

## **Multiple jobholding: An integrative systematic review and future research agenda**

By: Emily D. Campion, [Brianna B. Caza](#), and Sherry E. Moss

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### **Abstract:**

Despite sizable but varying estimates of multiple jobholding (MJH) and decades of research across disciplines (e.g., management, economics, sociology, health and medicine), our understanding of MJH is rather limited. The purpose of this review is to provide a coherent synthesis of the literature on MJH, or working more than one job. Beginning with a discussion of the motivations and demographic predictors that forecast MJH, we note a distinct divide between the research that predicts MJH and the research that examines outcomes, with few studies exploring how motivations might relate to MJH experiences and outcomes. Another significant observation in this review is the inconsistency of findings across and within disciplines regarding whether MJH is depleting or enriching. Using this framework to organize our review, we attempt to reconcile the generally mixed results by presenting research on mechanisms and boundary conditions of MJH to explain how and when multiple jobholders (MJHers) are depleted or enriched. By integrating findings from the literature, we are able to articulate more clearly the paths of depletion and enrichment and discuss how push versus pull-based motivations to hold multiple jobs likely predict these pathways. Finally, we provide a strategic agenda highlighting areas where additional research is urgently needed to equip scholars with practical knowledge on how to help MJHers manage their multiple work roles and how to help organizations manage MJHers.

**Keywords:** multiple jobholding | enrichment versus depletion | push versus pull

### **Article:**

Historically, management scholars have sought to understand the experience of working one job within a single organization. While this has been considered the normative model of employment, we are seeing growing numbers of, and therefore increased scholarly interest in, individuals who work multiple jobs for multiple organizations. Experts estimate that between 5% and 35% of the working population in the United States juggles multiple jobs (Manyika, Lund, Bughin, Mischke, & Mahajan, 2016; Upwork & Freelancers Union, 2018; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017).<sup>1</sup> Some workers hold a combination of full- and part-time jobs, while others

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<sup>1</sup> The recent focus on the “gig economy” has provoked a debate on the prevalence of gig or independent work (increase: Manyika, Lund, Bughin, Mischke, & Mahajan, 2016; decrease: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2018a). However, this discussion is outside the scope of the current review. Further, it is important to note that since

accumulate a portfolio of part-time jobs (Alboher, 2012; Handy, 1995). Researchers project a steady upward trend in multiple jobholding (MJH) as the economy moves toward short-term labor models and online contract platforms grow across industries (Barley, Bechkey, & Milliken, 2017; Kuhn & Maleki, 2017). Given the obvious progression of MJH, and its relevance to our understanding of the modern work experience, it is problematic that our theories of work tend to assume a single job and organization model because such theories lack the explanatory power necessary to understand this complex phenomenon (Caza, Moss, & Vough, 2018).

The theoretical challenge of studying MJH was noted in Wilensky's (1963) seminal article on MJH when he pointed to various depictions of MJH in the media and concluded that "the range of fact and opinion about moonlighting [MJH] discourages understanding and prediction" (Wilensky, 1963: 106). Even after a half century's worth of empirical evidence on the what, when, and how of MJH across a variety of disciplines (e.g., management, economics, sociology, health and medicine), this sentiment still rings true. The MJH literature has grown in volume but still suffers from inadequate theoretical development and limited disciplinary integration. As a result, there are sometimes discrepant findings regarding the nature and impact of MJH on workers, their families, and their organizations (Sliter & Boyd, 2014). Taken together, the growing size and variation of this population of workers, the dearth of theory, and inconsistency of findings make this topic worthy of immediate attention.

The purpose of this review is to synthesize the currently disorganized literature on MJH and introduce a theoretical framework that accommodates findings across disciplines and addresses discrepancies. Specifically, we organize our review using the empirically robust depletion-versus-enrichment framework because whether MJH is depleting or enriching remains the most critical inconsistency from a management perspective. Rooted in role theory, this framework posits that occupying multiple work roles will yield either resource loss (depletion; Goode, 1960) or resource generation (enrichment; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006). While some studies suggest that adding a second or third job is depleting and leads to negative individual and workplace outcomes (Boyd, Sliter, & Chatfield, 2016; Grant, 1977), others find it enriching, yielding better performance (Livanos & Zangelidis, 2012), higher overall job satisfaction (Baba & Jamal, 1992), and a greater sense of authenticity (Caza et al., 2018). We argue that depletion and enrichment are both possible outcomes and depend on the when, why, and how of MJH.

Synthesizing existing research through this framework contributes to the literature in three important ways. First, we challenge the long-held notion that MJH is a zero-sum resource game that solely yields depletion and provide evidence illustrating that MJH can be an opportunity for resource generation. Second, we integrate the push versus pull career motivation and the depletion-versus-enrichment frameworks to build a theoretical bridge between economists who have focused on why people hold multiple jobs and organizational scholars who have examined

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the mid-1990s (U.S. BLS, 2018b), the BLS has consistently estimated about 5% of the U.S. working population are multiple jobholders. This suggests that regardless of the "gig economy," multiple jobholding (MJH) remains a condition of modern work life worthy of scholarly focus. It is also worth noting that the wide-range estimate is partly due to the inconsistent conceptualization and operationalization (see Definition section) in addition to survey instruments the BLS uses that captures MJH only in the week prior to the survey (see Hirsch & Winters, 2016). While on any given week only 5% of the U.S. population have more than one job, over the course of a full year, the percentage of people who held multiple jobs is substantially greater.

the effects of MJH. Extrapolating from existing findings, we explain how a push-based motivation (e.g., financial need) will likely yield depletion while a pull-based motivation (e.g., psychological fulfillment) will likely result in enrichment. Finally, by summarizing the literature on *how* multiple jobholders (MJHers) manage their work, we illustrate the dynamism of MJH wherein depletion and enrichment may both occur but in different ways and at different times. This insight allows us to highlight theoretical, but untested, mediators and moderators for future research.

## Method

We adopted an inclusive approach in reviewing and integrating the MJH literature. First, because this body of research exists across disciplines, we conducted a broad search of peer-reviewed articles using the following terms: *multiple jobholder/jobholding*, *moonlighter/ moonlighting*, *dual jobholder/jobholding*, *second jobholder/jobholding*, *portfolio worker*, and *hybrid entrepreneur/entrepreneurship*. We searched Business Source Complete, PsycINFO, and PsycARTICLES without year or geographic restrictions and identified 228 distinct articles. We eliminated those that were not peer reviewed (e.g., popular press; however, we included dissertations), did not directly examine the incidence or impact of holding more than one job, or examined only unpaid work (e.g., volunteering). This process yielded 184 relevant articles. We systematically coded the following: term used for MJH and definition, theory, sample, MJH motivations, antecedents, dependent variables, moderators, and mediators. See Table 1 for a sample of studies coded and see Online Appendix A for citations of all articles in this review. It should be noted that researchers have studied MJH across the world, including Europe, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Africa (e.g., Ghana, Nigeria), and Asia (e.g., Indonesia, Bangladesh; Online Appendix B). While the majority of samples were from the United States or Europe, the dispersion of MJH additionally highlights the widespread nature of this phenomenon and utility of this review.

