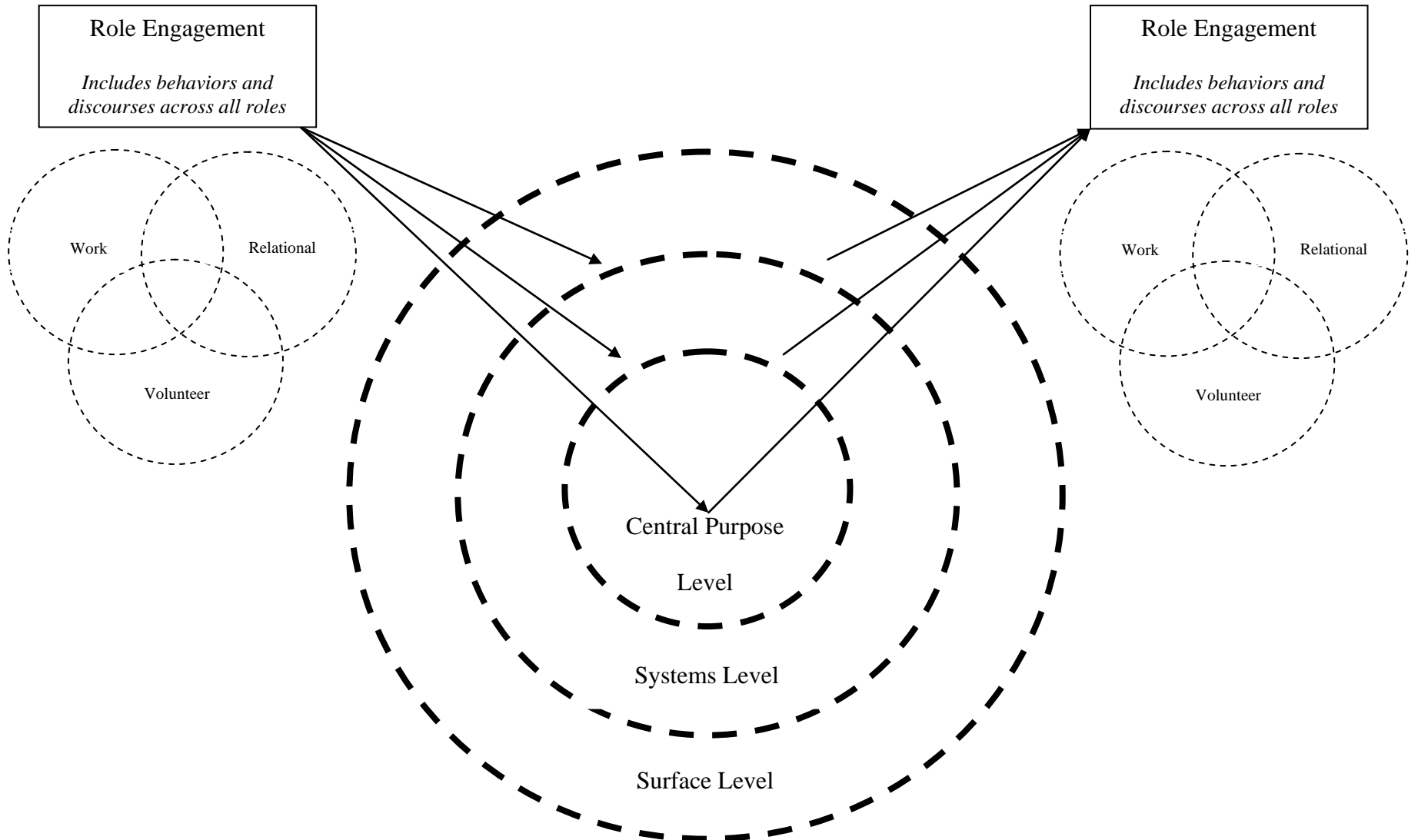
Likewise, role engagement may influence one's central purpose identity. During the data collection process, it became apparent that for some individuals this process was bidirectional. Initially, some individuals articulated behavior influencing identity, and others articulated identity influencing role engagement. However, as participants described past experiences, the researcher noted situations where individuals experienced both processes.

By embracing the notion that identity is far more complex than social memberships and that these various levels interact with each other, the author proposes a new model of identity. Using a phenomenological approach to the data collection and analysis, the author used individuals' discourses to understand how individuals identified themselves through the various levels of identity, and how these levels were manifested in both the use of labels to describe their identity and in regular discourse. Using Scott and colleagues structuration perspective and Jenkins' (1996) perspective that identity is both constructed within moments/roles and across moments/roles, the model presented in Figure 1 demonstrates the ways the various levels interact and influence each other. This next section will describe the full process of role engagement and central purpose identity development.

Influence on Identity Negotiation

The first aspect of this process of mutual influence is the overall role engagement process. The model presented in Figure 1 demonstrates the ways role engagement influences identity and how identity can influence role engagement. One of the initial research interests of this study was to look at the ways identity within one role and across all roles constructs social identity (Jenkins, 1996). Thus rather than looking at the

Figure 1. Model of Discursive Representations of Identity Negotiation Processes



individual effects of one role, the model uses overall role engagement. Overall role engagement accounts for the ways roles interact, conflict and/or enhance overall social identity. Additionally, when considering role engagement, one is accounting for the behavior and discourses that stem from engaging in multiple roles.

One scholarly benefit for using overall engagement in the model is that individuals may seek out additional roles for personal fulfillment that will enhance those roles that were

previously meaningless (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Sieber, 1974). Using additional roles to provide meaning in one's life indicates that the benefits of one role can spillover into the other roles. For example, if individuals feel like they are lacking meaning in one role, they may seek out meaning from an additional role. There are situations where a person may find a role meaningless, which is manifested through a person's distaste for the role. When Saul provided the SLI of his job, he also noted: "my job hasn't given me a lot of meaning directly for probably 10 years anyway. But it's been a good, steady platform for raising kids." Saul stayed in a job for several years because of the financial security offered by the job and the ability to support a family. However, once his children moved away, Saul experienced difficulty staying in a job that now lacked even indirect meaning:

That's about the point where I started to lose um much faith that it would ever, that things [would] ever change. It's been a kind of complicated history. And I've been sort of strung along at various times. When there was a new President of the Organization] he indicated an interest in [expanding the department]. So this kind of raised the prospect that, well maybe uh maybe my department will get merged with the campus department and I'll um, you know, [I] be involved with more people and, you know, more involved with something that's I can sink my teeth into.

And then nothing ever happened.

Saul was experiencing being in a work role that lacked meaning, thus he sought meaning from other roles in his life. The other role, in this case, the volunteer role, enhanced the overall role engagement because The following excerpt demonstrates the particular void Saul experienced in his job. Saul was able to seek out from the volunteer role what he felt he was missing in his work role. Saul articulated several reasons for why there was a lack of meaning in his job:

And then when the study was finally completed, they pretty well reduced the responsibilities of this department still more. I have even less occasion to do stuff. And, you know, less um involvement with other people. The sorts of things I do um... don't seem, you know, kind of lost their meaning to me.

One way he sought to reconnect socially with others was to set up an exercise schedule with his wife. Furthermore, Saul attempted to add meaning to his life through volunteering. Saul found that tutoring provided him with an opportunity to interact with others and thus add some meaning to his life. Thus, Saul asked his boss if he could volunteer during the work day. Even though the volunteer work provides social interaction and allows Saul to use his strengths, he also must manage the two roles to ensure he still keeps his source of financial security:

Saul: I asked [the tutoring organization] to hold [my volunteer appointments] to like 5 or 6 hours um during the um 8-5 window because that's about as far as I wanted to push my boss. I'm independent to a degree that I can [leave work for that many hours] and then make up the time with whatever's necessary. And the fact of the matter is uh there's no real [chuckle] need for me to make up the time 'cause there's never much for me to do. . . .

Disraelly: How'd you approach your boss about wanting to work at the Academic Tutoring Center?

Saul: Oh um. You know, public service is allowed, we're supposed to do [it]. I mean, we're encouraged to do a certain amount of [service]. We're also encouraged to do uh professional development. I sort of portrayed it as a professional development sort of a thing. Plus I, you know, I told him last spring when I was deeply depressed that I was [chuckle] deeply depressed. I mean, we've worked together for 20 years and um, you know, I think he, you know, cut me some slack on that basis.

The above excerpt demonstrates the way Saul was able to manage his work role boundaries in order to incorporate an additional role. Saul had previously approached his boss about the problems he experienced with his job, including the lack of social interaction. Saul was able to recognize that he was not receiving meaning from his job and thus sought meaning from alternative roles. In this particular situation, the meaning and fulfillment of social interaction came from volunteering.

It is also important to highlight that Saul understands that the lack of meaning stemmed from a lack of social interaction, and he felt empowered to make the changes in his life. Making changes to the volunteer and relational role helped to enhance the amount of social interaction Saul experienced. Additionally, Saul described his passion as finding a job or volunteer role where he could “find something find a second career that will allow me to engage my strengths and let me connect with other people.” Adding the volunteer role was one way he was able to employ the use of these strengths subsequently fulfilling his current purpose in life.

