The role of work/non-work-friendly cities in reaching sustainable work/non-work equilibrium from a boundary perspective

*An explorative study of four cities*

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INTRODUCTION
Attaining work-life balance is one of most important needs or the 21st century global population. The work-life issues have been mostly treated from a sociologic perspective (see for example Nordenmark, 2004), a work psychological perspective (see for example, Sonnentag and Kruel, 2006; Jones, Burke, & Westman, 2006) and from a business perspective (see for example Kossek & Lambert, 2005). Whereas in the first one the roles of societal values and social structures have been related with individuals' work-life balance, in the second one the roles individuals is in the centre and in the third, the roles of the employing organisations in enabling individuals to reach a balance have been discussed. Even if not that visible on the research agenda, work-life issues also belong to "urban studies". This explorative paper is an attempt to bridge "urban studies" and "work/non-work".

The work/non-work process and the urban context
Across the three perspectives named above, the boundary perspective has emerged. As a matter of fact, two theories focusing on boundaries are portrayed in the work-life field, i.e. boundary theory (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate 2000, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996) and work/family border theory (Clark, 2000) where both

"Address the construction of work-family boundaries as a complex interplay between employees' strategies and preferences, the social contexts in which they are embedded, and both the idiosyncratic and cultural meanings attached to work and family."(Stephan Desrochers & Sargent, 2003, p. 5)

In the work-life field, the boundary perspective emerges from research on conflict, balance and enrichment (see for example Frone et al., 1992) where the idea of boundaries is already present. In that regards, it is essential to keep in mind that numerous research papers touch upon boundaries. However, a only a handful of these specifically focus on boundaries and contribute to the emerging perspective. Six studies have been influential in the development of the boundary perspective in the context of work and non-work. These include those by Nippert-Eng (1996), Clark (2000), and Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate (2000), as well the work of Ahrentzen (1990) and Kossek, Noe & DeMarr (1999) and Hall and Richter (1988). Based on these line of research, it can be concluded that the boundary perspective is focusing on how individuals are segmenting and/or integrating life domains via two processes boundary work and boundary management which together refer to the work/non-work process (Nippert-Eng, 1996; Languilaire, 2009). The work/non-work process has mainly been seen as a proactive process so that the individuals are first able to foresee changes in their individual, organisational and societal situations, second can change the boundaries concerned so that they fit their work/non-work preferences and their contexts (see Kossek & Lambert, 2005; Rothbard et al., 2005). In this later step, individuals can develop concrete boundaries in time and space in the forms of work/non-work practices and activities (Languilaire, 2009). As a result of their work/non-work process individuals create life domains that give them a meaningful sense of life and life domains that they feel capable to manage considering their contexts. As a result one could define work/non-work process as composed of "boundary development" aiming at developing life domains and "boundary management" aiming at managing these life domains (Languilaire, 2009).

Kossek and Lambert (2006), Poelmans (2005), Ollier-Malaterre (2009) as well Languilaire (2009) underline that the contextualisation of the work/non-work process is central. Three levels of context are generally described in the work-life literature. First, the individual context, where individual characteristics as well as family and personal contexts are discussed. Research on the "couple" is an illustration of the individual context research (see Denker & Dougherty, 2013). Second, the organisational context, where the roles of organisational policy and culture are in focus (Ollier-Malaterre, 2009). Third, the societal context where the role of national (den Dulk et al., 2013) as well as international context are discussed (see Poelmans 2005). Here the role of laws, social system, and culture are depicted (den Dulk et al., 2013). The intention of this paper is to consider a fourth context, namely the "urban" context. It has largely been observed in the development of our societies, that there is migration movement from rural area to city. Without undermining the "counter-urbanisation" movement as a lifestyle (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), the urbanisation of our societies is somehow to be taken for granted. The worldbank data shows that most of the countries see their urban population increasing (see, http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.UBR.TOTL.IN.ZS). The starting point of this paper is that numerous individuals, namely 52% of the global population, lives in cities. Indeed, the 2012 edition of Demographia World Urban Areas (http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf) identifies around 1500 urban areas in the world sheltering about 1.9 billion people, or 52% of the world's urban population. Among those, the report also indicates that 850 urban areas in the world with a population of 500,000 or more 48% of the world's urban population (http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf). Cities thus answer to diverse extents, the "needs" or "wants" of individuals to develop their life domains as they would ought to and to manage them as they ought to. For example, individual not having a work in the rural areas can maybe find a work in the cities. People who feel isolated in the country may find social network in the city. People who are single in villages may find love and create family in cities. People who find countryside stressing may find places in city to enjoy
their own time and to grow as individuals.

All in all, cities represent a context in which boundary development and boundary management is done. Cities can fulfil a sense of meaning in one's life even if this is relative and varies grandly among individuals. Undeniably, on the one hand, individuals may understand or make sense of their current urban context as enabling their current work/non-work process so that they wish to maintain their work/non-work process in their current urban context. On the other hand, individuals may understand or make sense of their current urban context as hindering their current work/non-work process so that they actively decide to move and migrate to another urban context. The city or the urban context thus becomes an enabler or a hinder in developing meaningful life domains and managing meaningful relationships between them. The city or the urban context can lead respectively to work/non-work equilibrium or to work/non-work conflict. In other words, the city or the urban context becomes an enabler or a hinder to a sustainable work/non-work process for a sustainable work/non-work equilibrium.

Enabling work/non-work equilibrium as a sustainable imperative for cities
In the light of urban development literature especially Florida (2003), Wheeler and Beatley (2008), Polese and Freire (2003) as well Polose and Stren (2000), I argue below that acting as an enabler or a hinder to a sustainable work/non-work process is a sustainable imperative for cities.