MJH received only scattered attention in the 1960s until the 1990s (see Online Appendix C), but it has received a surge of scholarly interest in the past 20 years. In Table 2, we provide counts of articles published on MJH by discipline and type of variable examined. This table demonstrates that while economists (67/184) and management scholars (64/184) have largely dominated this literature, it has also attracted attention in industry subdisciplines, such as health care (22/184), likely due to the prevalence of moonlighting among medical residents and nurses. It also shows that while economists have generally been interested in predicting MJH (48/67), management scholars have been more interested in outcomes (49/64), mediators (17/64), and moderators (15/64). Finally, this descriptive overview of the literature demonstrates that while sometimes discussed as a symptom of poverty or low skill (Gringeri, 2001), there are surprisingly few publications (12/184) on the sociological features of MJH.

**Table 1.** Sample of Empirical Studies on Multiple Jobholding (MJH) Across Disciplines

Citation	Term Used	Discipline	Theoretical Perspective	Type of Data	Study Context	Antecedent of MJH	Moderator/ Mechanism	Outcome of MJH
Boyd, Sliter, and Chatfield (2016)	Second job holders	Management	Conservation of resources and role theory	Quantitative	Firefighters in a midwestern city	Work-family, family-work interference for each job	Work-family conflict in primary and secondary job	Emotional exhaustion, life satisfaction, exercise
Caza, Moss, and Vough (2018)	Plural careerists	Management	Identity theory	Qualitative	Snowball sample of plural careerists	Feeling incomplete, having unexpressed identities	Identity and authentication	Enhancement, self-presentation
Inness, Barling, and Turner (2005)	Moonlighter	Management	Social interaction theory	Quantitative	Nonfaculty staff and continuing education students at two Canadian universities	Individual differences (self-esteem, history of aggression) and situational factors (interactional justice, abusive supervision)	N/A	Workplace aggression in primary and secondary job
Marucci-Wellman, Lombardi, and Willetts (2016)	Multiple jobholder	Health and medicine	N/A	Quantitative	Bureau of Labor Statistics American Time Use Study	Multiple jobholder versus single jobholder	N/A	Amount of sleep
Fraser and Gold (2001)	Portfolio workers/freelancers	Sociology	N/A	Mixed method	United Kingdom-based freelance translators	Motivations: 1. Always wanted to be freelance 2. Wanted a change from in-house translation job 3. Wanted a change from nontranslation job 4. Made redundant from in-house translation job 5. No in-house translation jobs available 6. Change of circumstances (e.g., needed to combine work with childcare)	N/A	Degree of choice, relationship with clients, workflows, and earnings
Raffel and Groff (1990)	Moonlighting/ sunlighting (reluctant vs. willing)	Education	Constraining versus constructive model of MJH	Quantitative	Primary education teachers	Motivations: 1. Financial motivation 2. Diversion or develop interests 3. Career change	N/A	MJH, job satisfaction, turnover intentions
Wu, Baimbridge, and Zhu (2009)	Multiple jobholding	Economics	Utility theory	Quantitative	British Household Panel Survey	Motivations: 1. Hours constrained 2. Hedge against unemployment 3. Financial pressure 4. Heterogeneous jobs	N/A	MJH

**Table 2.** Number of Publications on Multiple Jobholding (MJH) Since 1960 by Discipline

Discipline	Number of Published Articles	Antecedents of			
		MJH	Outcomes of MJH	Moderators	Mediators
Culture studies	2	1	2	0	1
Economics	67	48	47	9	3
Education	7	7	7	0	0
Health and medicine	22	18	16	4	0
Management	64	45	49	15	17
Political science	2	2	2	1	0
Psychology	8	4	4	1	0
Public relations	1	0	1	0	1
Sociology	12	9	10	3	0

*Note:* Not all studies in review tested relationships. Some were reviews or theoretical and others provided descriptive statistics without testing relationships, which is why the numbers do not add to total number of published articles.

### Definition of MJH

While it seems straightforward that an MJHer is someone who works more than one job, scholarly definitions have ranged considerably from quite liberal—“working more than one job at a time” (Allen, 1998: 190)—to rather restrictive—having “two separate jobs in two separate organizations and work[ing] for two separate supervisors” (Inness, Barling, & Turner, 2005: 733) (see Table 3 for more examples). Further, policy-based definitions used to understand rates of MJH tend to exclude the self-employed (Lale, 2015). This inconsistency, and perhaps unnecessary exclusivity, in definitions poses validity concerns related to estimates, ability to synthesize research, and generalizability of findings.

**Table 3.** Example Definitions of Multiple Jobholding From the Literature

Citation	Discipline	Term	Definition
Paxson and Sicherman (1996)	Economics	Dual job holding	Holding a second job
Marucci-Wellman, Willetts, Lin, Brennan, and Verma (2014)	Health and medicine	Multiple jobholding	Working “more than 1 job in a 1-week period” (p. 1488)
Caza, Moss, and Vough (2018)	Management	Plural careerists	“People engaging in two or more jobs simultaneously for identity rather than financial reasons” (p. 3)
Nelson (1999)	Sociology	Entrepreneurial moonlighting	“Self-employment that occurs as side work taken on in addition to one’s ‘regular job’” (p. 519)
Arcuri, Gunn, and Lester (1987)	Psychology	Moonlighting	Holding a second job
Eggleston and Bir (2006)	Health and medicine	Dual practitioner	“Physicians employed in government clinics and hospitals (who) also . . . have private practices” (p. 157)
Burmeister-Lamp, Levesque, and Schade (2012)	Management	Hybrid entrepreneur	“Those who maintain a wage job while starting a new enterprise” (p. 456)

In addition, scholars have used a handful of terms to refer to MJHers—*hybrid entrepreneurs*, *dual practitioners*, *plural careerists*, *portfolio workers*, and *moonlighters*—that also obstruct the integration of findings. Conceptually, these terms overlap in that they all refer to individuals who work more than one job; however, there is variance among them. A hybrid entrepreneur is an

individual who works a waged position and is also starting a business on the side (Raffiee & Feng, 2014; Thorgren, Siren, Nordstrom, & Wincent, 2016). A dual practitioner is exclusive to the medical field (Socha & Bech, 2011). Plural careerists are defined, in part, by whether they identify with their multiple jobs (Caza et al., 2018), and portfolio workers work for more than one client (Clinton, Totterdell, & Wood, 2006). The most commonly used term, aside from MJHers, is *moonlighters*. Yet, it is potentially a loaded term. The Oxford Dictionary (2019) defines *moonlighting* as having “a second job, typically secretly, and at night” (Dickey, Watson, & Zangelidis, 2011), which is not generally the case for MJHers.

In an effort to include the diversity of multiple job arrangements, drawing from our review and synthesis of these terms, we propose the following definition of MJH:

