Stream 5: Human Resource Management

Competitive

Perceptions of precariousness and employment strain: The role of the manager

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Growth in non-standard employment has prompted researchers to investigate the implications for workers most at risk – those in precarious employment. Limited attention has focused on the employment relationship and particularly the role of the immediate supervisor as a potential source of employment strain for those in precarious work. Drawing on a model of employment strain this study uses data from in-depth interviews with casual employees to examine how managers influence elements of the employer-employee relationship and affect casual employees' experiences of precariousness. Overall, the study found that the employee-supervisor relationship plays a critical role in creating a workplace environment that can lessen or accentuate casual workers' perceptions of employment strain.

Keywords: Employment Relations, Stress and stress management, HRM, Work-Life Balance

A notable change in the nature of the employment relationship in many Western economies has been the sharp rise in various forms of non-standard employment (Ciairano, Rabaglietti, Roggero, & Callari 2010; Guest 2004; Hardy & Walker 2003; ILO, 2012). De Cuyper, de Jong, De Witte, Isaksson, Rigotti, and Schalk (2008) remark on the significance of this change, commenting that it is "…*one of the most spectacular and important evolutions in Western working life.*" (p.25). Growth in non-standard employment, a term that encompasses those work arrangements that are not full-time or permanent positions, is largely thought to be a product of demand by employers for greater labour market flexibility and efficiency (De Cuyper et al. 2008; Lewchuk, de Wolff, King & Polanyi 2003). The fact that the expansion of non-standard employment has not been at the behest of employees has prompted researchers to consider the adverse impact changes to the employment relationship might have on individuals, organizations, families, communities and societies. In particular, researchers have been interested in understanding the implications for those workers

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thought to be most at risk, that is, employees trapped in what has come to be called precarious employment.

Precarious employment includes various forms of non-standard working arrangements where there are few guarantees regarding continuity of employment, where workers have little or no control or power in the workplace, where there are few regulatory protections, and where there are low levels of remuneration (De Cuyper et al. 2008; Kim, Muntaner, Shahidi, Vives, Vanroelen & Benach 2012; Tucker, 2002). Some commentators and researchers have linked precarious employment to a range of potentially unfavourable social, health, safety and well-being outcomes. These include suggestions that precarious employment may contribute to class conflict, civil unrest, and voting for extreme political groups (Standing 2011); that precarious workers are less likely to be married (Ahitu & Lerman 2005) and are likely to have children later in life (De la Rica & Iza 2005); that they are less likely to be provided with training and development in the workplace (Dixon 2009; Draca & Green 2004); have lower levels of job satisfaction in comparison to full-time workers (Wilkin 2013); have poorer mental and physical health (De Cuyper et al. 2008; McNamara, Bohle & Quinlan 2011; Scott-Marshall & Tompa 2011); and are more likely to experience work-life conflict and to be exposed to interpersonal conflict and violence (McNamara et al. 2011).

While some studies have emphasized the serious, long-term negative consequences that might follow from precarious employment, other researchers have drawn attention to the inconsistent and contradictory nature of research findings concerning the impact of precarious work (Connelly & Gallagher 2004; De Cuyper et al. 2008; Guest 2004). The mixed findings reported in the research literature have been attributed to a wide range of factors, including definitional problems, heterogeneity amongst the workforce engaged in non-standard employment, the influence of potential moderators such as differences in welfare regimes and contract preference, and also to methodological limitations and conceptual issues associated with many of the research studies in this field (Connelly & Gallagher 2004; De Cuyper et al. 2008; Guest 2004; Kim et al. 2012). The narrow conceptual focus of much of the research on precarious employment has been singled out as

especially problematic (Clarke, Lewchuk, de Wolff & King 2007; De Cuyper et al. 2008;

McNamara et al. 2011; Scott-Marshall & Tompa 2011). This is because research addressing the

consequences of precarious employment often utilize conceptual models such as Work Stress

Theory (especially Krasek's Job Demand-Control model), social exchange theory, or social

comparison theory, models that focus largely on the immediate context and specific attributes of the

work role filled by the precarious employee.