When the city is enabling, individuals may develop an emotional attachment to the city and may engage in the city. They may literally be in love with or love the city. This emotional attachment is in fact central and as an illustration, Stockholm's anthem is in fact called "Stockholm in my heart" that puts forward how "Stockholmare" are enjoying the city to a better quality of life. Due to an emotional attachment, individuals may engage in environmental actions to preserve the city that they love. They may engage in community building to develop the city they love. They may act more democratically, in voting and acting as concerned citizen to enable sustainable decision-making in the city they love. In other words, individuals may act so that the urban context in which they reach work/non-work equilibrium is preserved, developed and sustained. Additionally, individuals as city citizens will develop a relationship with the city and in line with relationship management (see for example Grönroos, 2001) they may be willing to pay premium and may "consume" more services in the city. Cities that are answering needs of people when it comes to work/non-work equilibrium may thus increase revenues via direct and indirect taxes as well as services. As a whole, enabling individuals to reach work/non-work equilibrium can lead to economic, environmental and social sustainability for the city.

When the city is hindering, a vicious spiral can be simply imagined with a decrease of population, with a disengagement of individuals in social and environment concerns leading to higher level of crime, insecurity and environment costs and others. This can lead to a decrease of goodwill and image towards the city. Additionally, having an unstable environment may decrease the economic attraction of the city so that economic activity may decrease. The evasion of population may decrease diversity and creativity of the potential labour force. The same evasion will decrease revenues for the city that will have to cut off on infrastructure investment and maintenance as well as on public service such as education, health and safety. The lack of creativity in the city and the decrease of maintenance in infrastructure and services will again in turn decrease economic attraction to the city and so on. Overall, this may lead to high economical, environmental and social costs for the city.

A lifestyle migration issue
What becomes central in the case of the vicious spiral above is that individuals who are not satisfied in how the city can enable them in their work/non-work process may decide to move and find another location that is fitting them better. This refers to migration and especially lifestyle migration for a better quality of life. Cities are thus in competition, this is a market situation that is affected by globalisation. "Migration" has been studied in the context of studies in immigration between countries especially south to north movement as well as in context of "expatriation" when work requires individuals to move. Often the idea of migration is associated with people who will migrate and be a competition for work in another countries. Not denying this aspect that is also part of work/non-work when work is not satisfying and does not per se enable balance (see research on spillover in work-life research), this paper is however focusing on dissatisfaction in terms of work/non-work process. I would thus frame this paper within the "lifestyle migration" literature that is focusing on individuals migrating for a higher or better way of life (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Benson and O'Reilly (2009) describe the lifestyle migration as "the relocation of people within the developed world searching for a better way of life" (p. 608), which can include work-life macro transition (see Hall & Richter, 1988) such as "retirement migration" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2013).

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1 "Stockholm i mitt Hjärtat" by Lasse Berghagen
2 inhabitants of Stockholm in Swedish
2009, p. 609) or more micro transitions (see Hall & Richter, 1988) such as seasonal migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 609). Beyond the different types what becomes central is that these types of migration enables individuals to "render their lives meaningful" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 609) where work/life turns out to be a central aspect in this process:

"The fundamental features of the different lifestyles sought thus include the re-negotiation of the work-life balance, quality of life and freedom from prior constraints." (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 609)

In the process of lifestyles migration few aspects become central. First, migrants have a economical possibility to migrate and for most of them they may transfer their skills towards self-employment (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009) that may give them the impression of higher boundary control (see Kossek & Lautsch, 2005) enabling them to "maintain what they perceive as an acceptable work-life balance" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 611). Second, the selection of the "idyllic place" is central as it relates to the ideal of quality of life:

"The different or better way of life sought is diverse, and, to some extent, and is specific to the destination chosen, reflecting individual preferences and aspirations," (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 611)

This underlines individuals' intention and choice in the migration process. However, individuals' choice is to be completed by structural constraints that ought to be changed while migrating. The urban constraints in the work/non-work process are part of such structural constraints. As whole, "the relocation of lifestyle migrants can broadly be defined as indicative of a fundamental change in lifestyle, signifyng a break, a contracts, a turning point and a new beginning" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 616). Benson and O'Reilly (2009) indicates that one dynamic the relocation process refers to "tourism" through which individuals are in fact perceiving that a new environment may enable them to reach higher level of balance. Lifestyle migration can occur in the same country or on the global scale. On the national scale, capital cities and major cities are could be seen as options where individuals could develop a sustainable work/non-work equilibrium. On the global scale, megacities may represent alternatives where individuals could also develop a sustainable work/non-work equilibrium. The international dimension of the lifestyle migration is often put forward (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 609). Cities and megacities are in fact in competitive environment and must thus attract individuals who will enable them to develop.

As a whole, considering the urbanisation as well globalisation movements, the "urban context" becomes a central variable enabling or hindering individuals, couples and families to reach a sustainable work/non-work equilibrium. In turn, enabling individuals to reach this equilibrium becomes thus a role of cities and megacities on the international scale.

**Purpose of the study**

This paper intent to connect lifestyle migration to work/non-work process discussing what could be named as "work/non-work lifestyle migration". Based on the accepted proactive view of the work/non-work process, this paper deems work/non-work lifestyle migration as a "rational" or "cognitive" choices where individuals knowing their work/non-work preferences, will search for a context enabling such preferences to be enacted in a better way for a better outcome. By "fiding" the right urban context, individuals, couples and families may have an opportunity to experience a sustainable work/non-work process where the urban relocation is enabling them reach a sustainable work/non-work equilibrium. Following the reasoning above, cities may use the "work/non-work" argument to attract people while convincing them that their cities, in comparison to others, will represent the "ideal" or "idyllic" context for enacting their work/non-work preferences and reaching sustainable work/non-work equilibrium. By enabling individual's work/non-work process and enabling individuals to reach work/non-work equilibrium, cities may, as organisations, become sustainable economically, environmentally and socially. Such cities could be referred as "sustainable work/non-work friendly cities". However, to what extent are in fact cities aware of their role in enabling people to reach work/non-work equilibrium? To what extent do cities think, "work/non-work" and integrate "work/non-work" planning and developing the urban context? If cities do so, they may use "work/non-work" arguments in their information to potential migrants. One evidence is the discourse on transport management in urban context that points out how cities aim at reducing commuting time which is an essential component of work-life balance via "time based strain" and participate to the definition of "temporal boundaries". But are their other arguments?