Other participants who sought to add meaning to their life also looked outside of their current roles to find new ones. Michael, a pharmacy informatics manager, looked outside of his work, family, and current volunteer roles in pursuit of additional meaning to one's life:

Five years ago, I was sort of looking for an outlet to do something I thought was meaningful. I had done something different for a couple years previous to that that was no longer um available. And, I had gone to a church meeting that I normally wouldn't even have gone to. I just, for some reason, went. And, the district superintendent said, "We're looking for some people to go to Peru with this mission team. We're trying to get this to be something that the conference you know, does. The district does. And so, I thought, "That's something I should do."

Thus, participants acknowledged that one way to add meaning to one's life is to look outside presently maintained roles. For both of these participants and others, meaning is found in the inclusion of an additional volunteer role.

These findings support Jenkins' (1996) argument that one's identity can be found both within moments and across moments. Using roles, individuals attached meaning or an identity to each role. Saul's work role was one that lacked meaning and one where his identity and purpose in life was unfulfilled. If someone were only to focus on Saul's work role as the role that would inform Saul's identity, one would be missing a large portion of what constructs Saul's identity. If one instead uses Jenkins approach to identity and accounts for the way interactions across roles influence identity, one gains a clearer understanding of Saul's identity. Jenkins dialectic of social identity supports the notion that individuals may seek to add meaning to their life by incorporating additional roles. Whether it is the benefits the volunteer role yields or the opportunity to engage in an alternative form of labor that is different from one's work role, individuals seek to add variety or meaning to their life by finding additional roles that fulfill certain needs.

The earlier excerpts demonstrate the ways individuals discussed finding meaning through additional roles. Adding in these roles created more tools and resources that influenced the identity creation process. The act of using the outcomes of one role to

benefit another role falls within the realm of work-family enrichment and positive spillover scholarship (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). The act of engaging in additional roles to discover one's purpose is an active and intentional process.

Influence of Engagement

Just as the identification with the role influences role management (Goode, 1960), the level of identification one has with the role may also influence one's central purpose identity. In situations where a person does not have a strong identification with a role, role engagement may not influence identity. One could feasibly engage in roles because of some obligation to others or the role is required/necessary in order to engage in other roles (e.g. being employed in order support one's relational role). Role engagement does not have to be based on identity, but may be a part of discovering one's identity. Those participants who were unaware of the reasons behind the lack of meaning or passion in their lives engaged in new roles with hopes of discovering that purpose or passion. This process is illustrated on the left side of Figure 1. Raechelle is an example of a participant who spent well over 100 hours volunteering per month, worked, and was involved in a long-term relationship, yet she could not identify any meaning behind why she engaged in roles:

Disraelly: What are you most passionate about in your life?

Raechelle: That is an excellent question, and if I could figure that out then a lot of my problems would be solved. I would know where I'm going. That is a wonderful question and I wish I knew, I have no clue. I have I seem to be lacking in passion and I don't know why.

Disraelly: Define, what is passion to you?

Raechelle: An overwhelming urge to be doing that particular thing.

Disraelly: So you don't have a passion towards your job or towards you volunteer—

Rachelle: Towards anything. And I don't know why and I wish I did because if I could find something that I was passionate about then I would pursue it wholeheartedly and probably be happier.

Disraelly: Do you um, what do you do to try to find out what that passion is?

Rachelle: I try to find things. I when something strikes me as interesting I try to pursue it like take a class in it or explore it further. And end up finding it's not nearly as interesting as I'd hoped.

Rachelle is unique among participants in that she was the only one who admitted to not having a specific passion. This unique example demonstrates the process of engaging in the volunteer role without that role engagement clearly influencing the core identity.

Rachelle articulated a process of continuing to engage in roles in hopes of tapping into her passion. In Figure 1, role engagement sometimes only influences the person's SLI, meaning that another label is added to one's surface level identity. Alternately, role engagement can influence a person's BVSLI or central purpose identity.

As one engages in roles, these roles influence identity. In Figure 1, the arrows demonstrate the influence. On the left side, role engagement influences various levels of identity and on the right side the levels of identity influence role engagement. The way in which this influence is manifested is in communication at the role engagement and management level. The level of identity (SLI, BVSLI, or central purpose) that is influenced is dependent upon the level that is connected to the role itself. If a role is linked to the belief system, role engagement influences the belief system. Influence may mean a change to the belief system or a reification of the belief system. However, as one

engages in roles more and more, the opportunity exists for the role to influence one's central purpose.

When a person moves from engaging in SLI roles in order to find one's purpose to one's purpose informing the roles one engages in, the person has reached a turning point. If a person reaches the turning point where there is a conscious understanding of one's passion and purpose in life, then a switch occurs and the passion and purpose portion of one's central purpose identity begins to inform the roles in which one engages. To illustrate this concept I will use Alethia who is one of the few participants who articulated this kind of change in perspective regarding her identity. Alethia, who is a single mother, works full-time, and volunteers in several community organizations, described reaching a point of complete exhaustion after a full week of serving in multiple volunteer, work, and family roles:

This is the first year that I haven't been working a 40 hour week job, volunteering 15 hours at the farmer's market, volunteering another you know hour or two at Movements for Peace, and being a single mom, and still trying to have a personal life. And I realized that I mean I guess looking in retrospect what I can say is that what I realized is that it was that self evaluation part of it. Like okay finally I had to sit down because it was physically depleting and I had to sit down and say okay what am I what am I getting from all of this expenditure of my energies. Or what is it that I'm not being honest about. Um and you know I didn't know. And so you know I gave my notice at the Farmer's Market and said I'm retiring. ... And that's where I think the real challenge is because when people would say to me what are you doing for yourself? I would say well but I'm doing this for myself. Like I'm volunteering for myself. It makes me feel good. I like the connections to people. And "No no what are you doing for yourself?" And it took me a long time to realize you know what that it's hard for me. I know other people like this do distinguish and really everything you do in the day is for yourself. And that every single one of these [activities] are choices. The question is you know I think the better question I think what people weren't asking was when do you have quiet [time]? You know when are you when do you have stillness. When are you not thinking about something else? And so that's I mean I

definitely go to the point where I was physically... I don't know how I did it. I mean I could remember you know coming home on Saturday at 1 o'clock after having worked [the Farmer's Market, it] would [have] been like my 46th hour of work for the week and taking a hot bath because I was so cold that I couldn't bend my fingers. And then sleeping the rest of the day. And feeling just constantly under the gun, and I don't know I think you get to a point where you have to say okay this is too much.

Disraelly: Do do you remember that point when you're like I I—

Alethia: Oh oh yeah. I mean I just remember I was angry about having I resented everything I was doing. Lots of arguments with my daughter about you know "why didn't you clean up the dishes" and just feeling like oh you know I wanted I want to be doing this other [activity]. But I think well part of it was uh and I hadn't really thought of this before, but the shift was figuring out you know how people say I want I'm trying to figure out what I want to do when I grow up? I think that 'cause I figured out what I wanted to do when I grew grow up [LAUGHS] um or now that I'm grown up I've figured it out The movement work is so important to me, that I mean it's it's a key element. Then it was easier for me to say oh that [Farmer's Market/Nonprofit Board] really isn't my [thing] I can let that go. I'm no longer [organize volunteers for the Farmer's Market or serving on nonprofit boards] thinking that I was doing these things for myself. You know so I'm still I mean you know I spend most of my Sunday afternoons planning my workshop. I've got my workshop on Monday nights. I mean I'm still you know it's like I'm still spending hours away, but its mine.

Alethia's account provides a powerful example of a person getting trapped in a cycle of continuous and increasing role engagement while under the illusion that the roles are providing personal fulfillment. Instead, this intense level of role engagement led to negative spillover, affecting her communication with her daughter. Alethia described fighting with her daughter over simple chores, all the while commenting that these negative interactions were a part of exhaustion and anger from the stress of her role engagement. Alethia was engaging in roles without these roles connecting to her purpose. Instead these roles were using up resources of time and energy. However, a turning point did occur in Alethia's life. In attempting to meditate and recenter oneself,

Alethia mentioned in her interview attending a movement workshop and realizing that her passion was movement (a form of dance) and that her current roles did not provide opportunities to engage in movement work. After this discovery of purpose, Alethia, much like Saul, was empowered to leave some roles or ask for time off from work in order to pursue her passion of movement work. Using Alethia's story, one can move from the left side of the model to the right. To begin, Alethia engaged in various roles yet the overall outcome of engaging in all these roles was very little understanding of oneself and negative communication behaviors. Once Alethia reached the turning point, her central purpose began to inform her BVSLIs and SLIs and ultimately impacted her interaction with others.

