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Employer and Union Responses to Traumatic Death at Work: Evidence from Australia

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Abstract

Little is known about how employers and trade unions deal with work-related death, even in higher-risk industries. This study examines union and employer responses to work-related death. Drawing on interviews conducted with 48 representatives from the key organisations involved in workplace death in Australia, the aim was not only to determine how employers and unions see their respective roles, but also how other organisations (safety regulators, insurers, compensation authorities and family support/advocacy groups) perceive their activities. The findings identify critical institutional relationships and their implications for both industrial relations and victim's families. They show areas of agreement and disagreement between unions and employers. They also highlight the impact of changes to work arrangements and industrial relations, most notably the growth of self-employment/ subcontracting and declining union density, on the experience of families. The study also points to the support role provided by unions as another dimension of their contribution to social capital and how some recent initiatives were extending these activities.

Introduction

Work-related injury, illness and disease continue to impose a significant cost on the community, even in wealthy and developed countries. The cost burden of traumatic death at work (work-related death) is substantial. The latest estimates by the International Labour Organization (ILO) indicate that there are globally 2.2 million work-related deaths and that workplace injury, illness and death cost the global economy some $US1,250,000 million or 4 per cent of world GDP (ILO, 2003). Similarly, SafeWork Australia (2015) estimated that the total cost of work-related injury and disease in Australia was $AU61.8 billion in 2012-13, representing 4.1 per cent of GDP (a drop from 5.9 per cent in 2005-06). These estimates are based on direct and indirect costs to employers, workers and the community and mainly relate to institutional or readily estimable processes like productivity losses, compensation, litigation, prosecution, medical expenses, hours/overtime, insurance, loss of earnings, funeral and carer costs (Safe Work Australia, 2015: 15). Employers only bear 5% of these costs with the bulk being borne by workers (77%) and the community (18%). Since 2000-2001 the cost burden on workers has

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increased from 44% to 77%, the burden on employers increased from 3% to 5% while that on the community dropped from 53% to 18% (Safe Work Australia, 2015:3). The imbalance in the cost burden and the significant redistribution over time has occasioned no public debate we are aware of. Further, here is little if any explicit recognition of the impact on families even in economic terms let alone the more difficult but still tangible costs in terms of human suffering and social dislocation (including effects on the education and life-chances of affected children).

The figures don't include a measure for each work-related death but data for transport related deaths provide a guide. Estimates by the Australian Bureau of Transport Economics (Risby, de Silva, & Tong, 2007) indicate that the average cost of each death in road transport, including deaths other than work-related deaths, was $A1.7 million in 1996 ($A2.64 million when adjusted to 2013 dollars). On this basis, the estimated cost of the 186 work-related deaths in Australia in 2012-13 is $A491 million. As with Safe Work Australia data these estimates do not capture the cascading financial, psychological, social, and human costs to the families of those killed or adverse effects on work colleagues (Anderson, Schulte, Sestito, Linn & Nguyen, 2010). These additional effects multiply the impact because the vast majority of deaths affect close relatives, such as spouses or partners, parents, children, brothers or sisters.

Understandably, much of the focus of research, policy debate and employment practices has been on reducing the toll of those whose health, safety and well-being has been directly impaired by work because it will reduce the substantial levels of economic costs and human suffering. At the same, there are policy strong grounds for examine what injury and death mean for those affected, both directly and indirectly (including families). Greater knowledge of the workplace impact of injury and death is likely to strengthen the case for stronger preventative measures. Just as important, it is important to understand these impacts so as to better support those affected. Work-related death is the most acute example of a failure in safety that is likely to seriously impact on the family and friends of the deceased. However, non-fatal disabling injuries or diseases can also have profound effects. For example, a worker suffering a disabling injury may require a significant level of care from family members (most typically children or a spouse) and this in turn can have a serious burden on family members. Indeed, during the course of this project one interviewee described how such an injury to their father in law had placed a significant stress on their marriage because of the amount of time his spouse needed to spend caring for her father. While these issues clearly warrant research the focus of the current study was on responses to work-related deaths. Hopefully, this study will facilitate further research into other dimensions of the impact of adverse work outcomes on families.

While there is an extensive research literature on workplace death, it overwhelmingly focusses on investigative, regulatory and judicial responses. Little of it makes more than passing reference to workers or workers' families (for an exception with regard to families of the 1988 Piper Alpha oil rig disaster in the North Sea which claimed 167 lives, see Alexander, 1990; 1991). A small body of relevant research has taken an organisational management perspective (Lee, 1994;Urban Ministry Network, 2000; Sinclair & Haines, 1993). For example, in a study of 18 employers involved in workplace fatalities in Victoria, Australia, Sinclair and Haines, (1993) found that, in conjunction with a sense of shock and shame, concerns over legal liability led a majority of employers to distance themselves from responsibility rather than to confront and learn from it. Organisations that displayed a reflective response and acknowledged the need for organisational review and improvement were better able to respond constructively to the tragedy and make changes to avoid similar events occurring again. Research by Lee (1994) and Urban Ministry Network (2000) also illustrates the importance of developing appropriate organisational responses to work-related death to mitigate its long-term effects

and enable successful coping. Studies on work injury and illness have also highlighted the negative effects on family well-being of institutional responses perceived to be unjust and inequitable (Dembe, 2001;Lippel, 2007; Kirsh & McKee, 2003). Although in its infancy, an emerging body of research has shown that institutional responses to a work-related death may impose significant additional harm on families of deceased workers (Brookes, 2009; Matthews, Bohle, Quinlan & Rawlings-Way, 2012). Available evidence suggests work-related deaths commonly have a severe financial impact on families and compensation or other payments are inadequate (Quinlan, Fitzpatrick, Matthews, Ngo, & Bohle, 2015). The negative consequences of long-term exposure to the compensation, investigative, and judicial processes that inevitably delays families receiving information about the circumstances of the death of their loved one complicated the bereavement process and are reported to exacerbate health consequences (Matthews, Quinlan, Rawlings-Way & Bohle, 2012). This research[1] identified serious management issues that require further investigation to guide improvements in policy and practice. This article seeks to address these gaps in existing knowledge by examining employer and union responses to work-related death in Australia and their implications for industrial relations and for surviving families.

Almost all the research described above has been published in health, medical and law or criminology journals. Treatment of workplace death, even in an incidental fashion, is rare in industrial relations/labour studies or HRM journals (for an exception see Holland & Pyman, 2011). More typically, OHS-related studies in industrial relations journals over the past decade have dealt with union campaigns over safety, the operation and effects of workers' compensation regimes, testing whether there are compensating payments for dangerous work and, more recently, the OHS effects of precarious work arrangements including subcontracting (see for example Dorman & Hagstron, 1998; Hyatt & Kralj, 2000; Underhill & Quinlan, 2011). In some respects, the limited interest in this issue may be a consequence of the development of workers' compensation and other elements of the welfare state (social security/pensions, state education and health services provision). Prior to these developments, financial support to bereaved families relied on the benevolence of the employer, community collections (more common in the case of multiple fatality incidents), other family members or unions. By the early 19th century, mutual insurance was a key function of many craft unions, including friendly society benefits like unemployment payments (and assistance finding work through a House of Call), sickness benefits and funeral funds. Some unions covering dangerous industries, including miners unions, retained doctors to assist in the treatment of their members and organised collections for families when a member was killed. More generally, unions campaigned vigorously for a workers' compensation regime to alleviate distress on families as well as OHS laws to protect workers (Quinlan, Bohle, & Lamm, 2010). This activity can be seen as one element of the broader interest that organised labour had in the living standards of workers, their families and working communities.

The introduction of a relatively comprehensive welfare regime and other regulation has not meant that unions are no longer involved in supporting families, though their role has changed. Some unions continue to provide 'pastoral' care to the families of their members (and in some instances even non-members) who have been killed at work, including financial assistance, emotional support and advocacy, and helping them with the complex institutional and regulatory processes following the death. Nor is this support confined to work death. For example, it is common (in Australia at least) for unions to retain legal advice to assist injured workers making claims. The extent of these activities varies according to the union's resources and policies as well as industry characteristics, a topic worthy of more systematic research in itself. Further, these activities can be seen as a dimension of the union movement's contribution to social capital, a neglected area of union activity and one which, if developed further through social networking, also holds prospects for union renewal (Jarley, 2005).

When a work-related death occurs in Australia, various organisations become involved and a series of institutional processes is initiated. While there are jurisdiction-specific factors, in broad terms, what occurs in Australia can be found in New Zealand, Canada, the USA, and other countries. A fatal injury at work will normally initiate at least four and possibly six regulatory and judicial responses. These include: i) police investigation; ii) workers' compensation claim; iii) government safety investigation; iv) prosecution; v) common law claim;[2] and, vi) coronial investigation. Employers and unions can be involved to varying degrees in each of these processes. The major difference in New Zealand is that the universal coverage for injury afforded by the Accident Compensation Commission eliminates a number of the inequities associated with the workers' compensation law option, most notably covering self-employed workers. Leaving this point to one side it should be noted that employer and union involvement extends the six regulatory responses just mentioned, especially regarding how they respond to work-related deaths and their interactions with workers and families of deceased workers.

Union structure in Australia is primarily occupational but with an increased industry focus due to a wave of amalgamations since the 1970s. Like many other developed countries, union density has declined substantially (from over 50 per cent in the mid-1970s to around 17 per cent by 2013) but continues to vary significantly between industries (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2008). In the private sector, mining and construction are more strongly unionised than transport and agriculture though all four have experienced declines. Declining membership and changes to industrial relations laws have weakened union access to workplaces, including those following a work-related death (Quinlan & Johnstone, 2009).

Like Canada and the USA, workers' compensation and occupational health and safety (OHS) laws are primarily a state/territory/province responsibility. Like the UK and Canada, work-related deaths and other serious incidents are routinely investigated by OHS regulators who, if detecting a serious breach of legislation, can initiate a prosecution (for an examination of regulator responsiveness to families in cases of work-related death, (see Matthews, Fitzpatrick, Bohle & Quinlan, 2014).[3] While some state/territory OHS laws include special provisions for work-related death and as criminal statutes provide for prison terms (as well as fines and enforceable undertakings), to our knowledge, the gaol penalty has never been imposed. Workers' compensation regimes in Australia are broadly similar to those found in Canada being primarily restricted to employees. The families of self-employed workers can pursue civil litigation. Unlike Canada, access to workers' compensation does not preclude civil action (for damage based on the tort of negligence) by employees or their families in the case of the worker's death, but anti 'double-dipping' provisions mean any common law settlement will be offset by the amount of any payments already made under workers' compensation (for a more detailed account of the administration of workers' compensation and civil claims in cases of work-related death see Quinlan et al., 2015). Some state workers' compensation regimes include premium bonus or penalty provisions so that the costs of a work-related death may have implications for an employer or contractor's compensation premiums, especially in the case of medium-sized firms.

This article seeks to shed light on how employers and unions respond to work-related deaths and the extent to which they support families, not simply based on their own perceptions but also in terms of how representatives of other organisations (insurers, safety regulators, workers' compensation authorities, coronial officers and family support/advocacy groups) view these responses. The study addressed the following research questions:

1. How do employers and unions respond to traumatic work-related death?

2. What are the critical institutional processes and relationships affecting employers and unions following a traumatic work-related death?
3. What are the implications of these processes and relationships for the victims' families and industrial relations more generally?

This study is an initial exploration of a rarely-examined topic and is, therefore, largely descriptive. However, it will be the basis for further qualitative and quantitative research evaluating institutional roles and responses after work-related deaths and their implications for industrial relations and the families of deceased workers.

Methods

This study used exploratory qualitative methods to explore the procedures and practices implemented to respond to work-related deaths and the extent to which they assisted families. Employer and union responses in relation to initial contact and ongoing response to families, safety investigations and coronial inquests, workers' compensation, and common law proceedings, were sought. Interviews were not only conducted with employer and union representatives but also with representatives of other organisations directly or indirectly involved in these processes, including safety regulators, insurers, workers' compensation authorities, coronial officials, and advocacy/support groups for victim's families. This approach provided a broader, more rounded picture of union and employer responses. An employer/industry body that offered advice to smaller employers also agreed to participate. The research protocol was approved by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee before the study commenced (Approval 2012/2319). A more detailed description of the methods can be found in (Matthews et. al. 2014).

Participants and Setting

Interviews were sought with representatives from organisations and stakeholders involved in work-related deaths in Australia. Fifty-six managers from government safety inspectorates, government compensation agencies, trade unions, employers, coroner's office, police, and family support and advocacy groups and services were contacted by phone or email and advised of the aims of the study. Agreement was sought for their participation (or that of a nominated representative) in a face-to-face interview held in their local area. In total, 48 managers or representatives agreed to participate (see Table 1).

Table 1 List of Participants

Sector	**Representative**
Government Safety Inspectorate n = 11	Senior managers, including chief inspectors, directors of policy, strategy, infrastructure, enforcement, investigations Senior policy, project and information officers Inspectors
Government Compensation Agency n = 8	Senior managers and directors, including regional managers Assistant directors of policy/planning, case or claims managers/coordinators (including claim agents)
Trade Unions n = 6	State and district secretaries and presidents OHS officers and legal advisers Industry safety representatives Assistant Secretary

Employers in construction, road transport and agriculture, fishing and forestry n = 11	Senior managers, CEOs, state manager and industry association director Safety managers, superintendents, project managers Site safety managers, industrial chaplains
Coroner's Office n = 4	Coroners and senior managers, coroners court and investigation units Coronial associates, police attached to coroner's office
Police n = 1	Officers in charge of crash investigations
Support and Advocacy Groups/Services n = 7	Directors and secretaries

Participants included representatives from government prevention and compensation organisations in four of six Australian states – one state was not approached due to funding constraints and another did not wish to participate. Interviews were also conducted with representatives of employers and trade unions from the four industries that account for approximately 70 per cent of all notified workplace deaths: road transport, construction, mining, and agriculture, fishing and forestry, aside from the mining industry where we were unable to secure an interview. Separate and stringent protocols for conducting research with police in some states prevented us from interviewing all four members of the police force contacted, with the exception of one state. However, as the role of police is largely to conduct an immediate inquiry to rule out any foul play (i.e. homicide), their views were not considered critical to the present focus on employers and union responses. In regards to the coronial office, of the six representatives contacted, we were able to interview four. The sample also consisted of support groups and services – small bodies primarily composed of the families of those killed at work that are interested in ensuring that investigation and prosecution processes better meet the needs of families as well as promoting more effective enforcement of work safety legislation.

Because the sample of government prevention and compensation organisations extended across the four jurisdictions and included various levels (management/policy positions, those involved in prosecutions, claims and field inspectors), we believe it is relatively representative notwithstanding jurisdictional differences in OHS organisation and legislation. All unions covering the four key industries that were the focus of the project (construction, mining, road transport and farming/fishing/forestry) agreed to participate in the project. On the other hand, as the number of interviews undertaken with employers was relatively small and did not extend to all jurisdictions and industries, information from these participants may not be representative. Employers were approached in the four industry groups, and we obtained participants in all with the exception of mining. Obtaining participation from employers proved more difficult. A number of those participating had been closely involved in a recent workplace fatality, others had been aware of an incident but not directly involved and others had no involvement but were aware of the issue as relevant to their industry. An interview was sought and obtained with an industry peak body (an avenue not pursued further because it became apparent peak bodies had little if any involvement in traumatic work-related death).

While employers and unions must deal with the same general issues following a work-related death irrespective of industry, the characteristics of particular industries – including different patterns of industrial relations – will influence responses. The four industries that were the focus of this study exhibit such differences. In the mining industry, large corporate employers tend to predominate (despite the existence of many small mines) and the industry remains relatively highly unionised in Australia. Conversely, notwithstanding the growth of agribusiness, the farming, fishing and forestry industry is dominated by many small self-employed operators and has generally low levels of

unionisation. Construction and road transport fall in between these two extremes, with many large corporate operators (where union membership is concentrated) but also extensive use of self-employed subcontractors and small operators (where union membership is generally low).

At the same time, it is important to recognise that all four industries have been affected by broader changes in the labour market, business practices and industrial relations climate over the past 20 or more years, including a growing use of contract labour/subcontracting and de-collectivisation of industrial relations that has affected OHS by weakening worker participation mechanisms and undermining regulatory protection (Quinlan & Johnstone, 2009). Without ignoring this important qualification, it is arguable that larger employers are more likely to have established policies and practices to deal with situations like work-related death than small employers, and the level of unionisation in an industry or sector will also influence whether families can access support from them.

Social, cultural, and institutional factors may influence participants' perspectives on these issues. However, by sampling strategically across organisations and stakeholders with extensive contextual and situated knowledge of the relevant regulatory and judicial processes, and of working with families of deceased workers, the sample was considered large enough to make comparisons that meaningfully address our first research question.

All participants were provided with a Participant Information Statement and interview protocol prior to the interview date. Written consent was sought prior to the interview.

Data collection and analysis

After participants' written consent was obtained, semi-structured interviews were conducted face-to-face by an experienced researcher. An interview schedule was designed to elicit specific information about the organisations role in work-related death (including the procedures and practices that follow); the nature of the support offered to individuals and families; the nature and timing of information provided, and interactions with, authorities, individuals and families; and the nature of the outcomes for individuals and families. With participants' permission, interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed verbatim, and de-identified. Interviews lasted between 15 and 90 minutes and took place between August 2012 and January 2013.

Interview transcripts were read and analysed separately by two members of the research team who identified, by consensus, initial themes for labelling and sorting the data. Any differences in interpretation or categorisation were discussed and resolved collaboratively, thus, helping to ensure reliability and validity (DeSantis & Ugarriza, 2000). A framework analysis was then carried out in which the substantive content of the interviews was systematically indexed and summarised. This analysis was done using NVivo software and was applied across the entire data set. This generated an extensive list of approximately 50 descriptive categories grouped under the following: i) policies, practices and roles; ii) nature of support; iii) nature and timing of information; iv) nature and timing of interactions; v) consequences and impacts of workplace deaths; vi) legal processes; and, vii) adequacy in meeting needs. Following this, a more focussed analysis was carried out in which associations within and across categories were mapped and synthesised and patterns or differences within the data identified in order to facilitate in-depth investigation of union and employer responses to work-related death (Mays & Pope, 2000; Ritchie & Spencer, 2002). Findings are reported based on employer and union responses regarding: i) initial response and ongoing contact; ii) workers' compensation and common law, iii) investigation and prosecution, and, iv) coronial inquests.

Findings

Employers

1. Initial response and ongoing contact

For employers, one pressing question following a work-related death concerns how the organisation should respond, including if and how they should contact the family. In most cases, the police are called to the scene to carry out a preliminary investigation (to rule out a possible homicide). While the police are normally the first to contact the family, especially in small communities, the first contact may also be from fellow workers or friends, as reported by one agricultural employer. Given their size and the nature of the industries, it was not surprising that all representatives of large employers in construction and road transport indicated that their organisation had a formal documented protocol for dealing with emergency situations. These protocols included work-related death but, unlike those of safety regulators, there were no dedicated elements for work-related death. The protocol typically took the form of a crisis-management procedure by which designated managerial staff assembled to coordinate, manage, and post-manage serious incidents. The procedure included securing the site, managing and disseminating information to external organisations and the media, coordinating the Employee Assistance Program, and in some cases, contacting the family.

However, protocols for contacting the family were neither consistent between organisations nor always apparent to managers at a worksite. Most construction industry interviewees were unaware of any formal protocols or procedures for contacting families, considering them the domain of Human Resources, counsellors or senior management. In two organisations, the Managing Director took responsibility for contacting the family. However, other employer representatives in construction and other industries indicated they had received legal advice not to contact the family. Other respondents, including government inspectorates, unions, and lawyers acting for unions, also stated that employers were increasingly discouraged by their lawyers from contacting families in case their statements were as an admission of fault or used in evidence in legal proceedings – either civil litigation, prosecution by the government safety regulator or a coronial inquest. The risk of civil litigation for common law damages was especially high where the deceased worker was a self-employed subcontractor because the family was generally excluded from the only other option, namely a workers' compensation settlement.

> The legal advice is often for the company to say nothing to the family. Ninety per cent of labour on construction projects is through subcontractors so the builders themselves are not the employer of the injured or the worker whose fatality has occurred... So contacting the family of a subcontractor… it creates antagonism. There'll always be an element of blame from the injured family, not only against the employer, but against the big builder, against the head contractor. (Employer #10)

Notwithstanding these issues, some individuals did contact families to offer support, including direct financial support or organising workplace donations. This discrepancy is indicative of a tension between the professional or organisational and the personal responses to work-related death. On one hand, there is pressure to withhold information or to not act in ways that might appear to be an admission of guilt or legal liability to protect the interests of the company. There is, nevertheless, compassion for the family, which was most evident in an interview with the Chief Executive Officer of a regional, family-owned agricultural company who spoke of the challenges of balancing his

responsibility to the company, over both the long and short term, with his responsibility to the family. Having provided emotional and financial support to the spouse over a period of 18 months, during which a close friendship developed, he described how this relationship deteriorated once the prosecution judged the company responsible for the death.

> I think that the legislation and the stricter liability nature of it was one of the things that turned [spouse] against us a bit more because I really noticed the change in her once she saw the charges from [government safety inspectorate] that [company] was responsible…. It wasn't just the charges… but the prosecution brief. She took that as being, well you know, [company] was responsible and that's what the court says… [That] turned her behaviour around, at least to me. (Employer #9)

One transport employer used chaplains to facilitate balance between professional and personal roles. The chaplaincy team's approach was for the family to control the process (although support was provided to work colleagues of the deceased), and there were clear procedures for receiving families if they decided to attend the site of the incident, or at the hospital. An initial offer of support was made to the family, which was followed up at regular intervals.

> It's that fine line between harassing someone – saying, do you need help – and actually recognising that they're on this kind of rollercoaster and they don't know what help they might need. So we'll do that initial, 'we're here to support you however you like' and then at 24, 48 [hours] we'll be saying, 'do you now need some support with' – and actually being more concrete in the offers. (Employer #11)

As a result of their professional involvement in funerals and memorial services, chaplains had the opportunity to meet with families over the longer term to check how they were coping and to anticipate future needs. This included practical tasks like organising help around the garden or providing career guidance for teenage children. Chaplains could also act as a referral point for those requiring specialised services such as grief counselling or drug and alcohol services.

2. Workers' compensation and common law

While donations from employers, unions or workplace collections might help some families, the primary source of financial support for families is workers' compensation, which includes statutory payments in the case of work-related death plus ongoing payments to dependent spouses and (more especially) children. In Australia, families can also sue for damages at common law, which may result in a higher payment than workers' compensation (settlements are adjusted to account for workers' compensation receipts to prevent 'double-dipping'). A successful common law claim requires proving the death resulted from negligence by the employer or another party. It is a more problematic and lengthier process than workers' compensation. However, as most self-employed workers are excluded from workers' compensation cover, a common law damages claim is usually the only option for their families.

Most employers spoke at length about company-specific policies and schemes offering direct financial assistance to families rather than about workers' compensation *per se*. This response reflected the fact that after a claim is lodged the employer is no longer involved – the processing and outcomes are the responsibility of the workers' compensation authority or the private insurer licensed by them. Nonetheless, a common concern amongst employer representatives was the inability of the families of

self-employed subcontractors to claim workers' compensation and the financial pressures on them that result. Several employers also referred to the need to provide more immediate support while claims were being determined. The industry association said on occasion it approached the workers' compensation authority when a claim was rejected:

> [So] say they're not helping a family that we're trying to push a claim through [for] – we enquire as to their processes and procedures. There have been other occasions when we've said 'this family is destitute and you need to process the claim as quickly as possible' and they've been very good in that space. (Employer #10)

The chaplains of one employer also sought to assist vulnerable families with their compensation claims:

> If you're functioning 100 per cent, those processes are fraught. If you've just lost the person who may well have been the one who made all the decisions and knew about that stuff, you're in deadly situations. So sometimes for us, that means going, sitting with someone during the compensation hearings. It might mean going and helping them choose a lawyer to represent them. It might mean we provide them with support. (Employer #11)

These responses reflect a recognition of the problems associated with the growth of subcontracting arrangements as well as recognition of the financial stress experienced by families. (Matthews, Bohle, et al., 2012). The families of self-employed workers typically found in subcontracting arrangements are generally excluded for accessing workers' compensation and because these workers are seldom unionised must mount their own claims at common law – an often lengthy and problematic process (Quinlan, et. al. 2015).

3. Investigation and prosecution

The investigation process following a death can take six months or more, and court proceedings (if pursued) may not occur until a year or much longer after the incident. While these processes are occurring, families often have limited information on the circumstances surrounding the fatality. Employer representatives referred to the constraints imposed by the legal process on their ability to communicate to families or their own workforce. One stated:

> I think there should be some sort of open reporting culture there. I can understand why companies don't do it, because suddenly as soon as an occurrence happens they're put under legal privilege (Employer #2)

Similarly, an industry organisation representative stated:

> I think people are entitled to know what happened… How did my father die, how did my son die? ... The causation stuff is terribly important. Unfortunately, there's legal privilege around that and even the government's investigation, they don't want to tell anybody what they have found in their inquiries. So you have this issue of timing and can you give general information to a family. My view is you can give very general information to a family to say how the law works... Families are entitled to know the process. (Employer #10)

Interestingly, several believed the situation had been exacerbated by the more conspicuous role played by corporate law firms – a concern shared by other interviewees, including government safety regulators, unions and support groups.

The investigative and prosecution process also exacted a toll on the employing organisation. One interviewee recounted the personal, interpersonal, and organisational impacts it had:

> In terms of the organisation and some of the people – you just notice the toll it takes… one of the things it did was pit people against each other in the organisation who were trying to work out what happened and the [government safety inspectorate] uses someone's story and throws out someone else's – we've got some lingering difficult relationships internally because of that. (Employer #9)

4. **Coronial Inquest**

Of the employer representatives interviewed, only two said anything about their involvement in the coronial process. One was a safety facilitator required to attend fatalities and prepare documents for submission to the coroner's office. The other had attended a coronial inquest concerning a death at the workplace he managed. Contrary to the views of some union representatives (see below), the manager did not believe the coronial process had fully disclosed the evidence surrounding the workplace death:

> There was some information about the plan of work for the day and who was instructed to do what and why they were doing it and what they were doing. We just found, and this followed through to the prosecution, that some of that information wasn't asked or didn't come out or wasn't refuted by someone. (Employer #9)

The employer representative believed the failure to capture the 'whole story' surrounding the workplace death resulted in dissatisfaction amongst those employees who gave evidence to the inquest and also influenced the subsequent prosecution by the safety regulator (in some jurisdictions a coronial inquest can only occur after a prosecution is finalised).