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3 This lifestyle migrating dynamic is today observe in TV-shows aiming at relocation such as the BBC shows "a place in the country (counter-urbanisation movement) or "a place to the sea" (tourism movement)

4 This more positivistic view can be discussed where in fact individual will perceive as well as their urban context to enable their work/non-work process. This debate is out of this paper. The choice of wording as "finding" is used to underline that searching information is central.
The purpose of the paper is to explore the information presented to potential migrants in cities to identify if and to what extent cities include a "work/non-work perspective" into their approach to urban development enabling individuals to reach sustainable work/non-work equilibrium.

The remainder of this paper is composed of four parts. In the next section, methods used are briefly reviewed. Then the framework on boundary perspective and the propositions in the context of work/non-work migration are developed. Then propositions are used to analyse the empirical material about four cities. Finally, few conclusions are drawn.

A BOUNDARY FRAME TO WORK/NON-WORK LIFESTYLE MIGRATION
As introduced, the work/non-work process is composed of "boundary development" aiming at developing life domains and "boundary management" aiming at managing these life domains (Languilaire, 2009). Languilaire (2009) defines these 2 pillars of the process as in figure 1 that serves as a base for this paper that focuses on 2 major aspects of the process: the boundaries and the preferences.

![Figure 1: The two pillars of the work/non-work process (adapted from Languilaire, 2009, p. 430)](image)

**The life domains and the boundaries**
Life is complex and thus in line with cognitive behaviour, individuals are organising their life in diverse activities to simplify their decisions especially their daily decision (Zerubavel, 1991).

“It is our perception of the void [gap] among islands of meaning that makes them separate in our mind, and its magnitude reflects the degree of separateness we perceive among them. Gaps are critical to our ability to experience insular entities.”(Zerubavel, 1991, p. 21-22)

According to Zerubavel (1991), the purpose of creating such discrete entities in terms of “chunk of space” (p. 6), “blocks of time” (p. 9), “frames” (p. 10), “chunk of identity” (p.13) or “mental fields” (p. 15) is to avoid confusion and uncertainty but also to make sense of the environment and ourselves because:

“Things become meaningful only when placed in some categories” (Zerubavel, 1991, p. 5).

As a whole humans need to define things and people where "defining" literally means putting limits or boundaries (Zerubavel, 1991, p. 2). Without such definition, things as well as the sense of selfhood disintegrate in the environment and become meaningless. Continuing, Zerubavel (1991, 1997) touches discusses social mindscapes which help social beings to perceive, enter, organise the social world in a similar way. Zerubavel (1991) defines two main types of mindscapes. One the one hand, there is the “rigid mind” by which one defines strict lines because one does not accept a mixture and wants to avoid it. On the other hand, there is the “fuzzy mind” by which one defines no lines and does not distinguish any categories, making fluidity of mind possible. Nippert-Eng (1996) conceptualises these mind-sets in terms of home and work. This is the origin of the boundary perspective between domains, but what domains?
The work/life research, emerging from stress management and role theory, started with the focus on work and family. The label “work-family” has then often been replaced by “work-home” (see for example Hall & Richter, 1988; Suzan Lewis & Cooper, 1995; Major & Germano, 2006; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Rothbard & Dumas, 2006) that in overemphasises the spatial dimension of the family domain. The notion of “work-life” which is extensively used in the literature with its different collocations, i.e. work-life issues, work-life balance, work-life conflict, work-life integration (see European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2006; Jones, Burke, & Westman, 2006; Kodz et al., 2002; Kossek & Lambert, 2005) surely recognises that there are more than work and family domains in people’s lives. However, separating, with a hyphen, work from life is to say that work is not part of life. Separating and opposing work and life relates to the modern and industrial view of work as a “demanding” arena and other times as “restorative” (See Veal, 2004). It descends from the puritan ethic and capitalism views of work sustained by the industrial revolutions (Veal, 2004) which physically separate the place of work from other places. Such a view has been reflected in fields like work psychology (Jones et al., 2006), especially recovery research (Fritz & Sonnentag, 2005; Sonnentag, 2003; Zijlstra & Copley, 2006). These fields primarily address how job characteristics influence an individuals’ life, especially the negative impacts of work on health, well-being and satisfaction. To solve some of the issues raised above, researchers have started using the concepts of “work” versus “personal life” as well “professional life” versus “personal life” (Kossek & Lambert, 2005). The idea of personal life is then extended to domains other than family especially to leisure or community activities (see Haworth & Veal, 2004). It is a tripartite concept: work, family and personal life (see Thévenet, 2001; Freidman, 2006). But, the concept of personal life and professional life per se creates confusions and is problematic when it is used to conceptualise life domains. Would that mean that professional life is not personal? Is it thus public? Would that mean that personal life is solely private? But cannot something professional be private? And cannot private life be public? Rather, both the professional life and personal life are social as they involve social interactions during which people are engaged as individuals and social agents. “Both lives” are thus not wholly personal and not wholly public, but public and personal at the same time. Today, a conceptualisation that enables to theoretically cover all aspects is today seen as work versus non-work where non-work. Languilaire (2009) started with this broad view and using a narrative perspective to understand how individuals were experiencing work and non-work relationship and finally defines life as composed of four domains.