One's purpose and passion in life varied greatly from individual to individual. This variation may be due in part to the various roles and experiences individuals have that have led them to their passion. However, not all roles lead to a conscious understanding of one's passion and purpose. As mentioned before, role engagement may only influence a person at the SLI or BVSLI levels. Figure 1 demonstrates the ways in which role engagement can influence the various levels of identity and where various levels of identity may inform role engagement. One's purpose is unstable in that the purpose may change over time as one engages in different roles. For Alethia, she genuinely believed she was engaging in roles and volunteering for herself, but these roles did not tap into her passion until she discovered movement work. With Michael, even though his volunteer roles connected to his belief system, he still sought some purpose in his life. In line with the structuration perspective, these participants were using identity structures, or roles, that were a way of enacting one's purpose. In using these roles one's

central purpose identity was not influencing the roles used but one's purpose was also being shaped.

Conclusion

These results demonstrate dual processes of identity formation where role identity both influences and is influenced by role engagement. The model presented in this chapter demonstrates the way overall role engagement interacts with various levels of identity. By focusing on discourse that participants use to describe themselves and their actions, three levels of identity were revealed. The interview process itself is an exercise in exploring the outer and inner layers of identity. In day-to-day social interactions, revelations of the outer and inner layers of identity are subject to the depth of social interaction one has with others.

The model presented in this chapter demonstrates the way overall role engagement interacts with various levels of identity. Role engagement accounts for the ways roles interact with each other. The model further describes the dual process of influence where role engagement alters or reifies surface level identity, belief/value system identity, and central purpose identity. Additionally, the model demonstrates how one's purpose may inform belief systems and SLIs. Overall, participants in this study were at some stage in this continuous process of identity formation. Individuals make choices regarding how they enact the roles in which they engage. These choices may be influenced by belief systems, other roles, or a desire to discover one's purpose. Social interactions with others may lead to additional opportunities to engage in roles. Whatever the reason, engaging in these roles has the power to influence and be influenced by the roles themselves.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, & CONCLUSIONS

The underlying purpose guiding this study has been a desire to understand the ways in which volunteers discursively manage volunteer, work, and relational roles and their respective demands. While scholars have tested the relationships between demographic, psychological, and behavioral variables and propensity to volunteer, this study takes an alternative approach by focusing on the individual experience of volunteers as they articulate their management of multiple roles. The main purpose of this study was not to fix, slow, or find ways to manage the changing rate of volunteering. Instead, the goal was to understand how people manage multiple roles when one of those roles is being a volunteer and how multiple role engagement interacts with the construction and negotiation of overall identity. Thirty-eight participants who were engaged in all three roles (work, relational, and volunteer) were interviewed to allow the researcher to answer the four research questions.

This chapter will briefly summarize the findings related to each research question and will then address how these findings have implications for role scholarship (including volunteer role scholarship and role boundary management scholarship) and identity negotiation scholarship. The chapter will then turn to practical implications of the study before presenting the strengths, limitations, and directions for future research.

Summary of Findings

Research question one. Before focusing on the ways individuals manage the roles, the first research question asked whether or not individuals articulated roles as separate. If roles were not considered separate, then one could not manage the roles.

One of the main indicators of role separation is that participants articulated roles in relation to each other. Participants sometimes described one role as necessary for the enactment in another role. Other participants ranked their roles demonstrating that some roles were considered higher priorities than others. Discussing the relationship between roles indicates that participants do indeed articulate roles as distinct from each other.

Research question two. The second research question turned to understanding how participants define volunteering. Participants who embodied the volunteer role viewed volunteering as a form of unpaid labor that helps to meet the needs of an individual or organization. Participants also described volunteering as a way to give back to the community. Additionally, two types of needs were discussed. There was the general concept of need and a more specific discussion of social justice needs. Participants articulated volunteering for social justice issues when their volunteer work focused on helping certain populations (e.g., women, minorities, low-income individuals) who were experiencing injustices due to the actions of a dominant majority.

Research question three. Since participants did articulate roles as separate roles, research question three was interested in answering how participants managed the interfaces between roles. There were three ways in which participants articulated managing boundaries. First, participants described (re)creating boundaries that kept roles separate. When individuals segmented roles, they tended to protect role resources, physical role spaces, role time, and role values.

Second, participants articulated ways in which they integrated their roles. Participants would integrate their roles by calling/accepting phone calls or emailing non-co-workers while at work, answering work related phone calls when at home, running

relational or volunteer related errands while at work, and accomplishing work tasks while with one's family. In terms of the volunteer role, integrating this role with the work role allowed individuals to participate in volunteer roles where they were responsible for organizing other volunteers or activities for a nonprofit organization or cause.

Lastly, participants articulated a previously untheorized way of managing roles that occurred when the boundaries surrounding the roles were collapsed. Collapsed boundaries gave the person the opportunity to engage in two roles simultaneously. Physical space collapsing occurred when the person was volunteering with the relational other, meaning they were engaging in the volunteer role and relational role simultaneously in the same place. Other examples occurred when a person was engaging in volunteer roles as a representative of one's organization. In addition to physical space collapsing, participants articulated ways in which role values were fused together. Instead of segmenting one's values, some individuals fused the role values together. Two roles were built out of the same value set. Because of the value fusion, one's work and volunteer work sometimes created situations where a person could simultaneously use the work and volunteer role to advance the same cause.

Research question four

The last research question focused on how participants described the ways identity influenced and was influenced by role engagement. By focusing on the ways participants discursively describe their roles, several levels of identity became apparent. Participants tended to introduce themselves by describing the various roles in their lives. This level, called surface level identity (SLI) mainly refers to group memberships. The second level, belief/value system identity (BVSLI) is slightly more in-depth, broader, and

provided others with information regarding belief systems and values that influence the individuals' behavior and group memberships. However, there was an additional element that influenced how individuals ranked BVSLIs, which leads to the third level of identity, central purpose identity (CPI). CPI references the ways participants described a purpose or passion in life that influenced the roles individuals enacted, their belief systems, and how they managed these roles.

Using participants' descriptions of themselves, the author used a phenomenological lens to view the interactions among concepts. Identity did inform the role participants engaged in and how these participants managed their roles. However, role engagement and role management also influenced identity.

Adding new roles created opportunities to enhance individuals' overall role engagement. In situations where one's roles did not fulfill or provide meaning to one's life, participants described seeking additional meaning or purpose through the addition of another role. For this study, participants often described using the volunteer role as a tool to discover or fulfill one's purpose.

Theoretical Implications

These findings make a number of contributions with implications for existing organizational communication and interdisciplinary research on roles and identities. It is the first study to consider how volunteerism complicates the relationship between multiple role engagement and identity construction. Specifically this section will discuss the implications of the findings for role scholarship, role management scholarship, and identity scholarship.

Role Scholarship

One of the contributions of this study is that the findings validate previous assumptions that individuals view and articulate roles as separate, distinct concepts. Role scholarship assumes that individuals do view these roles as separate. This assumption is present in the discourses of balance, conflict, and enrichment because the discourse assumes that two separate concepts interact with each other. For example, time-based conflict focuses on the ways time spent in one role takes away from time spent in the other role (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). As a result, scholarship on role management is built on the same assumption. Where it became evident that participants do articulate these roles as distinct occurred when participants articulated decision-making process that positioned different roles in potential conflict with each other.

In extending scholarship on role management, the study found that not only do individuals articulate roles as separate from each other, but individuals also articulated additional roles beyond the traditional roles of work and family. Scholarship on role interaction and role management has historically focused on the ways in which work and family roles interact with each other (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Current scholarship on role interfaces, role enrichment, role conflict, and positive and negative spillover have all been developed and tested on the work and family interface (e.g., Bulger, et al., 2005; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Greenhaus & Parasuraman, 2006; Kriener, 2006; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Rothbard et al., 2005; Parasuraman & Greenhaus, 2002; Sieber, 1974). The author initially argued that only focusing on the roles of work and family reduces scholars' perspective on the roles individuals engage and how these roles interact. Participants articulated more than just the work and family

role. Relational roles were found in this study encompassing additional forms of relationships that are neglected in current work-family scholarship (Kirby et al., 2003) such as those that extend beyond traditional family conceptions of heterosexual marriages or biological connection with others. Furthermore, participants articulated additional roles including volunteer roles, spiritual roles, location roles, education roles, and fitness roles.

To date, all of these additional roles have fallen under the umbrella of life roles or nonwork roles. There are several problems associated with collapsing all of these roles into one category. As discussed earlier, categorizing roles into only two domains devalues the roles themselves (Taylor, 2004). Rather than focusing on the uniqueness of the role, nonwork roles are lumped together. One exception to this scholarship is Kramer's work regarding leadership and group dialectics in life-enrichments roles (Kramer, 2002, 2004, 2005). Other scholarship that has sought to account for the relationship between work and other life roles has tended to define nonwork or life roles as the family role. Thus, the relationship between work and other life roles is overshadowed by the interests in work and family role interaction. The current study demonstrates that individuals discuss additional roles, and, furthermore, these roles have the potential to impact work and relational roles. Thus, these roles are distinct from both of the work and relational roles.