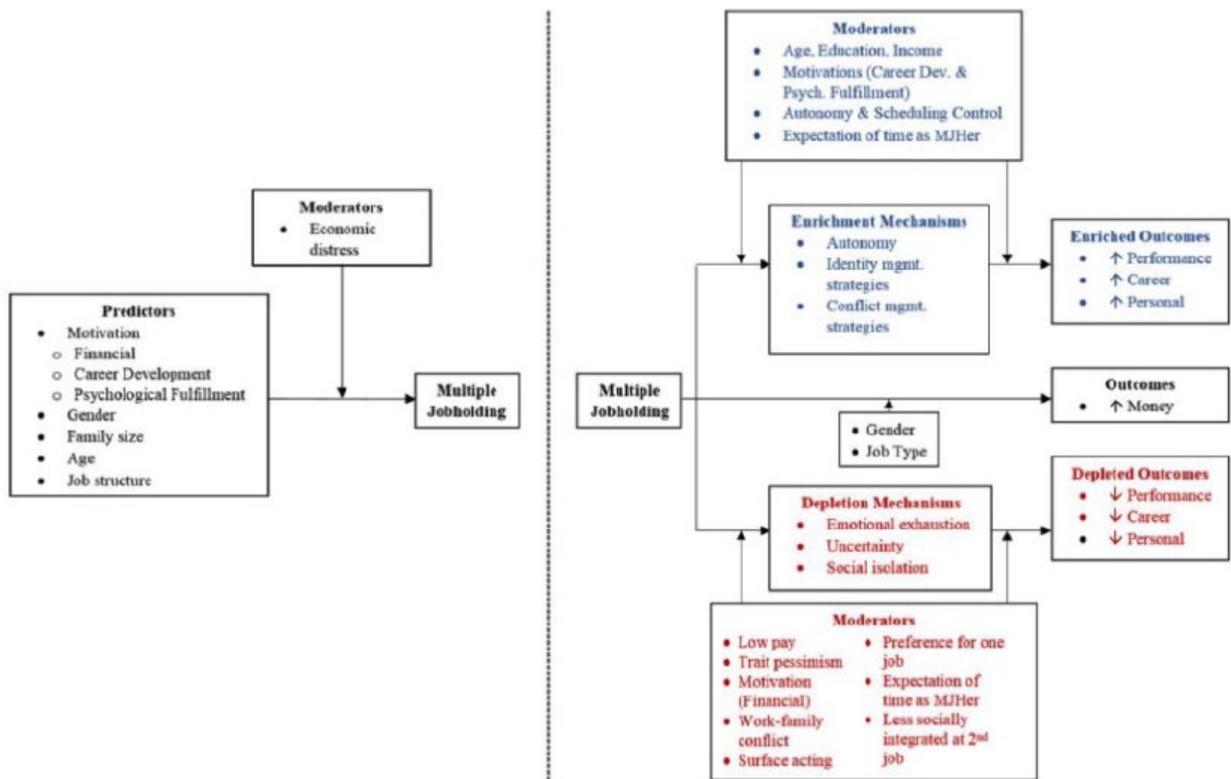
The act of working more than one job simultaneously, including working for employers and self-employment, wherein all tasks, or sets of tasks, are performed in exchange for, or expectation of, compensation.

This definition requires engagement in at least two or more separate, compensated jobs simultaneously (e.g., working one job during the day and a different job at night), rather than working a job, quitting, and then starting a new job. We include “expectation of compensation” for when individuals are paid in equity (e.g., Schiller, 2018) or their new venture is not yet generating income (e.g., hybrid entrepreneurs). As we review the literature, we use the specific term(s) from the article being discussed, as they all fall under our definition of *MJHer*.

It is important to note that MJH is distinct from, but can overlap with, the concept of “gig economy work.” Gig work is generally defined by (a) the independence and separation of workers from organizations, (b) the short-term nature of the work, and (c) project-based payment (Ashford, Caza, & Reid, 2018; Manyika et al., 2016; Spreitzer, Cameron, & Garrett, 2017). Meanwhile, MJH is a broader concept that captures working and managing multiple jobs simultaneously, which may or may not be short term or project based. Therefore, while MJH and gig work are often concomitant because independent, short-term, project-based work naturally lends itself to MJH, this is not necessarily always the case. In this review, we focus exclusively on MJH, though gig work, at times, is relevant to this discussion.

## **A Systematic Review of the MJH Literature**

We review the literature as follows. Beginning with a brief overview of depletion versus enrichment to orient our findings, we then synthesize research on individual motivations and demographic trends to elucidate why individuals hold multiple jobs. Next, we examine the sometimes discrepant outcomes of MJH and the mechanisms underlying these effects. Then, we analyze reported moderators to explore when MJH may be depleting or enriching. In our discussion of mediators and moderators, we aim to explain why some MJHers experience depletion and others experience resource gains. Finally, we integrate findings from our review and propose a future research agenda. In Figure 1, we present a summative, integrated model of MJH identifying the antecedents and outcomes that currently exist in the literature and the depletion (red) and enrichment pathways (blue) that link them.



**Figure 1.** A Model of Multiple Jobholding

The depletion-versus-enrichment framework was developed to understand the consequences of managing multiple, distinct roles (Goode, 1960). While it is most frequently applied to work–family roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Rothbard, 2001), this framework is also relevant to MJH. Traditional role theorists argue that role accumulation causes depletion due to role conflict and overload, yielding poor performance at work and problems at home (Grandey & Cropanzano, 1999). While this perspective has dominated the literature, enrichment has gained traction (e.g., Ramarajan, Rothbard, & Wilk, 2017). According to this view, role accumulation can energize, enhance well-being, and create meaning (Owens, Baker, Sumpter, & Cameron, 2016; Sieber, 1974). As Rothbard noted, “the enrichment argument assumes that the benefits of multiple roles outweigh the costs associated with them, leading to net gratification” (2001: 656). In reviewing the literature, we highlight how depletion and enrichment are both likely outcomes of MJH. Beginning with predictors of MJH, we demonstrate the mechanisms through and conditions under which MJHers lose or gain resources from this work arrangement.

**Predictors: Who Works More Than One Job and Why?**

In his seminal article, Wilensky (1963) interviewed 119 White male moonlighters across classes and occupations and found that MJH is not a class phenomenon but one driven primarily by (a) a history of working several jobs, (b) consumption pressure, (c) perceptions of deprivation, and (d) worker orientation toward mobility. Wilensky and others have assumed MJHers are primarily driven to work multiple jobs for financial or career-related reasons. More recently, however,

scholarship suggests that personal motivators, such as monetizing a passion project (Caza et al., 2018), can pull individuals into MJH.

Our review of the motivations to work several jobs yielded three main categories: financial, career development, and psychological fulfillment (see Table 4). *Finances* emerged as the most reported reason. In the first attempt to create a theory of why individuals hold multiple jobs, Shishko and Rostker (1976) tested and found support for the notion that an individual’s labor supply, or the willingness to work an additional job, fell as she or he accrued more hours in their primary job. This became known as the “hours-constraint hypothesis” (Dickey, Watson, & Zangelidis, 2015; Hirsch, Husain, & Winters, 2016b). Similarly, others found that salaried employees who would not earn more by working more hours in their primary job worked a second job to supplement their earnings (“earnings-constraint hypothesis”; Hirsch, Husain, & Winters, 2016a). While economists consider financial motivation in relation to constraints, scholars in other disciplines discuss it in terms of economic need (e.g., Throsby & Zednik, 2011). For example, MJH can be used as a way to manage inconsistent earnings in one’s primary job (“precautionary savings hypothesis”; Guariglia & Kim, 2004) or as a risk aversion technique to protect from perceived job insecurity (Hlouskova, Tsigaris, Caplanova, & Sivak, 2017). Studies show that artists tend to diversify the risk associated with uneven employment in their art (e.g., theater, photography, dance) by also working in more stable occupations (e.g., retail, hospitality) (Menger, 2017). Finally, some work additional jobs to save money for future, nonurgent expenditures, such as buying a new car (e.g., Abdukadir, 1992). Finance-focused perspectives on MJH motivation reflect the intuitive alignment between money and work. Perceiving an economic deficiency or potential deficiency as motivating human behavior has received sufficient empirical support (e.g., Averett, 2001). However, focusing on the clear link between money and work can impede identification of other important motivations and consequently neglect the possibility that MJH may also promise nonpecuniary benefits.