- **“The work”** is a domain emerging in the context of relationships between one individual and one’s work based on providing a quality work as agreed upon between one individual, one’s employer but also colleagues
- **“The family”** is a domain emerging in the context of relationships based on affection and love and enabling support between parts. It brings safety and love to one individual
- **“The social”** is a domain emerging in the context of relationships between one individual and the people in one’s social environment imparting a sense of belongingness and friendship. It offers restoration and support to the individual
- **“The private”** is a domain emerging in the context of seeking one’s own well-being and own development while performing activities for oneself and facilitating recovery. It enables individuals to disconnect from other domains and find a sense of personality and sense of oneself

In the context of migration for a better life, individuals may look for possibilities to create, develop and maintain these four domains and may look for cues to see how cities can enable them to do so. The first proposition of this paper is thus:

**Proposition 1a:**

**Cities present possibilities to create, develop and maintain the work, the family, the social and/or the private life domains**

Beyond the domains that are inferred by their goals to "group in or not" elements together, what becomes significant are the elements that are integrated and/or segmented so that work/non-work boundaries are created, developed and maintained. Indeed, as underlined by Zerubavel (1991), individuals draw boundaries or not between diverse elements in their life. As a matter of fact, different types of boundaries have been discussed in the work/non-work literature indicating diverse elements that people are "managing" i.e. integrating and/or segmenting in the life. Three types of boundaries have been primarily discussed namely the spatial, temporal and psychological boundaries (see Clark, 2000; Ahrentzen, 1990; Nippert-Eng, 1996). Ahrentzen (1990) also defined behavioural and social boundaries. Both types are mentioned by Kossek et al. (2005). Languilaire (2009) indicate that behaviours are indeed elements that are managed by individuals and thus reconsider such behavioural boundaries as one specific type. The term “mental” has also been used for this type (see for example Kossek et al., 2005), but confusion with the nature of boundaries occurs. In addition, Clark (2000) refers to her border theory as a theory of human systems. She confers central roles to individuals either as “border crosser” or “border keeper”. Nippert-Eng (1996) underlines as well the importance of how people in each domain may or may not be similar. She nonetheless does not consider human boundaries as such. Languilaire (2009) develops these different categories of boundaries and adds emotional boundaries, psychosomatic boundaries as well as human boundaries. Languilaire (2009) clarifies the notion of
"psychological boundaries" as cognitive boundaries and views stress and energy as part of "psychosomatic" elements that are crossing over domains or not. Languilaire (2009) also underlines the importance of emotions as being elements that are made similar or different by individuals. To sum up, individuals define seven diverse boundaries. In other words, seven diverse elements are "managed" by individuals. Figure 2 represents these seven boundaries and table 1, in a following section, defines clearly each of them.

Figure 2: Seven elements and seven types of boundaries (developed from Languilaire, 2009)

In the context of migration for a better life, individuals may look for possibilities to create, develop and maintain these seven different boundaries. Individuals will search for clues in how these seven elements are taken into account by cities to enable them to control them as they ought to. The second proposition of this paper is thus:

**Proposition 1b:**

Cities refer to the different seven elements that are managed by individuals between work and non-work

The seven elements above are the base for seven types of boundaries. These boundaries are however of two different natures in order for the work/non-work process to take place (Languilaire, 2009). On the one hand, there are "mental boundaries" rules indicating how one element relates to one domain or another. Mental boundaries also dictate how elements shall blend across domains. These mental boundaries may be the consequences of and thus aligned with work/non-work preferences. On the other hand, there are "concrete boundaries" as "tangible element as displayed, performed, used or adopted in one domain and/or the other" (Languilaire, 2009, p. 381). Concrete boundaries may be based on mental boundaries, which would lead to a satisfaction in how boundaries are created or enacted so that they fit the mental boundaries. They may however also not be aligned, creating a dynamic for individuals to act in order for the alignment to occur. Table 1 presents the seven boundaries and their two natures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatial boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding the use of space as work and/or non-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The location where work and non-work are performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding the use of time as work and/or non-work</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The time when work and non-work are performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding how relationships are seen part of work and/or non-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The people belonging to work and/or non-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding how emotions relate to work or non-work as well as dictating how emotions related to one domain go from one domain to another and may be displayed in each domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The emotions socially displayed in work and/or non-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behavioural boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding how behaviours and attitudes relate to work and non-work as well as dictating how behaviours and attitudes related to one domain affect and are affected by behaviours from another domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The behaviours adopted in work and/or non-work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding what positive and negative thoughts belong to work or non-work as well as dictate how thoughts related to one domain affect other domains and may be expressed in each domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The positive and/or negative thoughts that one has in mind in work and/or non-work and can also be or not shared during discussing with people in the other domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychosomatic boundaries</td>
<td>The rules established regarding how energy and strain related to one domain go from one domain to another and may be physically displayed in each domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The strain and energy other psychosomatic elements that are physically displayed in work and/or non-work</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* The definition in grey corresponds to the mental nature of the boundary
** The definition in white corresponds to the concrete nature of the boundary

Mental boundaries and concrete boundaries are the results of two interdependent processes, respectively boundary work and boundary management defined by Languilaire (2009) as follows:

**boundary work is** the process of placing and transcending mental life domain boundaries, i.e. the process of mentally rendering boundaries more or less flexible and permeable. Boundary work leads to the development of mental boundaries through daily and long-term mental work/non-work activities (sense-making)" (Languilaire, 2009, p. 407)

"boundary management** is the process of placing and transcending concrete life domain boundaries, i.e. the
The development of concrete boundaries relate to individuals developing work/non-work activities. In agreement with Kossek, Noe, and DeMarr (1999), work/non-work activities can be seen as the visible and practical activities enabling an individual to concretely manage boundaries.

In regards to migration, individuals will look for cues indicating to what extent the cities enable them to perform or not their work/non-work activities in a better way, or to what extent they will be able to develop new work/non-work activities to concretise their mental boundary in better way. Additionally, they may look for cues indicating individuals how they may adjust their mental boundaries in line with the overall or specific preferences. In fact, cities may only communicate on possible work/non-work activities and individuals will have to make sense of this cues in terms of their concrete and mental boundaries. These aspects are indeed supported by Benson and O'Reilly (2009):

"Because the fundamental features of the different lifestyle sought by such migrants include the good life, escape from past individual and community histories and the opportunity for self-realisation, strategies post migration often include the re-negotiation of the work-life balance maintaining quality of life and freedom from prior constraints." (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009, p. 610)

As a whole, this indicates one proposition as follows:

**Proposition 1c:**

Cities reveal the extent to which work/non-work activities for integration and/or segmentation are possible to be performed as a way to communicate their "position/views" on work/non-work.