Since additional roles, especially the volunteer role, are considered distinct from the work and relational roles, the addition of the role alters current conceptualizations of role management. Adding a third role creates two more interfaces for scholars to investigate—the work-volunteer interface and the relational-volunteer interface.

The dominant focus on work and relational roles may be a reflection of the dominant and somewhat necessary roles individuals enact. The volunteer role seemed to be the role that participants backed out of the most in situations of conflict. This behavior may be read in two different lights. First, the ability to back out of roles when demands from other roles increase, demonstrates the ways roles are separate. Secondly, the dropping of the volunteer role also may signify the necessity of the volunteer when compared to the other two roles. While the primary focus of this study was to understand the incorporation of the volunteer role, future studies may consider the effects of incorporating additional roles beyond work, relational, and volunteer roles. The following section turns to additional implications developed through this study's inclusion and recognition of the volunteer role.

The volunteer role. In terms of volunteer research, the major contribution of this study lies in the clarification and definition of the volunteer role as articulated by actual volunteers. This definition is much broader than other definitions of volunteering used in scholarship. Participants in the study did not distinguish between formal and informal forms of volunteering. Additionally participants did consider additional acts, such as collecting donations, as volunteer acts. Participants defined volunteering as providing unpaid work to help others in need while giving back to the community. Consistent with this definition, there are various types of volunteers including those who give of time, labor, and finances to help someone else.

The struggle over defining volunteering has led to a number of specific and somewhat narrow definitions of volunteer behavior in existing research. In fact, prior scholarship seems to overemphasize formal forms of volunteering for organizations and

deemphasizes informally helping other individuals. Prior scholarship that is concerned with the decline of volunteering tends to be concerned with the decline in formal forms of volunteering. Census data that has tracked volunteering each year only accounts for formal organizationally-based volunteering. Individuals are asked "Since September 1st of last year, have you done any volunteer activities through or for an organization?" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). This question marginalizes and silences all activity that is considered informal volunteering or helping. Putnam's (2000) discussion of the decline in volunteering also only looks at formal civic engagement through certain organizations.

However, the results that emerged from this study demonstrate that participants do not view a difference between formal and informal forms of volunteering. Instead, to define volunteering, participants focused on the act itself as helping others who are in need without being paid for that help.

Thus, scholarship concerned with fluctuations in volunteer behavior should consider the assumptions upon which the conclusion of such a decline is assessed. Past research that is based on formal forms of volunteering or organizationally-based volunteering assumes that all acts of helping and all philanthropically oriented behavior must occur through an organization. Yet, as this study clearly indicates, the act of volunteering varies and is not tied to helping others through organizational intermediaries. Individuals may identify themselves through the role of volunteer without officially serving as a volunteer for an organization. Those scholars who are interested in determining if there truly is a decline in volunteering may consider accounting for alternative forms of volunteering. These alternative forms include spontaneously helping

others, advocating for social justice issues, and collecting or donating funds to help others.

Combining the findings from the first research questions and the second, this study also found that individuals use common discourse in defining volunteering. While the volunteering role was described as separate from the work and relational role individuals did use the discourses of work to define the volunteer role. These work discourses include paid/unpaid labor. The use of work discourses to define volunteering demonstrates that individuals compare volunteer labor to paid labor. With paid employment, individuals are giving their knowledge, skills, abilities, or physical labor with the expectation of remuneration. Even though individuals use work discourses to define volunteering, the types of labor do not necessarily coincide. For example, giving of one's physical time and labor for payment describes work. However, volunteering can be defined as freely giving of one's time and labor or sending and collecting donations for others. For some individuals, donating funds was a way to help others especially if they did not have free time to volunteer physically. Therefore, participants tended to borrow discourses of work and labor to define the volunteer role but did not seem to compare the volunteer role with the relational role.

Definitions of volunteering never mentioned the family role except when individuals gave a rationale for why they were volunteering with a specific organization. For example, participants indicated that they spend time volunteering with their family or in organizations in which their children are active. This latter notion of collapsing family and volunteer activities may challenge Tilly and Tilly's (1994) definition of volunteering as lacking familial obligation, but collapsing of the roles does not completely signify a

familial obligation. Instead, connections and opportunities to volunteer with organizations are created when the family member is involved or participates with the organization.

Using the discourses of the participants, one finds that previous assumptions and definitions of volunteering contradicted with how participants view the practice of volunteering. Participants did claim that volunteering itself is a form of unpaid labor; however, the participants did not distinguish between formal and informal forms. Furthermore, the comparison across roles brings to light some interesting questions regarding the public/private element of the volunteer act itself. Work is considered a public form of labor whereas the work one does for their family is considered private. If the act of volunteering is viewed in relation to the work role, but individuals tend to collapse the volunteer and family role then how does one conceptualize the act of volunteering in regards to public/private spheres?

Public vs. Private Time. Whatever the motive for volunteering, the mere act of engaging in the role means the person is engaging in a role that is both public and private. As illustrated above, individuals used discourses of work, a public role, to define volunteering. While some individuals did combine the relational and volunteering role together, some individuals did keep these roles separate. If the relational role is considered the private role and employment the public role, what is volunteering? One way to view volunteering is to view it as partially public and private. To illustrate this point, one can look at the way roles parallel with time. Zerebuval (1979) argued that time also be conceptualized based on when a person is considered socially available. Individuals' use of time ranges from being completely available to others (public time) to

being completely closed off to other individuals (personal/private time). Because the employer pays employees for their time, employees are expected to be available to the employer. Private time is mostly reserved for close family members or friends and makes up one extreme of the time continuum. Because there is a range, individuals may experience situations where their time is more publicly available than others. For example, when a person spends time with her/his family, the time is mostly private, but the person is still accessible to others (public). The distinction between work time (bought time) and family time (personal time) is quite clear. However, when using this lens, how does one account for the volunteer role?

Volunteering itself is a leisure activity (a form of private time) where a person is making oneself available to others (public time). The nonprofit organization has not purchased the person's time, but the time itself is public because the individual has donated the time to the organization giving the organization some ownership over the time. Here, the nonprofit organization has some ownership over the individual's time in that it can request the individual perform some activities with the donated time. However, the individual can refuse to accomplish the tasks with minimal consequences because the time is donated. The conceptualization of volunteering as partially public and partially private is consistent with the definition provided by participants that individuals are freely giving of their time to help out others.

The volunteer role is a unique role in that it combines elements of the private domain and the public domain. Traditionally, scholarship has bifurcated labor in between public and private domains. This division is present throughout scholarship where distinctions are made between public selves and private selves (Goffman, 1959). Roles

themselves may also be divided using the public and private domains. Taylor (2004) cautioned against the division of labor between the public and private domains because it forces all roles outside of work into the private domain. Expounding on Zerebual's (1979) conceptualizing of time as social availability, labor can also be seen as ranging from public to private. Public forms of labor are those forms of labor that belong to someone else because they have been bought or donated to another entity. Private forms of labor are those actions conducted at home and for one's family and oneself. When individuals engage in volunteering they are providing unpaid work to a person or organization. Volunteering itself is a mixture of the two forms of labor. The labor is personal in that it rewards the self, but the actions are public.

Summary. The findings about the volunteer role itself demonstrate the way discourses regarding volunteer acts negate previously conceptualized theories of volunteering. In practice, individuals do not differentiate between informal acts of helping others and formal acts of helping organizations. Furthermore, the participant's discourse regarding volunteering demonstrates the way volunteering is a combination of public and private time. If the domains are placed on a continuum between public and private, with volunteer labor containing elements of both domains, then this could explain the act of combining or integrating roles. The following section will explore the ways participants manage role boundaries.

Role Management

Until now, existing scholarship has concentrated on the intricacies of the work family interface. Scholars have sought to understand pieces of the work life puzzle through understanding the ways these two roles conflict and enhance each other (e.g.,

Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006; Sieber, 1974). The inclusion of an additional role adds a new dimension to the interactions between the work and family role. The inclusion of the volunteer role increases the number of roles, role demands, and, subsequently, role boundaries one must manage.

Traditionally role, management scholarship has only focused on the outcomes of the work-family role interaction (Kirby et al., 2003) including outcomes of conflict, balance, and enrichment. This study demonstrated the ways in which individuals managed multiple role interfaces expanding on previous research regarding boundary management (e.g., Ashforth et al., 2000; Kreiner et al., 2006, 2009; & Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). When approaching role management from a communicative perspective, the focus is on how individuals (re)negotiate boundaries of each role. Extending the concepts of boundary management from the communication privacy management theory (Petronio, 1991; 2002, Petronio & Caughlin, 2006) boundaries are considered to be socially constructed through interactions with others. As individuals create and maintain their boundaries around their roles, individuals communicate expectations and rules regarding the ways roles will interact (Kreiner et al., 2009). Since the addition of the volunteer role created two additional interfaces, individuals' management practices of four interfaces were considered. The results from this study support previously established strategies of segmentation and integration and present a new form of boundary management called role collapsing. Furthermore, the findings from this study challenged the theoretical definition of the integration process.