Unions

Before describing union responses, it is important to provide some contextual background. All four unions are large and all had taken some active involvement in work-related death. The New South Wales (NSW) branches of both the mining (predominantly coal mining) and construction divisions of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU) have a history of providing support, including financial support, to the families of members killed at work (and sometimes non-members) and had either erected or sponsored memorial walls of those killed. The memorial wall of the northern NSW division of the CFMEU mining division at Cessnock has over 1800 names of mineworkers who have died since the early 1800s. The NSW branch of the construction division of the CFMEU has supported a formal group of families for those killed at work – not just union members or those killed in construction – including organising an annual construction safety dinner where employers attend to raise money for the support group. The NSW branch of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) also supported a formal family group about a decade ago as part of a campaign to improve truck-driver safety and has continued to maintain contact with families. Like the CFMEU, it supported a memorial of truck drivers at Tarcutta on the Hume highway where a ceremony is held each year. Some employers

are also involved in this ceremony. For its part, the Victorian branch of the Australian Workers Union (AWU), which represents metalliferous miners and agricultural workers, became heavily involved in a fatal rock fall at the Beaconsfield gold mine in Tasmania in 2006 (one mineworker was killed and two entrapped for 11 days), and provided representation for the family of the deceased worker in the subsequent coronial inquest.

The activities above, especially of the CFMEU, probably represent a stronger level of engagement with families than is typical but do appear to reflect a wider trend in which unions are seeking to build broader community engagement and networks – a point taken up later in this article.

1. **Initial contact**

The unions interviewed for this study lacked documented protocols to deal with workplace death but all had established procedures, to varying degrees, known to the officials involved, from union secretaries through to organisers. These procedures were based on union structures, the expertise or experience of particular officials and longstanding practices, particularly regarding workers' compensation and civil litigation. At the same time, respondents believed the diversity of their membership and sensitivity to different family circumstances made a 'one size fits all' protocol unfeasible when it came to initial contact. In the case of the construction union, for example, initial contact was often made through a work colleague out of respect for the privacy of the family.

Once initial contact had been made, the response of most unions was relatively consistent. It involved the provision of practical support for families of the deceased, including legal and counselling supports as well as advice about, and assistance in, accessing financial benefits. All four unions had contracted specialist legal firms to pursue common law damages claims or disputed workers' compensation entitlements. The provision of more immediate financial support also played a prominent role in union responses. This support ranged from a substantial payment of around A$100,000, in addition to other financial receipts from workers' compensation or other sources, from the fighting fund of the miners' union, to support with journey claims no longer covered by workers' compensation (in the case of the transport and construction union), and organising donations from members (including multi-workplace levies or subscriptions). The construction and mining unions had also facilitated payments by employers or others to self-employed contractors and other non-members.

Unions can be a conduit through which the family can find out the circumstances of the death and demand measures to prevent a recurrence. Representatives of other bodies, including safety regulators, endorsed the value of unions' role as facilitators of information and support to families. One safety regulator argued that providing information to families via unions was a way to avoid *sub judice* issues in a pending prosecution before adding.

> We don't volunteer information... but if they contact us on behalf of their members …. That's when we engage with the union – usually the health and safety officer on site. We walk with them around the site and let them know what we think and we develop the relationship at that point. (Government Safety Inspectorate #5)

Unlike other organisations whose roles require impartiality, such as OHS regulators, or may even entail a conflict of interest, such as with employers, unions can unashamedly advocate on behalf of the family. In addition to empathy, representatives saw a close alignment of the union's goals and activities with those of families. This view is consistent with previous research that found that unions were the

only organisations whose activities were viewed in a consistently positive light by bereaved families (Matthews, Quinlan, et al., 2012).

The capacity and willingness of unions to help families can vary markedly however. Using a range of sources, including their members at the workplace who witnessed the incident, contacts in other organisations and familiarity with documentary sources, unions can provide families with information on the circumstances of the death. This task can prove taxing for unions, such as the TWU, AWU and CFMEU (Construction Division), which cover large, remotely located or disparate (in terms of occupation) groups of workers and with low or patchy membership. The CFMEU (construction), for example, was in a stronger position to provide assistance in the case of a death on a large construction site than one on a housing site (especially one in a small town). The TWU and AWU face similar challenges.

On the other hand, the capacity of the more highly unionised CFMEU (mining division) to provide this information was enhanced by the fact that in both Queensland and NSW coal mine safety legislation empowers its safety representatives, including full-time representatives paid for by the union, to undertake inspections/investigations and to be kept informed of worksite investigations undertaken by the company. Unlike their counterparts in other industries, the safety officials in the CFMEU mining division must also be informed of notifiable incidents at a workplace, which include fatalities. Interviews with a CFMEU Industry Safety Representative indicated that they normally liaised with the branch president and secretary, who then contacted the family to offer assistance. The mining industry regulations provide a model which could be used to facilitate the more rapid release of information to families via unions in other industries (Matthews, Quinlan, et al., 2012).

Several union representatives argued that having to deal with an ethnically and socially diverse membership strengthened their ability to deal with challenging issues like complex family structures:

> Family structures are complex at times. Unions are well-placed generally to deal with those complexities because they understand diversity. We understand the breadth of our membership; not in an intimate way, but in a far more intimate way than their employers generally do, and lawyers generally do, or regulators generally do. So we have a role to play there in delivering those sorts of support networks and services. (Union #5)

As well as providing emotional support and information about rights and entitlements to families, union support can extend to assistance with funeral arrangements. Long-term contact and support was also raised by some participants. While long-term relationships had developed as a result of the campaigning work of some family members, often contact lapsed once legal support had been provided and families were satisfied with it.

> I think we could do better at ensuring that there is a bit of long-term support for these families going forward; that they are not left to fend for themselves. After they are given their lump sum it's like, well there you go. (Union #4)

The issue of long-term support was also connected to the broader role that unions could perform and the benefits of a more strategic approach. While a decline in union membership and the growth of non-unionised workplaces have severely challenged conventional union activity, the provision of these supports has afforded unions an opportunity to demonstrate the broader community service role they can perform. This has a ripple effect beyond the families immediately assisted, especially where a network has been built. Two measures identified in the introduction to this section may assist this

process. First, annual memorial services have provided an ongoing point of contact between unions and families. This activity was endorsed by representatives of other bodies interviewed, not only victim support groups but also some safety regulators. Second, and perhaps more importantly, several unions, most notably the construction division of the CFMEU, have sponsored or supported family support groups, which in turn have become powerful community advocates for improved safety and workers' compensation (Matthews, Quinlan, et al., 2012). It is noteworthy that several employers interviewed had invited family members involved in advocacy groups to address their workplaces about the importance of safety.

1. Workers' compensation and common law claims

As noted earlier, work-related death often has serious financial repercussions for families that can be compounded by unfamiliarity with seeking workers' compensation or making claim at common law. Unions play an important and often unrecognised role in referring families to experienced law firms to advise them and, if necessary, assist them pursue their legal entitlements. The vast majority of families opt to pursue a workers' compensation claim rather than civil litigation because it is quicker and their financial entitlements are clearly specified. Further, as one union official indicated, civil litigation is also more emotionally taxing:

> Common law, by definition, involves an inquiry, a very close examination of what the cause of the death was and if it could have been prevented. It's obviously a lot more stressful for the defendants involved because there's the consideration of what could have been done to avoid the death. (Union #6)

Given the complexities of subcontracting relationships, experienced legal advice was, if anything, even more critical:

> The person may be self-employed, they may be a contractor, but it may be that somebody else is potentially at fault and has liability. For example, the head contractor or one of the other major contractors may have caused the accident, but it requires an experienced lawyer to investigate the full circumstances to see if there is a case there for the family. (Union #6)

One problem in this regard was that relatively few self-employed workers belong to unions. Nonetheless, the extent of subcontracting in some industries, such as construction and road transport, and declining union membership more generally, has significantly constrained unions' capacity to assist workers – a point recognised by both support groups, who commonly did include the families of contractors, and workers' compensation agencies.

> Because all the contractors aren't members of the unions the union doesn't give them any support, like as if they were a union member. They're compassionate towards them, of course. They're a bit like insurance. You don't pay your premium, you don't get the support. (Support Group/Service #5)

> If they're an employee, there's a chance they belong to a union and that the union will actually give them a lot of advice with the [compensation claim] – and [also] if they have to go for a common law settlement... But if they're self-employed, they're almost never a union member, so they don't have any resources to fall back on at all for advice. (Government Compensation Agency #4)

In addition to assisting claimants, unions also advocated improvements in workers' compensation benefits and opposed reductions in benefits, for example in relation to journey-related claims. Like several employer representatives, union officials interviewed referred to the severe financial strain that work-related death placed on families. In at least one case, unions received influential support from a family support group in securing improved lump sum benefits and changes to dependency requirements.

2. Investigation and Prosecution

Unions may carry out their own inquiries following a workplace death, provide information to government safety inspectors, and attend court hearings, often with the family. Most union interviewees expressed confidence in government safety inspectors, indicating they had good working relations with inspectors and recognised the need for independence in the investigation and prosecution process. One interviewee did question how important information was withheld from them:

> So when there is a fatality and the regulator is involved – and we know the inspectors and the investigators; we know them personally. We ask them questions about – 'what can you tell us?' The shutters come down. We think that's unfortunate because the regulator actually knows that we have exposure to these issues; we have experience. Whereas they also know that usually the organisation they're dealing with has never encountered it before. (Union #5)

Like some employers, union representatives were critical of the increasingly conspicuous role of law firms in dictating responses, including restricting access to information to anyone other than the regulatory authority. Like some managers, they believed this approach had potentially adverse effects on OHS:

> The flaw in that position is that [any] immediate threat emerging from that incident that they may be aware of, that would be applicable to other workplaces tomorrow, doesn't come out until 18 months from now. I want to know what it is that might kill some of my members in workplaces – and I want to tell them, 'here's an alert; be wary of this'. (Union #5)

Withholding information can have potential repercussions for the family, who often find it increasingly difficult to obtain information about the exact cause(s) and nature of the death, or about processes taking place (Snell & Tombs, 2011; Matthews, Quinlan, et al., 2012; Matthews et al., 2014). Union representatives also expressed concern about delays in court proceedings resulting from the use of technical objections by law firms. This point was echoed by safety regulators, one of whom cited a recent case in which technical appeals reached the High Court (where they were rejected) and the actual prosecution trial was held up for over a year.

Conversely, unions were critical of the failure of safety regulators to always keep families informed of proceedings or to appreciate their desire for accountability and justice.

> I've heard [of] situations where people don't even realise prosecutions have gone to court... One of the things that I think the authorities don't get is, it's not just about the money or the fine, it's actually having a process that recognises something really bad has happened

> and [that] we are doing the best we possibly can to get some justice at the end of the day. (Union #4)

3. Coronial Inquest

Unions indicated they tried to ensure officials or their legal representatives attended coronial inquests, made submissions to them on occasion (in one road transport case this evidence was cited at length in coroner's findings), and supported family members. A major union concern was the falling number of workplace deaths that were subject to a full coronial inquest. Whether a full inquest is held depends on various factors but resourcing was seen to play an important role.

> There are two reasons why you see less workplace deaths in coroner's courts. One is, I believe, the coroners haven't got the resources they would like to have… Two, there is, I feel, a push from [government safety inspectorate] to turn these into paper investigations and [to] keep the coroner out of it. (Union #6)

Unlike most investigations in which there is no subsequent prosecution, coronial findings are made public and were seen to provide information not found in a safety investigation:

> [The families] just want to know what happened. I believe that the coronial process actually does play a very important role in answering some of the family's questions…Faced with the death of a loved one most people do want to know what happened or at least know what the last person who saw them can tell you about their situation before the death. (Union #6)

Because coronial findings can also make recommendations aimed at preventing similar deaths, unions saw coronial inquests as performing an important role in delivering some level of justice to the family. One interviewee claimed the reduction in the number of workplace deaths subject to coronial inquests resulted in less media coverage and understanding of workplace death in the community.

Discussion: Putting the findings into context

This study examined the views of employers and unions regarding their responses to work-related death and the problems experienced by surviving families. The findings are firstly discussed in the context of criminal law processes that follow a work-related death. They are then viewed in light of their relevance for industrial relations research and policy.

In regard to set procedures for dealing with work-related deaths, larger firms had formal protocols for dealing with emergency situations that were not specific to work deaths but were used in these circumstances. In some cases, these protocols included making contact with families. Although unions lacked written protocols they did have well-established, although unwritten, procedures that could accommodate differing circumstances, including methods of communicating with mixed families. Three of the four unions – and the CFMEU in particular – had made efforts to broaden their engagement with families through activities like memorial walls or parks, aiding support groups and offering some assistance to families of non-union members. To a large degree, the views of union and employer representatives about their role and the problems encountered were confirmed in interviews with representatives of other organisations, such as government agencies and support groups.

Significant areas of agreement between employer and union representatives about the problems experienced by families following a workplace death were identified. These included the length of time it took for issues like investigations and coronial inquests to be resolved, the financial strain on families, especially where the worker was self-employed, and problematic role of legal firms in terms of the release of information. These problems are common to families experiencing a sudden death (see also Malone, 2009; Riches & Dawson, 1998) and stem from post-death formalities that are shaped by legal rules that pursue broad social objectives rather than the needs of families (Gunningham, 2007). While some employers and unions had developed ways of supporting families with these problems (e.g., one large firm had a chaplain service that could assist families), there was no evidence that these initiatives were widespread practices. Whether union and employer responses in New Zealand are similar to those found in this study and the effect of a universal accident compensation scheme in terms of the financial strain on families is worthy of investigation.

There were also important differences between employers and unions, notably in terms of contact with the family (and even whether it should occur in the case of the employer) and the more central role unions played advising and supporting families. Given employers' roles and responsibilities to the legal system following a work-related death often limited their ability to make contact with families, these findings were not unexpected. Unions and employers also had differing views on the value of investigations and prosecutions by safety regulators and coronial inquests (for example, see Schofield, Reeve, & McCallum, 2009; Gunningham, 2007), formal processes that are known to be problematic yet important for families in seeking information, involvement and justice (Matthews et al., 2014). These differing views reflect the wider debate about the role of prosecution in OHS deterrence and prevention, and the often forgotten retributive functions of the prosecution that helps to meet the legitimate needs of families and communities for accountability and justice (Gunningham, 2007).

The adversarial nature of the legal processes following a sudden death and the impact they have on employers, managers, workers, and families have been previously reported in the literature (Matthews et al., 2014; Schofield, Reeve, & McCallum, 2009; Riches & Dawson, 1998; Malone, 2009; Urban Ministry Network, 2000). An adversarial legal approach not only limits contact between employers, safety inspectorate, and families but has been reported as aggravating conflict between parties (King, 2006). For this reason, the value of a restorative justice approach following work-related deaths (Brookes, 2009; Gunningham, 2007; Braithwaite, 2002) is gaining traction in Australia (King, 2006). Restorative justice provides opportunities for parties to discuss what happened, how people were affected, and what needs to be done to repair or make amends for the harm, to make sure it does not happen again, and to bring about positive changes for all those concerned, This approach is particularly relevant given the prosecution of approximately 50 per cent of work-related deaths in Australia (SafeWork Australia, 2012).

Having raised these points, this study is only the first step in understanding employer and union responses to traumatic work-related deaths and to surviving families, and its findings should be treated with caution. Most of the employers interviewed were from large organisations and this, together with the hazardous nature of the industries considered, means it is difficult to generalise the findings. Nonetheless, the study provides some guidance for future research and it also raises issues of wider significance to the field of industrial relations.

In terms of the relevance of the study to industrial relations research and policy debates, several points can be made. First, some of the findings reflect well-known differences in terms of industry features, firm size, and union presence as well as general trends, particularly the growth of self-employment/subcontracting and declining union density. Nevertheless, while the effects on working

conditions of subcontracting have been extensively documented in the industrial relations literature (see for example, Sobczak, 2004), this study points to the profound effects this has on the families following work-related death in terms of access to financial and other support. Of course, this point has broader relevance to the families of self-employed workers experiencing serious but non-fatal injuries. It highlights an important and growing gap in the social protection regime resulting from changes to work arrangements over the past 30 years (Quinlan & Mayhew, 1999). As this regulatory gap affects industrial relations institutions and processes, it warrants greater attention from industrial relations scholars.

Second, this study provides evidence about an area of union activity that, aside from some treatment of workers' compensation, has received little attention in the industrial relations literature. To varying degrees, unions provide an important set of social protection activities, including assisting families secure workers' compensation or common law settlements, obtaining information on the circumstances of the death and advocating on their behalf during the investigation and coronial inquest. The conflicts of interests or role that occur at work over issues, such as wages and job security, extend to OHS, including what happens after work-related death. In the latter case, notwithstanding some areas of agreement, unions become advocates for the family in dealing with employers and government agencies, such as safety regulators, who have a different and sometimes conflicting agenda. The labour movement's interest in family related issues is longstanding (as is well evidenced, for example, in public inquiries into labour conditions in the UK, Australia and elsewhere in the late 19th/early 20th century) but has taken on new forms as working arrangements and social conditions and expectations have changed. One example of this is union involvement in contemporary debates on family/work balance (see for example, Rigby & O'Brien-Smith, 2010). On the one hand, this study indicates that, as in other areas, declining union density is eroding their capacity to represent the families of those killed at work. On the other hand, the study also found that some unions in particular were attempting to build a broader community relationship through their activities in this area. This activity can be seen as another example of the wider social campaigning and networking in OHS and other areas that could provide avenues for union renewal (Jarley, 2005; Quinlan & Sokas, 2009).

Conclusion

Traumatic work-related death remains a serious issue even in developed countries, such as Australia, Canada, and the USA. The incidence of work-related death remains significantly higher in four industry sectors – farming, fishing and forestry, mining, construction and road transport. In these industries, in particular, employers and unions are likely to be aware of this risk, if not actual events (certainly our interviewees were). Nonetheless, the impact of work-related deaths on families and how institutions deal with these events has received little attention from researchers.

Within industrial relations and other disciplines, the way that unions and employers deal with traumatic injuries and fatalities in the workplaces they cover has been neglected, apart from studies examining struggles over workers' compensation or safety. Though important, workers' compensation and safety are part of a wider array of issues/processes, organisations, groups and individuals that unions and employers must address following a serious injury at work. While families may become involved in cases of serious injury where the worker dies, the impact on the family is especially acute and also entails their direct involvement in some institutional processes. Further, these processes involve a complex array of economic, social and human considerations that both unions and employers must address. This study sought to provide insights into these interactions by examining employer and union responses to work-related death in the four industries examined. One significant finding was that the

threat of common law liability and increased role of corporate law firms was a significant barrier to employer response. Another significant challenge to both employers and unions were the the delays and complexity of the Australian workers' compensation system, and the complicating situation regarding self-employed workers whose families were large confined to the common law option. Another finding was the importance role played by unions in advising families and helping them to navigate this system. Unfortunately, with some exceptions this was only available when the worker was a union member. While not explicitly addressed by this study, the decline in union density and rise of subcontracting/self-employment is likely to deny this input for a large number of workers. At a more positive level, our study also found union involvement in social networks which aimed to represent and assist families extended the reach of assistance to non-union workers.

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Notes

[1] This article presents results from the first phase of a multi-method study of institutional responses to workplace death using data from 48 in-depth interviews with organisations involved in workplace death in Australia. Specifically, it examines the attitude and responses of unions and employers to traumatic work-related death in four industry sectors with a relatively high incidence of such fatalities: road transport, construction, mining, agriculture fishing and forestry. The aim was to identify critical institutional processes and relationships and their implications for industrial relations and for victims' families. To this end, employer and union responses were examined, regarding initial contact, workers' compensation, investigation and prosecution, and the coronial inquest. Protocols and supports to deal with these events, and the extent to which they assisted families, were examined. In addition, the study explored how other relevant institutions, such as safety inspectorates and support and advocacy groups, viewed union and employer responses.

Results indicated that employers tended to have documented protocols for responding to serious incidents, unions had established responses, but they were generally not formally documented. The responses of unions involved the provision of clear practical support to families, including legal and counselling supports, information provision and assistance in accessing financial benefits. Contact with families was also a feature of employers' responses, especially the larger organisations that employed chaplains, but concern was also expressed that contact with families may be inappropriate or legally problematic. Employers and unions both raised concerns about how legal processes following a death delayed families and employers accessing information on the circumstances that led to it and the impacts of delays on occupational health and safety and the health and wellbeing of families and workers. These findings suggest that employers and unions could play different, but constructive, roles following a work-related death. More research is required on how employers and unions deal with fatalities and serious injuries/illnesses arising from work.

[2] A second option available in terms of securing monetary redress following injury or death at work in Australia and some other countries – and one especially important to those excluded from workers' compensation such as most self-employed workers – is for the family (in the case of traumatic work-related death) to pursue a claim for damages at common law, usually under the tort of negligence or breach of contract, against the person or organisation held responsible for the worker's death. Unlike workers' compensation, this is a fault-based remedy where the level of entitlement is not specified but decided on a case by case basis according to general rules.

[3] In the state of New South Wales unions too have had the right to initiate a prosecution though limited use was made of it and there have been no such cases to our knowledge in the last five years.

Women and Careers: New Zealand Women's Engagement in Career and Family Planning

SARAH USSHER[*], MAREE ROCHE[**] and DONALD CABLE[***]

Abstract

How career commitment, career salience, subjective career success, and proactive personality impact on career planning for women is the focus of this paper. Additionally, women have further complications in career planning as they consider family as well as career decisions, which suggests that women's career paths are generally regarded as complex. This study investigated 178 New Zealand women without children, regarding the extent that non-mothers engage in career planning, including the extent that future family planning considerations influence their career plans. We also examined the role of career planning with proactive personality, subjective career success, commitment and salience of women's careers and role as a parent. Results suggest women feel a need to choose between a career and a family. Furthermore, high parental role commitment and salience increased the likelihood of altered career plans to accommodate family whilst high career commitment and salience decreased the likelihood of altered career plans to accommodate family. Implications include the need for organisations to identify contingency plans for women's career planning, and consideration in career management programs.

Keywords: women, careers, career planning, family planning, commitment, salience, career satisfaction, proactive personality.

Introduction

Compared to 30 years ago there are more women present in the workforce, and women now have more opportunities and choices available to them regarding their ability to negotiate around the different life roles available to them (Novakovic & Fouad, 2013; Vinkenburg, Van Hattem, Ossenkop & Dikkers, 2013). Within a research context, two life roles are salient. Firstly, how having a family can affect career opportunities, and secondly, how career decisions can influence decisions around family priorities (Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005). While these are increasingly understood, what is less understood are the perspectives of women who are about to enter their careers, who are currently childless, and their current perceptions around decision making with regards to a career and a family. Ultimately, this research seeks to address this gap.

Family responsibilities do have constraints on women and men's careers (Covin & Brush, 1991), it is generally expected that conflict between life roles occur for men and women regarding career, marriage, and parenthood roles (Kerpelman & Schvaneveldt, 1999). Women's career building stage or establishment stage typically coincides with the peak of their fertility, thus, women may be faced with decisions or expect a trade-off between having a career and having children, that men may not necessarily face (Brown & Diekman, 2010; Ezzedeen & Ritchey, 2009; Fetterolf & Eagly, 2011; Friedman & Weissbrod, 2005). The approach

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women take to integrate a career and family is an important topic to explore as it has an impact on women's lives in two major areas – their career life and their family life (O'Brein, Friedman, Tipton, & Linn, 2000). Women's career paths are generally regarded as being more complex than those of men as women have been found to make career decisions and plans to integrate and accommodate having a family (O'Brein et al., 2000) and childbearing has been found to be a limiting factor for a women's career (Larwood & Gutek, 1987). Hewlett, Buck-Luce, Shiller, and Southwell (2005) examined why women take time out of their careers and found the reasons typically had to do with family (childcare or aging parents) or that they are unable to fulfil their responsibilities at home and work. The most common reason for women leaving their careers was to increase time with their children, cited by nearly half (45 percent) of their participants. Not only is leaving the workforce difficult for women, but it is also difficult re-entering it given that women were often penalised in terms of their earning capacity (Hewlett et al., 2005). Nowak, Naudé, and Thomas (2012) found working female professionals acknowledged the presence of these complexities, which included the constraints of career progression and training, reduced opportunities for advancement, and thus overall restrictions on their future career due to making the decision to have a family. Miree and Frieze (1999) found 88 percent of their female participants chose to reduce their hours or exit the workforce or prioritise their children, after having children. Overall research suggests that, for women, having children can have a negative effect on a career.

Sheryl Sandberg, chief operating officer at Facebook, published a book titled 'Lean in: Women, work, and the will to lead' (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). It reviews a wide range of issues regarding women in the workforce. She pointed out that women, at an early age, face a dilemma – the choice between having a good career or being a good mother. She and others note that women are opting out (leaning out) of their careers prematurely to accommodate for a family that does not currently exist; they pre-emptively plan to accommodate for having a family at the expense of current career planning and engagement (Ganginis Del Pino, O'Brien, Mereish, & Miller, 2013; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013).

Women's resistance towards developing career plans due to the perception that future child rearing is incompatible with a demanding career (including long hours, relocation, and weekends) focussed on the concept of women leaving careers psychologically before they depart, or at least before they invest in careers (Farmer, 1997). "Women leaving before they leave" (ibid: 93) was further developed by Sandberg and Scovell (2013). Overall, this involves a woman's hesitancy to accept career opportunities based on the expectation that she will have a family and, therefore, needs to prepare herself and her career to accommodate a family (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). This concept suggests that women turn down career advancement due to anticipating children in the future, and the concern of over-commitment at work (Ganginis Del Pino et al., 2013; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). While Sandberg and Scovell (2013) popularised this notion, research more widely supports the idea that a woman's career planning is influenced by her plans to have children in the future (Ganginis Del Pino et al., 2013; Marks & Houston, 2002; O'Brein et al., 2000).

Not only is it suggested that women's career plans are developed with consideration to accommodate family plans, but consideration of family plans also influences women's educational aspirations. Marks and Houston (2002) found the plans of young female students to attain higher educational qualifications were influenced by their attitudes about working. This is what Sandberg referred to as leaning out of one's career (Sandberg & Scovell, 2013). The phenomenon being that women's plans to have a family negatively influence their career plans, that is choosing not to progress in their career due to expecting children in the near or far future, this relates to the leaning out stage – once women are in a career. Shann (1983) reported that women became less specific about future career plans around the time they started

considering factors such as marriage, family and childcare. Shann also reported that women preferred to combine both work and childcare, and were inclined to express consideration of plans to accommodate family responsibilities in combination with part-time employment. This suggests importantly that women do factor childrearing into their career plans.