**Integration and segmentation as work/non-work preferences**

Considering these four domains and their boundaries as well as the concept of social mind-set (Zerubavel, 1991), individuals may either have a rigid or a fuzzy mind leading them to more or less create boundaries between their life domains. In the context of home and work, Nippert-Eng (1996) defines thus segmentation and integration as opposite while introducing the segmentation-integration continuum. Segmentation and integration are considered as work/non-work preferences. Kossek et al. (2005, p. 351) touch upon the notion of preference in regards to work and family indicating that:

“everyone has a preferred, even if implicit, approach for meshing work and family roles that reflects his or her values and the realities of his or her lives for organising and separating role demands and expectations in the realms of home and work”. (Kossek et al., 2005, p. 351)

Languilaire (2009) reveals that individuals may have an "overall preference for integration or segmentation", as underlined by Kossek et al. (2005), that would in line with the segmentation-integration continuum. But beyond such overall preference, individuals may be aware or not as well outspoken or not about specific boundaries in regards to the seven elements that they may manage. Two levels of preference must be thus considered, the overall and the specific preferences.

Following Nippert-Eng's (1996) continuum, segmentation and integration are often perceived to be opposed. However, Languilaire (2009) jeopardises this view. After having understood, what individuals do when it comes to work/non-work activities and why individuals decide to integrate or to segment, Languilaire (2009) concludes that daily and long-term activities are performed. First, the daily activities aim at segmenting whereas long-term activities aim towards integration. Second, daily activities are both intentional or not, long-term activities are mostly intentional. Connecting both aspects gives truth and depth to the underlying reasons for integration and segmentation as presented by Ashforth et al. (2000) in terms of cost and advantages. Segmentation results in the avoidance of blurring between domains and prevents confusion of roles. Languilaire (2009) indicates that this segmentation occur on a daily basis to be effective and is made in terms of time, place, people and thoughts. Integration enables the crossing to be simple. Integration should be reached on long term by enabling central domains to be integrated and closed one to another. Such integration is to be seen as emotional so that individuals do not suffer from emotional dissonance of being two diverse persons in different domains (Languilaire, 2009). This is also in line with Kossek (2003) who says:
“there may be times when setting boundaries between work and home and structure may be desirable.” (Kossek, 2003, p. 14)

Altogether, integration and segmentation play different roles in the work/non-work process. Additionally segmentation and integration can apply to overall and specific boundaries in relation to the seven elements to be managed. Integration is also seen as a long-term preference whereas segmentation is seen as short-term preference (Languilaire, 2009). Integration and segmentation must thus be seen as complementary. Considering these complementarities 5 preferences are emerging (Languilaire, 2009) and are presented in Figure 3.

![Figure 3: Five work/non-work preferences (Adapted from Languilaire, 2009, p. 394, 395)](image)

In regards to migration, considering that the selection for location to migrate is mirroring individuals’ ideals for quality of life but also their preferences and ambitions in terms of quality of life (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009), this applies to work/non-work preferences as such ideal. Individuals may search for cities that enable them to reach their work/non-work preferences in segmenting daily and integrating on the long term. In line with Benson and O'Reilly (2009), individuals who have not been into a city enabling both will look for another city so that they can break from their past and prior constraints and start a new beginning. The intentional dimension of the migration may be in line with the intention to daily segment and in the long run integrate. Individuals may search for cities that enable to enact their preferences as a combination of segmentation and integration. The following third and fourth propositions are thus proposed:

**Proposition 2a:**
Cities reveal the extent to which they view life domains as segmented and/or integrated

**Proposition 2b:**
Cities reveal the extent to which few elements are easily "segmentable" on daily basis and how other are easily "integrable" in the long run

**Conceptual frame**
Each set of proposition is based on central concepts in the boundary development and boundary management pillar, respectively boundaries, preference and process. Combining these 3 sets enables the conceptual frame of this paper to emerge as presented in Figure 4 below. Figure indicates the main "concept" in focus for each set as well as for each proposition. It also indicates the actual proposition.
METHODOLOGY AND METHOD

The paper is based on secondary data from several cities. For this paper, 4 capital cities have been selected as Paris, Berlin, Dubai and or Stockholm. The data is collected from these cities websites through which individuals in a quest of "migration" for a better work/non-work equilibrium may gather cues about how the cities could enable them to fulfill their work/non-work preferences in segmenting or/integrating their diverse life domains. The overall criteria of selection of these cities is their urban development. It also central to understand that these 4 countries are having more than 74% of their population in urban context (http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS). Even if few reasons are made behind these choices, the freedom of the author and the personal connection between the author and these cities is also one factor. Few rationales behind the choices and the starting pages for data collection is to be found in table 2:

The approach of the collection is done from a “migrant” perspective where I navigated on the website to identify the diverse cues that could maybe be of interests in line with the different concepts related to how individuals experiences work/non-work relationships and in line with the 3 sets of propositions. I have been looking at the main pages as an explorative studies and I have used the theoretical propositions to scan the cities’ information. The overall approach of the paper is deductive as the theoretical framework of this paper drives the data collection. The author himself has developed the theoretical framework, which indicates that the validity of the collection and analysis of data is high. The main issue in terms of quality is the selection of pages and the extent to which each details have been looked over. This paper is an exploration and to the author an attempt to see if the overall idea of integrating a work/non-work perspective to urban development is holding. The
pages have been scanned to grasp the main structure of the information provided, the depth in all texts available have not been reached as I consider that migrants may in fact do such overall scanning before going into details.

THE URBAN DISCOURSE FROM A BOUNDARY PERSPECTIVE IN FOUR CITIES

In this part, I will take each set of propositions and discuss empirical material in line with these propositions.