Expanding segmentation scholarship. One of the ways the findings from this study impacts current conceptualizations of role management is altering the scholarly understanding of the ways values influence role interaction. Ashforth, Kreiner, and Fugate (2000) argued that the process of segmentation keeps the values of one role from influencing another role. Instead, the current findings contradicted Ashforth and colleagues' (2000) argument that values are an outcome of attempts to segregate roles. Participants reported segmenting their roles because of their values making values a source of role segmentation and just an outcome. Segmenting roles based on values means that the individual is intentionally keeping roles separate because the values associated with each role are incompatible. Thus, a person may avoid integrating or collapsing roles because of the difference in values.

Future research may be interested in further exploring the additional ways individuals try to segment roles through values. Possible extensions of this research include how individuals communicate or give a rationale to those who violate the strict segmented boundary. Also, future research may be interested in how individuals communicate the rationale for maintaining segmented roles in the first place.

Additionally, the findings from the study negate previous arguments that segmentation is always an intentional practice. Segmentation has been defined as “an active psychological process” that individuals engage in to separate roles (Rothbard & Dumas, 2006, p. 74). This definition assumes that the individual has the agency to actively segment roles. There may be structures in place by the organization or the system that prevent roles from being integrated. These structures may include the type of work one conducts (e.g., onsite physical labor), an inability to telecommute or remotely

connect to a company's server, or organizational rules and policies that prevent the individual from communicating to members outside of the organization. These examples privilege the organization's ability to manage the employee's boundaries. Future scholarship may be interested in focusing on the ways organizations communicate segmentation strategies to others. Furthermore, future studies may be interested in how individuals and organizations negotiate segmented boundaries.

Lastly, research may wish to further explore how changes to the "work place" influence the way individuals manage role boundaries. As organizations incorporate advances in technology, the nature of work changes. Individuals may find themselves e-working (electronically working) during long commutes to work (e.g., train) or in remote sites that are separate from one's work building (Lim et al., 2009). Not only do technological changes impact the way participants segment roles, but this may also create situations where individuals end up integrating their roles.

Expanding integration scholarship. The major theoretical implication for the process of role integration deals with the broad range of activities that integration encompasses. One of the problems with previous conceptualizations of integration is that integration strategies account for any and all role management strategies that are not segmentation. For example, if an individual who normally works 8 to 5 decides to take a two hour lunch to run errands and compensates this time by staying an hour later, the person is integrating. The person's actions fall under integration's broad definitional boundaries. The person for all intents and purposes may segment their roles by not communicating with family while at work; however, because there is a temporal overlap when they run errands during the work day, the person's behavior is considered

integrative. This perspective privileges the employer's perspective of work time and not the individual's. Researchers who are interested in redefining segmentation and integration may be interested in juxtaposing managers' perceptions of segmenter and integrator behavior against employee's perceptions of the behavior.

One more additional problem with the existing definition of integration is that it encompasses small breaches in boundaries and a complete overlaying of boundaries. The definition of integration includes all forms of role overlap (Ashforth et al., 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996a, 1996b). Conceptually integration in this light may create problems. Managing roles that only slightly overlap creates different challenges and benefits than managing roles that completely overlap with each other. This study divides the forms of overlap, by arguing that complete overlap is not a form of integration because the boundaries are no longer permeable, they are removed. Thus, one way to expand role management scholarship is to incorporate one more additional form of role management.

Developing role collapsing. With the introduction of the volunteer role, a new form of role management, role collapsing, became apparent. Role collapsing occurs when an individual is simultaneously engaging in two roles at once. There were two ways roles were collapsed, through value fusion and physical/temporal role collapsing.

Role fusion collapsing occurred when individuals used more than one role to pursue certain social justice issues. The foundation upon which the roles were built consisted of the same values. For example, individuals who are passionate about LGBTQ issues may volunteer for organizations that work for LGBTQ rights and use their profession to promote LGBTQ rights. Within this study, individuals tended to use role fusion collapsing with the volunteer role and the work role. While these individuals did

not collapse the boundaries between the two roles all of the time, there were instances where individuals were simultaneously enacting the work and volunteer role. The fusion of one's values made this boundary collapsing act possible.

Individuals may also collapse physical and temporal spaces when they worked or volunteered with one's relational other. One of the main added benefits when the relational and volunteer roles were collapsed was that this gave individuals opportunities to develop their volunteer role and spend time with their relational others.

There are some problems associated with boundary collapsing. Because boundaries are collapsed, it becomes extremely difficult to escape from the roles if tensions arise within any one of the roles that has been collapsed. For those that work with their relational partner, fights at work can easily be carried over into one's home life, unless the couple is able to segment the source of tension. The home space can easily become a place for work discussions, leaving the person without a place for personal restoration and relaxation.

While this study provided evidence of role collapsing between the relational role and the volunteer role and the work role and volunteer role, there are additional avenues for research regarding role collapsing. Future research may consider additional instances of role collapsing including work-mandated community service. Additionally, scholarship on boundary management discusses the ways boundary rules and violations are communicative in nature (Kreiner et al., 2000; Petronio, 1991; 2002, Petronio & Caughlin, 2006). Therefore, if boundary roles are collapsed, then there is an absence of boundary regulation. Thus, future scholarship may be interested in how the "absence" of boundaries are communicated and maintained. Lastly, future research may be interested

in exploring the differences in role management outcomes between those who segment, those who integrate, and those who collapse role boundaries.

Each of these strategies (segmentation, integration, and role collapsing) were by participants as processes engaged in to manage roles. Whereas past scholarship has criticized prior research's dominant focus on role interaction outcomes (Kirby et al., 2003), this study focused on those processes individuals described using to manage and (re)negotiate boundaries. Furthermore, this study also provided evidence of ways in which individuals are empowered to enact personal agency by submitting requests to their employer that allow them to integrate roles. These requests included asking for time off to volunteer or by altering one's work schedule to accommodate the other two roles. This empowerment process confirms Kirby and colleagues arguments that work-family scholarship should begin focusing on the ways individuals feel empowered to make changes within the workplace.

In conclusion, while this study confirms and expands on research regarding roles and role management, there are still several questions that future scholarship must ask. Role management scholarship and boundary management scholarship will benefit from future research that looks at both the singular and dual process of boundary management. This study focused on the singular aspect in that it only approached boundary management from the perspective of the individual. However, each individual has her/his own boundary management processes and preferences that may conflict with other individuals' processes and perspectives. A dual perspective of boundary management will look beyond the individual to focus on the ways individuals and organizations or couples work to communicate, clarify, and (re)define the types of boundaries each person

uses singularly and collectively. In addition to focusing on the ways individuals articulate boundary management, scholarship may also be interested in how inacting certain boundary management tools influence our communication within each role. Nippert-Eng (1996a, 1996b) focused on how tangible artifacts demonstrate whether or not roles are integrated or segmented. A logical extension of this scholarship would be to understand whether or not discourses change as one shifts roles.

Identity

Lastly, the study has major implications for organizational communication scholars' conceptualizations of identity. By focusing on the ways individuals discursively described their actions and behaviors within and across roles, the findings indicated that individuals reveal and operate at various levels of identity. The findings' impact on identity scholarship is two-fold. First, the findings from this study demonstrated that individuals engage in certain identity construction and negotiation processes while partaking in a role and managing various identities created for all roles. Secondly, the study articulated the ways identity and role management processes influence each other. The following section will further explore these two major areas of contribution by tying together past scholarship and the model of identity that is presented in Chapter Seven.

Identity construction and negotiation. Where this study significantly contributes to scholarship on identity is the focus on the ways individuals' discourse reveals various elements of identity occurring within the same embodied space. These findings support Tracy and Trethewey's (2004) conceptualization of the crystallized self that is multifaceted and complex. Like the crystallized self, the proposed model of

discursive representations of identity negotiation processes indicates a self constructed of multiple layers of identity. The complexity of this model lies in how multiple role engagement influences different levels of identity and how these levels influence role engagement. The levels present in the proposed model were the types of identities the participants revealed through their discourse during the interview. When individuals used SLIs, they were articulating their social categories or group memberships. SLIs are consistent with Tajfel and Turner's (1986) social categorization theory. The use of these social categories by participants indicated how individuals view and identify themselves in relation to other individuals (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Burke, 1969; Jenkins, 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Given that participants further define themselves through more complex identifiers, the use of SLIs during initial interactions may be an individual's attempt to regulate how much of one's identity is revealed.

The second level, BVSLIs, focuses more so on the ways individuals' beliefs and values influence their behaviors, role engagements, and identities. Beliefs and value systems are socially created and negotiated by members of the system. The culture of benevolence, of which volunteering is considered to be a part, adheres to beliefs of helping other individuals in need (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Because BVSLIs are tied to cultures, the meanings behind BVSLI are not fixed. Just like one's identity may collapse as one shifts cultures (Kondo, 1990), the meaning behind BVSLIs may shift or collapse as one moves from one culture to the next. For example, a BVSLI of family first may result in different SLIs, depending upon how the culture views a commitment to the family. In one culture, a commitment to the family may mean providing financially for

the family whereas in others, valuing family may mean spending time with relational others.