**Table 4.** Categories of Motivations of Multiple Jobholding

Motivational Category	Example Motivations
Finances	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hours constraint</li> <li>• Pay off debts</li> <li>• Meet regular expenses</li> <li>• Insure against job insecurity</li> <li>• Buy something special</li> <li>• Save for the future</li> </ul>
Career development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Heterogeneous job model</li> <li>• Opportunity to learn new skills</li> <li>• Learn about another industry</li> <li>• Work shifts of primary job (e.g., firefighters)</li> </ul>
Psychological fulfillment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enjoy the work</li> <li>• Identity expression</li> <li>• Desire to mix with other people</li> <li>• Balance out negative primary job experiences</li> <li>• Work–life balance and flexibility</li> </ul>

The second category of motivations relates to *career development*. Economists introduced the heterogeneous job model (Renna & Oaxaca, 2006), or the job portfolio model, for motivations that did not fit squarely within finances (Hirsch et al., 2016a, 2016b). Career development motivations include desire for task diversity (Fraser & Gold, 2001) and exploration of alternate

career paths. Consistent with this model, scholars found that a second job may enable workers to practice, build, and maintain skills related to their primary occupation to potentially help them transition to new careers (Arora, 2013; Russo, Fronteira, Jesus, & Buchan, 2018). In studies comparing finance and career motivations, career motivations were more predictive of the likelihood to hold multiple jobs (Dickey et al., 2015; Wu, Baimbridge, & Zhu, 2009).

The last category of MJH motivations is *psychological fulfillment*. This is not surprising as more than a century of research supports the notion that humans are interested in fulfilling personal needs through work (Hackman & Oldham, 1976; Wrzesniewski, LoBuglio, Dutton, & Berg, 2013). Some workers find their vocational aspirations and passion cannot be fulfilled by a single job and therefore take on second or third jobs to achieve these (Caza et al., 2018). Other research suggests that some work several jobs because they enjoy the work (Averett, 2001) or to have new experiences (Osborne & Warren, 2006), which can be enriching.

In addition to these three categories of motivations, researchers have uncovered demographic and situational factors correlated with MJH. For instance, research on gender and MJH suggests that historically, men were more likely to moonlight than women (Pearson, Carroll, & Hall, 1994) and that this trend is particularly prevalent in certain occupations, such as teaching (Betts, 2004; Timothy & Nkwama, 2017) and law enforcement (McKenzie, 2017). One study showed that men were more likely than women to be self-employed in their secondary job (Nelson, 1999). However, other data suggest that women are more likely to hold multiple jobs than men (e.g., Kumar & Chaturvedi, 2017; Panos, Pouliakas, & Zangelidis, 2009), particularly during times of economic distress (Ameudo-Dorantes & Kimmel, 2009). Family demographics also play a role such that a larger family is associated with a lower probability of MJH, especially for women with younger children (Allen, 1998; Husain, 2014). However, as children grow older and attend school all day, mothers are more likely to moonlight than fathers (Averett, 2001). Unsurprisingly, evidence suggests younger workers are more likely to work multiple jobs than older workers (e.g., Dickey et al., 2011). The structure of one's primary job also predicts whether someone will seek another job. For example, firefighters' and police workers' nontraditional shifts created opportunities for additional work (Miller, Presley, & Sniderman, 1973). Finally, as Wilensky (1963) suggested, there also seems to be a momentum effect to MJH such that individuals who already work two or three jobs are more likely to do so in the future (Nunoo, Darfor, Koomson, & Arthur, 2016).

### *Summary*

Why individuals work more than one job has been one of the most frequently analyzed issues in this literature. Our review suggests individuals work several jobs either because they are pushed to do so (e.g., financial reasons) or because they are pulled into it for professional (e.g., career development) or personal (e.g., psychological fulfillment) reasons. As such, the push versus pull career motivation framework (Bretz, Boudreau, & Judge, 1994) helps to frame two broad narratives about why people work several jobs. First, workers who are constrained to a certain number of hours in their primary job, or whose primary job does not offer a living wage, are pushed into taking additional jobs to meet their needs. Second, some are pulled into MJH for career growth and personal fulfillment. It is likely that push and pull co-occur, with one usually dominating. These orientations toward MJH have important implications regarding MJHers'

experience with resource loss (depletion) or gain (enrichment). With few exceptions (Campion, 2018; Hennekam, 2015, 2017; Raffel & Groff, 1990), researchers have not directly tested how motivation relates to outcomes, which makes it difficult to ascertain how motivation affects depletion or enrichment of MJH (see vertical dotted line in Figure 1).

### Outcomes of MJH: What Is the Evidence for Depletion and Enrichment?

The second major question that has preoccupied MJH scholars concerns the impact of MJH. Our review reveals evidence of both depletion and enrichment across four broad categories of outcomes: financial, career, performance, and personal.

#### *Financial*

One would expect that working a second or third job would be financially enriching, and some research supports this (Gruen, Anwar, Begum, Killingsworth, & Normand, 2002). Notably, those who work a second job under the table (e.g., police officers paid in cash for security work) may be able to shelter some of their income from taxes (Brunet, 2008), thus further improving their finances. One study found that engaging in self-employment as a second job can increase the probability of higher earnings compared to those holding two jobs when neither is self-employed (Schulz, Urbig, & Procher, 2017).

#### *Career*

Research on MJH and career outcomes shows it is generally enriching as MJHers experience skill and task variety, job transitions, and skill acquisition. Studies show that doing something different from one's primary job in a second job can create meaning (Arora, 2013) and enrich the overall experience of work due, in part, to taking breaks and recovering between jobs (Caza et al., 2018; Hennekam, 2015). Further, studies on freelance translators, teachers, and nurses found MJH to be liberating because workers had creative freedom and the power to add or drop clients (Fenwick, 2006; Fraser & Gold, 2001). The autonomy and personal control MJHers may enjoy over their own career is a particularly notable career outcome.

One compelling advantage of MJH is the acquisition of new skills, which can support promotions in primary jobs or transitions into new jobs or occupations. While individuals who hold a second job in the same field as their primary job do not tend to change careers (Panos, Pouliakas, & Zangelidis, 2014), others may use their second job as a stepping-stone to a new career (Panos et al., 2009), such as self-employment (e.g., hybrid entrepreneurs; Thorgren et al., 2016). Demetry's (2017) study on pop-up restaurants illustrates such a transition wherein emerging chefs "practiced" creating mealtime experiences on a part-time basis—in addition to having "day jobs"—to grow their skills. While hybrid entrepreneurs are typically more risk averse than those who make a clean cut from waged labor to self-employment (Folta, Delmar, & Wennberg, 2010), at least one study showed that transitioning via hybrid entrepreneurship had a higher rate of new-venture survival than through traditional entrepreneurship (Raffiee & Feng, 2014). Part of this success may be attributable to MJH providing aspiring entrepreneurs a safer path to develop skills in the transition from hobbyists to business owners. To date, research

overwhelmingly supports MJH as a tool for career enrichment through opportunities to develop skills, test self-employment, and experience meaning through autonomy and task variety.

### *Performance*

In contrast to research on financial and career outcomes, how MJH affects performance remains contentious. For example, Winters (2010) found MJH teachers spend 1 hr less per week at their primary teaching jobs than single jobholders (SJHers; also see Goodwin & Mishra, 2004). Scholars have found similar evidence among MJH lecturers, with fewer publications (Olgunde, Akindede, & Akande, 2013); MJH police officers, with fewer arrests (W. Walsh, 1986); and MJH politicians, with fewer legislative efforts (Hurka, Obholzer, & Daniel, 2018), generally supporting the depletion perspective.