The role of cities in terms of boundary development: proposition 1a & 1b: Cities present possibilities to create, develop and maintain the work, the family, the social and/or the private life domains as well as refer to the different seven elements that are managed by individuals between work and non-work, these elements are communicated via possible work/non-work activities.

Stockholm city clearly indicate into the "main menu" of the main page in Swedish, the centrality of 3 domains. First, there is a section about "work", then "family" is coved in terms of home and schools issues, thirdly "social and private" are merged in terms of culture & leisure. Positioning the mouse on these headings indicate clearer the nature of these domains for example, parks, sport and museum to enact private, social and/or family activities. Whereas the Swedish website and its different sections would enable any Swede to find steps to move to Stockholm, then English page is confusing. The domains are not that clear, unless leisure that is becoming a section of its own. Economics and business are also emphasized as it presents Stockholm as a city to invest in. Looking at the page about the city organisation, one can see some discourse about the family and how day-care is at the charge of the city. But no clear indication on how to migrate and no clear identification of domains

Paris, on its French page, presents diverse "service" offers and the most used are visible directly on the main page. Among other, one can see direct icons about the family issues but also social or private issues with icons about tennis, sport, parc, and libraries. Beside these icons, nothing is set as "menu" unless the heading "Paris pratique" that could be understood for that. Looking at the English version, the number of icons used reduces, but a page "guide for foreign resident" is indicated (http://www.paris.fr/english/english/guide-for-foreign-residents/p8140). On this page, three domains are presented: "the family" in terms of housing and accommodation (home), "work" with special link on "employment" as well as "social and private" with a section about "what to do in Paris". Another page is also easily accessible, indicating what are the steps to follow to install in France (http://www.paris.fr/english/guide-for-foreign-residents/the-necessary-steps-to-settling-in/p8145). On this page, family is again at the centre as it is explained how one can get kids registered to school in the section named "Children and families". Few information about the French employment agency is also displayed which could help the migrants or the spouse of the migrants to find information about a potential "work domain".

Berlin on its German page is only putting "the social" in the front in terms of culture. No clear relation to work and family is indicated. On the English version, "Business and Economy" issues are presented in a special section which is representing "the work domain". Nothing about "family" is presented even not about accommodation. Even if the page is not first made for tourism, it in fact seems the focus of the English version is different from the German as accommodation is largely more about holidays. Exploring further the section about "administration", no subsequent information is actually provided. No page on how to move to Berlin is visible. Some social aspects are however emerging but it seems to be aimed at tourism. The portal "berlin.de" does not feel to be of help for any migrant and no other portal has been found.

In Dubai, two sections may draw the migrants' attention, first the section called "entertainment" where both private and social are visible. The private is clearly visible in terms of "SPA" that can be used to restore oneself or may be can be associated with social and leisure. The second section of interest is called "residents" where information about living conditions are presented. In this section, "work" is perceivable with information about business, with connection to recruitment agencies. In this section, also "family" is perceivable with "kidzone" and "teenscape". The private is also present with "fitness club" and health information. "the Social" is also present with "art". In the overall section called resident, a special page appears called "relocating to Dubai" (http://www.dubacityguide.com/site/residents/relocate.asp). Under this special page, work, family, accommodation, education and services, as well as private in terms of health are definitively the main subjects.

Looking at the different elements can be complex as they refer to each domain. But few elements may be put forward. First, space is central in all cities especially when it comes to describe "home" and accommodation issues. On the Paris web, an interactive map where one can search for address and look what is offered around is also available. This can help to localize schools that are close to home or vice-versa. Dubai has also maps that are easily located and can provide information such as areas of development or golf courts. The places of sport activities that can serve as in private and social spaces are also

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underlined as museum, swimming pools, tennis, badminton are mentioned as non-work places as well as clubs and bars that represent social. When it comes to space, it is striking how hard to it is on a single click to get information about the diverse quarters in the city. This is a little bit more possible for Dubai (a map is focused on that but not interactivity) and Stockholm (under vision). When it comes to Stockholm, I however notice that on the Swedish website it is easier to access development of new buildings and new quarters and an area view of the city is also possible enabling to localise spaces where one could live. Secondly, **time** is also part of the city discourse in terms of transport. All cities are presenting their transportation strategies and refer to transportation as way to connect diverse activities. Several pictures are also illustrating transportation issues, like bikes in Stockholm, like the new tramway in Paris. The picture thus underlines the sustainable aspect of the city. Time and the sustainable dimension in the city public transportation strategy are thus underlined. Thirdly, elements that are also referred to are **psychosomatic** elements especially in terms of health, stress and wellbeing in all cities unless Berlin. The term quality of life is used as their arguments especially in terms of parks, possible walks or gardens. Pictures showing open spaces are also visible for Paris and Stockholm. Finally, the **cognitive** boundaries are not as such named which can be understood, but the diversity of non-work activities especially the presentation of cities are event planners can be associated with the possibility to focus his or her mind away from work and thus segment thoughts.

**Learnings**

Scanning the pages from a "domain" perspective, it becomes indeed visible that communication is done through concrete boundaries communication. This is especially true when it comes to social and private activities and it is also supported in terms of transport that are central work/non-work activities. Additionally, I see first that no other domains are convey unless the "citizenship" domain as all cities are in fact referring to duties and rights and are presenting to diverse extent their organisation. It is also noticeable that the "social and private" are most often combined and the social is putting largely in the front. Cities want to be seen as social place. This is also noticeable in terms of pictures that are showing places where people are sharing drinks, or where people are interacting are displayed especially in Berlin, Stockholm and Paris. Few pictures are accessible on the main page from Dubai but largely less about social and more to show the modernity of the architecture. Additionally they want to convey the cities as international social place because cities like Paris and Stockholm are having special page about their "internationalisation" (see for example Paris, a city with an international profile: http://www.paris.fr/english/english/paris-a-city-with-an-international-profile/p8133). Work presented as the possibilities to get information about business activities is recurrent. This can support the fact that most migrants will have "financial possibilities" and can be self-employed (see Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Family is always indirectly presented as accommodation issue. Looking at the same pages in the light of the proposition 1b, it seems to indicate that spatial, temporal are to be in focus in the city ways to convey people about what element to be manageable. Urban development being in fact about planning space and time as its most concrete dimensions make send to this focus. Additionally, from a boundary perspective, enactment of mental boundary is indeed to place boundaries in time and space. Other elements such as psychosomatic elements are also central and this can be to demonstrate that cities that are often being as stressful way of life can be combined with possibilities to break from the stress and the "urban" pressures. Cognitive elements may be underlined but this is a diffuse conclusion.