The third system of identity revealed through participants' discourse is the central purpose identity (CPI). CPIs are what individuals articulated as being their passion or purpose in life. Participants discovered CPIs through role engagement. Some individuals discovered their CPI through volunteer roles, others through spiritual roles. As one engaged in roles, the meaning they assigned to their behavior within the role may or may not have influenced the other layers of identity. Participants articulated engaging in some roles in order to add purpose into their lives or discover a sense of purpose. These actions confirm Simpson and Carroll's (2008) conceptualization of a role as a vehicle that individuals take part in, where the actions enacted while in the role influence the identities of those individuals involved in the interaction. However, not all role engagements influenced one's CPI. Individuals could engage in roles without the role influencing the person's construction of the self.

These findings develop Simpson and Carroll's argument that role engagement influences identity. If the proposed model holds true, role engagement can influence identity in varying ways. Role engagement may only influence the individual at the SLI level by adding or subtracting social memberships; however, that may be the only level that is influenced by the role engagement. Just as individuals may belong to social groups without identifying with the social group (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), individuals may engage in roles without the role impacting BVSLIs or CPIs.

The proposed model presented in this study demonstrates the various layers and complexity of identity; however, one must remember that identity overall is in flux. Even

though one's overall identity may give the impression that it is stable and fixed, overall identities shift based on the discourses that shape and constrain the definition of the self (Tracy & Trethewey, 2004). This study used the discourses of participants to discover how role engagement and identity interacted. Some participants described the ways role engagement led to a change in central purpose. Some individuals did reach a turning point where their central purpose went from being informed by role engagement to informing role engagement.

In situations where roles conflict, the individual is faced with a decision between roles and may often choose the role that is most salient (Goode, 1960; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006). However, this findings from this study indicated that sometimes the less salient role is the role that wins. Just as cultures may shift and change the meaning behind one's identity, role interactions may force the individual into (re)negotiating identity and how one engages in behaviors that enact identity. In situations where roles conflict or one's priorities are inconsistent with BVSLI or CPI, a person is placed in the situation of (re)negotiating the expectations of others in the relational, work, or volunteer role system. Several participants in the study described ways in which their actions and priorities were not coordinated. These individuals described refocusing the self or renegotiating their roles to make them coincide with their priorities. These processes of altering one's priorities and actions in light of one's identity are an additional form of identity work. In line with identity work scholarship, the process of (re)prioritizing SLIs and BVSLIs to be in line with CPIs is similar to the process of managing individuals' personal definitions of the self in relation to other's definition of the self (Sveningsson &

Alvesson, 2003). However, these processes of influence are not unidirectional, but bidirectional.

Identity and role engagement. Rothbard and Dumas (2006) were correct in posting that individual identity influences how individuals manage role, however, Rothbard and Dumas's assumption that identity was anchored by a particular role was not supported. Instead, the researcher found that one's purpose in life, or CPI, anchored one's identity and how one managed their roles. Those who did not have a clear understanding of one's CPI, engaged in roles to discover one's CPI. Furthermore, one's CPI was also subject to change as individuals engaged in roles and in social interactions with others. This process coincides with Scott and colleagues' (1998) structuration theory of identity. CPI is a fluid form of identity that is both a resource and an outcome. Individuals may use one central purpose in guiding them to make decisions regarding BVSLI and SLIs in situations where roles and beliefs systems conflict. Additionally, CPI may inform the types of roles or belief systems that make up the other two levels of identity. CPI also becomes an outcome in that engagement in roles and one's beliefs systems influence the CPI. Individuals may engage in additional roles in order to discover, change, or reify their CPI.

Where this study's findings depart from Scott and colleagues' (1998) structuration theory of identity is that this study accounts for the discursive representations of one's identity, or identifiers. The structuration theory of identity primarily focuses on the ways identity itself serves as resources and outcomes as individuals enact certain identities. During the process of enacting identities, the individual forms an attachment to an identity, which in turn becomes their identification. This study introduces a new term,

that of identifiers. In contrast to the identities themselves, identifiers are the labels individuals use to describe those roles, social memberships, belief systems, or purposes that influence identity. Identifiers account for the way our identities are manifested in discourse. Claiming to be a member of a social category or using terminology that coincides with a spiritual belief system are outward communicative manifestations of differing layers of identity.

While the model developed in this study emerged from empirical data, the model itself will benefit from further testing. First, this model is primarily built on discursive representations of individuals' identity. Future research may be interested in comparing the model presented in Chapter Seven to other models of identity. Future researchers may also be interested in testing the model within one system (e.g., work systems, relational systems, or volunteer systems). Rather than accounting for one's overall multiple roles, some researchers may be interested in testing the model against the multiple roles a person engages in within the workplace. Secondly, the model is developed using the three roles of interest in this study, thus there may be other additional roles that future researchers may wish to incorporate to determine whether or not the connections between levels of identity are still present.

Dialectic of Social Identity. Lastly, the findings from this study provide some empirical data for Jenkins' (1996) dialectic of social identity. Jenkins' argued for a more complex conceptualization of social identity. He argued that social identity is constructed both within moments and across moments in one's life. Using role theory, this study demonstrates the way identity can be constructed within roles as well as across roles. As one reifies or negotiates their roles, the identity within a role may vary. A

person may view a role as meaningless and not salient to one's overall identity. Even though the individual engages in the role, the role itself may not impact the person's identity. Only looking within this role to understand one's identity would result in an incomplete understanding of one's identity. First, one would ignore how one's identity may be influenced by other roles in one's life. Secondly, one does not account for the way roles relate to each other. For example, if one's work role is necessary for the fulfillment of one's family role duties, one's identity is influenced by both roles individually as well as the way the relationship between the roles.

By accounting for the way the connection between roles influences identity, one is capable of understanding how individuals supplement current roles by seeking out new roles. Individuals may seek out other roles, such as the volunteer role, in order to seek out a purpose, passion, or merely supplement the lack of gratification they experience from their current set of roles. Even though each role constructs a different identity, one's overall identity is affected by one's identity within each role and the interplay between all three types of identity.

While Jenkins' theory on social identity provides a comprehensive view of social identity within and across roles, additional application of this theory is needed. This study happens to be one of the few studies to apply Jenkins theories to the process of identity formation and representation. While this study does support and provide empirical evidence for the dialectic of social identity, additional research regarding multiple role management should consider using this theoretical lens.

Practical Implications

The genesis for this study was an interest in understanding the factors that influence volunteer behavior. The goal was to find alternative explanations for the changing nature of volunteering. One of the major arguments surrounding volunteering is that the activity itself is on the decline (Putnam, 2000). As discussed in the first chapter, the goal of this study was to take an alternative approach to the changing nature of volunteering by focusing on the lived experiences of volunteers, specifically on the ways volunteers manage multiple roles and how this influences identity. In addition to providing several theoretical contributions regarding multiple role management and identity, this study also yielded several practical implications for employers, volunteer managers, and individuals.

Implications for Employers

Even though this study mostly looked at multiple role management and identity from the perspective of the person engaging in multiple roles, implications may be derived for employers and managers of organizations. There were a few managers among the participants who articulated using either segmentation or integration strategies. Those managers using segmentation strategies during work hours (4 men) did so in order to make sure that they were setting an example for their employees. Those managers using integration strategies (2 women) attempted to foster a work environment where everyone in the organization was able to integrate their roles. By fostering an organization where segmentation of roles is embedded in the culture of the organization, individuals may feel disempowered to leave work, receive/make personal phone calls, or other forms of work role integration. On the other hand, those managers who fostered

cultures which approved and somewhat encouraged role integration, also engage in personal integration strategies including working from home, contacting family members from work, engaging in the volunteer role at work, and other forms of role integration. Future research in this area may look at the organizational rules created by leaders in the organization and how these rules either constrict or foster the ways employees choose to manage their roles.

In terms of the volunteer role, managers may be interested in the ways the volunteer role is tied to the employee's identity. If the volunteer role adds some level of meaning for the individual, the influence of the volunteer role may enhance the employees work. Furthermore, the employees may seek out different volunteer roles that coincide with one's belief system or purpose in life. Those organizations that wish to incorporate volunteering into the workplace by having employees as a group volunteer at an organization, may also consider incorporating other forms of autonomous service. For example, rather than planning corporate volunteer days, organizations may give their employees the agency to select the types of volunteer activities they wish to incorporate into their roles.

Implications for Nonprofit Organizations

Turning to the volunteer role, there are many steps nonprofits can take to assuage some of the role strain that can stem from adding in an additional role. The concept of role collapsing demonstrates one way individuals attempt to incorporate the relational role and volunteer role. Using this data and the benefits of role collapsing, nonprofit organizations may consider creating and marketing volunteer opportunities that appeal to

families and other relational others as a unit. This suggestion includes demonstrating ways families and couples can help the volunteer organization as a unit.