The aim of this research was to examine women's salience and commitment to a career and the parental role. Additionally, we examine women's proactive personality and subjective career success, as well as how these variables relate to career and planning a family below.

Career management, age and education

Career self-management is defined as the extent to which an individual gathers information regularly, engages in career maintenance, and plans for career problem solving and decision making (Kossek, Roberts, Fisher, & Demarr, 1998). It involves actively engaging in one's own career development and career planning, which guides career decision-making, as well as anticipating and adapting to changes, opportunities, and obstacles in a proactive manner (Brown & Lent, 2013; Kossek et al., 1998). King (2004) argued that individuals who were highly self-motivated and highly skilled at adapting to change in the work environment would find career self-management highly beneficial. In contrast, less motivated and skilled individuals, who struggle to utilise personal resources, may struggle to engage in career self-management. Career self-management has positive consequences, such as increased career and life satisfaction, self-efficacy and well-being. However, these outcomes are only evident if the desired career outcomes or goals are achieved (ibid).

This research examines whether there is a relationship between planning to have a family and career planning; this research also looks at age and education as well as whether they have relationships with career planning. Gould (1979) hypothesised that the stabilisation (establishment) career stage (31-44 years old) would be where individuals would have the greatest incentive to engage in career planning. This suggests that age may not be specifically related to career planning as job transitions, such as voluntary job change, career transitions, or job loss, may cause individuals to recycle through the career stages of exploration and establishment (Hartung, 2013). However, Carson and Bedeian (1994) found career planning to have a negative relationship with age (r=-0.09). Although the relationship was small, it suggests that, as individuals age, the extent that they engage in career planning will decrease.

Regarding education, Carson and Bedeian (1994) found evidence that career planning had a positive relationship with education (r=0.16). Additionally, career planning was positively related to the intention to pursue graduate education (r=0.14), as well as being significantly related to applications to graduate education programs (r=0.19) (Seibert, Kraimer, Holtom, & Pierotti, 2013). This suggests that, as an individual's education level increases, engagement in career planning increases. Based on the evidence this research provides, we hypothesised that career planning would be negatively related to age and that career planning would be positively related to education.

> **Hypothesis 1:** Career planning will be negatively related to age. Therefore, as an individual's age increases their engagement in career planning will decrease.
>
> **Hypothesis 2:** Career planning will be positively related to education. That is, individuals with higher levels of education will be more likely to engage in career planning.

Proactive personality and subjective career success

Proactive personality describes a person who has a relatively stable disposition towards exhibiting proactive behaviours and is typically unconstrained by changes in the environment and by situational forces (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Seibert, Crant, & Kraimer, 1999). Proactive individuals typically show initiative, recognise opportunities and take advantage of these opportunities, take action and persevere in situations to make changes that are meaningful (Crant, 1995). Less proactive individuals tend to react to changes in their environment rather than initiating it (Bateman & Crant, 1993; Seibert et al., 1999). Pazy (1988) found proactive personality positively related to career planning. Frese, Fay, Hilburger, Leng, and Tag (1997) found that individuals with high initiative were more inclined to engage in career planning (r=0.37) and more inclined to execute that career plan (r=0.26) than individuals low on initiative. Proactive behaviours, for instance engaging in career planning and seeking career feedback, are reported to enhance the likelihood that an individual will experience extrinsic rewards and an intrinsically satisfying career (Seibert, Kraimer, & Crant, 2001). Based on this evidence, we hypothesised that proactive personality would be positively related to career planning.

> **Hypothesis 3:** Proactive personality will be positively related to career planning.

Subjective career success (SCS), also regarded as career satisfaction, is defined as an individual's feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment with their careers (Seibert et al., 1999). Career satisfaction has been found to have a significant positive relationship with career planning (r=0.14) (Aryee & Debrah, 1993). Career planning was found to be a significant predictor of SCS (r=0.33), which was a stronger predictor than that of salary (a component of objective career success) (Ng, Eby, Sorensen, & Feldman, 2005). Based on this evidence, we hypothesised that SCS would be positively related to career planning.

> **Hypothesis 4a:** Subjective career success (career satisfaction) will be positively related to career planning.

King (2004) argued that career self-management could be beneficial for highly skilled workers who were self-motivated and would find ways to adapt to a work environment that is ever changing. Additionally, engaging in career self-management may result in positive outcomes for the individual, including career satisfaction; increased level of self-efficacy, increased level of well-being, and positive outcomes for life satisfaction, on the condition that the career outcomes are achieved (King, 2004). Proactive personality has been reported to have a significant relationship with career satisfaction (r=0.31) (Seibert et al., 1999), (r=0.27) (Seibert et al., 2001), (r=0.20) (Erdogan & Bauer, 2005), and the relationship was found to be partially mediated by career initiative, innovation, and political knowledge (Seibert et al., 2001). Ng et al. (2005) found proactive personality to be a significant predictor of SCS (r=0.38). Based on this evidence we hypothesised that proactive personality would be positively related to SCS.

> **Hypothesis 4b:** Proactive personality will be positively related to subjective career success (career satisfaction).

Career commitment

Career commitment is defined as an individual's dedication to their career and to work towards their professional advancement, characterised by the development of career goals, which the individual develops, identifies with, and persists in their efforts to achieve their career goals

(Carson & Bedeian, 1994; Colarelli & Bishop, 1990). Career commitment is considered to extend over a long period of time, and it takes dedication and persistence to achieve the career that the individual aspires to, despite any challenges that occur (Colarelli & Bishop, 1990). This persistence and commitment to the goal is more likely to be exhibited when individuals have established plans to achieve their goals (King, 2004). Friedman and Weissbrod (2005) found that individuals thinking about a career and thinking about their career plans indicated career commitment. Additionally, they found that career decision-making regarding career plans was positively related to work/career commitment. Aryee and Debrah (1993) illustrated that career planning had a significant relationship with career commitment, (r=0.5). Driver (2004) found that career management practices (including career planning, goal setting, preparation for the future, leadership, and many other practices) were positively related to, and were significant predictors of, career commitment (r=0.50). Based on the evidence this research provides, we hypothesised that career commitment would be positively related to career planning.

Hypothesis 5a: Career commitment will be positively related to career planning.

Blau (1989) argued that career resilience was a component of career commitment, as it demonstrated how much an individual valued their career and their persistence against career disruptions. Career resilience is also regarded as having the ability to adapt to changing environments, and resisting discouraging and disruptive circumstances (King, 2004; London & Noe, 1997). This notion that career resilience is a component of career commitment is similar to the concept of proactive personality, that it is an ability to be unconstrained by changes in the environment and situational forces (Bateman & Crant, 1993). Vandenberghe and Ok (2013) found that career commitment had a strong positive relationship with proactive personality (r=0.29). Furthermore, Morgan, Walker, Wang, and Aven (2012) found that career commitment and proactive personality had a positive relationship (r=0.26), although this sample was predominantly male. Based on this evidence, we hypothesised that career commitment and proactive personality, as defined in the literature reviewed, would be positively related.

Hypothesis 5b: Career commitment will be positively related to proactive personality.

Career salience and career planning

Career salience relates to the importance of a career to an individual (Greenhaus, 1973). Career salience is defined as the relative priority, centrality, and personal significance a career has within an individual's life in relation to other life roles (Allen & Ortlepp, 2002; Cleveland, Stockdale, & Murphy, 2000; White, Cox, & Cooper, 1992). Crozier (1999) suggested that career planning was not just planning for a work role, but was also planning for significant life roles. It is important to point out that career salience, as well as the salience of other life roles, can vary during different periods of an individual's lifetime, indicating what an individual finds salient at one point in their life may be different at another point in their life (ibid, 1999). Research has found that individuals who scored highly for career salience had a higher value for intrinsic rewards (Greenhaus & Simon, 1977). Farmer (1997) suggested that career planning should be regarded as taking place within life plans and that career plans need to take into account other life roles, including parenthood roles and personal roles. Farmer regarded women as being prone to experiencing work-life conflict and, thus, need to think about what roles are important to them. These authors found that career salience in women had a negative relationship to home role salience (r=-0.27). Nevill and Super (1988) found that, among university students, women were more highly committed to their work and home roles than the men. Chao and Malik (1988) argued that the salience of a woman's career could influence her

career involvement and future planning. Bachiochi (2013) found that career salience was predictive of career planning (R^2 =0.18) as well as career exploration (R^2 =0.21). Peters' (1991) research illustrated that highly work salient women do make plans regarding making family and career commitments to accommodate each other. Based on the evidence, this body of research provides, we hypothesised that career salience would be positively related to career planning.

Hypothesis 6: Career salience will be positively related to career planning.

Family planning, parental commitment and salience

Some women delay starting a family due to their careers (Kerpelman & Schvaneveldt, 1999), and where work is more salient, women have fewer children, postpone starting a family, and make career choices over family choices. While this varies over by age and life stage, generally career orientations are negatively correlated with planning to have a family. Work salient women were found to plan fewer children and start childbearing older (Peters, 1991). Ganginis Del Pino et al. (2013) found career-orientation to be negatively related to considering children within the career plans scale (planning to have a family). Ganginis Del Pino et al. argued that women who considered a future family when making career choices were expected to have low scores towards being career-oriented, as they would prioritise children over a career. This may result in young women creating pseudo-career plans; that is, not making any concrete plans or commitments to vocational choices or allowances to include family plans (Crozier, 1999). Based on this evidence we hypothesised that planning to have a family would be negatively related to career planning.

Hypothesis 7: Planning to have a family will be negatively related to career planning.

The age at which women are having their first child has increased, with the suggestion that this may be due to prioritising careers, and education. The 'Median and average age of first time mothers, nuptial and total live confinements from 1962–2009' statistics from Statistics New Zealand, illustrates that, over 47 years, the average age of women having their first child increased from 23 years to 30 years old (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). One reason why women postpone starting their families may be due to career planning and education. Gufstasson (2001) suggested that women, with pre-parental human capital, tend to delay births. A suggested reason was that more highly educated women delay births so that they were at less risk of job skill decay, they could increase their lifetime earnings, and that they did not see themselves as able to afford much time out of the workforce to have children (Gufstasson, 2001; Happel, Hill, & Low, 1984). Based on this evidence, we hypothesised that education would have a negative relationship to planning to have a family.

Hypothesis 8: Education will be negatively related to planning to have a family.

Parental role commitment is defined as the individual's willingness to dedicate their personal resources, time, and energy, to ensure that the role as a parent is successfully performed (Amatea, Cross, Clark, & Bobby, 1986). Parental role reward value, referred to as parental role salience, is defined as the extent that the individual regards the parental role as being significant, and from which they gain personal satisfaction (ibid, 1986). Parental role salience refers to a women's willingness to dedicate her time, energy and resources to being a successful parent. The parental role is valued and, as such, is a source of significant personal satisfaction.

High parental role commitment and high parental role salience (family-centred) suggest that, when making decisions, the parental/family role will have the highest priority, whilst decisions

around career are given less priority. Whitmarsh, Brown, Cooper, Hawkins-Rodgers, and Diane (2007) found that women negotiated their career decisions based on how salient their work and family responsibilities were in their lives. They found that, for women, the trajectory of their career reflected what they felt was most important within their lives, whether that is to combine having a family and a career, to not have children, or to compromise their career to accommodate having a family. They found that a majority of women chose to combine their career with their motherhood roles within their life plan (Whitmarsh et al., 2007). Hakim (2007) suggested women with high career commitment and high career salience are career-centred. Their decisions give career the highest priority. Women with high parental role commitment and high parental role salience are family centred. Their highest priority is parental/family life. Those women who have high commitment and salience to both career and parental roles are termed adaptive. They value both career and family equally in their decision making (Hakim 2007). Based on this, our research examined the variables of career commitment and salience, and parental role commitment and salience.

Hypothesis 9a: Parental role commitment will be negatively related to career planning.

Hypothesis 9b: Parental role commitment will be positively related to planning to have a family.

Hypothesis 10a: Parental role salience will be negatively related to career planning.

Hypothesis 10b: Parental role salience will be positively related to planning to have a family.

Method

Participants, demographics, and procedure

One hundred and seventy-eight New Zealand females, over the age of 18 and without children, were surveyed. It must be pointed out that women with children were not examined in this study. The justification for this was to avoid retrospective bias; this study examined the current attitudes that women with no children had regarding the ability and expectation to manage a career and having a family. Whereas women who already manage to have a career and a family, or have chosen one over the other, already have an idea of what is involved in managing both.

The distributions of ages in our sample were 90.4 percent were aged between 18-35 years old, and 9.6 percent was aged 36 and older. The mean age was 25.32 years (SD=7.82), average annual income was between $0-50,000 (*M*=1.26. *SD*=0.49), and the level of education distribution across participants was secondary school (14 percent), tertiary (32.6 percent), Bachelor's degree (24.7 percent), Honours' degree (7.3 percent), Master's degree (13.5 percent), and Doctorate degree (7.9 percent). A range of participants were recruited, including university students, local consultancy agencies, alumni and educational group associations, university residential halls, research company, local advocacy association, and financial support organisation. Participants completed an online survey that asked them to rate their agreement with a series of statements on a seven-point scale, from strongly disagree (1), to strongly agree (7).

Measures

Career planning
Gould's (1979) 6-item Career Planning Questionnaire (CPQ) was used to assess the extent participants engaged in career planning. (e.g. "I know what I need to do to reach my career goals.", "I have a plan for my career.", α= 0.86).

Proactive personality
Cleaes, Beheydt, and Lemmens' (2005) 6-item Proactive Personality Scale (PPS) was used to assess the broad construct of proactive personality. (e.g. "If I see something I don't like, I fix it.", "I am always looking for better ways to do things.", α= 0.79).

Subjective Career Success (Career Satisfaction)
Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley's (1990) 5-item Career Satisfaction Scale (CSS) was used to assess subjective career success (career satisfaction). (e.g. "I am satisfied with the success I have achieved in my career.", "I am satisfied with progress I have made toward meeting my overall career goal", α= 0.87).

Family Planning – Considering Children
Ganginis Del Pino et al.'s (2013) 12-item PLAN: Considering Children Scale was used to measure the extent women considered children in their career plans. (e.g. "I will have a career with flexible hours so that I can be home for the children I plan to have.", "I will not plan my career around future parenting responsibilities.", α= 0.96).

Career Commitment
Ellemers, De Gilder, and Van Den Heuvel's (1998) 5-item career-oriented commitment scale was used to measure the extent that an individual feels committed to their personal goals to advance their career. (e.g. "My career is one of the most important things in my life.", "The ambitions in my life mainly have to do with my career.", α= 0.85).

Parental Role Commitment
Amatea et al.'s (1986) 5-item Parental Role Commitment subscale of the Life Role Salience Scale was used to measure the extent that a person is willing to commit personal resources to assure success in the parental role or to develop the role. (e.g. "I expect to devote a significant amount of my time and energy to the rearing of children of my own.", "I expect to be very involved in the day-to-day matters of rearing children of my own.", α= 0.86).

Career Salience
Allen and Ortlepp's (2002) 11-item Career Salience Questionnaire (CSQ) was used to measure the relative importance and significance an individual's career maintained within the individual's life. (e.g. "The most important things I do involve my career., "I am willing to make sacrifices in my family life to succeed in my career."). In our exploratory analysis, career salience was found to consist of three constructs; these three constructs were called 'Importance of career in life' dimension (CS:CIL, α= 0.83), 'Importance of career over family' dimension (CS:COF, α= 0.79), and 'Importance of work over career' dimension (CS:WOC, α= 0.70). Therefore, our statistical analysis examined career salience using these three dimensions.

Parental Role Salience
Amatea et al.'s (1986) 5-item Parental Role Value subscale of the Life Role Salience Scale was used to measure the participant's view that the role as a parent is important and a means of self-definition and/or personal satisfaction. (i.e. "The whole idea of having children and raising

them is not attractive to me.", "It is important to me to feel I am (will be) an effective parent.", α= 0.92).

Demographics
The demographics included in this study were age, education and income level.

Data analysis

Reliability Analysis
Data analysis was conducted using SPSS21. Cronbach's alphas were used to assess reliability of the measures used and are reported in the measures section. All measures met the required values (Kline, 2011).

Correlational Analysis
A Pearson's product-moment correlation was used to test for support for this study's hypotheses.

Results

Examining Table 1, the hypothesised relationships between engagement in career planning and age (H1); education (H2); planning to have a family by considering children in career plans (H7); parental role commitment (H9a); parental role salience (H10a) were not supported. The hypothesised relationships between engagement in career planning and proactive personality (H3; r= .34, p<0.001); SCS (H4a; r= .47, p<0.001); career commitment (H5a; r= .37, p<0.001), were supported. This implies that women who engaged in career planning (as hypothesised) were more likely to have a proactive personality, experience SCS, and be career committed.

The hypotheses relationships between proactive personality and SCS (H4b; r= .27, p<0.001) and career commitment (H5b; r= .37, p<0.001) were supported. This implies that women with a proactive personality (as hypothesised) were more likely to experience SCS and were more likely to be committed to their career.

The hypothesised relationship between career planning and career salience (H6), was moderately supported, as the career salience variable was made up of three dimensions, the relationships between engagement in career planning and importance of career in life (r= 0.41, p<0.001) and importance of work over career (r= .37, p<0.001), were supported, but the relationship with importance of career over family was not supported. This implies that women who consider their career important in their life and in work (as hypothesised) are more likely to engage career planning.

The hypothesised relationship between planning to have a family by considering children in career plans and education (H8, r=-0.20, p<0.01) was supported. This implies that as a woman's education level increases (as hypothesised) the less likely she will engage in considering plans to have children in their career plans.

The hypothesised relationships between planning to have a family by considering children in career plans and parental role commitment (H9b; r= .74, p<0.001); parental role salience (H10b; r= .73, p<0.001) were supported. This implies that women who plan to have a family by considering children in career plans tend to be (as hypothesised) more committed to the parental roles and regard the parental role as salient in their lives.

Table 1
Pearson product-moment correlations for all variables and Cronbach's alphas.

Variables	Education	Income	Age	CP	PP	SCS	PF	CC	PC	PS	CS1	CS2	CS3
Education	-												
Income	.49***	-											
Age	.60***	.64***	-										
CP	.11	.04	-.03	**0.86**									
PP	.09	.14	-.02	.34***	**0.79**								
SCS	.03	.13	.01	.47***	.27***	**0.87**							
PF	-.20**	-.29***	-.35***	.03	-.17*	.06	**0.96**						
CC	.11	-.01	-.14	.37***	.33***	.14	-.16*	**0.85**					
PC	-.23**	-.35***	-.42***	.09	-.09	.13	.74***	-.15	**0.86**				
PS	-.21**	-.33***	-.41***	.12	-.06	.15*	.73***	-.08	.85***	**0.92**			
CS:CIL	.04	-.06	-.14	.41***	.32***	.20**	-.21**	.80***	-.19*	-.10	**0.83**		
CS:COF	.05	.12	.046	.08	.21**	-.02	-.41***	.49***	-.43***	-.42***	.54***	**0.79**	
CS:WOC	-.03	-.00	-.12	.37***	.43***	.24***	-.32***	.61***	-.16*	-.17*	.55***	.41***	**0.70**

Sample size = 178. *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001; Reliability for each measure in bold on diagonal.

CP= Career planning, PP = Proactive personality, SCS= Subjective career success, PF= Planning to have a family, CC= Career commitment, PC= Parental role commitment, PS= parental role salience, CS: CIL= Importance of career in life, CS: COF= Importance of career over family, CS: WOC= Importance of work over career.

Discussion

Research into career management is important as it can help provide information for practitioners to assist clients on what career path to consider and select, as well as what type of educational, training, and development opportunities to take. This will help practitioners address clients' concerns in other life roles, find ways to facilitate life roles within their career, and encourage individuals to pursue their desired career without feeling as though their career or family options are limited (Lent & Brown, 2013).

Our research primarily examined the relationships between two important life domains for women, their career life and their family life. Women's engagement in career planning was examined in relation to their plans for considering children in their career plans, their commitment and value (salience) of their career and family, personality, and SCS (career satisfaction). The results supported many of our hypotheses, that engagement in career planning was positively related to proactive personality (H3), SCS (H4a), career commitment (H5a), and career salience (H6). These results indicated that women who scored highly on proactive personality, reported high levels of SCS, were highly committed to their career, and had a high level of career salience. They were more likely to engage in career planning than women who reported low levels of proactivity, SCS, career commitment and salience. Family planning was related to parental role commitment and salience, as well as being negatively related to education. This means that the more educated a women is, the less she will engage in planning to have a family. Whereas for women with a high level of parental role commitment and salience, the more likely she is to engage in planning to have a family.

However, a number of hypotheses were not supported, career planning and (H1) age, (H2) education, (H7) planning to have a family, (H9a) parental role commitment, (H10a) parental role salience, and (H6) career salience: Importance of career over family. The unsupported hypotheses 1 and 2 indicate that, regardless of age and education, engaging in career planning is more likely related to career transitions, in that career planning spans across an individual's life, rather than a specific age range (Gould, 1979). The concept of mini and maxi career cycles could account for this, where individuals return to previous career development stages due to changes, such as promotions, career changes or retirement, rather than going through career developmental stages only once in their lifetime (Hartung, 2013).

Although career planning was not found to be correlated with planning to have a family (H7), parental role commitment (H9a), parental role salience (H10a), and career salience: Importance of career over family (H6), they are coherent findings. One possible explanation for these results may be due to sampling, and the inclusion of young undergraduate childless females. Thus, these participants, in their current stage of life, may not have been concerned with accommodating children in their career, but may be more concerned with whether they want a career, what type of career, and attaining higher qualifications. Additionally, Crozier (1999) suggested that young women create pseudo-career plans without making any concrete commitments or plans so that they can make accommodations for family responsibilities, suggesting that the concept of having a family may be a vague inclination without in-depth consideration of managing a family and a career until a time requires them to do so. These points may have influenced the results. Future research could examine career and family planning among women with and without children, and those who are working and those who are not.

The results suggest an individual's parental role commitment (H9a) and salience (H10a) will not influence the extent the person undertakes career planning. Again, these results may be specific to our sample, in that our sample was not yet in the stage of life concerned about the

immediate impact of children on career decisions, i.e. having no children, therefore, little or no concern about issues as they are not impending or immediate. Future research could replicate this study but it could also include women with children who are also working, in addition to women without children. Notwithstanding, the current findings are consistent with Hakim's (2007) research in that both career commitment and salience were significantly related to career planning, and both parental role commitment and salience were significantly related to planning to have a family, possibly indicating women's preferences (commitment and salience) are what may influence the level of engagement in career planning and planning to have a family.

Implications

The choice between career and family remains salient for New Zealand women. This research highlighted the importance of examining women's career management in relation to their possible future role as a parent, understanding contributing factors for career and family planning, as well as women's family planning intentions. Certain lifestyle preferences may indicate women who may have an increased likelihood of altering their career choices and responsibilities, due to the concern of managing career and childcare responsibilities. Counsellors could work with female clients to develop a career plan, and a contingency plan for when they become a mother so that they can have a career and be a mother. By doing this, counsellors would be supporting the development and application of female clients' career plans, encouraging clients to take up career advancing opportunities, and reducing their concerns over possible conflict between childcare and career responsibilities if this is right for them. Career management programmes could be designed to help encourage women to be proactive with their career plans and goals, maintaining their knowledge, skills, and abilities, and to help design a career that would reduce career and family life conflict. These programs could discuss women's concerns about how their career and work could change due to having children, and to discuss effective ways to balance their career and childcare responsibilities. The purpose would be to reduce women's tendencies to limit their future career prospects to accommodate parenting responsibilities on top of their career responsibilities provided this is right for them.

This research shows that New Zealand women feel they need to choose between a career and a family. Organisations could play a part in employees' career planning by addressing this issue of hesitance to take up career opportunities. By assisting in the development of career plans and contingency plans for when children arrive, encouraging female employees to apply for career advancing opportunities, should they want this, may lead to lower early female employee turnover.

Reducing early female employee turnover may save the organisation extra resources and money required when replacing female employees that have exited, and possibly increasing employees' work-life balance and organisational commitment. Furthermore, addressing female employees' concerns about their career and motherhood may encourage more female employees to apply for or accept career-advancing opportunities. This may benefit the organisation and may lead to an increase career satisfied female employees, however, this could lead to increases in stress and mother-guilt. To manage this, organisations may also want to develop and adopt flexible work policies for employees who have family responsibilities, to allow for work-life balance to help decrease or manage stress for working mothers and mother-guilt, and increase career satisfaction. The benefit of this is that organisations would have a better range of applicants to select from for promotion, increasing the likelihood of hiring the best person for the role. Furthermore, investing time in employees' careers may increase employees' career commitment and salience, and commitment levels to their organisations.

Limitations and Further Research Required

One of the limitations of our study is that it is based on USA and UK attitudes and models around family and careers, and the sample of participants is predominantly middle class. However, we argue that the relevancy of research from the USA and UK to a New Zealand sample is appropriate. Previous research by Masuda, Poelmans, Allen, Spector, Lapierre, Cooper, Moreno-Velazquez (2012) examined the cultures of various countries and assigned them into cultural clusters. New Zealand was categorised into the Anglo cluster, which included Australia, Canada, USA, and the UK. The clusters were based on common history, geography, and shared cultural values, and ratings of the level of individualism and collectivism existing within the countries from multiple data collections. Spector, Allen, Poelmans, Lapierre, Cooper, O'Driscoll, Widerszal-Bazyl's (2007) found that the Anglo cluster (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, USA and UK) was the highest individualistic rating compared to other cultural clusters (Asian and Latin clusters). Although this justifies the use of research from USA and UK in this study, it does limit the generalisability of the results given that the results from other countries and cultures may vary.

Another limitation of our study is that it does not specifically examine the Maori (i.e. indigenous) cultural models. Harr and Brougham (2013) point out that the Maori culture has more of a collectivist orientation while existing within an individualistic society. Our study also excludes other cultural models to the issue of family versus career planning, for example, the Scandinavian approach that adopts a family and father friendly approach and uses public policies to assist with family responsibilities. For example, Sweden and Norway, both have public policies and social supports demonstrating a commitment to gender equality based on women and men sharing paid employment and family responsibilities equally (Knudsen, 2009; Oláh, & Bernhardt, 2008). Parental leave policies, to which fathers can access, to help increase the father's active involvement in parenting. The social supports also include publically funded high-quality childcare to enable men and women to combine employment and parenthood; tax and cash benefits for families; no wage penalties for part-time employment; and part-time and flexible working hours are almost accessible everywhere in these countries (Knudsen, 2009; Oláh, & Bernhardt, 2008). Thus, a cross-sectional study of different cultures and societies, as well as a longitudinal study examining the changes across women's career and life stages, would benefit this field of research. These would help identify other factors that may contribute to the development of certain attitudes around having children and a career.