Yet, researchers have also found no difference between MJHers and SJHers on objective performance-related measures, failing to fully support the depletion perspective (Arcuri, Gunn, & Lester, 1987; Bell & Roach, 1990; N. Bennett, Carson, Carson, & Blum, 1994; Jamal, Baba, & Rivi re, 1998). For example, Socha and Bech (2011) found that dual practitioners in public and private practices in Denmark did not differ from physicians working only one job in the length of a workweek, participation in nonmandatory activities, publications, or turnover intentions. Finally, scholars have found positive performance-related outcomes. For example, studies show that MJHers have a stronger work ethic than SJHers (N. Bennett et al., 1994), are less likely to be absent (Livanos & Zangelidis, 2012), and are more involved in voluntary organizations and attend more meetings (Jamal & Crawford, 1981), thus supporting the enrichment perspective.

### *Personal*

Scholars are also mixed regarding whether MJH is personally depleting or enriching. The personal outcomes of MJH fall within four subcategories: work attitudes, work–life interface experiences, psychological well-being, and physical well-being.

#### ***Work attitudes.***

Several studies support the depletion argument, with MJHers experiencing less job satisfaction (Grant, 1977) and less organizational commitment (Baba & Jamal, 1992) than SJHers. For example, one study found public school teachers reported greater dissatisfaction with their salary, students and their parents, and their careers (Pearson et al., 1994). Yet, there is also evidence of no differences in attitudes between MJHers and SJHers among police officers (Arcuri et al., 1987), pharmacists (Guest, Oakley, Clinton, & Budjanovcanin, 2006), rank-and-file workers (Jamal & Crawford, 1981), teachers (Jamal et al., 1998), and retail grocery employees (Martin & Sinclair, 2007).

In contrast, other research suggests MJH has a positive effect on job attitudes. In their review of MJH studies between 1963 and 1989, Baba and Jamal (1992) found that MJHers had higher satisfaction in their primary job than SJHers (also see Kumar & Chaturvedi, 2017). While some research suggests MJHers are less committed, others have found that moonlighters are more

committed than full-time employees (Martin & Sinclair, 2007), and their commitment is stronger to their primary than to their secondary job (Zickar, Gibby, & Jenny, 2004). Regarding turnover intentions, there is evidence that MJHers have weaker turnover intentions than SJHers (Jamal et al., 1998) or no difference at all (Socha & Bech, 2011).

### *Work–life interface experiences.*

Research on how MJH impacts the work–life interface generally supports the depletion logic. MJHers, particularly those who are primarily self-employed (Atherton, Faria, Wheatley, Wu, & Wu, 2016), report working more hours than SJHers (Bamberry & Campbell, 2012), leaving less time for family. For example, a diary study revealed that because MJHers worked, on average, 2 hr more per day, had more variation in hours, and required longer commutes, they had less time for household activities and leisure than SJHers (Marucci-Wellman, Lin, Willetts, Brennan, & Verma, 2014). These findings are consistent across industries and ages. For example, a study of young MJH restaurant workers concluded that MJH can hinder MJHers' personal lives by restricting their ability to go out with friends or engage in health and fitness activities (Osborne & Warren, 2006).

In addition, such time limitations can affect how MJHers feel about their home lives such that less time with family can result in lower self-esteem and satisfaction for fathers (Mott, 1965) and higher levels of work–life conflict (Boyd et al., 2016; Webster, Edwards, & Smith, 2019). Moreover, time constraints can have deleterious effects on nonworking family members. In a study of “near-poor” rural families, children of MJH parents (particularly, single parents) sometimes had to take on more household and childcare responsibilities in the absence of the parent, affecting the child's grades at school (Gringeri, 2001). This also impacted extended family, as they often had to help the MJH parents with childcare and transportation.

However, there are some studies that show no difference (Guest et al., 2006; Kumar & Chaturvedi, 2017) or even suggest that MJH may enable positive work–family management. For example, scholars have argued that the flexibility of this type of arrangement gives individuals a greater sense of control over their work, thus allowing them to manage work, family, and friends more effectively (e.g., Clinton et al., 2006). Yet, such flexibility and autonomy potentially represent a double-edged sword because time spent away from work means fewer compensated working hours, a known challenge of self-employment (Clinton et al., 2006). Thus, while there may be some advantages in terms of flexibility, currently there is greater evidence for the depleting effects of MJH on nonwork experiences.

### *Psychological well-being.*

There is more evidence of MJH depleting, rather than enriching, psychological well-being. For example, research on MJHers in physically demanding and risky jobs (firefighting; Boyd et al., 2016) and service work (G. Walsh, Dahling, Schaarschmidt, & Brach, 2016) showed a higher risk of depletion. Fenwick (2006) found additional evidence of the aforementioned double-edged sword of portfolio work such that a sense of control and autonomy goes hand in hand with juggling contracts, setting boundaries, and managing client demands, potentially yielding depletion. Research also suggests MJHers can struggle with identity and self-presentation (Caza

et al., 2018). In a series of studies on creative workers, Hennekam (2015, 2017) found that artists pushed into MJH struggled to manage multiple, and sometimes opposing, identities. Though most strongly held their identities as “artists,” society’s image of artists as “hobbyists” sometimes required them to describe themselves in terms of their second job—the one that helped them pay the bills (Hennekam & Bennett, 2016). Interestingly, Lindstrom (2016) reported that taking a non-art job indicated failure and was reinforced by artists in their community, yielding significant identity damage.

Yet, there is some support for psychological enrichment. Mott (1965) showed that even though male blue-collar moonlighters faced challenges in the work–family domain, they were more energetic, outgoing, and enthusiastic and had higher emotional stability than SJHers. Jamal et al. (1998) found that moonlighters reported less stress than their nonmoonlighting counterparts (also see Pearson et al., 1994). Such findings suggest that another job can have a compensatory effect for those who have suboptimal experiences in their primary job (McKenzie, 2017).

### *Physical well-being.*

Few studies have directly assessed the impact of MJH on physical health. Considering MJHers generally work more hours than SJHers (Marucci-Wellman, Lin, et al., 2014), it is not surprising that MJHers report sleeping fewer hours per night than SJHers (Marucci-Wellman, Lombardi, & Willetts, 2016) and are at a higher risk of physical injury at work (Marucci-Wellman, Willetts, Lin, Brennan, & Verma, 2014), which can result in compromised performance (Russo et al., 2018). Work–life conflict can also compound across jobs, leading to headaches, fatigue, insomnia, and less frequent exercise (Boyd et al., 2016). In all, the limited literature on the physical well-being of MJHers provides strong evidence of depletion.

### *Summary*

Looking across disciplines, decades of MJH research affords a few outcome-related observations. First, MJH may generate financial and career-related resources, meaning that the outcomes of MJH can be enriching. Second, there is evidence that managing multiple work roles can deplete an individual’s psychological and physical health. However, there are also enrichment effects in domains where scholars usually find depletion (e.g., personal outcomes) and depletion effects where scholars usually find enrichment (e.g., career-related outcomes). To better understand these mixed findings, we review emerging work on mechanisms of MJH, which seek to explain why and how the act of MJH enriches or depletes resources.

Mechanisms: What Factors and Processes Lead to Depletion Versus Enrichment?