**Overall, I would conclude that cities view 3 main domains: work, family and "social&private". A fourth domain in terms of citizen role may be explored. Only 2 elements are clearly and directly in focus in city, space and time. Psychosomatic and cognitive elements are also touched upon indirectly. Communication and cues that one can find related directly to concrete boundaries so it is about telling how enactment is possible in the described context.**

**The role of cities in terms of boundary preferences:** Proposition 2a & 2b: Cities reveal the extent to which they view life domains as segmented and/or integrated and the extent to which few elements are easily segmentable on daily basis and how other are easily integrable in the long run

When it comes to proposition 2 about the revelation by cities of preferences that could be fulfilled in their city, two cities are presenting vision that are indicating part of that aspect. Paris and Berlin are not presenting clear vision for the cities. Stockholm has an entire section about its vision accessible from its main page. Dubai has a vision when presenting relocation as an issue in the city. Figures 5 and 6 present the two visions.

**STOCKHOLM**

In 2030, Stockholm will be an accessible, safe region with no social or physical barriers. The city also features much-appreciated social services that supply Stockholmers with extensive opportunities to choose between various providers of health and care services as well as schools.

**A close-knit city**

Stockholm is a city without physical and social barriers. Through a series of new projects and cross-sector routes, the city’s districts and neighbouring municipalities have been linked with each other. All of the city’s districts feature diversity in housing, businesses, culture and services. This applies
particularly to the downtown area, where additional housing has been built, and in the Järva and Söderort districts. New housing has been added to these area while perserving the proximity to water and green areas.

**Smooth running transportation**
The new bypasses west and east of the City, and the extension ofNorra Länken and the E18 international highway, have improved commuting in the Stockholm-Mälaren region. The region's different parts are linked together by the extensions of the City Line rail link and the tram route from Hammarby Sjöstad to Slussen, and from Alvik to Solna and Kista. The underground has been extended from Odenplan to Karolinska Hospital, from Hägsätra to Älvsjö, and from Kungsträdgården to Nacka and Tyresö. The City tramway connects northwest Kungsholmen with the new city district in Värtan. Public transport runs on time and an increasing number of people choose to use it. Major investments have been made to increase the environmentally friendly option of trams, and to expand public transport fuelled by electricity and biogas, including marine transport... (http://international.stockholm.se/Future-Stockholm/Vision-2030/Citizens--Stockholm/)

Stockholm is a fantastic city! The combination of true city beat, a historical city centre, and proximity to water and nature is unique. Stockholm is growing rapidly and attracting people from all over the world, who move to our city to live, study, and work. Stockholm now has a great opportunity to grow into a more close-knit city. In order to meet the challenges of a fast growing city, long-term strategic planning is crucial. The Walkable City - Stockholm City Plan is a comprehensive water and land use plan for the municipality of Stockholm, as well as a governing document. The plan is a first concrete step to realize the city's future vision; Stockholm the Capital of Scandinavia - a World Class City. The plan presents four strategies for sustainable growth: Strengthening central Stockholm, focusing on strategic nodes, connecting different city areas, and creating a vibrant urban environment in all of Stockholm (http://international.stockholm.se/Future-Stockholm/Stockholm-City-Plan/)

Figure 5: The Vision of Stockholm

The city of Stockholm is really focused on integration as a main strategy. The micro transitions (daily) between different parts of the city are in focus with transportation and the idea of no "physical boundaries" is explicit to the city. The "vibrant" aim to be spread in the city is an essential par of the "emotion" that the city want to create with no separation. Somehow, segmentation and daily transitions may be facilitating by the "strategic nodes". Individuals may have no difficulty to separate work and non-work as transition is simple. It also seems that non-work activities will be available in the diverse parts of the city so that the social and the private can be performed to disengage from work. However, on the long term, a sense of having all domains physically close make sense and would be in line with integration as "long term" strategy. I would thus say that Stockholm is communicating possibilities to realise one's preferences and to daily segment and in the long run integrate.

**Dubai**

More and more people emigrate to the city for quality of life, outstanding employment prospects and to experience the very best in the world of work and lifestyle.

Dubai is continually growing to be home to an exciting, diverse, multi-cultural blend of young, dynamic and professional people enjoying the unrivalled quality of life that the Emirate has to offer. It is no surprise therefore that Dubai has recorded that fastest growth in population in the world. More and more people emigrate to the city for quality of life, outstanding employment prospects and to experience the very best in the world of work and lifestyle. For beginners here are some handy guides compiled by us which should make your task of settling down in this city a little easy.

Figure 6: The Vision of Dubai (http://www.dubaicityguide.com/site/residents/relocate.asp)

The focus of Dubai is to possibility to combine work and develop a lifestyle. The definition however of lifestyle is not clear, unless the international, the modern and high standard profile that is visible in other part of the web. This profile may in fact attract migrants with a specific preference as work/non-work preferences are not wholly personal but also social. The location of Dubai as one of the major city in the middle-east (the rest being largely deserted) could also implies integration. The location of golf courts in the middle of the city or some rooftops may also be a sign of integration. Nothing is however visible when it comes to daily or long-term.