An additional drawback of this study is the limited ability to measure the priority or real value of having children and a career, especially among participants who do not have children and/or a career, and have not experienced the struggle with managing the responsibilities of both. As the level of value or realisation of how valuable both are, and in comparison to each other, are subject to change once women and men actually have children, as well as the value of one's career over various periods in a person's life span. Ganginis Del Pino et al. (2013) also suggests that planning for a career and a family is expected to vary across time and across developmental stages. Future research could examine whether women feel the need to change their career plans to accommodate a family and whether women will or will not accept career advancing opportunities in anticipation of future child rearing responsibilities. This proposed research could explore the concept of "leaning out of careers" and whether a trade-off between career and family is a reason for their decision. Future research could also investigate what specific concerns (for example family and/or career responsibilities, promotion, salary, travel, and social activities) women are faced with related to postponing childbearing, and how would they rank these concerns in terms of importance in life, and examine how these concerns and rankings vary and change across different ages, possibly in a longitudinal study. Furthermore,

research on the reasons why New Zealand women postpone having children may provide insights around the important aspects influencing women's decisions around having children.

Moreover, career salience and parental role salience may not be considered as stable constructs, rather dynamic ones that may transform due to changes within the individual as well as their circumstances. The measure used for career salience was the 11-item CSQ from Allen and Ortlepp (2002), which is a valid measure to assess career salience, as previous measures did not differentiate between career salience, work salience, and career commitment. This measure was developed, therefore, in order to have a more accurate assessment of career salience, and is highly correlated with the original Career Salience Scale by Greenhaus (1971) (Allen & Ortlepp, 2002). For parental role salience, we used the Parental Role Value Subscale from the Life-Role Saliences scale by Amatea, et al. (1986). This measure has been used in multiple studies (Bosch, de Bruin, Kgaladi, & de Bruin, 2012; Cinamon, 2010; Friedman & Weissbrod 2005; Vinkenburg et al., 2013). While acknowledging that attitudes/salience's change over a lifetime, the measures used represent a fair assessment of current attitudes of predominantly young New Zealand women, are validated measures and used in multiple studies.

Conclusion

This study examined the relationship between women's career plans and consideration of children in their plans, as well as providing insight into young childless New Zealand women's attitudes regarding children and careers. Regardless of the unsupported hypotheses, the majority of our hypotheses were supported. The findings support the notion that women feel the need to choose between a career and a family. Our research found that women with high parental role commitment and salience were more likely to change their career plans to accommodate having children. Whereas, women with high career commitment and salience were less likely to change their career plans to accommodate children. Interestingly, considering children in career plans and parental role commitment and salience were not related to engagement in career planning. Therefore, women's career plans, commitment and salience of their career, in addition, family planning, parental role commitment and salience, personality, and SCS all were central in developing career plans for young women in New Zealand. This research could assist career counsellors with female clients by prompting them to consider other aspects of the client's life and life plan as well as how the client can manage life events and aspects into their career plan without having to leave one's career entirely.

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Appendix 1

Median and Average Age of First Time Mothers:
Nuptial and total live confinements from 1962 to 2009

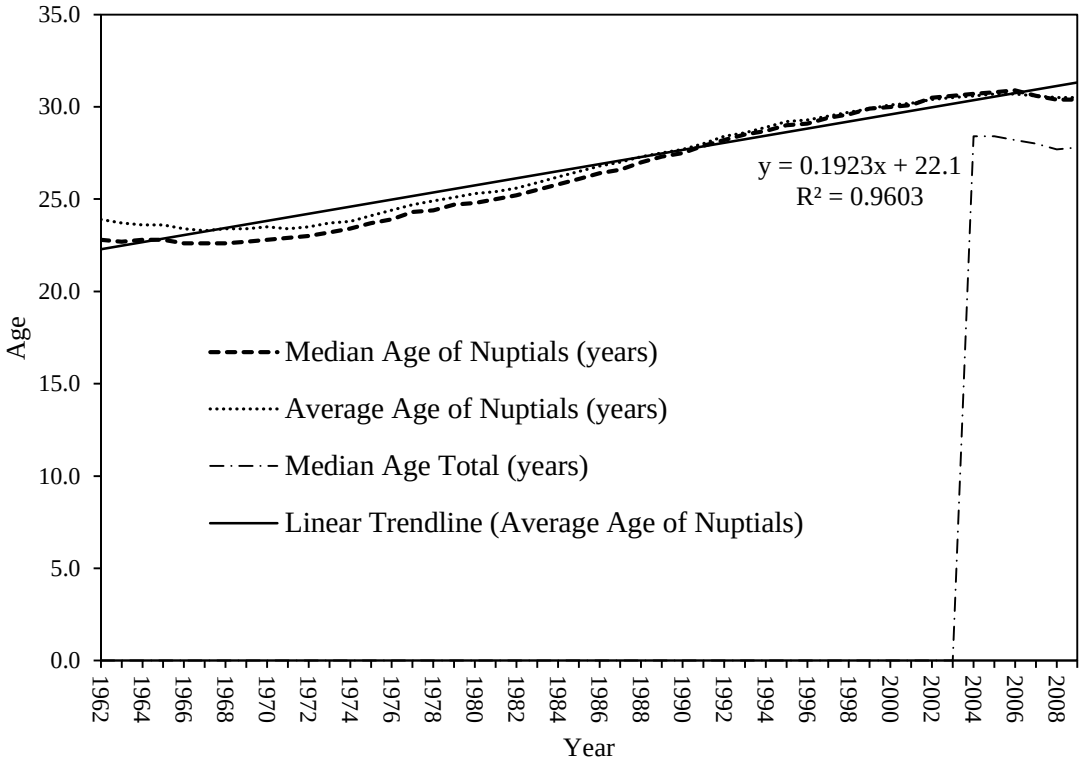

Figure 1. New Zealand 1962-2009 statistics of average and median ages of first time mothers.

A Theoretical Model Relating the Dark Triad of Personality to the Content of Employees' Psychological Contracts

LAURENT BOEY* and TIM VANTILBORGH**

Keywords: dark triad, psychopathy, narcissism, Machiavellism, psychological contract

Abstract

Psychological contracts – an individual's perception of mutual obligations between him/herself and an organisation – form a powerful lens to understanding employment relationship. While the consequences of the psychological contract are well-documented, its antecedents are not fully understood. Research suggests that personality traits, operationalised using the Big Five taxonomy, can explain the type of psychological contract that employees develop. We extend this research by developing a theoretical model that relates three maladaptive traits – the dark triad of personality: Machiavellism, narcissism, and psychopathy – to the content of employees' psychological contracts. We propose that employees with high scores on these traits tend to develop transactional as opposed to relational psychological contracts. Moreover, we introduce five mediators to explain these relationships: the norm of reciprocity, careerism, perceived organisational support, trust, and interpersonal conflict. Finally, we offer an explanation for earlier suggestions of curvilinear effects of the dark triad traits. We reason that psychopathy and narcissism negatively relate to self-control which, in turn, moderates the relationships between the dark triad traits and the six mediators in our model.

Introduction

Every so often, popular media ascribe fraudulent and deviant behaviour of employers and employees to dark personality traits. For example, when the ENRON Corporation went bankrupt in 2001, media soon focussed on the CEO, Kenneth Lay, who appeared to have deceived and manipulated people for years on end (Suddath, 2010). He was depicted as the archetype of the "corporate psychopath" because he enriched himself while driving his organisation and its employees into the ground. However, attention for dark personality traits in the workplace is not limited to popular media as scholarly attention for this topic is on the rise (Furnham, Richards, & Paulhus, 2013). In 2002, Paulhus and Williams introduced the dark triad of personality, a constellation of three related yet distinct traits: Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy. More than a decade later, the dark triad has been empirically related to mostly negative outcomes, such as counterproductive work behaviour (O'Boyle, Forsyth, Banks & McDaniel, 2012) and manipulative and 'hard' influence tactics (Jonason, Slomski & Partyka, 2012). Notwithstanding these

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advancements in the literature, it remains unclear how employees characterised by the dark triad are able to function in employment relationships.

The goal of the present study is to theorise how the dark triad of personality relates to different types of exchange relationships. We focus on the psychological contract, which can be described as an employee's perception of the mutual obligations between him/herself and the organisation (Rousseau, 1989), and we distinguish transactional from relational psychological contract types. In a transactional psychological contract, the economic aspect of the employment relationship occupies a central position, whereas a relational psychological contract revolves more around the socio-emotional aspects of the employment relationship (Rousseau, 1990). Explaining how employees develop transactional and/or relational contracts is important, as these psychological contract types relate differentially to outcomes (Jensen, Opland & Ryan, 2009; Millward & Hopkins, 1998; Vantilborgh, Bidee, Pepermans, Willems, Huybrechts & Jegers, 2013).

Our theoretical model makes three major contributions to the literature. First, it extends present understanding of how personality relates to the psychological contract. Studies have already explored how bright personality traits, such as the Big Five traits, relate to psychological contract types (Raja, Johns & Ntalianis, 2004; Tallman & Bruning, 2008; Vantilborgh et al., 2013). We complement these studies by proposing that the dark triad of personality traits will lead to the development of transactional psychological contracts. Understanding how dark personality traits relate to psychological contract types would improve our understanding on the development of psychological contracts. Second, our model introduces a set of mediators that explain *why* the dark triad traits relate to psychological contract types. In particular, we develop propositions on the mediating role of (1) the norm of reciprocity, (2) careerism, (3) perceived organisational support, (4) trust, and (5) interpersonal conflict. We, hence, advance present knowledge on the reasons underlying relationships between personality and exchange relationship types, and formulate a clear agenda for future research. Third, we introduce self-control as a moderator in our model. It has been argued that low levels of the dark triad traits are not necessarily maladaptive, meaning that the effects of these traits might be curvilinear (e.g., Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). We reason that the relationships between the dark triad traits and the abovementioned mediators are buffered by high levels of self-control, and that self-control, in turn, depends on the individual's psychopathy and narcissism.

In the following sections, we briefly discuss the psychological contract and dark triad of personality literatures. Next, we present our theoretical model and develop propositions relating the dark triad to psychological contract types, followed by a one-by-one introduction of potential mediators and the moderating role of self-control. Finally, we discuss our model in view of the literature, examine limitations, and offer suggestions for future research.

The psychological contract

The psychological contract is commonly defined as an individual's beliefs regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between that focal person and another party (Rousseau, 1989). Key issues here include the belief that a promise has been made and a consideration offered in exchange for it, binding the parties to some set of reciprocal obligations (Rousseau, 1989: 123). Moreover, Rousseau (1989) stipulated that the psychological contract entails perceived promises with a mandatory nature, instead of more global 'expectations'. She defined the psychological contract as being consciously

accessible, as opposed to the largely unconscious nature ascribed to it in earlier works (e.g. Argyris, 1960), and pointed out that psychological contracts are idiosyncratic; the specific promises that form a psychological contract can differ vastly from one person to another. This idiosyncratic nature of the psychological contract is probably one of the decisive factors that led to the development of psychological contract typologies.

We will focus on the traditional distinction between transactional and relational psychological contract types (Macneil, 1985; Rousseau, 1990). Transactional psychological contracts typically have an economic and extrinsic focus, a close-ended timeframe, a static character, a narrow scope and a public, easily observable tangibility. For example, employees with a transactional psychological contract may believe that their organisation is obliged to provide a fair wage in return for working the minimally agreed upon hours. Relational contracts are defined as having, besides an economic focus, a socio-emotional and more intrinsic focus, an open-ended time frame, a dynamic character, a pervasive and comprehensive scope and a subjective tangibility (Rousseau, 1990). For example, employees with a relational psychological contract may believe that their organisation is obliged to offer job security and promotion opportunities in return for loyalty and extra-role behaviour. Over the years, scholars introduced other psychological contract types, such as the balanced (Rousseau, 1995) and the ideological or value-driven psychological contract (Vantilborgh, Bidee, Pepermans, Willems, Huybrechts & Jergers, 2014). Nonetheless, the transactional-relational distinction remains the most frequently used typology in the literature (e.g., Raja et al., 2004; Aggarwal & Bhargava, 2010), probably because it is so widely applicable and parsimonious.

The distinction between transactional and relational psychological contracts seems important because both types differentially relate to a number of outcomes. Generally speaking, studies suggest that transactional psychological contracts lead to maladaptive consequences whereas relational psychological contracts result in positive consequences (Aggarwal & Barghava, 2010; Millward & Hopkins, 1998; Raja et al., 2004; Richard, McMillan-Capehart, Bhuian & Taylor, 2009). Social exchange theory offers a theoretical explanation for these findings, stating that employees reciprocate in kind when they perceive that their employer promises them a certain type of obligations (Conway & Briner, 2009). Relatively few studies explored the consequences of psychological contract types as the majority of the literature focussed on psychological contract breach. This is perhaps unsurprising as breach represents an employee's perception that the employer has failed to provide a promised obligation, which may elicit a strong affective reaction (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Nonetheless, research demonstrates that transactional psychological contracts are positively associated with turnover intentions, and negatively relate to affective organisational commitment, job satisfaction, psychological ownership, innovative work behaviour, yearly earnings, and the amount of extra hours worked (Aggarwal & Barghava, 2010; Millward & Hopkins, 1998; Raja et al., 2004; Richard et al., 2009). In contrast, relational psychological contracts negatively relate to turnover intentions, and positively relate to affective organisational commitment, job satisfaction, psychological ownership, and the amount of extra hours worked per week (Aggarwal & Barghava, 2010; Millward & Hopkins, 1998; Raja et al., 2004; Richard et al., 2009). In sum, relational contracts appear to be preferable over transactional contracts.

Recent theorising suggests that psychological contract formation involves a progression through various phases (Rousseau, Hansen & Tomprou, 2015). The psychological contract gradually takes shape once that an employee enters the organisation, labeled the *creation* phase. After awhile, the psychological contract crystalises and stabilises (*maintenance phase*). However, certain events, such as a psychological contract breach, may lead to sudden changes in the content of the psychological contract, as employees

renegotiate or *repair* their contract. Several factors have been identified that potentially influence the content of the psychological contract throughout these various phases (Conway & Briner, 2009). These can be grouped into factors outside the workplace (e.g., parenthood), organisational factors (e.g., HR practices), social factors (e.g., comparisons with coworkers), and individual factors (e.g., personality). We will focus on one particular individual factor, namely the dark triad of personality.

The dark triad of personality

The dark triad is a constellation of three empirically related yet theoretically distinct personality traits that are seen as interpersonally malevolent, namely narcissism, psychopathy and Machiavellianism (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). These three traits share a common core as evidenced by the high correlations found between them (ibid). This empirical relatedness may seem obvious, given that the manipulation of others for personal gain is one of the central features of Machiavellianism; psychopathy entails, amongst others, guiltlessness and a lack of empathy, and narcissism is characterised by a great sense of entitlement (O'Boyle et al., 2012; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Hence, it is clear that these traits share a certain disregard towards the well-being of others. Studies have shown that there are common cores underlying all three traits, such as high levels of disagreeableness (Jakobwitz & Egan, 2006; Paulhus & Williams, 2002) and callousness (Jones & Figueredo, 2013).

Despite these common cores and similarities, the three dark triad traits can still be considered unique constructs. According to Jones and Paulhus (2010), the dark triad traits can be differentiated by their inherent temporal orientations and identity needs. For example, Machiavellianism involves a more long-term orientation in comparison to psychopathy and narcissism, while narcissism comprises a greater identity need compared to Machiavellianism and psychopathy. The three dark triad traits, thus, differ from one another. Moreover, Jonason & Webster (2010) reported that a tridimensional confirmatory factor model fits better to the data than a unidimensional model. Consequently, we are convinced that the dark triad traits are perhaps strongly related, yet distinct constructs. We will, therefore, refrain from focussing on a global dark triad construct in favour of the three separate underlying constructs. We believe that such an approach is crucial as these traits still have a fair degree of unique characteristics, meaning that they might lead to different outcomes through distinct processes and, additionally, a possibility that the three different traits might counteract each other, which might be overlooked if merely focusing on a single, global dark triad construct.

Machiavellianism

The construct of Machiavellianism was originally developed by Christie (1970), based on their studies analysing how leaders of extreme political and religious groups used manipulation to further their own personal desires. The characteristics of these leaders were then interpreted according to earlier politics research and to historical perspectives, mostly of Niccolo Machiavelli, on power (Dahling, Whitaker & Levy, 2009). In *"The Prince*" (1944), for example, Machiavelli describes a great leader as one who can hold onto power by means of, amongst others, a gift for manipulation, an amoral disposition and a belief that the end justifies every means. Machiavellian personality, as originally defined by Christie (1970), comprises of three components: a cynical view concerning human nature, a belief in the effectiveness of

the manipulation of others and a moral outlook that values expediency over principle. Other conceptualisations have later on been proposed, such as a three-dimensional perspective differentiating between manipulation, exploitation, and deviousness (Gable & Topol, 1988), and a four-dimensional perspective distinguishing between amorality, distrust of others, desire for control, and desire for status (Dahlin et al., 2009). Returning characteristics in these conceptualisations are manipulation and a readiness to seek gains at the expense of others. For the purposes of our model, we will, therefore, define Machiavellianism as "a strategy of social conduct that involves manipulating others for personal gain, often against the other's self-interest" (Wilson, Near & Miller, 1996: 285).

Machiavellianism has been linked to a number of organisational outcomes, such as lying and deceiving (DePaulo & Rosenthal, 1979), turnover intentions (Becker & O'Hair, 2007), knowledge sharing willingness (Liu, 2008) and careerism (Kuyumucu & Dahling, 2013). However, despite being linked to many organisational outcomes, the (behavioural) processes through which Machiavellianism leads to these outcomes have mostly remained speculation.

Psychopathy

Cleckley (1941) can be considered the founding father of research on subclinical psychopathy in the workplace. He suggested 16 characteristics of psychopaths, based on a case study of a prosperous and successful, though psychopathic businessman. Some of these characteristics were not maladaptive, such as intelligence, superficial charm and a lack of neurotic/psychotic symptoms. Consequently, subclinical psychopathy was not considered entirely maladaptive, and could – in certain cases – lead to positive outcomes (Cleckley, 1941; Widom, 1977). In view of this, it is important to distinguish subclinical from clinical psychopathy. While the latter is considered a maladaptive personality disorder, the former represents a personality trait that can actually be beneficial at low to moderate levels (Levenson, Kiehl & Fitzpatrick, 1995). Various operationalisations of psychopathy have been proposed over the years, but they commonly distinguish emotional and interpersonal aspects of psychopathy from antisocial and behavioral aspects of psychopathy (e.g., Lilienfeld & Andrews, 1996). For example, psychopaths are typically characterised by a lack of empathy and guilt, and by an unstable, antisocial lifestyle (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). We follow recent descriptions of psychopathy by Cooke and Michie (2001) and define psychopathy as a personality trait involving an arrogant and deceitful interpersonal style, a deficient affective experience and an impulsive and irresponsible behavioural style.

The presence of psychopathic personalities in organisations has been associated with several detrimental outcomes. Psychopathy has, for example, been linked to lower self-control (Jonason & Tost, 2010), lower emotional intelligence (Petrides, Vernon, Schermer & Veselka, 2011), and increased counterproductive work behaviour (Scherer, Baysinger, Zolynsky & LeBreton, 2013). Moreover, colleagues also seem to be affected by the presence of an employee with high levels of psychopathy. For instance, the presence of psychopaths in the workplace has been associated with higher levels of bullying and unfair supervision (Boddy, 2011). Additionally, the presence of psychopathic leaders in the workplace has been related to decreased perceptions of corporate social responsibility and lower commitment in coworkers (Boddy, Ladyshewsky & Gavin, 2010). However, research also suggests that there may be some silver linings. Psychopathy has also, for example, been related to more rational decision-making (Osumi & Ohira, 2010) and to increased levels of entrepreneurship (Akhtar, Ahmetoglu & Chamorro-Premuzic, 2013). Although psychopathy, thus, appears to have a few positive consequences, we can conclude that the majority of the consequences in the workplace are negative.

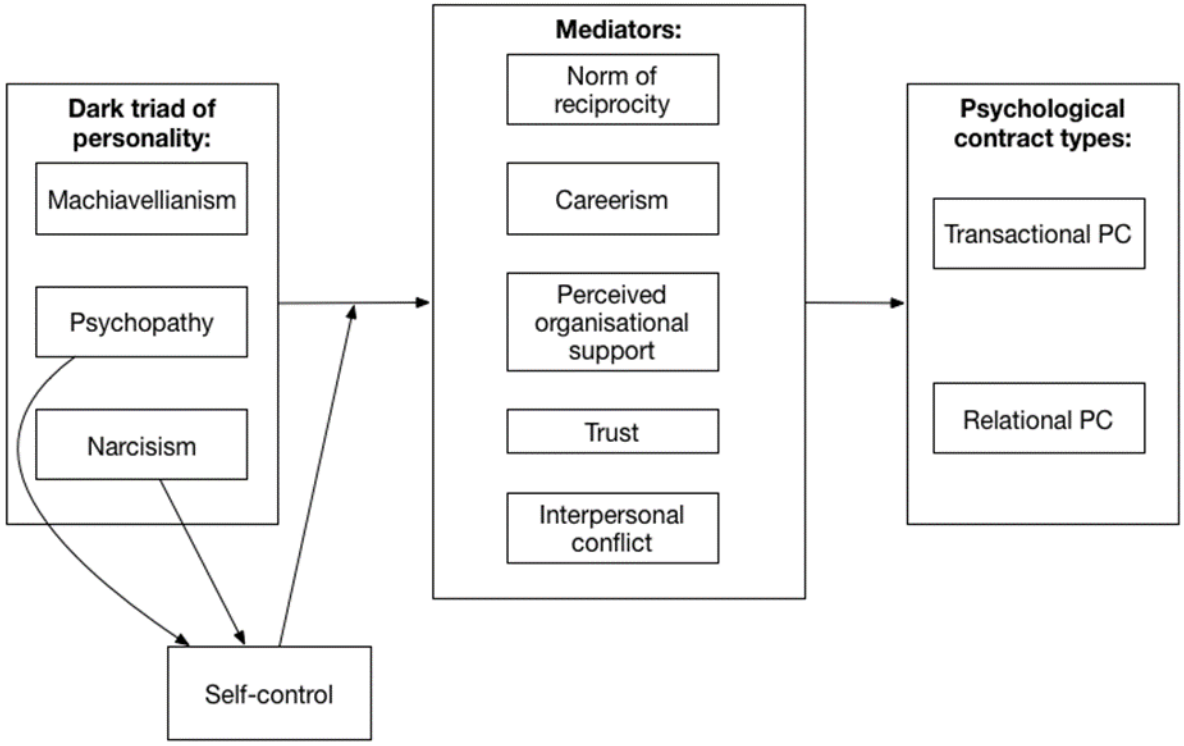
Narcissism

Just as with psychopathy, a distinction must be made between narcissism as a non-clinical personality trait and narcissism as a personality disorder, as defined in the Diagnostics and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). We again focus on non-clinical narcissism for the purposes of our model. Subclinical narcissism can be defined as a personality trait stemming from an unstable self-image and involving feelings and behaviors reflecting a sense of grandiosity, entitlement, superiority and dominance (Raskin & Terry, 1988). Narcissists have a positive self-image that is not grounded in reality but that is distorted by their desire for superiority (Penney & Spector, 2002). Behaviours that have been associated with narcissism include a grandiose sense of self-importance, exaggerating achievements, excessive self-admiration, and a lack of tolerance for criticism and compromise (Resick, Whitman, Weingardenn Hiller, 2009).

Until quite recently, research in the organisational context had mainly focussed on the influence of narcissism on leadership (e.g., Khoo & Burch, 2008). Narcissism nonetheless seems to relate to impulsive and risky decision-making (e.g., Vazire & Funder, 2006), lower organisational citizenship behaviour (e.g. Judge, LePine & Rich, 2006), increased counterproductive work behaviour (e.g. Penney & Spector, 2002; Judge et al., 2006) and interpersonal exploitativeness (Campbell, Brunel & Finkel, 2006). The relationships between narcissism and task performance are less clear. Narcissists can actually perform well when the situation offers an opportunity to self-enhance (Wallace & Baumeister, 2002). However, narcissists perform worse than non-narcissists when they cannot garner admiration or respect of others in a situation. Generally speaking, narcissism – much like psychopathy and Machiavellianism – appears to relate to several negative workplace outcomes.

Theoretical model

Figure 1. Overview of theoretical model on the relationships between the dark triad of personality and psychological contract types.



We propose a theoretical model that relates the dark triad of personality to psychological contract types. As can be seen in Figure 1, we propose that Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism explain the type of psychological contract employees develop. In particular, we propose that the dark triad traits relate positively to transactional psychological contracts and negatively to relational psychological contracts. We further propose that these relationships can be explained by five mediators, namely the norm of reciprocity, careerism, perceived organisational support, trust, and interpersonal conflict. Finally, we reason that these relationships are moderated by self-control, and that psychopathy and narcissism negatively relate to self-control. In the next sections, we develop arguments for these propositions.

Direct effects of the dark triad on psychological contract type

Our model assumes that personality traits have an impact on the content of employees' psychological contracts. According to Raja et al. (2004), personality influences psychological contract content through choice, construal and enactment. *Choice* refers to job-seeking behaviour and relates to the psychological contract one searches and self-selects; someone ambitious, for example, will most likely search for a job where the psychological contract includes promises related to swift career advancement. *Construal* refers to how employees perceive and interpret their psychological contract; an ambitious employee may pay

particular attention to promises relating to career advancement, leading to an emphasis on career advancement in the content of his/her psychological contract. Finally, personality may affect psychological contract content through *enactment*, meaning that content is shaped by an individual's behaviours and attitudes; an ambitious employee may work considerable extra hours and, as a result, he/she may be offered career advancement by the employer (Raja et al., 2004). These three processes – choice, construal, and enactment – explain why personality can lead to employees developing a transactional or relational psychological contract.