Secondly, the addition of a role creates additional demands on one's time; thus nonprofit organizations must also consider the amount of time pressures they place on the individual. During one of the interviews, a participant described the way a member of the board berated a volunteer for not being available for an activity. Because of the multiple demands on one's time, there may be instances where increased time expectations from one role will impact one's engagement in another role. Volunteering is also viewed as a form of donated time. With monetary donations, there may be situations where emergencies or one-time purchases may limit the amount of funds a person has to donate. The same can be said about one's time. The amount of time an individual has to donate may fluctuate. By viewing time through this economic lens, nonprofit volunteer organizers may approach reductions in time the same way that they may approach reductions in a person's personal finances. Thus, there may be situations where a person can only volunteer for one or two hours a month. Nonprofit organizations may be interested in creating a wide variety of volunteer opportunities that help those individuals with low temporal funds and those with large temporal funds.

Implications for Individuals

There are two primary applications on the individual level. The first implication is the value of role engagement in discovering one's identity. Those individuals who seek to uncover a sense of purpose or passion in life may consider incorporating additional roles. This study demonstrated the way incorporating the volunteer role may lead to added benefits. In addition to gaining skills and emotive benefits from the

volunteer activity, the act of engaging in the volunteer role may impact the person's construction of identity. Specifically, the act of volunteering may impact the CPI.

The second major implication relates to the role management process individuals use to manage multiple roles. Since time is a fixed resource (Marks, 1977), managing roles inevitably means managing time resources. The discovery of role collapsing is one way a person can engage in volunteer activities, receive the benefits of engaging in volunteer activities, and not take away from the time one would spend with relational others. Role collapsing is a valuable tool that allows the person to engage in additional roles while still being able to develop relationships with others.

Strengths

This study is one of the first forays into the ways individuals both engage and manage multiple roles and how these processes influence individual identity. This study took several procedural steps to avoid building scholarship on taken for granted assumptions. First of all, this study sought to clarify and confirm that individuals articulate roles as separate before discussing the ways individuals managed roles. Secondly, this study separated the concepts of role and overall identity allowing for the presence of multiple roles and identities within the same embodied space.

There were also several methodological strengths to this study. A variety of participants were interviewed including individuals from different socio-economic, spiritual, relational, and volunteer backgrounds. Furthermore, the use of in-depth conversational interviews yielded a rich data set upon which these conclusions were based. However, any study is not without its limitations.

Limitations

One of the major limitations in this study can be found in the data collection process. As participants were identified and recruited for the study, the researcher noticed some level of homogeneity among the participants. While the researcher was able to achieve heterogeneity in terms of most of the demographic variables in the study (e.g., gender, work, volunteer activity, etc), there was a lack of racial diversity among participants. The researcher used a snowball sample to identify participants (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). Halfway through the interviews, the researcher noted that there were problems in terms of racial diversity and gender. The researcher contacted several nonprofit managers in a midwestern college town in order to locate additional participants to diversify the participant sample. Because of this process, the researcher was able to sample additional men. However, during the conversations with nonprofit managers, the managers themselves said most of their volunteers were white females. This trend even occurred with one organization that specializes in creating programs to tutor Hispanic children and build the Hispanic community. During an interview with an African American participant, he described how minority communities needed to “raise the profile” of minorities among those who volunteer. He acknowledged that minorities do volunteer, but their numbers were far less than the white community who volunteers. Thus, even though the researcher took several steps to locate additional minorities, the lack of diversity in the sample may be a reflection of who does and who does not volunteer.

Additional research in the area of volunteerism may be interested in discovering how certain races enact the volunteer role. Several of the minority participants described

at least one volunteer role they enacted that helped their fellow minority members. This connection between one's race and the type of volunteer activity one does was not articulated by Caucasian participants in the study. Thus, additional research may be interested in understanding the common phenomenon of volunteerism within certain ethnic groups.

Another limitation of this study is the actual method used to collect the data. While in-depth interviews did provide a rich reflection of individuals' experiences, these were the reflections that were most available to the participant at the time of the study. Conducting multiple interviews with participants over a period of time may yield additional stories and reflections that were not immediately accessible to the interviewee at the time of the interview. Furthermore, interviewing participants multiple times will account for the ways individuals alter their own boundary management processes and identity over time.

Additionally, choosing the interview method limits the researcher's ability to take into the account cultures that impact identity formation and boundary management. Conducting an ethnographic study within a workplace would give the researcher an opportunity to view in-the-moment boundary management processes that occur. This in-the-moment management of conflict processes may contradict or reify the strategies a person claims to use in managing boundaries. Furthermore, using an ethnographic lens gives the researcher the opportunity to witness the social (re)construction of boundaries as boundary breaches occur.

One other limitation of the method is that individuals were interviewed by themselves. Thus, the author was only able to collect data on the individual's perspective

and personal reflection of boundary interaction. There exists the possibility where individuals felt they did not experience conflict, yet relational others or co-workers would argue that conflict did indeed occur. Thus, future research on couples or groups about managing roles and identities could provide further useful insights.

Conclusions

The broad scope of this study sought to understand the nature of volunteerism, role management, and identity and how these three concepts interacted with each other. There are two levels of findings in this study. The findings have important implications for each individual area of research. This study validated the assumptions that roles are distinct and that role management is a process of managing roles that individuals articulate as separate. Additionally this study places role boundary management in a communication context by arguing that the boundaries surrounding roles are created through socially negotiated rules. Also, the researcher spent some time discovering the ways volunteers articulated the act of volunteering. The results confirm and contradict previous definitions of this behavior. Lastly, the study confirmed and expanded on current scholarship regarding the ways individuals discursively manage role interactions.

The findings from this study also have important implications for how these research areas interact with each other. Whereas the connection between role management and identity was previously assumed to occur in one direction, this study found that role management and identity engage in processes of mutual influence.

Overall, this study challenges, confirms, and expands scholars' current understanding of the concepts of roles, role management, and identity, particularly in relation to volunteering. Furthermore, this study serves as an example of how a

phenomenological lens may serve to both understand concepts while discovering connections between concepts. While this study has led to many interesting conclusions regarding the topics of study, the study itself is predominantly foundational. Future research should continue to confirm and challenge the ways scholars conceptualize volunteering, role management, and identity.

APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

1. Let's start off with a hypothetical situation. Say you were to meet someone for the first time at a cocktail party or a meet and greet. Tell me what you would tell that person.

Content Area Probes

- a. Family Life/Social Life
 - b. Work Life
 - c. Outside Activities/Hobbies
2. Describe a typical day at work.
 3. Describe for me situations, if any, where things, people, or situations outside of work affected your work day?
 4. How did you manage these situations?
 5. How did you juggle the multiple responsibilities?
 6. What about situations where you had to physically leave your place of work?
 7. Describe situations, if any, where you were at home, vacation, or with your family or friends and had to deal with things related to work?
 8. How do you try to manage these two roles?
 9. In the hypothetical example you mentioned that you spend time volunteering with (insert name or activity). Tell me a little more about this activity?

Content Probes

- a. Length of time involved
- b. Type of labor involved
- c. Benefits the person receives from the activity

- d.* If the person views the activity as a role
- 10.* Have there been situations where work or family issues came up when you were volunteering? If so, please tell me a little more about these situations.
 - 11.* Were there ever situations where you had to postpone helping an organization or had to back out of helping an organization? Describe those situations or what was going on in your life at the time.
 - 12.* Was there ever a situation where you thought of backing out, but decided not to? What was going on in your life?
 - 13.* What reasons led you to follow through on your commitment?
 - 14.* How do you manage to integrate a volunteer role in your current life?
 - 15.* How have you managed to integrate volunteering throughout your life?
 - 16.* Reflecting on past volunteer experiences, what would you say have been the benefits of those activities?
 - 17.* Today we've talked a lot about different areas of your life. Looking back at the conversation we've had, how would you describe yourself to someone now?

APPENDIX B

Demographic Questionnaire

Name (Pseudonym) : _____

City, State: _____

Job Title: _____

Job Status: Full-time Part-time

Education: (Highest achieved) _____

Hours Spent Volunteering Monthly: _____

Organization/Organizations Currently Volunteering for: _____

Type of Current Volunteer Activity with Current Organization: _____

Age: _____

Ethnicity: _____

Marital Status: Single Serious Dating Relationship Engaged Married

Separated Divorced Widowed

Number of Children if any: _____

Do the children still reside in your home?: _____

Please list any other organizations or clubs you are involved in: _____

If applicable, how would you characterize your spiritual/religious affiliation? _____

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Endnotes

¹Both participants were interviewed separately. Even though Susan was interviewed first, the interviewer did not disclose any information from Susan's interview while interviewing Saul. These connections are deduced from information the interviewees provided in their own interview.