**Learnings**

This exploration shows that clear information from the city about the possibility to integrate and/or to segment is missing. Only Stockholm is, in an easier way, sharing a clear vision with possible migrants and lots of information can be gathered to realise that it will be possible to integrate and to segment and that that segmentation will be possible on daily bases whereas the city and it connectivity will make integration on the long-term possible. The lack of clear information does not indicate that cities do not have thought, but they do not enable migrants to access their vision. Cities may not consider that migrants search for cues in how to reach better life in terms of integration/segmentation. Further research is needed.

Overall I would conclude that cities are either not indicating their stand between work/non-work integration and segmentation or are rather explicit in their vision. In that case the daily and long term may be in line with individual's preferences.
CONCLUSIONS

Going back to the sets of propositions done (see figure 7 above), I would conclude from this exploration that 2 major domains are in focus in the city planning namely work and family and that private and social are combined into one domain. This combination is certainly due to the fact that similar work/non-work activities may be performed either as social elements to develop a sense of belongingness or a private element to enable restoration. The focus on the work/non-work activities as cues that individuals can get from the communication of the cities is explaining this accumulation of these domains. The focus on work/non-work activities and thus on the concrete boundaries reveals that cities are having a role in the "enactment" process of the boundaries. This sustains the idea that the cities can be definitely seen as one the contexts in which individuals are enacting their boundaries. Especially, the cities define "space" and "time" for individuals as the city becomes on the most concrete or direct context in one's life. From this exploration, it also becomes essential that a new domain may be emerging as a result of urban migration, namely how to become a "citizen" in the urban context. This can lead to work/non-work activities of a new nature as they may relate to the sense of community. This new "community/citizenship oriented" domain may be different from the social and the private. Friedman (2006) indicates in the US context that such "community" domain may be existing and is critical to the meaning of life. Cities may play a role in that role. Additionally, in regards to the second set of propositions, the findings suggest that cities are not reflecting in a systematic way their views in enabling individuals to reach work/non-work equilibrium. The actual vision of the cities in terms of work/non-work preferences is either not at all communicated or well developed like in Stockholm City. The level of knowledge about work-life issues in the different countries and the "political" and "social" debates about these issues may influence how clear cities feel they need to be about their stand. Sweden is indeed having work/life issues in the centre of the society so that it may be seen as central for movers in the countries and the national strategy may be used at the international level.

Policy Implications
At first, the role of cities in shaping one's work/non-work process and thus one's right to work/non-work equilibrium must be recognised. Due to a lack of clarity about the vision between integration and segmentation, cities authority should reflect more systematically on these aspects. The "role model" strategy of Stockholm city could be put forward. Additionally, having personally discussed with architects and professors in town planning, it seems that a clear view of work/non-work research and its learning’s since the 70s would be useful for them to better frame this dimension into their building and city planning. Having a work/non-work awareness behind the current "societal" and "sociological" knowledge would put individual's in the centre of the city planning. This would maybe enable to avoid development of urban context and housing complex that are not answering any needs and are not fitted to the local population. Several examples are in 2013 observable in central China with the "city phantom phenomena". (see http://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2013/03/05/01003-20130305ARTFIG00335-en-chine-d-immenses-cites-vides-depuis-des-annees.php).

In the light of the model used in this paper, as space and time are not the main issues for reaching work/non-work equilibrium, the inclusion of other dimensions than space and time must be carefully thought of for continuing to develop better human based cities. I believe that emotional boundaries and cognitive boundaries are also influenced by cities and this could be reflected more as emotional boundary management is central for long term integration and cognitive boundary.
management is essential for daily segmentation. Here are few quotes of individuals who refers to cities' roles in regards to these aspects:

- “To alleviate my stress, I spend some time shopping on my way back home between 18:30 and 19:00” (Marine, 28 year old)
- “Indeed, I believe that the separation between private and professional life maybe stronger in Paris than in Madel (small city). In Paris, there is the issue of physical distance, you rarely mix colleagues; well, thinking of the colleagues I have had in Paris, I notice that once you have left the office you do not see them again. There is huge geographical distance. In a way, everyone goes home and there is no real connection.” (Marine, 28 year old)
- “Indeed, what I appreciate is to have a little bit of time even only to go and have a coffee at a café on Saturday morning. Just use the time to lose a bit of time, well, I do not do nothing because it is difficult to do nothing but resting for 10 or 15 minutes is important. And on weekends I may see friends or go to the theatre, but I try to keep some time for myself.” (Sarah, 55 year old, reflecting about her “private” life)
- “For me, work-related troubles stop at the office’s doors, especially when I see the few trees out of the office building.” (Paul, 50 year old, separation between work and non-work)

All in whole, integrating a work/non-work perspective in urban planning by systematically reflecting on how individuals may achieve work/non-work equilibrium through boundary management would enable cities to develop new types plans, policies and practices for their urban development. The systematic and conscientious used of a "work/non-work filter" on urban plans, policies and practices would enable cities to reinforce their participation to CSR and sustainability. It would enable policies and cities to integrate a "human" dimension to the responsibility towards society and their main stakeholders, namely "citizens".

Further research
This paper is an brief exploration and further research must be conducted using more cities but also looking closer at a broader set of information by cities among those city magazines, discourses of cities representatives, annual reports, and strategy documents. It will be essential to also interview city planners about their awareness about work/life issues. It could be also valuable to also grasp citizens’ view to understand how they selected to live a specific places and see of the "work/life" issues is part of the decision process. Here for example one illustration:

“I was looking for a place to live. I sent few pictures by emails to Thara from different locations but I stopped doing so. Immediately after getting confirmation about the position, I started to look more actively and it was done in two weeks. One criterion was to be close to school or to a bus line so that the kids could be more independent” (Thibault, 34 year old, look for house in a new city)

I also believe that more research about how city-planning education integrates work/non-work issue could be an interesting research to how the urban context that is designed by external forces and that will in fact shape individuals' behaviours and life is from its beginning including work-life issues that are so central to individuals’ well-being and to the societal well-being.

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