Results from prior studies that related the Big Five personality traits to psychological contract types confirm that personality, indeed, influences psychological contract content (e.g. Raja et al., 2004, Tallman & Bruning, 2008; Vantilborgh et al., 2013). For example, Raja et al. (2004) found that neuroticism related negatively, and conscientiousness related positively to relational psychological contracts while extraversion related negatively to transactional psychological contracts in a paid employment context. Likewise, Vantilborgh et al. (2013) demonstrated that conscientiousness related positively to transactional psychological contracts while agreeableness related positively to relational psychological contracts in a volunteering context. Hence, it appears that the Big Five traits can be related to psychological contract types in various types of exchange relationships. However, the Big Five taxonomy entails bright traits, so it remains uncertain if similar relationships can be discerned for dark traits.

We propose that all three dark triad traits – Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism – will positively relate to transactional psychological contracts and negatively relate to relational psychological contracts. We base this proposition on the idea that these three traits share a common core characterised by high levels of disagreeableness and an insensitive, even cruel disregard for others (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). As a result, people who score high on the dark triad traits will be more likely to choose a job with a transactional than with a relational psychological contract (i.e., *choice*), because they prefer the rational, quid-pro-quo nature of transactional contracts over the trust-based, socio-emotional exchanges of relational contracts. Moreover, employees with high dark triad trait levels are more likely to *construe* their psychological contract as transactional, because they focus on promises that are directly relevant to themselves (as in transactional contracts) as opposed to promises that carry mutual benefits (as in relational contracts). Finally, the insensitive behaviour and disregard for others may result in coworkers refraining from making relational promises (i.e., *enactment*). However, Machiavellians are more likely to develop a long-term exchange relationship than psychopaths and narcissists (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Given that transactional contracts focus on the short-term, while relational contracts focus on the long-term (Rousseau, 1990), we propose that the relationships between Machiavellianism and psychological contract types are weaker than those between psychopathy and narcissism and the psychological contract types.

Proposition 1: Machiavellianism, psychopathy, and narcissism are positively related to transactional psychological contracts, and negatively related to relational psychological contracts. These relationships are weaker for Machiavellianism, compared to psychopathy and narcissism.

Indirect effects of dark triad of personality on psychological contract types

Mediating role of the norm of reciprocity

The norm of reciprocity, as originally laid out by Gouldner (1960), states that when a benefit has been accorded to or refused to another party, an obligation ensues for the other party to reciprocate in kind.

Gouldner distinguished between a positive and a negative reciprocity norm. The former refers to a situation where one offers help in reaction to receiving help from another party and the latter describes a situation where one takes revenge following negative treatment by another party. The norm of reciprocity is considered a cornerstone of social exchange relationships (Blau, 1964), such as the psychological contract, because it guides the formation and strengthening of interpersonal relationships (Gouldner, 1960).

Gouldner (1960) originally considered the norm of reciprocity to be universal and, therefore, believed that individual differences would not influence the norm of reciprocity. However, this claim was later on contested by other scholars. For example, Sahlins (1972) further defined the norm of reciprocity and distinguished between generalised, balanced, and negative reciprocity. Generalised reciprocity is characterised by

> "indefiniteness in the obligation, both in terms of equality and immediacy of returns, and it reflects a kind of altruistic interest in others.", balanced reciprocity by "immediacy of the return of a customary and recognized equivalent and reflects mutuality in interests between exchange partners (Sparrowe & Liden, 1997: 525-526)

and negative reciprocity can be seen as a norm "in which giving is replaced by taking and complete self-interest" (ibid). Importantly, Sahlins (1972) explained that people differed in their use of and preference for these different norms of reciprocity. More recently, Perugini, Galluci, Presaghi, and Ercolani (2003) described reciprocity as an internalised social norm that can be considered a personality trait. Evidence that individual differences in the norm of reciprocity exist has also been found in experimental research (Gallucci & Perugini, 2000).

We propose that the dark triad of personality can explain why people differ in their preference for and use of a certain norm of reciprocity (Perugini et al., 2003; Sahlins, 1972). First, Meyer (1992) already demonstrated a link between Machiavellianism and a negative norm of reciprocity and reasoned that this was due to Machiavellians exploiting and manipulating others for own personal gains. As a result, Machiavellians perceive reciprocity as a means to further their own interests, and focus more on gaining than giving in the exchange relationship. Second, we propose that narcissism will relate positively with the negative norm of reciprocity, because narcissism implies a sense of entitlement and an obsession with the self (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Raskin & Terry, 1979). As narcissists feel entitled and, consequently, believe they deserve more than others, we expect that they will focus on exchanges in which they receive more than they contribute. Likewise, psychopaths appear unconcerned with meeting social obligations (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Overall, they do not care about social exchange relationships, unless they can derive some personal benefit from them. Hence, psychopathy can be reasoned to positively relate to the negative reciprocity norm.

Individual differences in the norm of reciprocity will subsequently influence the type of psychological contract that is developed. As stated above, the relational psychological contract is defined by an economic as well as a non-economic, socio-emotional focus, a pervasive scope and an open-ended time frame (Rousseau, 1990). We propose that a generalised reciprocity norm, or at least a balanced reciprocity norm, would be required in order to develop and maintain a relational psychological contract. In contrast, a negative reciprocity norm will render a relational psychological contract impossible, steering towards a transactional psychological contract instead.

Proposition 2: Machiavellians, narcissists, and psychopaths are more likely to develop transactional psychological contracts and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts, because they are characterised by a negative norm of reciprocity.

Mediating role of careerism

Careerism relates to a belief that for one to make progress career-wise, simply being competent is sometimes not enough (Feldman, 1985). This position, in turn, leads towards trying to progress through the echelons of often multiple organisations by other means than just performing well and 'delivering good work'. Careerism is, thus, defined as the propensity to pursue career advancement through non-performance-based means (Feldman & Weitz, 1991). Careerism entails a set of beliefs concerning career advancement that can be seen as interpersonally maladaptive and detrimental to the organisation. The seven beliefs, as originally proposed by Feldman & Weitz (1991), encompass a number of recurring themes, namely viewing competence alone as insufficient for advancement, the instrumental use of interpersonal relationships, a greater importance given to impression management and political behaviour, a belief in the irreconcilability of the goals of person and organisation, and a greater sensitivity to perceived inequity.

Machiavellianism has unequivocally been linked to a careerist orientation in past research (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004; Kuyumcu & Dahling, 2013). Moreover, it has been related to negative impression management behaviours (Bratton & Kacmar, 2004). Machiavellists are likely to use manipulation in interpersonal relationships and in organisational politics (Christie, 1970), resulting in a careerist orientation. Narcissism also shows considerable parallels with careerism, as both stress the instrumental use of interpersonal relationships for personal gain, respectively, for maintaining a bolstered, though fragile self-image (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001) and for advancing one's career (Feldman & Weitz, 1991). Narcissism also entails a need for power (O'Boyle et al., 2012), which comes as no surprise as having power over others implies a higher status and a greater perceived valuation of the self. Narcissists' lack of empathic capabilities (Watson, Grisham, Trotter & Biderman, 1984) and high focus on the self, leading to a disregard for the well-being of others, would facilitate the use of careerist strategies which sometimes entail negative consequences for others. As narcissists' self-regulation of their inflated self-image is, thus, also pursued through the inconsiderate, yet vigorous striving for power and status, we assume that they will use a careerist orientation to climb the corporate ladder more efficiently. As for psychopathy, a recent study examined the link between 'primary psychopathy' and careerism (Chiaburu, Muñoz, & Gardner, 2013). Primary psychopathy – i.e. the selfishness, uncaring and manipulative tendencies of the psychopathic individual – was positively related with a careerist orientation (Chiaburu et al., 2013). Moreover, psychopathy explained variance in careerism above and beyond the well-known Five Factor Model personality traits. Psychopaths may be more likely to develop a careerist orientation because their lack of empathy means that they are not hampered by feelings of guilt when manipulating others to achieve their own career goals.

In sum, we propose that Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy are all positively related to careerism. In turn, careerism has already been related to transactional and relational psychological contract types (Rousseau, 1990). Rousseau found that careerism exhibited a negative relationship with the employee's perceived relational contract and a positive link with the employee's perceived transactional contract. Careerism implies the belief in the insufficiency of merely performing well in order to progress

in one's career, and leads to a greater desire for mobility (Feldman & Weitz, 1991). In combination with the fact that it is also related to lower organisational commitment (Feldman & Weitz, 1991), this would inevitably disturb the establishment and maintenance of a relational psychological contract with one's organisation for which a pervasive scope is needed and which has an indefinite time-frame (Rousseau, 1990). As the careerist is continuously looking for a new and better job (Feldman, 1985), we propose that careerism will be positively related to transactional psychological contracts because these contracts do not require a long-term perspective or a high level of commitment.

Proposition 3: Machiavellists, narcissists, and psychopaths are more likely to develop transactional psychological contract, and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts, because they are characterised by a careerist orientation.

Mediating role of perceived organisational support

Perceived organisational support is defined as employees' "...global beliefs concerning the extent to which the organisation values their contributions and cares about their well-being" (Eisenberger, Huntington, Hutchison & Sowa, 1986: 500). Research on perceived organisational support often focussed on actions of the organisation, without considering possible effects of dispositional variables (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). We, nonetheless, propose that personality traits relate to individual differences in perceived organisational support. We argue that such relationships exist because perceived organisational support is not an objective representation of the actual amount of support an organisation lends, but a subjective and idiosyncratic perception by the individual employee. We, therefore, expect that narcissism would interfere at the perceptual level as the feelings of entitlement and superiority that are typical for narcissists will colour these perceptions (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Because narcissists are self-oriented (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001) and feel entitled and superior, we reason that they will perceive less organisational support as non-narcissists, believing that the support offered by the organisation falls short of the support they themselves feel they deserve. Machiavellists may, at first, receive more organisational support because they manipulate others (O'Boyle et al., 2012). However, their manipulation strategies may, in the long term, jeopardise social relationships. Once coworkers discover their manipulative nature, they may start to withdraw support to protect themselves (O'Boyle et al., 2012). Hence, we reason that Machiavellianism will negatively relate to perceived organisational support. Likewise, psychopaths' impulsive destructiveness and lack of emotions will hurt social relationships (O'Boyle et al., 2012), meaning that the organisation is likely to withhold support.

In turn, several similarities can be discerned between perceived organisational support and the psychological contract (Aselage & Eisenberger, 2003). They are both rooted in social exchange theory (Blau, 1964); they both state that the socio-emotional value of a resource depends on the implicit valuation of the employee; they both emphasise the importance of justice perceptions, and they both have been related to important organisational outcomes (Aselage & Eisenberger, 2003). In light of these similarities, we assume that perceived organisational support and psychological contract content will be related to each other. This latter has been demonstrated by Aggarwal & Bhargava (2010), who found a positive relation between perceived organisational support and relational psychological contracts and a negative relationship between perceived organisational support and transactional psychological contracts. This is in line with the idea that, as the organisation is perceived to value and care about the employee more deeply, the employee will feel an increasing need to reciprocate in kind in accordance with the norm of reciprocity (Aselage & Eisenberger, 2003). This would consequently lead to the development of a more

relational psychological contract with the organisation.

Proposition 4: Machiavellists, narcissists, and psychopaths are more likely to develop transactional psychological contract, and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts, because they perceive lower levels of organisational support.

The mediating role of trust

Trust refers to "a psychological state comprising the intention to accept vulnerability based upon positive expectations of intentions or behaviour of another" (Rousseau, Sitkin, Burt & Camerer, 1998: 395). The literature on trust often makes a distinction with respect to the underlying bases of trust, acknowledging that trust is a rational as well as an emotional phenomenon (Lewis & Weigert, 1985; McAllister, 1995). Lewis & Weigert (1985) proposed a typology differentiating four types of trust. They argued that trust always consist of a 'mix' of rationale and emotion. Two types of trust in this typology, 'emotional trust' (with a high emotionality and low rationality base) and 'cognitive trust' (with a low emotionality and high rationality base), were subsequently picked up in the psychology literature (McAllister, 1995). The distinction was rebranded 'affect-based trust' and 'cognition-based trust' and validated in multiple studies (e.g., McAllister, 1995). We believe that the distinction between affect-based and cognition-based trust is useful when relating the dark triad of personality to trust.

First, low levels of trust are an inherent part of the conceptualisation of Machiavellianism (Dahling, Whitaker & Levy, 2009). Machiavellians tends to perceive that others may be trying to manipulate them as they themselves are trying to manipulate others (Christie, 1970). Likewise, Machiavellians show a higher tendency towards economic opportunism when faced with the option to trust and cooperate with others or to compete with others (Sakalaki, Richardson & Thépaut, 2007). We, therefore, reason that Machiavellianism will negatively relate to both affect- and cognition-based trust.

Second, narcissism entails a disregard for others and is characterised by exploitativeness which ultimately leads to defective interpersonal relationships (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001; Raskin & Terry, 1988). Considering that affect-based trust is founded on socio-emotional exchange, which is also crucial in the development of interpersonal relationships (Blau, 1964), we expect narcissism to relate to lower levels of affective trust as a consequence of these impeded relationships with coworkers. Moreover, it will also lead to lower levels of cognition-based trust because narcissists are preoccupied with maintaining their inflated, but fragile self-image (Morf & Rhodewalt, 2001). As a result, they tend to be hypervigilant for ego threats (Horvath & Morf, 2009). This hypervigilance translates into lower levels of cognition-based trust in others to prevent damage to their self-image.

Last, psychopathy involves a lack of empathy (Boddy et al., 2010), reduced emotionality (Benning, Patrick, Blonigen, Hicks, & Iacono, 2005) and poor emotion recognition in others (Decety, Skelly, Yoder & Kiehl, 2014). These characteristics of psychopaths will lead to fewer and more deficient interpersonal relationships compared to non-psychopaths. We consequently expect psychopathy to negatively relate to affect-based trust as well. Considering that psychopathy's emotional detachment seems to concord with more rational behaviour (Osumi & Ohira, 2010), we do not expect psychopathy to be significantly related to lower levels of cognition-based trust.

In turn, the distinction between affect-based and cognition-based trust is relevant when relating trust to

psychological contract types. Building on Rousseau et al. (1998), one could argue that affect-based trust would relate to socio-emotional exchanges while cognition-based trust would relate to transactional exchanges. Cognition-based trust fits with the quid-pro-quo nature of the transactional psychological contract while affect-based trust is required to fully establish the trusting, long-term commitment that characterises relational psychological contracts (Rousseau, 1990). Tentative evidence for these links were found in a qualitative study by Atkinson (2007), who confirmed that cognition-based trust and affect-based trust were related to transactional and relational psychological contracts, respectively. Considering the above, we expect that cognition-based trust will stimulate the development of transactional contracts while both cognition and affect-based trust are needed to stimulate relational psychological contract formation. A lack of both types of trust will likely result in instable and closely-monitored transactional psychological contracts.

Proposition 5: Machiavellists and narcissists are more likely to develop transactional psychological contracts and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts because they experience lower levels of cognition and affect-based trust.

Proposition 6: Psychopaths are more likely to develop transactional psychological contracts, and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts because they experience lower levels of affect-based trust.

The mediating role of interpersonal conflict

While many definitions and operationalisations of interpersonal conflict can be found in the literature, we will focus on 'interpersonal conflict' between employees and other organisational members that represent the organisation. We define interpersonal conflict as "...a dynamic process that occurs between interdependent parties as they experience negative emotional reactions to perceived disagreements and interference with the attainment of their goals" (Barki & Hartwick, 2004: 218). A further distinction is often made between task, process and relationship conflict (Barki & Hartwick, 2004). Task and process conflict both pertain to the task, respectively, to the content and the outcomes of the task, and to the logistics of the task. Relationship conflict refers to interpersonal issues between individuals that are related to characteristics of individuals instead of the task (Jehn & Bendersky, 2003).

We propose that all three dark triad traits will positively relate with interpersonal conflict, and relationship conflict in particular. The dark triad of personality traits all entail a general lack of concern for the well-being of others complemented by highly self-oriented attitudes and behaviours (Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Such a focus on the individual's satisfaction over the satisfaction of others, accompanied by a need for status and power, will likely trigger conflicts with coworkers. For example, the striving for status and power of employees who score high on the dark triad may lead to competition while the lack of concern for other may lead to communication problems, which in turn may trigger interpersonal conflict (Cosier & Rose, 1977).

Although we propose that all three dark triad traits will positively relate to interpersonal conflict, we believe that the strength of these relationships may differ between the traits; we expect that psychopathy will demonstrate the strongest relationship, whereas Machiavellianism will show the weakest relationship with interpersonal conflict. First, one might argue that Machiavellists may actually be able to avoid interpersonal conflict because they can effectively manipulate others (Christie & Geis, 1970).

Machiavellists think strategically, translating into a long-term orientation (Jones & Paulhus, 2010), good impulse control (Jones & Paulhus, 2011), and good deceptive skills (Geis & Moon, 1981). However, Machiavellians are not always able to smoothly handle conflict situations, and often resort to confrontational conflict handling styles (Jones & Melcher, 1982), which may increase conflict. Additionally, Machiavellianism has also been linked to frequent use of "hard" manipulation tactics, such as threatening with punishment (Jonason et al., 2012). Based on these arguments, we propose that Machiavellianism is weakly positively related to interpersonal conflict. Second, we believe that psychopathy is most strongly related to interpersonal conflict because it is associated with impulsivity and a lack of self-regulation (Jonason & Tost, 2010). Because psychopaths have difficulties controlling their immediate impulses, they are more likely to resort to aggressive behavioural responses (Tangney, Baumeister, & Boone, 2004). These aggressive responses are likely to further aggravate interpersonal conflict (Hershcovis et al., 2007) and may even lead to an escalation of conflict (Anderson & Pearson, 1999).

We reason that interpersonal conflict will prevent the development and sustenance of a relational psychological contract. Relational contracts typically emphasise the exchange of inducements that aim to develop and nurture a long-term, trusting exchange agreement with the employer (Rousseau, 1990). However, interpersonal conflict is likely to damage such a relationship, leading employees to shift to a more basic transactional psychological contract. Likewise, research shows that psychological contract breach may lead to employees shifting from a relational to a transactional psychological contract (Lester, Kickul & Bergmann, 2007). Moreover, repeated interpersonal conflict decreases goodwill and mutual understanding, and erodes mutual trust (Langfred, 2007), all essential elements to form a relational psychological contract (Blau, 1964). We, therefore, hypothesise that interpersonal conflict will be negatively related to the relational psychological contracts, and positively to transactional psychological contracts.

Proposition 7: All dark triad traits are positively related to interpersonal conflict, psychopathy being more strongly related to interpersonal conflict than narcissism, and narcissism being more strongly related to interpersonal conflict than Machiavellianism.

Proposition 8: Machiavellists, narcissists, and psychopaths are more likely to develop transactional psychological contracts, and less likely to develop relational psychological contracts, because they experience higher levels of interpersonal conflict.

The moderating role of self-control

Research suggests that the dark triad of personality does not uniformly yield negative outcomes (Furnham et al., 2013). These traits may actually help people to get ahead in the workplace in certain situations (Levenson et al., 1995). For example, Smith and Lilienfeld (2013) suggested that low to moderate levels of psychopathy might actually have adaptive features, resulting in curvilinear relationships between psychopathy and workplace outcomes. Building on these suggestions, we propose that the relationships between the dark triad traits and the mediators in our model display curvilinear patterns. More precisely, we propose an indirect curvilinear effect, that manifests itself through self-control.

The dark triad of personality has recently been linked to self-control (Jonason & Tost, 2010; Jones & Paulhus, 2011). In general, Life History Theory (Wilson, 1975) suggests that people with high dark triad

scores live life according to a 'fast strategy', characterised by limited self-control, a lack of attention for future consequences, and high levels of attention deficit disorders (Jonason & Tost, 2010). This lack of self-control is most prominent for psychopaths, who have been shown to engage in dysfunctional impulsivity (Jones & Paulhus, 2011). Likewise, narcissism can also be linked to impulsivity, although narcissists engage more in functional impulsivity (Jones & Paulhus, 2011). Machiavellians, in contrast, appear to possess some form of self-control, resulting in no significant relationships between Machiavellianism and impulse control (Jones & Paulhus, 2011). Based on these findings, we propose:

Proposition 9: Psychopathy and narcissism are negatively related to self-control; this relationship is strongest for psychopathy.

Self-control, in turn, is expected to moderate the relationships between the dark triad of personality and the mediators in our model, that is, the norm of reciprocity, careerism, perceived organisational support, trust, and interpersonal conflict. Self-regulation theory stipulates that people use resources to regulate their impulses and act in line with social norms (Baumeister, Gailliot, DeWall, & Oaten, 2006). However, when resources are depleted, this regulation of impulses fails and personality traits fully manifest themselves in overt behaviours. For example, an employee with high scores on Machiavellianism may be inclined to distrust others. However, as long as this employee has sufficient resources to engage in self-control, he/she may be able to inhibit impulses and display trusting behaviour despite his/her Machiavellistic personality. In other words, self-control is expected to buffer the relationships between the dark triad of personality traits and the abovementioned mediators in our theoretical model. Given that psychopathy and narcissism negatively relate to self-control, we propose the presence of an indirect moderator effect: psychopathy and narcissism moderate the relationships between the dark triad of personality and the mediators in our model, via self-control. For example, when an employee scores high on both Machiavellianism and psychopathy, he/she may both be inclined to distrust coworkers and lack the resources to engage in self-control to inhibit these impulses. This indirect moderator effect may explain earlier suggestions of curvilinear effects of the dark triad traits (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013).

Proposition 10: Psychopathy and narcissism indirectly moderate the relationships between the dark triad of personality and the mediators (norm of reciprocity, careerism, perceived organisational support, trust, and interpersonal conflict) in our model, via self-control.

Discussion

We presented a theoretical model that relates the dark triad of personality – that is, Machiavellianism, narcissism, and psychopathy – to transactional and relational psychological contract types. Briefly put, our model proposes that all three dark triad traits will lead employees to develop a transactional as opposed to a relational psychological contract. Moreover, we introduced six mediators that explained these relationships. The dark triad of personality can be related to psychological contract types because they influence the norm of reciprocity, careerism, perceived organisational support, trust, and interpersonal conflict of employees. Finally, we proposed that psychopathy and narcissism indirectly moderate the relationships between the dark triad traits and these six mediators. Employees with high scores on psychopathy and narcissism are suggested to have lower levels of self-control, meaning that they will not be able to control the behaviours originating from the three dark triad traits.

Our model adds to the literature in a number of ways. First, there is a dearth of research on antecedents of psychological contract content (Conway & Briner, 2009). Knowing which factors influence the development of a certain psychological contract type is nonetheless important as these contract types have been related to a number of outcomes (e.g., Aggarwal & Bhargava, 2010; Millward & Hopkins, 1998). We, hence, add to the literature that examined personality traits as antecedents of psychological contract types (Raja et al., 2004; Tallman & Bruning, 2008; Vantilborgh et al., 2013). In contrast to these prior studies, we highlight the influence of dark as opposed to bright traits (e.g., the Big Five). Second, previous studies relating personality traits to psychological contract types explained relationships based on the processes of choice, construal, and enactment (Raja et al., 2004). However, these processes were never empirically tested and remained rather elusive and abstract. We introduced six specific mediators that can be directly empirically scrutinised. Third, our model offers a theoretical explanation for earlier suggestions that the dark triad traits may show curvilinear relationships with employee cognitions, attitudes, and behaviours (Smith & Lilienfeld, 2013). We introduce self-control as a moderator in the relationships between the dark triad traits and the six mediators of our model. While self-control and impulsivity have frequently been linked to the dark triad (Jonason & Tost, 2010), it has also been demonstrated that self-control influences how personality affects attitudes and behaviours (Baumeister et al., 2006). By linking psychopathy and narcissism to self-control and by positioning self-control as a moderator, we illuminate a potentially complex interaction between the dark triad traits. In particular, this unique perspective explains how the dark triad traits can enhance each other's effects because they also diminish self-control.

A number of avenues can be further explored to expand our theoretical model. First, recent studies suggest that the dark triad could be expanded to form the dark tetrad, by adding sadism to the constellation of traits (Paulhus & Buckels, 2011). Hence, it could be interesting to theorise how sadism could be integrated in our theoretical model. For example, employees who score high on sadism may encounter more interpersonal conflict because they display 'schadenfreude' when coworkers experience misfortunes, leading to the development of transactional psychological contracts. Second, the dark triad of personality is likely also related to employees' reactions to psychological contract breach. For example, the lack of trust that typifies Machiavellianism may lead to increased vigilance and a higher likelihood to perceive psychological contract breaches (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Hence, it appears that there are ample opportunities to further integrate these dark traits into theoretical models on the consequences of psychological contract breach and violation. Third, we focussed on how the dark triad personality traits influence the development of employees' psychological contracts. However, it also appears important to investigate how supervisors' or colleagues' personality traits relate to subordinates' psychological contract content and reactions to psychological contract breach. Research suggests that supervisors are one of the most important factors in the development of psychological contracts (Conway & Briner, 2009). For example, a Machiavellian supervisor may offer mainly transactional inducements that can be easily monitored to his subordinates because he does not trust them. Consequently, these subordinates may be more likely to develop a transactional psychological contract. Likewise, a psychopathic supervisor may not be able to show empathy when subordinates' psychological contracts are breached, further aggravating their reactions.

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Employee Social Liability – More than just low social capital within the workplace

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Abstract

We describe a construct termed *employee social liability* (ESL); the antithesis of employee social capital. A conceptualisation of social liability does not yet exist and is the aim of this paper. We propose that ESL arises from workplace social networks and comprises of four distinct components: negative behaviour from others, distrust of others, unwanted social demands on resources, and a lack of reciprocity. Social networks, therefore, include some relationships that build an employee's social capital, others that create social liabilities and some relationships that might do both. An individual can, therefore, have high or low levels of capital and many or few liabilities. We propose that employees with high social capital and relatively few social liabilities should also have improved well-being and performance outcomes.

Key words: Organisational relationships, social capital, social liability, engagement, well-being, careers, network

The influence of other people in an employee's social networks has long been the subject of research interest from an organisational and psychological perspective. Under the umbrella of positive psychology, there is a rich body of research on positive, pro-social organisational behaviour which generally aims to identify situations that enable optimal human flourishing (Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; McDonald & O'Callaghan, 2008; Roberts, 2006). Positive psychology at work focusses on areas such as organisational citizenship (Bolino, Turnley, & Bloodgood, 2002; Wat & Shaffer, 2004), well-being (Arnold, Turner, Barling, Kelloway, & McKee, 2007; Keyes, Shmotkin, & Ryff, 2002) and creativity (Appelbaum, Iaconi, & Matousek, 2007). However, while there is a large and ever growing body of research on positive and pro-social organisational behaviour, the last two decades have also seen an explosion of research on negative workplace behaviours. This includes (among others) workplace deviance (Bennett & Robinson, 2000; Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Lee & Allen, 2002), bullying and harassment (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen, Hoel, & Notelaers, 2009; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996), social undermining (Duffy, Ganster, & Pagon, 2002; Duffy, Scott, Shaw, Tepper, & Aquino, 2012), incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Hutton, 2006; Pearson, Anderson, & Wegner, 2001), and aggression and abuse (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Neuman & Baron, 2005). While studies using such constructs typically go to some lengths to conceptually define and measure them, there is, nonetheless, a conceptual overlap and redundancy in their definition and measurement. This has led to calls for construct synthesis and reintegration when studying the impact that co-workers have on each other (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008).