### *Mechanisms of Depletion*

The most commonly theorized about and empirically supported mechanisms of MJH depletion are role conflict and strain (e.g., Guest et al., 2006). Generally speaking, spiraling and compounding demands from maintaining boundaries around each job cause depletion (Bamberry & Campbell, 2012). In other words, the extra demands MJHers face in managing the space between their work roles drains their personal resources above and beyond demands from each

role (Webster & Edwards, 2019). In addition to these role-related intrapersonal mechanisms, scholars have found that interpersonal mechanisms also explain depletion effects. For example, according to partial inclusion theory, an individual's involvement with a social group dictates the degree to which he or she identifies with that role and social group (Katz & Kahn, 1978). Supporting this, Webster et al. (2019) argued that because MJHers spend less time, or are less involved, in their secondary roles, they are less likely to integrate with coworkers (Peters, Jackofsky, & Salter, 1981), leaving them feeling socially marginalized and contributing to feelings of depletion. Further, depletion from MJH demands relate to other negative outcomes, such as reduced job commitment (G. Walsh et al., 2016).

### *Mechanisms of Enrichment*

As more recent evidence has emerged documenting enrichment, scholars have turned their attention toward understanding mechanisms underlying positive MJH effects. For example, when individuals manage role conflict or the expectation of role conflict by actively engaging in boundary work to separate role demands, they reported more positive effects of MJH (Koch & Obemaier, 2014). Hennekam (2017) found that MJHers in creative industries tended to employ one of four strategies to deal with their sometimes incompatible work identities: disidentification, separation, integration, or accumulation. Those who considered their identities as compatible practiced integration by formulating a superordinate self-categorization that emphasized identity interdependence. Others emphasized the potential compatibilities of their identities wherein they stressed the transferability of skills between identities, viewing them as a way to draw inspiration from multiple sources. Those who took a more positive approach to their multiple role identities were able to develop synergies between them, which Hennekam likened to having a growth mind-set, wherein individuals believe skills and intellect are not fixed but can be actively developed (cf. Dweck, 2007).

Interestingly, unlike depletion mechanisms, which are largely negative role-related states (e.g., conflict, overload), enrichment pathways include cognitive and behavioral role management practices. The assumption of depletion studies is that increased role demands and identity-based hardships associated with MJH are the primary drivers of negative outcomes. However, there is evidence that individuals may develop practices that not only help them manage these negative role-related states, thereby reducing negative outcomes, but may even increase positive outcomes. As such, practices catalyzed by MJH demands actually explain positive MJH outcomes. This insight emerged clearly in Caza et al.'s (2018) 5-year longitudinal study wherein MJHers developed sophisticated identity and image management practices that not only minimized their experience of role conflict but also led them to develop important and fulfilling self-insights.

### *Summary*

Taken together, research on mechanisms of MJH affords two observations. First, role management seems to be a critical factor shaping MJHers' outcomes. MJH can exacerbate individuals' subjective sense of role conflict, strain, and social isolation, leading individuals to experience greater depletion. However, when individuals engage in boundary management and identity-based practices, they not only will minimize depletion effects from perceived role

conflict and social isolation but can experience greater enrichment (Hennekam, 2017). Second, because these underlying mechanisms focus largely on subjective role constructions and role management, MJH scholars would benefit from looking at theories of boundary management in the work–family literature. These theories may shed light on how MJHers experience spillover among work roles (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006) and successfully manage role microtransitions (Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000). Further, comparing findings in these two literatures would also shed light on how role management strategies and their outcomes may be different when one’s multiple roles are in the same domain (e.g., work/work) versus different domains (e.g., work/family).

### Moderators: When Are MJHers Depleted Versus Enriched?

One notable trend from our review of MJH outcomes is that studies that found MJH to be depleting tended to focus on occupations where MJH is prevalent, such as teaching and artistry. This presents an interesting paradox where the prevalence of a potentially depleting practice within those professions may also be subtly encouraged either through social norms or structural factors (e.g., low pay for teachers or sporadic pay for artists). Additionally, this pattern highlights the importance of investigating factors that moderate the MJH experience. Given the mixed findings, it is surprising that despite nearly six decades of MJH research, scholars have been slow to identify boundary conditions. This is likely due, in part, to the disjointed nature of the scholarship and lack of consistent rigorous empirical testing. Tested moderators fall into three categories: individual-level, job-level, and industry-based moderators.

#### *Individual-Level Moderators*

Early research showed that age and education moderated the relationship between MJH and blue-collar workers’ attitudes such that older MJHers were more satisfied, and more educated blue-collar MJHers occupied more executive positions in their voluntary organizations (Jamal, 1986). Further, while gender is likely an important moderator, it has not received significant attention. The few scholars who have considered gender either found no differences in MJH experiences (Jamal et al., 1998) or found the experience to be worse for women such that male teachers earned more “outside employment pay” than female teachers (Betts, 2004), and MJH mothers were more likely to experience depression and less life satisfaction than SJH mothers (Bruns & Pilkauskas, 2019). Looking across studies, it appears that MJHers with higher social-status indicators (e.g., more experience, male; Chattopadhyay, Tluchowska, & George, 2004) have more enriching outcomes.

Researchers have also examined individual attitudes, such as work–family conflict and surface acting, and have found that work–family conflict and surface acting in the second job worsens the relationship between work–family conflict and surface acting in the primary job and depletion (Boyd et al., 2016; G. Walsh et al., 2016). With few exceptions (e.g., Schaubroeck, Judge, & Taylor, 1998), scholars have not yet paid close attention to personality as a moderator. In one of the only studies to test personality, Totterdell, Wood, and Wall (2006) found that trait pessimism worsened portfolio workers’ psychological strain from working for multiple clients.

Finally, motivation to work multiple jobs appears to be an important moderator. For example, Campion (2018) found that the motivation to hold multiple jobs impacted the relationship between the resources spent on the second job and experiences in the second job such that individuals motivated primarily by skill experienced more meaning, while those motivated primarily by money experienced more depletion. On the other hand, Webster and Edwards (2019) found that viewing one's second job as a calling resulted in more reported resource drain and lower engagement in the primary job. One study identified four types of MJHers 45 years old or older and found that classification influenced MJH experiences (Bouwhuis et al., 2019). Those in the satisfied hybrid (self-employed in secondary job) and satisfied combination (employee in secondary job) groups reported more benefits than MJHers in the vulnerable (preferred one job) and indifferent (indifferent about MJH) groups. Further, those in the vulnerable group reported lower physical and mental health than the other three groups.

### *Job-Level Moderators*

Scholars have also identified job characteristics as important moderators. For example, the temporary and precarious nature of multiple jobs reduces the effects of MJH on earnings (Hamersma, Heinrich, & Mueser, 2014). However, there are some positive moderators, as well. For example, research shows that MJHers' perceived ability to "control" their own work strengthened their satisfaction (Fenwick, 2006) and weakened their psychological strain (Totterdell et al., 2006). Taken together, these findings suggest that job characteristics likely have an important influence on MJHers' experiences and outcomes.

### *Industry-Based Moderators*

As noted, MJH is particularly prevalent in a number of industries (e.g., education, health care, creative industries, public service). While no studies have tested the differences in experiences of MJHers according to industry, one study examined how perceptions of MJH differed by industry. Specifically, Osborne and Warren (2006) compared the perception of MJH between individuals whose primary job was in a creative industry or the restaurant industry. They found that while restaurant workers viewed MJH as a transitional work arrangement, creative workers believed MJH would be long term and necessary for survival. These scholars noted that while MJH had some negative effects on the lives of workers, the net gains associated with MJH were sufficient to overcome the losses.