²The scholarly definition of need is intentionally left ambiguous and broad. Even though Maslow (1954) has theorized the basic need types, the current project avoids limiting the scope of need to physiological, safety, belongingness and love needs, etc. By defining needs in as Maslow did, the definition of volunteering would be constricted to only include situations where basic needs are not met.

³ The other 18% gave other reasons for their volunteer behavior. The additional motives for volunteering, including feeling happy or seeing their parents volunteer, were also provided by individuals in the 88% that is currently accounted for.

⁴Even if participants kept a permeable volunteer boundary, some participants would have an impermeable work or relational role boundary. Thus of the 29% that reported integrating the volunteer role, some only integrated the volunteer role with the work role whereas others only integrated the volunteer role with the relational role. Additionally, there were some that integrated the volunteer role with both.

⁵Due to confidentiality reasons, the author has chosen not to provide an example of this surface level identifier.

⁶ Some Quakers perceive themselves as Christian while others do not.

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EDUCATION

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Committee: Dr. Debbie Dougherty, Communication
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SCHOLARSHIP

Publications

Kuhn, T., Golden, A. G., Jorgenson, J., Buzzanell, P. M., Berkelaar, B. L., Kisselburgh, L., Kleinman, S., & Cruz, D. (2008). Cultural discourses and discursive resources for meaningful work: Constructing and disrupting identities in contemporary capitalism. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 22, 162-171.

Manuscripts Under Review

Cruz, D. (Submitted November 2009). Collapsing the continuum: An analysis of the ways multiple role engagement challenges previous conceptions of boundary management theory. *Submitted to Management Communication Quarterly*.

Manuscripts in Preparation

Cruz, D. (To be submitted December, 2009). Viewing organizational spectacles as sources of meaning and identity construction. *Currently undergoing revisions to submit to*

Cruz, D., & Dougherty, D. (To be submitted late March, 2009). Micromomentary organization and institutional subversion: A case analysis of the Buck-A-Person for Relief fund. *Recently presented at the National Communication Conference and currently undergoing revisions*.

Competitively Selected Conference Papers

Cruz, D. (November 2009). Are we back to working on the corporate chain gang? Exploring the ways societal discourses of unstable job markets shape labor and use of work life policies. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.

Cruz, D., & Dougherty, D. (November, 2009). Micromomentary organizations: An in-depth analysis of institutionalism's role in the Buck-A-Person fund. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.

Cruz, D. (November, 2008). As emotion surrounds us: A qualitative analysis of emotion management strategies used by critical care nurses. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, San Diego, CA.

Cruz, D. (November, 2008). Work-life interface and the experience and expression of emotion. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, San Diego, CA.

- Cruz, D. (April, 2008). Volunteerism: Conceptualizing volunteer work as a life role. Paper presented at the Central States Communication Association Conference, Madison, WI.
- Cruz, D. (November, 2007). The effects of perceived formality of communication and mentoring on occupational commitment in graduate students. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Cruz, D. (November, 2007). Viewing organizational spectacles as sources of meaning and identity construction. Paper presented at the National Communication Association Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Cruz, D. (November, 2007). Volunteer socialization and identity: Communication research avenues to further enhance our understanding of volunteerism. Paper presented as part of the Meaningful Work Pre-Conference, Chicago, IL.
- Cruz, D. (March, 2006). Communication and related factors affecting academic success among college students. Paper presented at the Central States Communication Association Conference, Indianapolis, IN.

Additional Research Presentations

- Cruz, D. (October, 2008). The other shift: An analysis on the influence of volunteer behavior on traditional views of work-family management and individual identity. *Organizational Communication Mini-Conference*. Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN.
- Cruz, D. (July, 2008). Negotiating third role identities. *NCA Doctoral Honors Seminar*. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL.
- Cruz, D. (February, 2008). As emotion surrounds us. *Research and Creative Arts Forum*. University of Missouri. **Awarded Second Place in the Social Sciences and Law Division.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Senior Connections Coordinator

3/03-8/05

Responsibilities included maintaining information regarding local resources for the elderly; assisting direct supervisor in planning special events; giving presentations about the center; coordinating computer classes; and other duties as assigned.

GRANTS/FUNDING AWARDS

University of Missouri

- Awarded a Dissertation Grant from the University of Missouri's Department of Communication's Faculty and Alumni Graduate Support Fund (\$450).
- Awarded multiple research oriented travel grants from a competitive pool of all graduate and professional students. Funding provided by the University of Missouri's divisional councils and student governments (\$1100).

ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Graduate Teaching Assistant, University of Missouri, Columbia 8/05-Present

Instructor of record with full teaching responsibilities for the following

undergraduate courses:

- Organizational Communication
- Introduction to Public Speaking
- Introduction to Public Speaking for Business Students

Lab Instructor for the following large-lecture undergraduate courses:

- Mass Media in Society
- Controversies in Communication (Writing Intensive Course).
 - Guest lecturer on ethics and controversies surrounding social networking sites.
 - Guest lecturer on ethics and controversies surrounding government surveillance of communication post 9/11.

Course Assistant for Dr. Debbie Dougherty's undergraduate course in

Organizational Communication.

Co-facilitator of the Not for Profit Careers Freshman Interest Group 8/06-Present

Mentor and advisor to the undergraduate student in charge of leading the

Freshman Interest Group Seminar.

- Responsibilities included assisting in constructing the course and advising the student implementing the seminar.
- The Freshman Interest Group program is designed to help socialize into the University and help build ties among incoming freshman and faculty members.

Graduate Research Assistant, University of Missouri, Columbia **6/07-8/07**

Research Assistant for Dr. Rebecca Meisenbach who received a grant from the University of Missouri to research ways in which former fundraisers negotiate identity, manage occupational stigma, and manage the transition out of the fundraising occupation.

- Responsibilities included transcription services, data analysis, and researching and providing technical assistance with the qualitative data management software program.

Graduate Teaching Assistant, Florida State University **8/03-5/05**

Lab Instructor for the following undergraduate courses:

- Elements of Communication
- Public Speaking.

HONORS/ACADEMIC AWARDS

Rollins Society	UMC	2009
NCA Doctoral Honors Seminar	UMC	2008
Research Assistantship	UMC	2007
Outstanding Graduate Teaching Assistant Award	FSU	2005
Graduate Teaching Assistantship	FSU	2003-2005
Omicron Delta Kappa Honor Society	UWF	2001-2002
Phi Kappa Phi	UWF	2000-2002
University Ambassador	UWF	1999-2002
John C. Pace Scholar Award	UWF	1998-2002

SERVICE ACTIVITIES

Professional Memberships

International Communication Association

- Member (2006-Present)

National Communication Association

- Member (2007-present)
- Paper Reviewer for the Student Section (Spring, 2007)

Central States Communication Association

- Paper Reviewer for the Student Section (Fall 2008)

Campus and University Service

Service to University Organizations:

- *Graduate Student Completion Project*
 - Student Representative
 - In Spring of 2008, I contacted the Assistant Director of Graduate Studies about forming Graduate Student Dissertation & Thesis Support Systems at the University. In Fall of 2008, I was asked to participate as a former student leader in the planning process of the Dissertation & Thesis Support Programs at the University.
- *Graduate Student Tuition Waiver Task Force (Graduate School)*
 - Student Representative, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School (January 2008-May2008)
- *Graduate Student Association of University of Missouri (GSA):*
 - Chair of the Bylaw Revisions Committee (Spring 2008-Fall 2008)
 - President, Graduate Student Association, University of Missouri, (Fall 2007-Spring 2008)
 - Vice-President, Graduate Student Association, University of Missouri-Columbia (Fall 2006-Spring 2007)
- *Graduate and Professional Leadership Council*
 - Member, (Fall 2008-Present)

- GPC Liaison to MU Club Sports Executive Council (Fall 2008-Present)
- *Graduate and Professional Council*
 - GSA Liaison, (Fall 2006-May 2008)
- *Alpha Delta Pi, Alpha Gamma Chapter at the University of Missouri*
 - Membership Education Advisor, Alpha Delta Pi Sorority (Fall 2006-Present)
- *Association of Communication Graduate Students at the University of Missouri*
 - Department Representative to the Graduate Student Association (Fall 2005-Winter 2006)
 - Member, (Fall 2005-Present)

Invited Lectures:

- Invited lecture on developing effective research presentations. Presented to the University of Missouri Undergraduate Research Program (July 2006).

Community Outreach and Service

- *True/False Film Festival Volunteer* (February 2009)
- *Habitat for Humanity Volunteer* (Fall 2008-Present)
- *Tallahassee 25: An organization dedicated to helping children in the Tallahassee Community* (2004-2005)
 - Holiday Happiness Committee: Organized the purchasing, wrapping, and delivering of toys to local underprivileged children in Tallahassee.
 - Haunted House Committee: Assisted in the planning, building, and implementation of a haunted house geared towards community youth.
- *Saint Paul's United Methodist Church Youth Counselor* (2003-2005)