In answering this call, we draw on the notion of social capital (Adler & Kwon, 2002) as a theoretical framework with which to consider the many and varied ways employees impact one another, both positively and negatively. Social capital in the workplace is a construct that has received a great deal

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of recent attention in both the academic and practitioner literature, having been of interest to researchers for several decades (for example; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Andrews, 2010; Behtoui & Neergaard, 2012; Carr, Cole, Ring, & Blettner, 2011; Lazarova & Taylor, 2009; Maurer, Bartsch, & Ebers, 2011; Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Oldroyd & Morris, 2012; Zahra, 2010). Social capital is a broad, multilevel term and, as such, has been described as an attribute of nations and geographic regions (Fukuyama, 1995), communities (Jacobs, 1961; Putnam, 1995), organisations (Leana & VanBuren, 1999) and individuals (Coleman, 1988; Coleman, 1990; Kouvonen et al., 2006; Labianca & Brass, 2006; Portes, 1998). However, in spite of this large body of research, evidence remains sparse on social capital as it pertains to the work context specifically. Given the amount of time that workers in the global economy spend at work, as opposed with interaction with neighbours or friends, this is an important gap (Suzuki et al., 2010).

Although social capital has been defined in many different ways, most researchers generally agree that relationships, networks, and norms are important dimensions of the concept. According to one view (the social cohesion definition), social capital is conceptualised as a group attribute and analysed in terms of those features of social relationships that facilitate collective action for mutual benefit. It is, therefore, seen as a characteristic of *social groups* rather than individuals (Kawachi, 1999); being derived from shared experiences which, in turn, foster mutual trust and reciprocity (Shortt, 2004). In contrast, the network theory of social capital holds that, because it is created in the connections among and between individuals, social capital is an asset of the *individual* (Coleman, 1988; Coleman, 1990; Kouvonen et al., 2006; Labianca & Brass, 2006; Portes, 1998). Our conceptualisation of social capital and liability, like that of Labianca and Brass (2006) and others, focusses on individuals' positions within social networks and the potential to improve their own outcomes, as well as those of their group, because of these social contacts (Burt, 2000; Coleman, 1990).

Although scholars have focussed on the benefits accrued from acquiring social capital, both in and out of the workplace, very little attention has been given to the potential all employees have to also acquire "liabilities" in their social and workplace networks. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to extend the concept of social capital to incorporate the potential liabilities that might accrue to individuals from their social network. First, we review the extant views on social capital at the individual employee level of analysis. A conceptual differentiation is then made between social capital and social liability, with the latter defined and expanded upon. Proposed antecedents and consequences of social liabilities are then explored, and a model to guide future research is presented. The paper ends with a discussion of the potential impact and importance on this construct for individuals and organisations.

Defining Employee Social Capital and Liability

Employee Social Capital

Sobel (2002) takes an individual, economic view of social capital, stating that social capital describes "circumstances in which individuals can use membership in groups and networks to secure benefits" (Sobel, 2002, p.139). This reflects the definition of Pierre Bourdieu (1986) who states

> Social capital is an attribute of an individual in a social context. One can acquire social capital through purposeful actions and can transform social capital into conventional economic gains. The ability to do so, however, depends on the nature of the social obligations, connections, and networks available to you.

Glaeser, Laibson and Sacerdote (2002) also take an individual perspective but seem to confuse antecedents of social capital with social capital itself stating:

> we define individual social capital as a person's social characteristics – including social skills, charisma, and the size of his Rolodex – which enable him to reap market and non-market returns from interactions with others. (Glaeser, Laibson, & Sacerdote, 2002: F438).

While individual characteristics may indeed make social capital easier to acquire, they are best thought of as antecedents to acquiring genuine social capital but with no guarantee that the returns will be obtained (in the same way that one may own a business but that venture may not make money).

Thus, employee social capital can be taken to be the sum of the resources that accrue to an individual, by virtue of possessing networks (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Most people are embedded in social situations and can, therefore, take advantage of the wider social relations in which their ties are embedded. We are specifically looking at the workplace as the context for the ties and are, therefore, focussing on individual employees as the level of analysis. If an individual's social capital is his/her network of social connections that assist them in functioning in society (Coleman, 1990), we can, therefore, define employee social capital as:

> An employee's network of social connections that provides resources that enhance functioning at work (i.e. in their role as employees), assisting in achieving goals and likely to improve health and well-being.

Workplace social capital is generally conceptualised as comprising two constructs: trust and reciprocity (Kouvonen et al., 2006; Suzuki et al., 2010), and as being on a continuum from low to high. Therefore, employees with high levels of trust and reciprocity in their workplace relationships and social networks would be said to have high levels of social capital. Duffy et al. (2012; p. 644), state "…to thrive in work contexts, individuals must develop social capital, make high-quality connections with capable others, and maintain some positive standing in the work environment."

Trust

While trust remains a construct that lacks a universally accepted definition in organisational research, there is agreement that it is a psychological state with both affective and motivational components (Kramer, 1999). As an affective psychological state, trust (or lack thereof) is seen as developing from people's experiences over time, of how they have been treated or have seen others treated. Trust develops when the actions of others are expected to be beneficial or at least not harmful to one's own interests (Robinson, 1996). Trust also invokes conceptions of benevolence, predictability and fairness (Cunningham & MacGregor, 2000).

Mayer, Davis & Schoorman (1995) state trust is *"*the willingness of a party to be vulnerable to the actions of another party based on the expectation that the other party will perform a particular action important to the trustor, irrespective of the ability to monitor or control that other party." For the individual, having trust in others reflects social capital in the sense that there is an expectation that others' behaviours will be beneficial to the self. Trust is, therefore, both an input to and an outcome of relationships. As a socio-emotional outcome of interpersonal relationships trust becomes, as Kramer (1999) points out, an important precursor to increased cooperation, altruism and extra-role behaviours between organisational members. Such behaviours in turn help sustain a climate of trust where, according to social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976, 1987), employees respond in kind with behaviours that further sustain trust and commitment.

Reciprocity

The second component of social capital is reciprocity, measured by items such as, "would you say that most of the time people in your company try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?" (Suzuki et al., 2010: 1368). People will often evaluate their relationships, particularly workplace relationships, in terms of investments (such as time spent, effort, and support offered) and outcomes (such as support received and favours granted). A central proposition of equity theory (Adams, 1965; Blau, 1964) is that people have a tendency to seek reciprocity in relationships and will become depressed or distressed if they perceive the relationship to be inequitable (Bakker, Schaufeli, Demerouti, Janssen, Van der Hulst & Brouwer, 2000). Reciprocity exists when a person's investments and outcomes in a given relationship are proportional to the investments and outcomes of the other person (Bakker et al., 2000).

Employee Social Liability

In this section we seek to introduce *Employee Social Liability* (ESL) as it relates to the accrual of, not resources, but "liabilities". While social capital represents the benefits an individual accrues from their social network and the *positive* relationships they have with others (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), we propose that employees also have social liabilities which imply increased constraints or demands on resources in order to manage negative, taxing, or distracting relationships at work. Liabilities are those members of one's network who, intentionally or unintentionally, pose a hindrance to their functioning and achievements at work. We build upon Labianca and Brass (2006), who defined liabilities in terms of individual negative relationships (or ties) as "the linear combination of strength, reciprocity, cognition, and social distance of each negative tie, summed across all negative ties." (p. 599). We extend this to look at employee social liabilities in terms of workplace and individual *outcomes*, as any relationship (positive or negative) that hinders functioning at work, detracts from achieving goals, or which negatively impacts on health and well-being. Importantly, these relationships may or may not be 'negative ties' per se; a distracting, time consuming but otherwise friendly colleague could be a liability, and so too could a close friend whom most others in a social network despise. Further, we widen the focus to all organisational relationships (comprised of other employees, colleagues, clients, supervisors, etc.) and propose that an employee's experience of and exposure to negative or unhelpful workplace behaviours or individuals will contribute to the acquisition of social liabilities.

Employee social liability (ESL) can be thought of the antithesis of social capital in the workplace. Related to the definition offered for of social capital, in the current paper we therefore define employee social liability as: "An employee's network of social connections that hinder them in their functioning at work, detracting from achieving goals and likely to negatively impact their health and well-being."

ESL is a composite construct that we propose is comprised of four components. We see social liabilities arising from a range of situations within an employee's social network, some of which may be temporary, giving rise to transient social liabilities, while others are more endemic and serve as a more sustained source of hindrance, distraction, and stress. These situations include having negative relationships and interactions with others, dealings that are characterised by a lack of reciprocity and low cooperation, individuals that engender distrust, people who serve as distractions from one's tasks or who are otherwise unhelpful, and those who display, at different times, varying combinations of such qualities. A social network can, therefore, be (or become) dysfunctional in many ways. For example, there may be negative relational norms (such as non-disclosure, favouritism, undermining, or sabotage), it could contain individuals with whom negative relationships exist, or where there is a

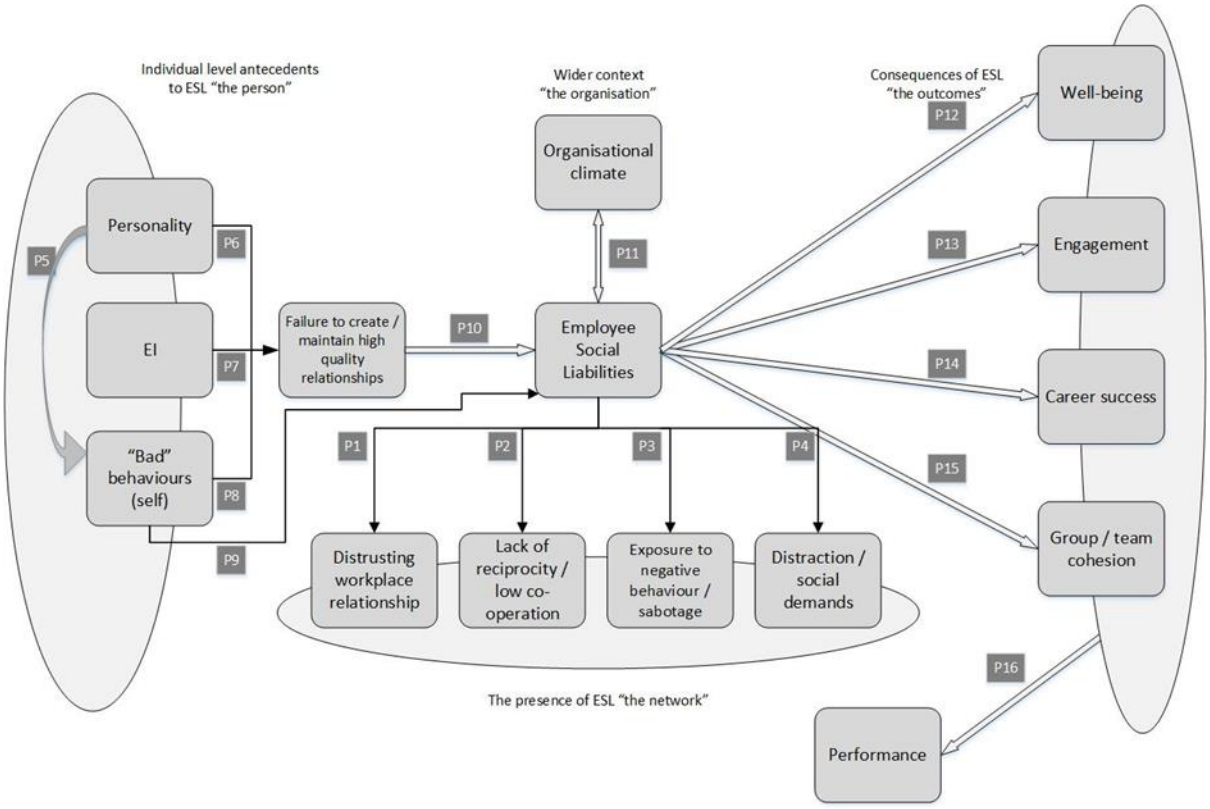
lack of trust and/or reciprocity. We propose that social networks with such features, instead of adding to an individual's social capital, can instead be considered a social liability.

Expanding on the above, we propose that ESL is a higher level construct made up of four components, which are:

1. distrust and suspicion of colleagues,
2. lack of reciprocity and cooperation from colleagues,
3. exposure to negative relationships and/or interactions at work, and
4. high social demand and interpersonal distractions at work.

The first two components are closely (negatively) related to existing social capital measures (trust and reciprocity) but the second two would be unique to the higher level ESL construct. Each is described below. And are shown graphically in Figure 1 (Path 1 to Path 4).

Figure 1: Relations among ESL, individual differences (the person), organisational climate (the organisation), and organisational consequences (the outcomes).



1. *Distrust in work relationships (Path 1)*

Because the actions of others may generate perceptions of vulnerability or threat, it is then reasonable to suggest that individuals will become defensive of the self if they have distrusting relationships with others. We, therefore, see distrusting relationships as a form of social liability for the individual. This liability is a function of the extent to which individuals perceive the behaviour of others as (a)

threatening or increasing a sense of vulnerability; (b) harmful to one self-interests; (c) undermining their efforts and competency it the job; and (d) unfair, self-serving, and unsupportive.

Research into trust and distrust in organisations is not new. Salient here is the early work of Deutsch (1960) who differentiates between trust and distrust, conceptualising trust as an individual's confidence in the intentions of a relationship partner as well as the belief that a relationship partner would behave as they hoped. Deutsch viewed distrust as, not simply a lack of trust, but rather as actual suspicion; confidence about a relationship partner's *undesirable* behaviour. Distrust "entails a state of perceived vulnerability or risk that is derived from individuals' uncertainty regarding the motives, intentions, and prospective actions of others on whom they depend" (Kramer, 1999, p.517).

Therefore, distrust is understood to be the belief that others will *not* act in one's best interests and further, may even engage in potentially injurious behaviour (Govier, 1994). We include these elements in our concept of distrust and, if present, they will likely be a source of social liabilities in the employee's workplace social network.

2. *Lack of reciprocity and low cooperation from colleagues (Path 2)*

As previously stated, trust is an important precursor to reciprocity and cooperation between organisational members. Such behaviours, in turn, help sustain a climate of trust where, according to social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1962, 1987), employees respond in kind with trusting, committed behaviours. On the other hand, if employees experience distrust they will likely also believe that colleagues will not reciprocate favours, and cooperation will be low, negatively impacting on productivity and goal attainment.

Those within a social network who do not reciprocate or who act uncooperatively will contribute to social liability for their colleagues. The implication is that, because things done for others will not be reciprocated, this creates a sunk social cost that will never generate a return. Low cooperation means you cannot ask others to help out, leading to a climate of low social support in the network which adds to the demands on an employee rather than acting as a resource.

3. *Exposure to negative relationships and interactions at work (Path 3)*

Labianca and Brass (2006) proposed *negative social capital* (negative relationships with others that detract from work and well-being) as being important when examining social networks. Negative social relationships are characterised by the intensity of dislike an employee has towards or perceives from others in their collegial relationships. Further, these authors maintain that these negative relationships can have greater power than positive relationships to explain workplace outcomes (Labianca & Brass, 2006)).

In terms of negative interactions, ambivalent relationships (or *frenemies*); i.e., relationships characterised by both positivity and negativity have been found to be among the most stressful to manage (Duffy et al., 2002; Uchino, Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Bloor, 2004; Uchino, Holt-Lunstad, Uno, & Flinders, 2001). Although it would be nice to think that supportive and friendly relationships would not also be undermining, research suggests the opposite; that people often experience both support and conflict or undermining from the same person (Duffy et al., 2002; Duffy et al., 2012; Gottlieb & Wagner, 1991). When interactions with others in your social network are inconsistent, this can result in perceptions of relational insecurity as well as a lack of control, trust, and predictability in the relationships (Duffy et al., 2002).

Duffy et al., (2012) investigated undermining in the context of envy in the workplace, hypothesising that when employees experience envy, they will be more likely to engage in undermining behaviours, so long as they are also relatively less psychologically connected (socially identified) with their colleagues and are not prevented by strong norms discouraging undermining. Duffy, et al., (2002) conducted a study where police officers filled out a survey about how often their closest colleagues undermined and/or supported them. Officers who felt undermined were, unsurprisingly, less committed at work, experienced more physical health problems and were more likely to take unauthorised breaks and be absent from work. Being undermined was a major source of stress, and when the underminer was also, at other times, supportive, recipients experienced even lower commitment, had more health issues, and missed comparatively more work.

An explanation for this is that when a colleague is a consistently selfish or undermining, individuals know what to expect, and can devise strategies for minimising interactions and avoiding collaboration. But if that colleague takes in some situations and gives in others, it is harder to avoid the relationship altogether, Duffy et al., (2002) state "…it takes more emotional energy and coping resources to deal with individuals who are inconsistent in their provision of support and undermining behaviors" (p. 337). Such resource expenditures, we argue, go beyond merely subtracting from one's pool of capital, but instead create on-going liabilities with one's workplace social network that saps resources in the form of time, emotional energy, and cognitive load.

4. *Distraction and other social demands (Path 4)*

One potential cost to an individual with high capital comes from the proportionally greater number of requests from others in their social network for advice and information. They are the "thought leaders" and "experts" and people turn to them for help (Oldroyd & Morris, 2012). For example, Oldroyd and Morris cite Grove (1983: 67), who describes the constant request for information and advice received by managers as "the plague of managerial work." Similarly, Perlow (1999) demonstrates that frequent coworker interruptions experienced by high performing, visible software engineers ultimately led to what she calls a *"time famine"*; they had too many information requests and could no longer properly perform their jobs. The other source of social demand is from time wasters, chatters and distracters. In a study of managerial attitudes to workplace friendships, 17 per cent of managers felt that these relationships resulted in distraction from work and over half believed that they caused or contributed to gossip (Berman, West, & Richter, 2002). It is possible that workplace designs that allow for distracting and unwanted interpersonal interactions, such as 'hot-desking' and open plan offices, will increase employee social liabilities. Maintaining interpersonal relationships in these contexts potentially generates social process losses at the expense of job task achievement.

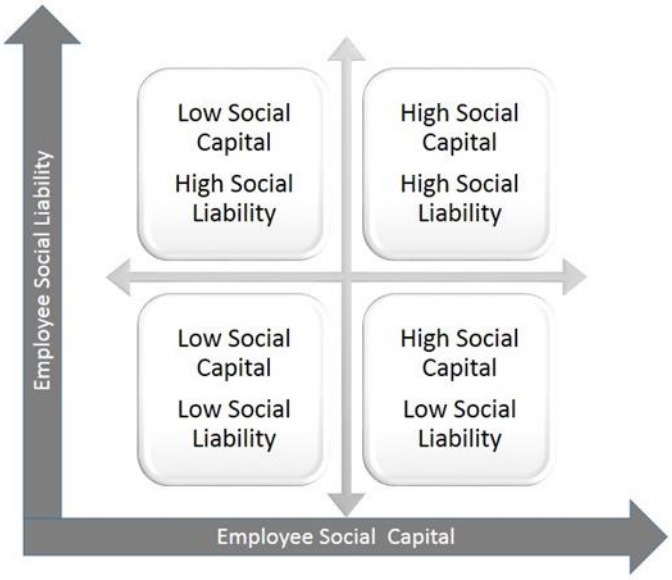
It is worth noting that Berman et al. (2002) differentiate between "close" friendships and "casual" friendships at work. Casual friendships tend to require less maintenance and involve fewer distractions than close or best friends, thus, they may provide a sounding board, promote teamwork, and help to accomplish work-related tasks without the distraction or obligations to spend time that are associated with best friends (Berman et al., 2002). We propose that the very close friends in one's social network, though they may provide the greatest social capital, also contribute relatively more to an employee's social liability because of the additional demands such friends can place on resources.

A two factor theory

Thus, in any given social network, there will be some relationships that build social capital, and other relationships that create a liability (or even relationships that may be beneficial but, at times, might become a liability). We propose, therefore, that an individual will have some measureable amount of

both capital and liability. Increasing the former while reducing the latter should improve individual well-being. It is not a "zero sum" game; we do not suggest that social liability necessarily detracts from social capital. Indeed, high levels of both would be extraordinarily resource consuming (in terms of managing both positive and negative relationships). Low levels of both would not help, but neither would it necessarily hinder an employee's organisational life, other than being excluded from potentially valuable social networks (Putnam, 1995). Figure 2 shows our proposed matrix. Employees can be placed within any of the four areas depending on the level of social capital and liability and the implication of this is described below.

Figure 2: Proposed ESL / ESC matrix structure



1. *Low Social Capital / High Social Liability*

This is the "worst" scenario for an employee. They may be part of a dysfunctional work group or team, with no reciprocity and distrust (low social capital) as well as negative relational norms (such as non-disclosure, undermining, and conflict). Team members may be low status, unskilled and poorly networked (i.e., be able to offer little in the way of useful connections or information). There may also be some relatively enjoyable relationships that do little but distract from work (i.e., chatting, non-work activities, and gossip). There may also be people in the network who dislike or are in competition with the individual, and who engage in non-disclosure, favouritism, bullying or sabotage (high social liability).

2. *High Social Capital / High Social Liability*

This scenario would potentially be very consuming in terms of emotion, effort and time. This person may be part of a well-functioning work group or team, there would probably be reciprocity and trust among some of the members (high social capital) and possibly some positive relational norms (such as information sharing and cooperation). The network would include visible, high status, skilled and

well networked individuals (i.e., "useful" connections). However, there may also be some relationships that do little but distract from work (chatting, non-work activities, gossip) or that are valuable but "expensive" in terms of effort and time. There may also be people in the network who dislike one another or are in competition, and who engage in non-disclosure, favouritism, bullying or sabotage.

3. *Low Social Capital / Low Social Liability*

Someone with this type of network would probably be part of a dysfunctional work group or team, or alternatively would be quite socially isolated at work, perhaps in a virtual or nominal team with little interaction or task interdependence. People would perhaps work independently of and isolated from others. There would be low reciprocity and distrust (low social capital) as well as negative relational norms (such as non-disclosure, favouritism, bullying or sabotage). This may also describe loners in organisations who actively withdraw from joining social networks; or who may be highly task focussed and prefer to work alone. Team members, if any, may be low status, unskilled and poorly networked and, though the team members do not actively work against one another, neither do they distract from work.

4. *High Social Capital / Low Social Liability*

This is the "best" scenario. This person will be part of a well-functioning work group or team. Members would be trusting, and effort and interactions would be reciprocal. There would be positive relational norms (such as information sharing and cooperation). Team members would probably be visible, productive, high status, skilled and well networked, easily able to provide benefits to one another at work and, perhaps, in a wider social context. The team members do not actively work against one another, nor do they distract from work, interpersonal interaction is positive, useful and work-related.

In sum, we propose that high employee social liability is qualitatively different from "low social capital", and that being able to conceptualise and measure it within a workplace context will be useful both from an individual (working well-being) and organisational (organisational climate, productivity) perspective.

In the section that follows, we examine the relations among employee social liability and organisational issues including, cohesion, engagement, career success, organisational climate, well-being, and performance.

Antecedents to Employee Social Liability (ESL) in Organisations

The antecedents of ESL will originate from two sources, the individual and the organisation. We propose that some people, as a result of their personality, social skills and/or work related behaviour will go through life acquiring relatively more liabilities. These are perhaps those individuals that others would describe as being less "likable". In addition, there are organisational factors beyond interpersonal interactions; the wider organisational context or climate will either support or supress various behaviours of organisational members. There may be zero tolerance for the social demands of off-task communication, others may allow, or even encourage, competition between employees, and still others encourage trusting and collaborative workplace behaviour. All will be likely to have an impact on whether a particular employee will acquire liabilities as a result of their behaviour.

Failure to manage / maintain high quality relationships

The primary antecedent to the presence or acquisition of social liabilities is likely to be characteristics in an individual that relate to skill in, and focus on, maintaining good and long lasting interpersonal relationships – or, more precisely, a lack thereof. That is to say, characteristics related to having "low quality" relationships in one's social network.

Relationship quality has been measured in numerous ways by organisational researchers in the last 50 years (e.g., Carmeli, Brueller, & Dutton, 2009; Dansereau, Graen, & Haga, 1975; Duchon, Green, & Taber, 1986; Sias, 2005; Wat & Shaffer, 2004). At a peer or collegial level is thought to be a product of variables, such as trust, support and self-disclosure (Kram & Isabella, 1985; Odden & Sias, 1997; Sias, 2005; Sias & Cahill, 1998), at the supervisor / subordinate level, it is most commonly measured in the context vertical dyad linkage (Dansereau et al., 1975; Duchon et al., 1986) and leader member exchange (LMX) and is a function of reciprocal influence, extra contractual behaviour exchange, mutual trust, respect and liking, and a sense of common fate (Deluga & Perry, 1994; Dienesch & Liden, 1986; Gerstner & Day, 1997; Graen, Novak, & Sommerkamp, 1982; Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Kang & Stewart, 2007; Schriesheim, Castro, & Cogliser, 1999). The three antecedents that we propose will impact on the quality of work relationships are personality, emotional intelligence and deviant workplace behaviours. Each is described below.

1. *Personality*

The Big Five personality dimensions (openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and emotional stability) predict how we operate within relationships, both in and out of the workplace. Agreeable people have been found to be relatively more considerate, forgiving, nurturing, and tolerant, while disagreeable people are more likely to be inconsiderate, vengeful, argumentative, and uncooperative (Colbert, Mount, Harter, Witt, & Barrick, 2004). Therefore it seems likely that disagreeable individuals will be more likely to engage negatively with others in the workplace, exhibit interpersonally deviant behaviour and, as a result, acquire social liabilities (Mount, Barrick, & Stewart, 1998).

Conscientiousness, along with agreeableness, is thought to play a role in emotional regulation in both interpersonal and work settings (Larsen, 2000; Salovey & Mayer, 1990) and extraversion, and neuroticism have been found to influence the likelihood that individuals will experience negative emotions, with those scoring as both introverted and high in neuroticism being more likely to experience negative mood (Larsen, 2000; Larsen & Ketelaar, 1989; Larsen & Ketelaar, 1991).