### *Summary*

Looking across research on boundary conditions of MJH yields two observations. First, the boundary conditions scholars have tested help us better understand when MJHers will likely experience depletion or enrichment. For example, jobs that include more surface acting (e.g., service work) negatively affect workers, and this compounds over multiple jobs (G. Walsh et al., 2016). However, MJH motivation for skill development (i.e., opportunity) can act as a buffer against the depleting elements of MJH (Campion, 2018) and ultimately yield enrichment. Second, significantly more work is needed on the boundary conditions of MJH, particularly in regard to the individual (e.g., gender, race, social class) and the job (job type), as these are likely critical factors in the experiences and outcomes of MJHers.

## Integration and Moving Forward

Our review reveals three high-level insights about MJH. First, MJH requires significant resources but can also generate significant resources. In other words, MJH is a psychological hustle but has the potential to provide far more than additional compensation. In fact, MJH may be depleting and enriching in different ways and at different times. Examining the pathways in Figure 1, depletion is most likely when MJHers experience lower pay in their primary job, are pushed toward MJH (i.e., finances), face work–family conflict, engage in surface acting, prefer to have one job, are generally pessimistic, expect that MJH is short term, or are less integrated into the social system of their secondary job. Conversely, enrichment is most likely when MJHers are older, are more educated, are of higher income, are primarily pulled into MJH via career-oriented or psychological fulfillment reasons, experience autonomy and perceive control over their work, develop identity management practices, and expect MJH to be long term.

Second, throughout our review, we noticed two broad narratives of MJH that seem to run more or less in parallel: that of the lower-skilled, hours-constrained worker who is pushed to take on a second job out of necessity and that of the higher-skilled worker who is pulled by the opportunity for career growth and personal fulfillment (with some exceptions, e.g., moonlighting medical residents who are highly skilled but do it for the money). These narratives paint very different pictures of the nature and impact of MJH. Further, they represent different orientations toward MJH—those who are pushed versus those who are pulled—that are associated with different bundles of potential outcomes that require different role management tactics to minimize depletion and maximize enrichment.

Finally, our review highlights the dynamic nature of MJH, suggesting that time as an MJHer is likely critical in shaping individuals' expectations, approach to, and management of MJH. Age and experience are associated with different outcomes suggesting that MJHers may become more efficient at boundary management over time (Jamal, 1986; Jamal et al., 1998). In all, what this literature critically needs is more theoretical attention and rigorous theory building to uncover what simultaneously drives the MJH experience and its outcomes.

### Challenges to Building a Coherent Understanding of MJH

Despite the insights from our integrative review, it is important to understand the challenges of this literature and the empirical disconnect between the front (predictors) and back (outcomes) of the model (illustrated by the vertical dotted line in Figure 1). We attribute this to three causes. First, there is a disciplinary boundary such that economists have largely sought to understand why workers trade leisure for work while management scholars have been interested in how MJH influences outcomes (e.g., performance, well-being; Table 2). Further, scholars have examined MJH in a piecemeal fashion, testing one or two relationships at a time.

Second is the range of methodologies applied and distinct challenges of this population, such as data collection. In the past 60 years, scholars have applied in-depth inductive approaches focused on the lived experience of MJHers (Caza et al., 2018; Clinton et al., 2006) and deductive hypothesis testing using primary (Boyd et al., 2016) and secondary data (Hirsch et al., 2016a).

Some have even generated unexpected insights about MJH by using it as a context to examine other workplace phenomena (Inness et al., 2005). The range of methodologies may, in part, be due to the difficulty of gathering data on MJHers as they are not specific to an industry or organization. Scholars must be creative and patient in their data collection using snowball sampling (Sadler, Lee, Lim, & Fullerton, 2011) or partnering with organizations in occupations with high rates of MJH, such as educational institutions (e.g., adjunct faculty) or professional associations (e.g., Freelancers Union). While these approaches likely limit the external validity of findings, the state of theory and the sampling obstacles justify the methods.

A final factor that has complicated the study of MJH is the sometimes temporary nature of this work arrangement. One illustrative example is the Bureau of Labor Statistics' (BLS) method for estimating the MJH rate in the United States. In its survey, the BLS asks, "Last week, did you have more than one job (or business), including part-time, evening, or weekend work?" This method subjects estimates to "rotation bias"—an artifact of the sometimes seasonal or cyclical nature of MJH (Hirsch & Winters, 2016). Some argue this approach significantly undercuts the magnitude of this work arrangement (Bamberry & Campbell, 2012), and we caution scholars to consider time and duration of MJH as important elements in their studies. Once there is some methodological consistency, scholars will be better equipped to investigate how currently disparate parts of Figure 1 work together to predict different aspects of MJH. In what follows, we provide a future research agenda to answer pressing questions left unaddressed in the literature.

## Future Research Agenda

### *Avenue 1: Gender and Race as Key Variables in MJH*

Perhaps one of the most glaring chasms in the MJH literature is the lack of research on how MJH is sought out and experienced by people of different genders and races. While we reviewed a small number of articles that consider gender (e.g., Panos et al., 2009; Winters, 2010), we are not able to speak with much confidence as to how gender roles influence the likelihood or experience of MJH. In general, gender roles influence work along two dimensions: (a) paid employment and (b) type of employment. Historically, women primarily filled unpaid homemaker and childcare roles, while men occupied breadwinning roles (Eagly & Wood, 1999). Once women entered the workplace, they were still more likely to be in caregiving roles, though paid (e.g., caring for children or the elderly, administrative assistants), while men occupied professional and managerial roles (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). The limited existing evidence suggests there are gender differences in MJH, particularly in regard to pay (Betts, 2004). More focused attention is needed to understand these potential gender effects. In addition, we call for future research to simultaneously consider the gender and race of MJHers. By adopting an intersectional lens, researchers may be better able to understand the variance in MJHers' experience and outcomes (Cole, 2009; Ferdman, 1999).

While our review shows that MJH is a relatively diverse and global phenomenon, as sample populations were drawn from all over the world, to our knowledge, no studies have systematically unpacked the role of culture or race in MJH. This oversight illustrates the relatively nascent nature of this literature despite its existence since the 1960s. What we have yet to understand is whether the same challenges present in traditional SJH experiences play out in

MJH, though it is highly likely as MJH is simply working two or more jobs. Entrepreneurship research has found that women and minority small-business owners indeed experience similar types of discrimination present in traditional selection and compensation systems (e.g., start-up capital; Blanchard, Zhao, & Yinger, 2008; Marlow & Patton, 2005). Finally, it is worth noting that the experience of MJH across gender and race should be highly related to socioeconomic status (SES) of the worker. While we address the socioeconomic context of MJH as its own future research agenda (see next section), it remains a critically important variable when understanding MJH in light of nonmale and non-White MJH experiences.

### *Avenue 2: The Socioeconomic Context of MJH*

In addition to gender and race, there is a need for a more systematic understanding of the role of SES in MJH at the individual and societal levels. MJH continues to be associated with less skilled workers, even though Wilensky (1963) noted that MJH was not a class phenomenon, which more recent research has supported (Caza et al., 2018). By making salient both the push and pull factors motivating MJH, and the enriching and depleting outcomes associated with it, we hope future studies develop a more nuanced understanding of the socioeconomic trends, drivers, and outcomes associated with MJH. For example, with the recent focus on wage stagnation in middle-wage work and wage declines in low-wage work (DeSilver, 2018), it stands to reason that middle- and low-wage employees are often pushed to work several jobs out of financial necessity. Further, it is likely that middle- and low-wage workers attain secondary jobs with low wages due to the availability of lower-paying jobs, their lower skill level, or both (Bell & Roach, 1990). These workers' vulnerability is exacerbated by lack of access to benefits, such as health insurance, and begs the question as to whether MJH narrows or widens income inequality (see Bruton, Ketchen, & Ireland, 2013).