The recent literature on maladaptive personality in both clinical (Krueger, Derringer, Markon, Watson, & Skodol, 2012) and workplace (Guenole, 2014) settings also informs our propositions here. Given that maladaptive personality reflects the very extremes of normal-range personality constructs, it may occur too infrequently to be of use in predicting ESL widely, nonetheless, it gives weight to our proposition regarding the relationship between the Big Five and failure to create and maintain high quality relationships (Dilchert, Ones, & Krueger, 2014).

Proposition 1 and 2: Those with low emotional stability (negative affect), low extraversion (detachment), low agreeableness (antagonism), low conscientiousness (disinhibition), and high openness (psychoticism) will be more likely to both engage in deviant behaviours (Path 5), and also to fail in creating and maintaining high quality relationships (Path 6) (See Figure 1).

2. Emotional Intelligence

In the context of acquiring social liabilities, we are interested in the skills or characteristics of the individual that are likely to influence the initiation, management and maintenance of high quality relationships. Social and emotional competence are the most obvious antecedents to these abilities and the theory of emotional intelligence proposed by Salovey and Mayer (1990) provides a framework to examine these competencies. Emotional intelligence (as measured by the MEIS or the MSCEIT) has been found to be related to increased pro-social behaviour and positive peer relationships (Mayer, 1998; Salovey, Mayer, Caruso, & Lopes, 2001), and to negatively predict poor relations with friends, maladjustment and negative behaviour, particularly for males (Brackett, Mayer, & Warner, 2004). Consequently, we expect to find emotional intelligence to the negatively related to effective relationship creation and maintenance.

Proposition 3: Those with low emotional intelligence, particularly the factors associated with social competence, will have more low quality relationships and/or negative relationships, fewer high quality relationships and consequently relatively higher levels of social liabilities (Path 7).

3. "Bad" behaviours

Bad or deviant behaviour in the workplace has received a great deal of attention from scholars in recent years (Bennett & Robinson, 2000; Griffin & Lopez, 2005; Lee & Allen, 2002; Robinson & Bennett, 1995). Deviant behaviour can be defined as "…voluntary behavior that violates significant organizational norms and in so doing threatens the well-being of an organization, its members, or both*"* (Robinson & Bennett, 1995; p. 556). It includes verbal abuse, such as being quarrelsome (Albert & Moskowitz, 2014; Moskowitz, 2010) and aggressive (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010; Neuman & Baron, 2005), highly politicised activity, such as favouritism and gossip, withholding work effort, physical violence, bullying (Einarsen, 1999; Einarsen & Skogstad, 1996; Gardner et al., 2013), sexual harassment and even sabotage (Griffin & O'Leary-Kelly, 2004). Deviant behaviours which impact on the quality and quality of collegial relationships are termed interpersonal deviance whereas those which are more directly harmful to the organisation, such as working on personal matters, stealing from the organisation or "slacking off" at work, are termed organisational deviance (Bennett & Robinson, 2000).

Thus, not all deviant behaviour is related to interpersonal interaction so, as well as having a profound negative impact on the quality of collegial relationships, it is reasonable to assume that individuals engaging in organisational deviance would also acquire relatively more social liabilities in their networks through the negative perceptions their colleagues would have of their behaviour (i.e., stealing from the organisation, dragging out work to get overtime or spending too much time day-dreaming) (Bennett & Robinson, 2000).

Proposition 4 and 5: "Bad" behaviour will be related to deficits in creating and maintaining high quality relationships (Path 8) and there is also a proposed direct link from bad behaviour to employee social liabilities (Path 9).

Taken together (propositions 1-5) predict a relationship between the individual level factors and relationship quality / maintenance. As stated earlier, we propose that this higher level construct will be a key predictor of ESL.

Proposition 6: The failure to manage / maintain high quality relationships will predict whether or not employees acquire social liabilities at work (Path 10)

Organisational climate

Organisational climate can be defined as the shared perceptions and meaning attached to policy, practice and procedures, as well as the specific organisational behaviours that are rewarded, supported and expected (Schneider, Ehrhart, & Macey, 2013). Alternatively, it can be conceptualised as the degree of trust, morale, conflict, equity, leader credibility, resistance to change, and scapegoating (Burton, Lauridsen, & Obel, 2004). We propose a two-way, interactive relationship between employee social liabilities and organisational climate, whereby a poor organisational climate will create an environment conducive to the existence of (or at least one tolerant of) negative relationships, bullies and deviant behaviours (Vartia, 1996). In addition, it is likely that a workplace where people are working against one another and acting in ways detrimental to their colleagues' careers and well-being (i.e. social liabilities) will be one that would be characterised as having a negative climate.

Proposition 7: Increased ESL in a workplace will have an impact on the organisational climate in an organisation, in addition, more negative or toxic climates will foster relatively more ESLs for employees (Path 11).

Consequences of Employee Social Liability

1. *Well-being*

Employee well-being is a multi-dimensional construct that goes well beyond job satisfaction to include notions, such as job-induced stress, fatigue, work-life conflict, and happiness (Boxall & Macky, 2014). Individual well-being is, in part, a function of the quality of the relationships an employee has with other people at work and in the wider community, influenced by the degree of trust, reciprocity, social support and cooperation experienced in those relationships (Grant, Christianson, & Price, 2007). Drawing on the Job Demands-Resources Model (Bakker & Demerouti, 2008; Bakker, Demerouti, de Boer, & Schaufeli, 2003; Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001), we propose that individuals with higher levels of social liabilities in their social network will be faced with increased demands on their resources in order to manage these relationships, thereby resulting in higher job stress and reduced satisfaction with the job. The more effort required to deal with these negative relationships, the greater the strain experienced (Hakanen, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2006). Adding to this, relationship difficulties at work could also negatively spill-over into non-work life resulting in work-life conflict (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux, & Brinley, 2005; Halbesleben, Harvey, & Bolino, 2009).

Proposition 8: Increased Employee Social Liabilities will decrease worker well-being at work (Path 12) (see Figure 1).

2. *Work Engagement*

The concept of engagement is relatively new and replete with conflicting definitions. At a general level, engaged employees invest physical, emotional and cognitive energy in their work, are psychologically present and absorbed in their work, are cognitively focused, and emotionally connected with others in the delivery of their tasks (Kahn, 1990, 1992). Extending this, we draw on Schaufeli and Salanova's (2011) differentiation between work and employee engagement in that the former deals with the relationship people have with their work, rather than with their occupation, role

or organisation. Kahn (1990) theorised that a direct psychological precondition of engagement is that of safety, with perceptions of social support and relationships primary influences of perceived safety. According to Kahn (1990), supportive managers and interpersonal relationships based on trust lead to experiences of psychological safety with others. On this basis, we posit that employees with a high level of social liability in their workplace social network are unlikely to also express high levels of engagement in their work. More, specifically, there is evidence that resources are important drivers of employee work engagement and that this relationship is reciprocal (Bakker, Demerouti, & Xanthopoulou, 2012). We, therefore, draw on the Job Demands-Resources Model to suggest a motivational process, whereby poor low-quality workplace relationships characterised by distrust, task distractions and low cooperation result in higher demands on resources to cope, leading to disengagement with work. At its extreme, social liabilities could, therefore, be manifested in increased emotional exhaustion and cynicism towards others. Furthermore, conservation of resources (COR) theory (Hobfoll, 2001) proposes that we strive to protect and accumulate resources. Employees with more resources than that needed to meet the demands of the job are more likely to be engaged employees (Halbesleben, 2011). We, therefore, argue that social liability demands decrease the available resources employees need to achieve their work tasks and goals, thereby reducing work engagement.

Proposition 9: Increased Employee Social Liabilities will decrease levels of employee engagement (Path 13).

3. Career success

It is widely accepted that social capital influences career success (Burt, 1992; Gabbay & Zuckerman, 1998) and the importance of using one's social networks in the achievement of career goals features regularly in both academic and practitioner literature. For example, Seibert, Kraimer, and Liden (2001) found that having the increased social resources that social capital provides enhances an individual's career through access to information, access to resources and career sponsorship. Lin and Dumin (1986) also established a strong link between social capital and career success. They found that access to desirable, high status occupations was provided by both having a strong social position (e.g., coming from a "good" family) and through social ties (friends and acquaintances).

We propose that social liabilities would also have an impact of career success, albeit a negative one. Because it is the antithesis of social capital, we propose that impact on one's career of having social liabilities would be far greater than that of simply having "low social capital". For example, having low status, unskilled, or very few members in your network would offer few social resources so would be unlikely to aid in your career progress, but neither would it necessarily be harmful. On the other hand, having someone who dislikes or does not respect you, and is willing to put effort into activities, such as negative rumour and gossip, sabotage and deliberate obstruction could actually do great damage your career.

Imagine if you will, a situation where a psychologist, previously working in the hospital system goes for a job within a private practice. It turns out that someone on the interview panel worked with her 10 years ago, supervising her as a new graduate. If this senior psychologist had a good experience of the supervisory experience, and respected the hard work and intellect of the candidate, she would likely recommend her to the rest of the panel before the interview even took place. The candidate would, almost without a doubt, be shortlisted for the position. On the other hand, if the panel instead heard that the candidate was slightly neurotic, a bit lazy, rude, and unsympathetic to clients, she would perhaps not even be offered an interview, and would have no chance to redeem herself or to show how she had changed in the intervening decade.

The above illustrates the power of social capital and social liabilities, respectively. On the other hand, having no social capital in this situation would perhaps be reflected by the case of an international candidate interviewing for the same job; a candidate judged solely by her CV and the interview. She would not have the advantage of a supporter on the panel (social capital), but neither would she be haunted and ultimately punished by a year of "bad behaviour" (Bennett & Robinson, 2000) as a new graduate (social liability). These examples illustrate, once again, the importance of conceptualising social liability as a phenomena quite separate from simply having low social capital.

Proposition 10: Increased Employee Social Liabilities will negatively impact long term career success (Path 14).

4. Group/ team cohesion

We propose that a negative relationship would exist between increased social liabilities and team cohesion, because many of the accepted antecedents to cohesion are less likely to take place in an environment characterised by negative social interactions.

Envy, for example, is both likely to elicit the acquisition of social liabilities, and has been found to reduce cohesion (Duffy & Shaw, 2000). We propose that the envy of others may mean that an individual will acquire more social liabilities. This is because envy includes the perception that a person lacks another's superior achievement or belongings and, further, they either desire it or (importantly) they *wish the other lacked it* (Duffy & Shaw, 2000), necessitating ill feeling towards the envied other. According to Vecchio (1995), who adapted social psychology findings to a work setting, the potential reactions to envy at work may include sabotage, back-stabbing, harassment or ostracism of the rival, and bolstering one's own self-image. Thus envy will logically create saboteurs, enemies and "haters", individuals working against one another, fitting well with our conceptualisation of ESL.

In addition, numerous studies with a focus on cohesion outline indicators of cohesion that are conceptually opposite to ESL. For example, a feeling of identification and attraction to the group (Johnson & Johnson, 1991), group members getting along and helping each other (Koys & DeCotiis, 1991), and the presence of friendliness, helpfulness and trust (Boxx, Odom, & Dunn, 1991).

Proposition 11: Increased Employee Social Liabilities will decrease cohesion in the workplace (Path 15).

5. Performance

Extending the above propositions regarding the proposed impact of ESL on well-being, engagement, career success, and cohesion, we anticipate that these will mediate both team and individual performance. In turn, team and individual performance influence organisational outcomes (see Figure 1).

Proposition 12: Increased Employee Social Liabilities will have a negative impact on performance via reduced employee wellbeing, lower work engagement and low cohesion (path 16).

Conclusions

The research reviewed suggests that the acquisition of social liabilities could have profound negative and long lasting effects on individuals in several ways, including their well-being, performance and, ultimately, career success. Social liabilities can cause harm to individuals through exposure to negative acts, it will be likely to reduce collegiality through the acquisition of distrusting and uncooperative relationships, and the social costs inherent in distraction and social demands will reduce productivity and achievement in a variety of ways. A long term impact of ESL is the harm to the careers of those who acquire it; even if they change jobs or move to a different organisation. The "global village" and the rise of social networking mean that the ease with which people can be contacted and researched allows bad behaviour witnessed, and enemies acquired, to haunt an individual for decades after an event.

The propositions suggested in this paper are eminently testable and, therefore, provide future research directions towards understanding the effects of ESL at both the individual and organisational level. Before this can take place, however, a valid and reliable measure of ESL needs to be devised. A variety of measures of the four underlying components (social demand, negative acts, lack of reciprocity and distrust) exist and these must to be researched, reviewed and tested for their predictive power as parts of the higher level construct, ESL. The nomological network of this new construct needs to be tested and the resulting scale needs to be validated. This will be the aim of the authors moving forward with this project.

At the individual level, an awareness of the potentially destructive impact that social liabilities bring is of great importance. Most white collar workers and business owners are cognisant of social capital, if not by name, then by meaning. They know that creating relationship networks, knowing "useful" people, and being owed favours will help them, both in their daily work and in their long-term career. At the supervisory / management level, it is important that there is an awareness of the antecedents and potential outcomes of this phenomenon and to be aware of the variety of contextual and personal factors that engender a network filled with liabilities and how the damaging impacts of social liabilities might be managed.

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‘Re-validating Contracting’ as an Approach to Forming Lasting Employment Relationships in Small Businesses

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Abstract

The use of the psychological contract concept in management teaching has not been developed well according to Conway and Briner (2005), who suggest that this is because of the implicit nature of the concept and the vast array of its potential components. This paper addresses the question of how a psychological contract perspective makes sense of employment relations practices and provides key guidelines for managers on how they should be conducted in a world of individual employment relationships. In 1996, the ‘Contracting’ process (Tipples, 1996) was presented as the key to employment relations as it sought to achieve mutually balanced psychological contracts between willing employers and willing employees. This paper shows that contracting continues as a valid and simple strategy for developing open, trusting, and productive employment relationships today across all cultures. It has been reinforced by more recent research.

Introduction

In July 2014, the focus of the 3rd Small Group Psychological Contract Conference in Toronto was ‘Mobilizing PC Knowledge’. Since reading Jay Lorsch’s (1979) paper ‘On making behavioural science more useful’, I had set out to use psychological contract (PC) as a foundational concept of my employment relations teaching because, as Kurt Lewin (1951: 169) said: “There is nothing so practical as a good theory”. After more than 50 years of research, the psychological contract seems to bridge well the rigour-relevance gap described by Hodgkinson and Rousseau (2009). These biennial meetings (Tilburg, 2010, Canberra 2012, Toronto 2014) have more than demonstrated that, advancing the cases made previously by Latornell (2007) and DelCampo (2007).

One of the key barriers to the development and acceptance of the psychological contract construct has been its psychological contract name. An ‘old school’ Australian Industrial Relations academic had once described the term to me as “…too touchy, feely…”, while Charles Handy (1990: 35) used the term “secret contract”, but most have preferred to stick with term “psychological contract”. One helpful development has been the shift in focus to employment relations “deals” (Herriot & Pemberton, 1995; Wellin, 2007), which was taken up and featured further in *The Future of HR Programmes* of the UK’s *The Work Foundation* (Sullivan, Wong, Adusumilli, Albert, Blazey, Hugget & Parker, 2009; Wong, Blazey, Sullivan, Zoltoukhova, Albert & Reid, 2010). The “deal” terminology derives form Peter Herriot and Carole Pemberton’s 1995 book *New Deals – The revolution in managerial careers*, which was being written at the same time as the author’s sabbatical at Griffith University in 1994, when the background research for my original contracting approach was developed. That is a simpler, less intimidating, and more comprehensive title for the typical small-medium

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enterprises (SME) employer, although authors do not completely agree on the degree of overlap of the two titles. It also addresses the charge of employment relations becoming too 'psychologised' and losing contact with the real world of work and employment (Godard, 2014).

This paper addresses the question of how did and does 'Contracting'[1] operate to form lasting employment relationships for SMEs. Is the approach developed in New Zealand agriculture in the 1990s still appropriate for SMEs without HR personnel in 2014? In 1996, the 'Contracting' process (Tipples, 1996) was presented as the key to employment relations for small employers as it sought to achieve mutually balanced psychological contracts between willing employers and willing employees, which would promote staff longevity, improved job satisfaction and productivity, while reducing staff turnover (Kotter, 1973). This paper shows that contracting continues as a valid and simple strategy for developing open, trusting, and productive employment relationships.

The question is worth examining further because short periods of employment and staff turnover are costly for small employers, much more than generally realised (e.g. Nettle, Semmelroth, Ford, Zheng & Ullah, 2011; Billikopf, 2014), and they involve substantial incidental costs, for example the training of new staff and loss of valuable management time. Managers of SMEs have multiple roles (Mintzberg, 1973), but do not want to outsource the recruitment/selection/induction of staff because *they are their choice for their business*. Yet, they cannot afford the time for continual training and development of new staff when they need to devote their energy to managing their business. This has been highlighted recently by empirical research findings: (1) that the employment of migrant staff and less consequent staff turnover has led to improvements in staff management and business organisation because managers are not so busy finding new New Zealand staff that they actually have time to think about what they are doing, and correspondingly manage better (Tipples & Bewsell, 2010); and (2) because seasonal migratory workers returning under New Zealand's Recognised Seasonal Employer Scheme do not need as much retraining and help train new inexperienced migrant workers (Yuan, Cain & Spoonley, 2014; Tipples & Rawlinson, 2014)

The original 'Contracting' approach was developed from searching the empirical literature up to 1994 and citing the relevant supporting pieces of work for each of the four suggested stages of making new jobs – Pre-creation, Creation, Maintenance, and Conclusion – whether from the employer's or employee's view of the process (see Table 1, Tipples, 1996). That was reinforced in a meeting with Peter Herriot (Personal Communication, Sundridge Park Management Centre, November 25, 1994), one of the early UK supporters and users of the psychological contract. Then evidence for 're-validation' has been drawn from certain key publications, meta-studies and ongoing research. While in 1994, it was possible to read most of the key empirical studies, by 2014, that had become impossible with the exponential growth in psychological contract research and publications (Tipples & Verry, 2007; Tipples, 2012[2]).

The main evidence for re-validation is provided by 'Psychological Contract Theory 2.0' (Montes, Rousseau & Tomprou, 2012; Rousseau, Montes & Tomprou, 2013, 2014), which also uses a four stage process to explicate the development of employment relationships from a psychological contract perspective. This is achieved by comparing and contrasting the two four stage processes and highlighting similarities and differences. It is argued that PCT 2.0 and other recent research reinforces or develops the earlier findings, but does not show any critical differences to how it is proposed an SME employer without HR support should address their staffing issues.

Table 1: Phases in psychological contract formation - actions to achieve effective employment relationships (Tipples, 1996, 2005)

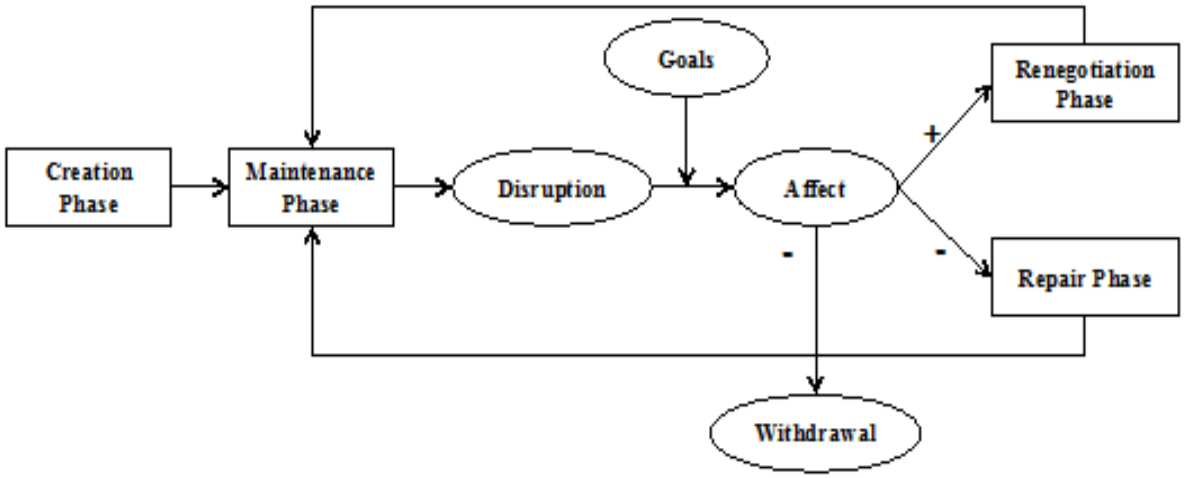
Process stage	SME employers	SME employees
1. Pre-creation	Establishing a caring image to encourage positive beliefs about the boss as employer. At an individual level, plenty of accurate information about the job should be provided; questions answered; work visits permitted; contact with current employees encouraged etc.	Self-discovery: What the individual wants; what they can offer the firm; and what their labour market value is.
2. Creation	Being careful to avoid confusion in contract terms and how they are perceived by maintaining close coordination between the boss and other staff selectors. Minimising the use of external agents by ensuring the boss or key managers are actually involved in the contracting process. At an individual level using realistic job descriptions (RJDs), realistic recruitment (RR) and realistic orientation programmes for new employee stress (ROPES); and permitting genuine negotiation as part of the two-way process of contract formation.	Actively inform the boss or manager what they want and can offer; and discover what they want and can offer. Negotiate with firm representatives.
3. Maintenance	Maintaining open communication with employees about future changes, the firm's organisational environment etc. Being careful to avoid managerial actions which can lead to adverse changes in employees' perceptions of the boss as a trustworthy and 'good' employer; and any form of contract violation. Providing regular feedback as part of on-going performance appraisals, leading to regular re-negotiation of employment contracts.	Monitor changes in the business and their own needs and wants. Then decide whether these merit renegotiation of the contracts, and if so, renegotiate.
4. Conclusion of job	Being seen to be fair and just in terminations in terms of following "due process". Unfair procedures and compensation send deleterious messages to survivors of terminations, which may increase survivors' turnover and make future recruitment more difficult.	Renegotiate satisfactory new contracts, or exit for other employment or retirement

Kotter (1973) had highlighted the need to achieve more matches in expectations through more thinking, discussion and understanding of their mutual expectations between the parties to a psychological contract, as a way of improving job satisfaction, job longevity and work productivity. It was that research and that of his mentor, Edgar Schein (e.g. *Organisational Psychology*, 1965, 1970, 1980) that profoundly influenced my personnel management teaching as I sought to implement 'evidence-based teaching' before it became fashionable (Rousseau, 2006; Guest, 2007; Rousseau & Barends, 2011) when I commenced lecturing in early 1978. My aim was to teach students to achieve good psychological contracts through balanced expectations between prospective employers and employees when setting up new employment relationships. Then, I had many students who were going to become employers in micro-businesses. Psychological contract provided them with a useful organising construct for establishing new employment relationships without specialist HR advice. That opinion still holds for all forms of SMEs, which do not have specialist HR personnel, but equally too for those that do (e.g. McPhail, Jerrard & Southcombe, 2015).

That policy was based on what later became called a policy of 'Realistic Recruitment' (Wanous, 1992; Wanous, Poland, Premack & Davis, 1992; Tipples, 1996). It seemed intuitively right to me with my limited management and teaching experience. I did not concern myself to find other supporting research for this position at that time. The strategy was demonstrated empirically for New Zealand dairy farming (Tipples, Hoogeveen & Gould, 2000). More generally, research backing was convincingly provided by Bauer, Bodner, Erdogan, Truxillo & Tucker (2007), Wellin (2007), and Baur, Buckley, Bagdasarov & Dharmasiri (2014). Tomprou and Nikolau (2011) highlighted the role of psychological contract on organisational entry and concluded that it would assist career management, a subject previously highlighted by Herriot (1992a: 357). They add: "…understanding how the psychological contract is created may assist practitioners to comprehend employment relationships better and manage them accordingly." – the basis of my 1996 argument. They also identify the critical role of sensegivers and implicit messages in psychological contract formation. Subsequently, Tomprou joined Rousseau and Montes in a concise charting of psychological contract evolution, drawing on worldwide research (Rousseau, Tomprou & Montes, 2013).

I was first exposed to these developments when, at the second Psychological Contract Group Workshop (Canberra, 2012), "Psychological Contract Theory 2.0" (Montes et al., 2012) I was excited because Montes and colleagues Rousseau and Tomprou's approach closely paralleled my own 'Contracting' approach (Tipples, 1996). Montes introduced PCT 2.0 with a review of research on dynamic self-concepts and how they influenced the formation of psychological contracts. That was expanded into the four phase model of employment relationship formation, with the four phases being Creation, Maintenance, Renegotiation and Repair. My Contracting model had also had four parts: Pre-creation, Creation, Maintenance and Conclusion, but I had called them stages. In Montes' model the Renegotiation/Repair phases were placed around two other events: Disruptions and Withdrawals.

Figure 1: Rousseau, Montes & Tomprou's (2013: 12) Phase model of Psychological Contracts

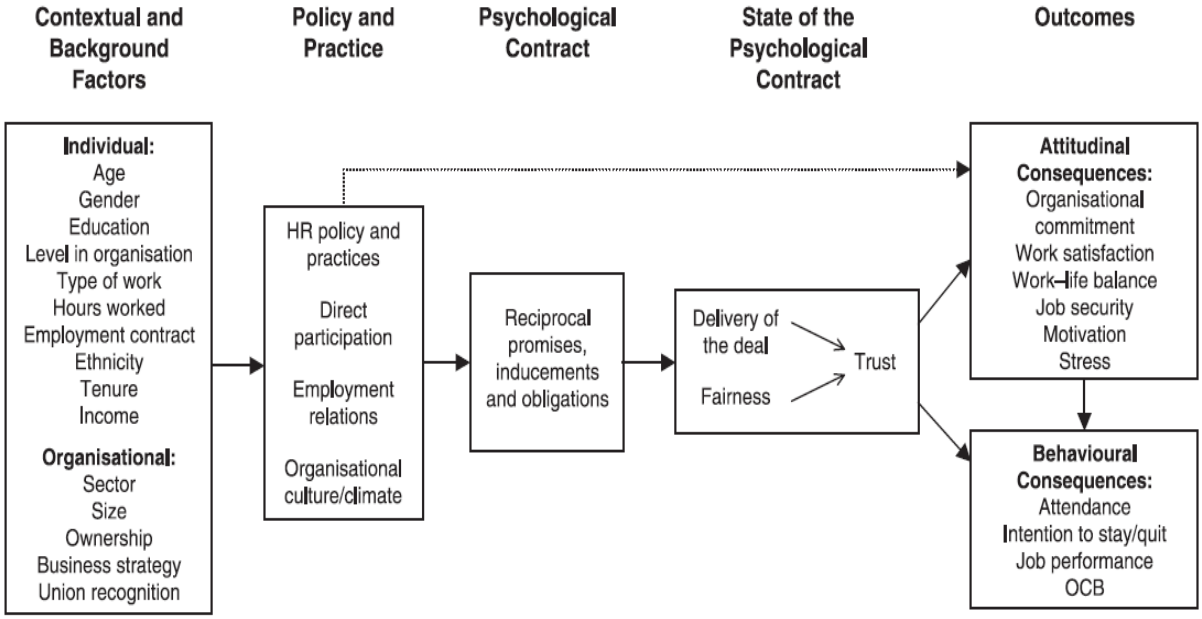


In employment relationships, disruptions inevitably occur whether from changed circumstances or context, or negative behaviours. My model did not highlight disruptions, but assumed them into the maintenance and conclusion phases. In effect, the maintenance phase involved regular renegotiation and repairs as might result from regular staff appraisal and development meetings. If these could not happen or were unsuccessful, one enters the Conclusion phase either for Termination (involuntary departures) or Withdrawal (voluntary departures).

Achieving good job conclusions sent back positive feedback to future employees about the nature of working for a particular employer. Montes suggested their four phase approach highlighted the role of goals and how changing goals were expressed in dynamic PCs. Also, that it clarified the links between promises, general expectations and perceived obligations, which all contribute to why PCs change over time and why not all disruptions are reacted to negatively. Her claim that recognition of employee power was a new contribution seemed rather naïve to me as someone who had been involved in employee organisations all of his working life, but the inclusion of a coherent set of exchange behaviours was a valuable addition, as was highlighting the conceptual differences between repair and renegotiation as a future direction for research. Subsequently, PCT 2.0 has been formally published and employee power has been dropped as a key component of the revised model. In my opinion, that diminution of employee agency is one of the greatest weaknesses of American psychological contract research, but it has to be recognised that the role of the employee as an active party in psychological contract negotiation and re-negotiation is highlighted in the most recent version of their paper (Rousseau et al., 2014).

To highlight the progress in the development of psychological contract theory, and the contributions of key actors, three other views are presented besides Rousseau et al.'s Psychological Contract Theory (2015): Guest (2004), Wong et al., (2010), Windle & von Treuer (2014).

Figure 2: Guest's (2004: 550) Framework for applying the psychological contract to the employment relationship

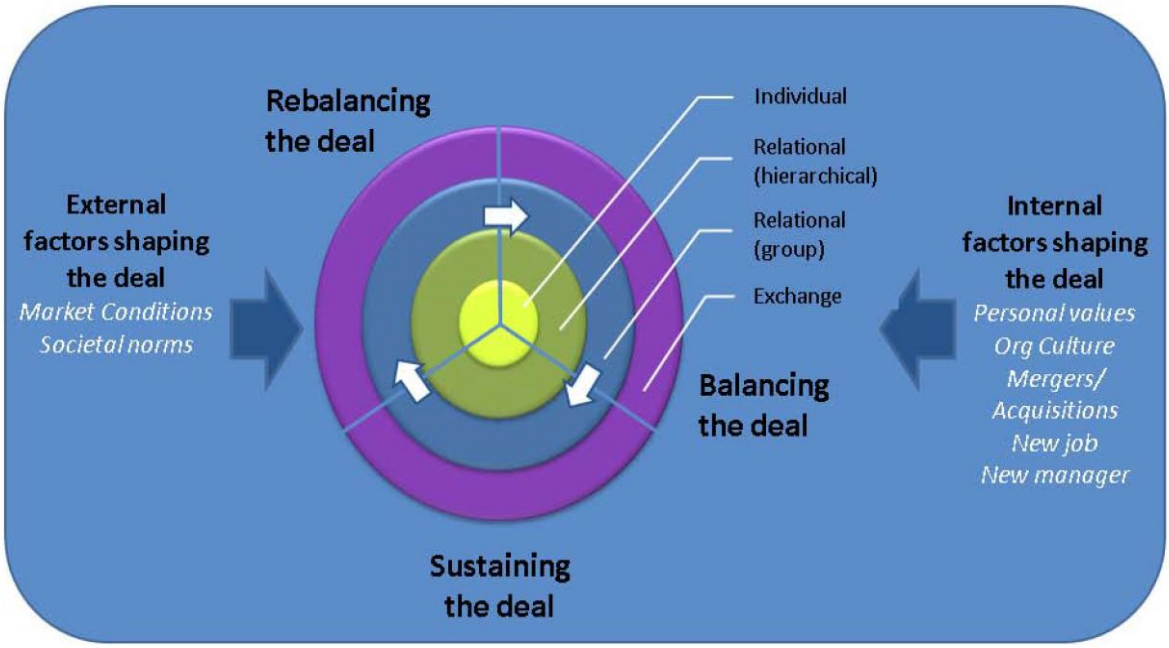


In Guest's (2004) systems diagram, the first two parts from the left could be said to be the Pre-creation and Creation phases; the third and fourth columns, 'Psychological Contract' and 'State of the Psychological Contract' cover the overlap between the Creation phase and the Maintenance phase; while the last column 'Outcomes' corresponds to the overlap between Maintenance and Conclusion phases.

Wong et al. (2010) seek to integrate the psychological and formal elements of the employment relationship, while transcending both the content and/process approaches to the nature of relationships. Simultaneously, they emphasise the make-up of the deal and how its inherent tensions play out (See Table 2 & Figure 3), with a specific focus on the individual employee, which they regard as the key to 'value creation' (Wong, et al., 2010: 10):

> The *deal framework* integrates both the psychological and formal elements of the employment relationship and seeks to transcend the description of the relationship as using either a content or process approach; the framework simultaneously emphasises both the make-up of the deal and how the tensions inherent within it play out…It unashamedly focuses on the individual employee, a fundamental player in value creation within organisations, but offers those with an interest in people management a new perspective on the dynamics of employee conceptualisation of their employment deal.

Figure 3: The lifecycle of an employment deal built on psychological contract (Wong et al., 2010: 12)



The deal framework is unique as it captures both *those* participating in the deal and the *processes* that *they* engage in at the same time. Wong et al. (2010: 10-11) believe it is the identification of *how* employees perceive their deal rather than *what* they see that is critical.

Moving away from the psychological contract framed within the employers' terms and realities, the deal framework recognises, based on Wong et al.'s, (2010: 37) research, the agency of the employee in shaping and interpreting the employer's offer. As such it provides insight into individual motivations, engagement, and ultimately performance (Table 2):

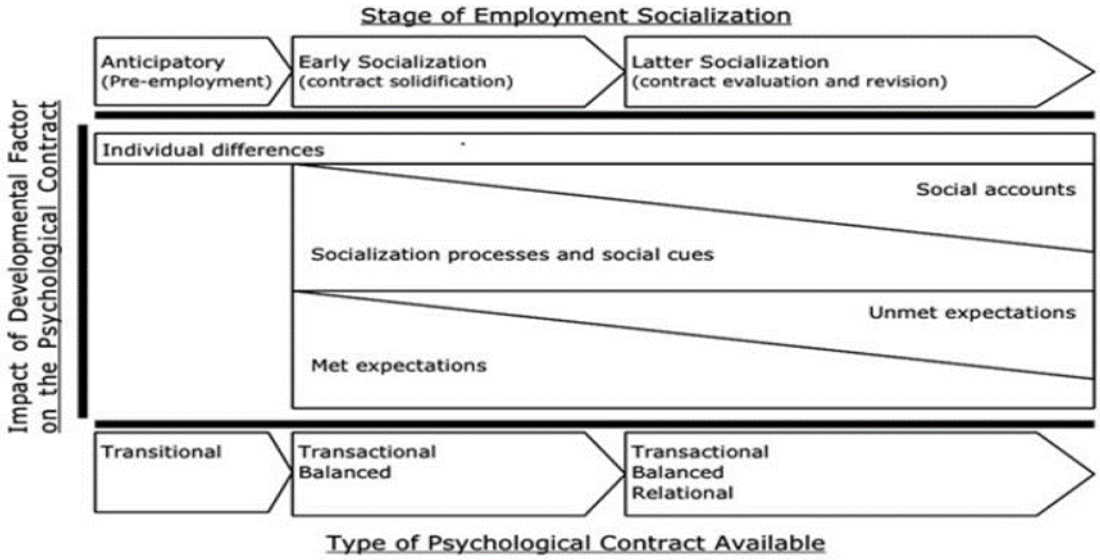
> …although the employer can shape and frame the deal on offer, the formation of the psychological contract is firmly within the control of the employee. The deal framework thus places the *individual* – their values, their attitudes, their life phases and their expectations – centre stage of the engagement equation.

Windle and von Treuer (2014), from a recent survey of the psychological contract literature, have developed an as yet untested temporal model of psychological contract formation. They refer to three stages of socialisation which take place in the formation of a psychological contract, but those are then divided into five stages: Pre-employment, Recruitment, Early socialization, Evaluation and Revision. (Figure 4). They also usefully distinguish between theory as a more rigid representation of reality and a model, which is quite similar but more fluid – less rigid – than a theory. While one piece of discrepant information can disprove a theory, a model is more accommodating of discrepancies.

Table 2: The deal framework (Wong et al., 2010: 15)

		ACHIEVING A BALANCED DEAL			SUSTAINING THE DEAL		REBALANCING THE DEAL		
		A. The deal is balanced when:	B. I perceive my obligations in terms of:	C. I perceive my gain in terms of:	D. I place value on:	E. I perceive my own value in terms of:	F. If an imbalance occurs, the deal is maintained by:	G. My ability to change the deal is dependent on:	H. My resilience to potential breaches is limited by:
THE LENSES THROUGH WHICH AN EMPLOYEE VIEWS THEIR CONTRACT SIMULTANEOUSLY	**1. Individual** How the deal supports and reinforces my sense of personal identity	1A. My values and ideology match with those of the organisation. This reinforces my initial choice of employer.	1B. My own sense of personal responsibility and the professional standards that I adhere to.	1C. The degree to which I am able to satisfy my individual needs and meet my personal goals and future aspirations.	1D. The extent to which my work environment is congruent with my own personal values and remains so. Also whether organisational practices are applied consistently.	1E. Whether I meet my individual standards of success. This may be internally or externally validated.	1F. Finding personal meaning in my work and being able to act according to my own sense of professionalism and obligation. If my values are strongly aligned with those of the organisation, this is a powerful sustainer.	1G. My desire to change the terms of the deal and my perceived ability to influence this.	1H. My individual level of forbearance and the degree to which the breach impinges on my individual needs and values.
	2. Relational – Hierarchical How the deal is meeting my relational expectations and needs through my manager	2A. There is mutual trust between me and my employer that is based on both professional and personal affiliation.	2B. A duty to reciprocate the resources and trust invested in me.	2C. The degree to which I am assisted in gaining access to the resources, information and opportunities that meet my professional and personal needs. Also the extent to which my employer acts as my champion in the organisation.	2D. The extent to which my employer's behaviour upholds distributive and procedural justice, and they act with honesty and integrity. Also my employer's ability to use discretion in order to adapt or circumvent procedures to suit the needs of both parties.	2E. The extent to which I feel acknowledged and appreciated for my contribution. My employer's willingness to adapt the terms of my deal, provide me with autonomy and allow me to utilise my skills and expertise to their full extent.	2F. Loyalty and a sense of obligation to my employer. Also perceived opportunities to adapt the terms of my deal.	2G. The quality of my relationship with my employer. This will influence their willingness to change the deal for my benefit. It is also dependent on their capacity to overrule formal structures and procedures.	2H. The degree to which it affects my ability to continue to place trust in my employer.
	3. Relational – Group How the deal meets my relational expectations and needs through co-workers and peers.	3A. I am able to engage in meaningful interactions that support my needs.	3B. My responsibility to contribute to common goals in accordance with group norms.	3C. The level of work-based support I receive and the agreeableness of my social environment.	3D. Fairness of contribution amongst members of the group and a subculture of mutual support.	3E. The extent to which others acknowledge and confirm that my contribution to the group is critical and beneficial. The extent to which membership in the group has positive associations.	3F. The sense of security that I experience within the subculture.	3G. Whether I perceive my deal to be fair relative to others, and whether the subculture permits me changing my individual deal. Also dependent on whether I am able to enter into informal arrangements to undertake and share work.	3H. The extent to which it damages the feeling of security that I have as a result of being part of the group.
	4. Exchange What the organisation and I exchange in the deal	4A. There is a match between my expectations and the demands placed on me.	4B. Completing my designated duties to expected standards.	4C. How conducive my environment is to achieve what is expected of me. Also my continued employment, and/or opportunities for development.	4D. The organisation living up to its promises and espoused values. Also, the mutual respect that is based on consistent treatment and equity of the exchange.	4E. The level of tangible rewards I receive and the scope to adjust elements of the deal. Also the extent to which I am able to work autonomously and utilise my skills, and whether I could achieve a better exchange for my skillset and experience in another organisation.	4F. Finding value in other parts of the exchange or seeking compensating factors in to maintain the balance of the exchange. The extent to which I perceive that I am making an investment in the future. Also whether I perceive the imbalance to be caused by circumstances beyond their control.	4G. Whether I perceive that there is scope to change the deal and my level of bargaining power.	4H. The extent to which I believe that the imbalance can be readdressed.

Figure 4: Proposed model illustrating the relative effect of factors in the development of the psychological contract over time (Windle & von Treuer, 2014: 31)



Conclusions

First, nothing appears to have contradicted the original 'Contracting' approach for SMEs. Several studies have reinforced the findings on which the original 'Contracting' approach was based (e.g. Bauer et al., 2007, re. Kotter, 1973; Baur et al., 2014, re RJPs in Wanous et al., 1992). Some elements foreshadowed in 1996 (e.g. feedback loops) have become part of later models. The advocates of Psychological Contract Theory (Montes et al., 2015) have added some significant refinements to the Phase structure differentiating Re-Negotiation and Repair, but they have failed to engage seriously with the role of employees as central to working out the real nature of any specific psychological contract. This is a serious weakness as Contract Law has for centuries assumed that a contract is freely negotiated between two equal parties. Anything else is implying a degree of coercion on the part of the stronger party. Lord Diplock observed in 1980: "A basic principle of the common law of contract …is that the parties to a contract are free to determine for themselves what primary obligations they will accept" (Beale, 2015: 22).

Montes et al., (2015) also appear to have succumbed to meeting the publication requirements of the psychometric lobby and in so doing have moved their work away from the real world and social negotiation into the abstract heights of academe (Herriot, 1992b).

Table 3: Comparison of approaches to psychological contract formation

Study Characteristics	**Tipples 1996**	**Guest 2004**	**Wong et al., 2010**	**Rousseau 2014**	**Windle and von Treuer, 2014**
Stages/Phases	Pre-creation Creation Maintenance Conclusion	Systems Model, overlaps of phases	For each deal: Balancing Sustaining Re-balancing	Creation Maintenance Repair/Re-negotiation Withdraw	Pre-employment Recruitment Early socialisation Evaluation Revision
Employee focus	Balanced	Balanced	Strong	Weak	Strong
Feedback	Via 'Realistic' approach	Does not discuss but implied	Detailed table of views through different lenses	Distinguishes discrepancy and velocity feedback	Focus on perceived mutuality
Dynamics	Yes	Implied	Yes	Yes	Yes
Practical applicability	Focused SME application	Expresses causality not application	Yes, rooted in 'deals'	Too psych/ hypothesis based	Provides an applicable real world model
Use by others	Used by DairyNZ For farmer training in New Zealand	Frequently quoted	Basis of CIPD approach to practice rooted in PCs	Academic focus	A new integrated model has been developed. Untested psychometrically

Use of the relatively new term 'employment deal' has overcome the intimidating academic discourse of 'psychological contract' and provided a term more accessible to the common man. The Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development has highlighted, unashamedly, that good deals for individual employees, as fundamental players in 'value creation' for firms, are

a key to good employment relationships and economic success. Further, it may be argued that a 'Contracting' approach is still a simple way for small employers to address employment issues in a pragmatic and efficient way which delivers good and productive employment relationships.

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Notes

[1] 'Contracting' is not used here as in Transactional Analysis, but to refer to the mutual agreements achieved between employers and employees, whether that refers to expectations, perceptions of promises, or obligations, in an exchange environment with reciprocity (Retrieved from http:www.businessballs.com/psychological-contracts-theory.htm on 18 March 2014).

[2] When database ABI-Inform was searched (21 March 2014) for 'Psychological contract' there were 51,039 hits. Google Scholar listed some 17,900 publications.

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Commentary: The Dairy Workplace Action Plan, Kelly's 'Pledge Washing', and the Health and Safety at Work Act, 2015

RUPERT TIPPLES*

Abstract

The dairy farming industry has launched its *Dairy Workplace Action Plan* to tackle endemic employment problems of attracting and retaining staff, high staff turnover, changing career patterns and the increasing use of migrant workers, especially in non-traditional South Island dairy farming areas. The *Action Plan* is based on moving from mere compliance to having quality dairy farming workplaces through actions represented in five themes. However, Kelly has described this as 'pledge washing', which is a managerial strategy to avoid formal regulation. The *Action Plan* represents a continuation of the long run opposition of dairy farming employers to any form of worker organisation or formal participation. This continues to undermine pan industry public good organisations such as PrimaryITO.

The *Sustainable Dairying Workplace Action Plan* is the result of collaborative work primarily between DairyNZ and Federated Farmers. It addresses the increasingly high profile employment issues which have affected the dairy industry for many years – issues of attraction, recruitment and retention of staff, problems of high staff turnover, changed career prospects, the need for migrant workers, the lack of statutory compliance, and the shift of dairy farming southwards, together with a change to more employed rather than self-employed staff. A radical new plan was launched on 8 October at a Lincoln University Dairy Farm Focus Day by Minister for Primary Industries, Nathan Guy (Action Plan to attract skilled dairy workers, 2015, October 20). One of the key drivers for the Action Plan is the growing realisation that, in a competitive global environment, it is necessary to have products that are ethically produced from industries that exhibit good social responsibility to remain competitive. Hence, the desire for 'Good dairy employment'. The Action Plan sets a number of important precedents and marks a landmark day for the dairy industry.

It is very pleasing, after an academic lifetime teaching and researching rural employment relations and other subjects at Lincoln University, to see that these efforts may have had an influence on the Plan. One of the key ideas behind my research and teaching, known academically as the psychological contract, underpins much of the plan, although it is not mentioned directly. It refers to the mutuality of expectations between every employer and employee, supervisor and subordinate, principal and contractor, husband and wife, and so on – in fact every form of human relationship. Understanding the psychological contract is very useful for understanding problems of staff turnover. Another exciting feature is to see DairyNZ and Federated Farmers developing psychological contracts with themselves as representatives of the industry with the industry at large, by confirming their expectations for the five pillars on which the Action Plan is built. The Pillars are embodied in a simple diagram, in which a foundation of compliance supports the five pillars which in turn lead to a quality workplace.

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5 Pillars of Good People Management (DairyNZ & Federated Farmers, 2015)

Each of the pillars on which the accord is based would merit a separate article. Two key issues are recognised – the tyranny of long hours and poor rosters and excess staff member fatigue. The goal of DairyNZ and Federated Farmers is not just compliance, (the achieving of which has been seen up to now as a problem), but instead voluntary engagement by becoming 'Good Dairy Employers'. The latter is very similar to the 'Decent Dairy Farmers' identified by the industry in our recent Lincoln fatigue research funded by DairyNZ (Tipples, Hill, Wilson & Greenhalgh, 2013).

One research finding reported (DairyNZ & Federated Farmers, 2015) is that dairy farmers today rate farm employees as more important than other factors, such as pasture, herd quality and infrastructure in dairy farming's future. That is a significant change from the past. Moreover, careful reading of the Plan reveals that employees feature strongly in it, which is surprising in light of the furore over the introduction of the recent Health and Safety at Work Act. Farming was being expected to have employee health and safety representatives as a high risk industry. That had led, after lobbying, to farming being downgraded to only medium risk and, therefore, not needing such representatives (Rutherford, 2015). Under Pillar 3 of the new Workplace Action Plan, 'Wellness, Wellbeing, Health and Safety', the dairy industry recognises it has an unacceptable level of workplace accidents and is expected to improve its health and safety significantly. Under Pillar 5, 'Effective Team Culture', employers and employees are expected to work together in setting health and safety plans, but there is no mention of formal representation.

Another pleasing feature is the high profile given to the contribution of the migrant component of the farm work force. It is now some 10 per cent of the workforce at large but they are on temporary visas, which have an average duration of 1.5 years. Some 50 per cent of such migrants are from the Philippines. The Plan recognises the rapid growth in the number of migrant workers, particularly in the districts with a huge growth in dairying, such as Canterbury and Southland, but only hints at the need to enhance local communities in those areas, which historically have been some of the most homogeneous parts of New Zealand. If the industry wishes to encourage career building and community development in new dairy farming areas, as the Plan suggests, perhaps it should consider the next generation of dairy farmers being

Filipino, much as the Dutch impacted the industry in the 1950s (Krivokapic-Skoko, 2001). However, that will require significant changes to current immigration rules which seem to operate against Filipinos getting permanent residence status, although they are now a very valuable part of the industry (Poulter & Sayers, 2015; Poulter, Sayers & Tipples, 2016).

Current statistical and other information underpinning the 'Dairy Industry Strategy' and 'The New Zealand Dairy Story' is another helpful feature of the Action Plan. The information highlights the growth in the industry and dairy production, but unfortunately does not feature the contribution of the dairy industry to Gross Domestic Product – the New Zealand Economy. Dairy represents 47 per cent of all farming exports, demonstrating that the dairying industry is very important to the New Zealand economy.

However, if the Plan is examined from an employment relations point of view, it just confirms the unitary approach of Federated Farmers and DairyNZ, which goes back to the early days of the Arbitration system before World War I. Helen Kelly, former President of the Combined Trade Unions (CTU), made a point in her final speech as President (October 2015) that the process of development of the *Work Place Accord* had specifically rejected a participatory role for organised labour. In effect, the *Accord* is the farmers' view of how to solve their well-documented employment problems in ways that they say are in the best interests of employers and employees, regardless of what employees actually think. This continued a trend that was most prominent when dairy farm employers killed off the Farm Workers' Association, which had been created as an independent collective of farm employees not affiliated to the CTU under the Agricultural Workers Act 1977 (Angove, 1994; Tipples, 1995). Since then, there has been an on-going problem in many pan agriculture organisations such as the AgITO, now Primary ITO, which has a major role in farm safety training, finding someone to represent farm workers' views (Tipples, 2011). Kelly has described farming as "…this most important part of our economy (which) is still the wild west when it comes to employment practice."

She went on:

> We have highlighted this in the simplest of ways – using social media representing farm workers, gathering the data and using the mainstream media, and the industry has felt the pressure. Not enough pressure to fix this problem – only enough to look for alternate ways to counter the criticism. The industry continues to be extremely dangerous with no sign of improvement in accident numbers. 7 people have been killed on quad bikes alone in agriculture this year at the same time as the Minister passes law removing farm workers' rights in health and safety. But the latest move by DairyNZ, supported by the Feds and worst of all supported by Government departments is the attempt to 'pledge wash' the employment issues on farms.
>
> Pledging is the new black in this country. Since I took up this job everyone is doing it. Instead of bargaining, setting and maintaining standards etc. with unions, business draws up its pledge to address some issue where they are under fire and gets employers to sign it….The most recent example of this pledging is the just launched 'Sustainable Dairying Workplace Action Plan' which was launched last week – it was developed with the help of MBIE, Worksafe, ACC and MPI – they were all in there and the results speak volumes about what they view as aspirational for New Zealand farm workers. We approached DairyNZ when we heard about this initiative seeking for them to develop this with us and the workforce and with ambition.

> Documents on workers' rights should have a workers voice right? We were rejected both by the Federated Farmers and DairyNZ.

After giving some examples of new undesirable norms in the sector, she continued:

> This is an industry more and more reliant on migrant labour to feather its low wage survival. This new document (new pledge wash) notes the huge turnover in dairy and the fact that fewer and fewer registered unemployed are being engaged on farms, and that many farmers spend very little on training – but this document is as good as it gets and it will be used every time we raise concerns – oh yes, we are concerned they will say – and that is why we have this sensational charter – The pledge wash by DairyNZ shows in one way we are having an impact – our work has led to this charter. On the other hand Government departments that know their international obligations on worker rights and have relationships with the NZCTU think it is perfectly fine to collaborate on this document that is designed to create a fiction that the workforce issues on farms are being resolved by the industry - and most worryingly – both the Government departments and DairyNZ and the Feds are desperately trying to fight the reality that workers in the agriculture sector would be much better off joining a union for these matters to be fairly addressed. The last thing they want is that and together this collaboration is their push back against our campaign. It is our continuing obligation to expose this sort of malarkey and continue to speak on behalf of these workers and encourage them to organize (Kelly, 2015: 2-3).

So in Kelly's opinion, this example of 'pledge washing' will prove problematic for achieving higher standards quickly in the farming sector. With the Fed's focus on putting in place this 'pledge wash' that Kelly argues will slow progress because it is unenforceable, they may, in fact, have missed the much greater problems awaiting them in the Health and Safety at Work Act 2015, which came into effect on 4 April 2016. While they have avoided the issue of safety representation following ministerial intervention, they will still be bound by the central requirements of the Act. In effect, lack of necessity for safety representation may be a pyrrhic victory. Under the new Act every principal involved in a business (Person Conducting a Business or Undertaking – PCBU) will have a primary duty to ensure employees, and others affected by its work, can work in a safe and healthy environment. All PCBUs acquire personal liability for accidents occurring in the workplace. These will not be able to be avoided by blaming intermediaries or contractors and cannot be insured against. PCBUs will have to conduct hazard identification and appropriate training for hazard avoidance. Accidents, which have to be notified to WorksafeNZ, show a failure to do so and criminal liability comes back directly to the business owners including farmers. In future, escaping those responsibilities will be difficult and potentially incur penalties up to $600,000 and/or 5 years imprisonment for sole traders or officers and $3 million for companies.

DairyNZ and Federated Farmers have taken many brave steps with this accord, not only recognizing long hours and fatigue as problematic, but also recognising that competitive wage and salary rates that attract and retain talented people are required. However, still more could be done. For example, a system of collecting reliable data on hours worked, wages paid, incidences of work-related injuries and illnesses etc. needs to be established. Finally, recognition needs to be given to the changing demographics of the farm worker population and the changing nature of the work where individual's psychological contracts should to include freedom of association.

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