Recent research on independent work has noted an increase in the availability of platform work, including low-skill labor, such as ride-sharing services (e.g., Uber, Lyft), but also short-term projects that require additional skills (e.g., Upwork, Toptal). Whether paired with waged work or a portfolio of platform work, the financial effectiveness of MJH may rest largely on the worker's SES and skill level. Similarly, the state of the national or regional economy may also impact the likelihood of MJH. Studies show that MJH increases during times of economic distress (Ameudo-Dorantes & Kimmel, 2009). Importantly, while our review suggests two broad MJH narratives—one defined largely by push factors and the other largely by pull factors—these need to be more systematically investigated in the future as they relate to SES. We also need to understand *who* tends to adopt which MJH script. Are there larger cultural, societal, or professional narratives that impact individuals' attributions about their MJH?

We also wonder what impact MJH has on total compensation (i.e., nonsalary benefits, such as retirement and health insurance). It is possible that SJHers make more than MJHers who do not receive benefits from multiple part-time jobs. Though most economic studies focus on the financial motivation of MJHers, it is not clear whether MJH actually leads to higher total compensation. Similarly, the lack of total compensation in the primary job may also motivate MJH due to a need for benefits, such as health insurance coverage. Companies that offer health coverage for non-full-time workers likely employ a large number of MJHers (e.g., Starbucks).

On the other side of this framework is pull, which addresses a volitional element of MJH. The volitional nature of second and third job choice likely plays a major role in income, status, and total experience. As noted, little research has directly tested the relationship between motivation to work several jobs and the experience of MJH. However, research on voluntary engagement in work activities suggests MJHers who choose freely to work several jobs are more likely to experience enrichment rather than depletion (see Rodell, Breitsohl, Schroder, and Keating's [2016] review of volunteering). Therefore, examining the volitional nature of MJH might explain the inconsistent findings related to well-being and other consequences of MJH. Another way to understand the discrepant consequences is through Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, and Schwartz's (1997) "job-career-calling" framework, wherein for some, a second job is just an instrumental means to a financial end, whereas for others, a second job is a training ground for a career shift or calling. Thus, how MJHers think about their jobs may shape their experience and the potential enriching or depleting effects of this experience.

### *Avenue 3: Sustainability and the Successful Self-Management of MJH*

How humans manage the multiple roles they occupy is central to the MJH literature. Two lenses through which future research could examine role management of MJHers are identity theory (e.g., Stryker & Burke, 2000) and the recovery literature (e.g., Sonnentag, 2003). Thus far, MJH research tells us that how MJHers manage their job identities has key implications for outcomes. More effective systems (e.g., integration of identities) could yield synergies and enrichment between disparate jobs (e.g., painter and waitress) more so than the intrapersonal labor of keeping them separated (Hennekam, 2015, 2017). Further, the primary motivation driving a person to work several jobs can influence how the person manages his or her roles. For example, when working an additional job to make a future big purchase, MJH is temporary and may not yield effective role management, nor is it necessarily required. Such unmanaged resource allocation may ultimately lead to depletion. However, long-term MJHers are more inclined to create sustainable self-management practices, which can be enriching over time. The implementation and maintenance of these practices has significant implications for performance and well-being.

Finally, the mixed findings on MJH and well-being make it difficult for scholars to guide MJHers, especially in light of research on the importance of work recovery (A. Bennett, Gabriel, Calderwood, Dahling, & Trougakos, 2016). For some, MJH may be a way to detach from one's primary job (e.g., artists who use Etsy, an online marketplace where they can sell their products). Yet, in other circumstances, transitioning between jobs may be incredibly demanding, resulting in depletion and burnout (Ashforth et al., 2000). Further, while we have argued that financial motivations are likely more depleting than other motivations, additional compensation may buffer individuals from the stress associated with the need for money in the first place. Finally, while older workers are less likely to seek a second job (Wu et al., 2009), it remains unclear how a lifetime of MJH can impact an individual's overall earnings, life satisfaction, well-being, and so forth. As such, MJH and well-being, specifically, is an area ripe with opportunity for scholarly curiosity. We recommend future research designs incorporate measures of objective and subjective physical health, such as the Physical Symptoms Inventory (Spector & Jex, 1998). Further, dynamic study designs—such as experience sampling method—that capture day-to-day resource loss will help answer more immediate questions about MJH and well-being.

#### *Avenue 4: The Organizational Side of MJH*

Despite decades of research on MJH, to our knowledge, scholars have neglected a key player: the organization. Considering all we have reviewed, it is fair to conclude that MJHers present a peculiar issue for those employing and managing them. One key factor is whether the manager is aware that her or his employee works more than one job. In the case of waged workers, the rule of thumb is to not inform one's manager due to assumptions about performance (Sliter & Boyd, 2014). Further, organizations may implement human resources (HR) policies to manage issues that may arise when workers take on external labor (e.g., Green, 2013; Gensing-Pophal, 2009). Yet, our review demonstrates that there are both disadvantages and advantages to having MJH employees. On the negative side, those who hold multiple jobs for career transition purposes may leave their primary organization (Brunet, 2008), representing a human capital loss. Further, there may be conflicts of interest if MJHers work for competing firms. Finally, there is evidence that MJHers can be exhausted from their multiple jobs and may be subject to lapses in productivity as well as absenteeism and turnover (W. Walsh, 1986; Winters, 2010), none of which is beneficial to the organization.

At the same time, there are many potential benefits to organizations employing MJHers. First, MJHers present a flexible form of labor to firms wishing to reduce costs associated with permanent employees. Further, MJHers may develop skills in other organizations (or in self-employment) that can be transferred into the primary employing organization, thereby creating a human capital synergy (enrichment) between jobs. While research has yet to connect skill development in external work roles to actual performance outcomes in the primary job, other literatures have tested and found evidence of this phenomenon (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002). Finally, when managed well, MJH may operate as a retention mechanism (Arora, 2013). For those working in blue-collar professions, such as police officers, policies designed to productively manage MJH may allow MJHers to earn extra income by doing additional police work (Brunet, 2008). This “brokerage” practice may serve as a useful model for other industries characterized by a high degree of push-based MJH or in industries where people hold multiple jobs largely due to financial need.

Taken together, it is reasonable for managers to be concerned about whether a MJH employee will perform worse, but HR policies restricting this practice will likely not prevent these potential repercussions. It is important for researchers to take a deeper look at the relationship between HR MJH policies and outcomes for both parties. Additional research is sorely needed to understand how managers can assist their MJH employees to create human capital gains relevant for the employee's career as well as the organization's performance.

#### **Conclusion**

While research on MJH has accumulated significantly, this literature has remained disjointed—until now. In this article, we systematically reviewed the research on MJH since Wilensky's (1963) seminal article on moonlighters. His original hypothesis was that MJHers were economically deprived, had chaotic work histories, and were motivated to use MJH as a way to get ahead. Since then, scholars have identified potentially enriching elements of MJH, including

skill development and an increased sense of authenticity. Management scholars have also begun to flesh out mechanisms and boundary conditions for depleting and enriching outcomes. As the prevalence of MJH continues to trend upward, it will be critical for this research area to flourish.

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## **ORCID iD**

Emily D. Campion <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1555-2089>

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