In response researchers have looked to extend their conceptual frameworks to

accommodate the influence of broader labour market and institutional arrangements (De Cuyper et

al. 2008; Scott-Marshall & Tompa 2011). One model that has incorporated such factors is the

Employment Strain model developed by Lewchuk and colleagues (Clarke et al. 2007; Lewchuk,

Clarke & de Wolff 2008). This model acknowledges the potential of impoverished jobs as a source

of stress for precarious workers. However, it goes further and posits that characteristics of the

employment relationship itself can be an additional source of strain. Three major characteristics of

the employment relationship are thought to be especially influential in determining employment

strain; the uncertainty associated with maintaining and securing ongoing employment, the effort

required locating and preserving employment; and the degree and quality of support associated with

the employment relationship (see Figure 1). This model accepts that there are broader issues

embedded as part of the employer-employee relationship that can contribute to adverse outcomes

for those in precarious work, or as Clarke et al., comment, it '*recognizes that there are a further set*

of issues related to the control, effort and support beyond the workplace itself, issues associated

with getting work, keeping work, and negotiating terms and conditions of employment' (pp.312-

313).

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Insert Figure 1 about here

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Somewhat surprisingly the notion that employment relationship support might interact with

other elements of precarious work to shield employees, or possibly to worsen the impact of the

experience has not been widely investigated. In one of the few studies to explicitly focus on this issue Clarke et al. (2007) interviewed Canadian workers in precarious employment to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences and how it is that employment strain might affect their physical and mental well-being. They distinguished between three major categories of employees engaged in precarious employment; the unsustainable, the 'on-a-path', and the sustainable. Individuals in unsustainable precarious employment (those wanting permanent employment but mostly resigned to the fact that there was little scope for any change in their circumstances) and those 'on-a-path' (individuals wanting permanent employment and who viewed their current work arrangements as a stepping stone or as transitional) were more likely to report tension, stress and ill-health compared to those in sustainable precarious employment (individuals for whom the current employment relationship represented a contract of choice). These groups also had divergent experiences and perceptions of precarious employment, in part attributable to disparities in their access to different types and levels of support. Notably, the most precarious employees, and arguably those in most need, reported having the least access to support and were the most likely to feel isolated, both socially and in the workplace.

While the Clarke et al. (2007) study focused on a range of individual and collective support mechanisms within, and external to the workplace, supervisor or manager support was not considered. This is unusual given that research in other domains has shown that the quality of the leader-follower relationship can affect employee satisfaction, commitment, and trust (Gerstner & Day 1997) and that supervisor support is influential in reducing occupational strain and enhancing employee well-being (Luchman & Gonzalez-Morales, 2013). Interestingly, case study research commissioned by the New Zealand Department of Labour investigating precariousness in selected industries confirmed that worker perceptions of precariousness arise from a combination of the job being done, the wider work context and the personal characteristics of the individual worker (Web Research, 2004). Moreover, the report also highlighted the influential role of the immediate supervisor in ameliorating perceptions of precariousness. This project extends that work by drawing

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on the Employment Strain model to explore how managers/supervisors can influence elements of the employer-employee relationship and affect casual workers' perceptions of precariousness. In contrast to much of the research on precarious employment that has utilized quantitative approaches, we take an interpretive, phenomenological stance and concentrate on uncovering those aspects of the employment relationship and supervisor support that are most salient to precarious workers themselves. Our inquiry is guided by two key research questions:

> *Research Question 1: What are the salient elements of the broader employer-employee relationship that shape casual employees' experiences of precariousness?*

> *Research Question 2: How does the immediate manager/supervisor influence those experiences?*

METHOD

In this research project we were interested in exploring casual employees' experiences of the employer-employee relationship and gaining first-hand accounts of how managers or supervisors might influence the character of those experiences. The research is essentially small-scale and exploratory in nature, with a focus on identifying recurrent patterns and themes (Collis & Hussey 2003). Consequently, a qualitative research approach was judged as most appropriate as it would permit a deeper exploration of key contextual elements influencing the casual workers' perceptions of their work and the analysis of issues, events and actions that are personally meaningful to the respondents.

A purposive sampling approach (Patton 2002) was taken to identify and recruit prime-age (25-55 years) casual employees working in one of five industries/sectors: laboring, call centres, hospitality, care-giving and education. These are industries that have been identified as being more likely to entail precarious work (Tucker 2002; Web Research 2004), and in the case of care-giving and education, these are sectors where casualisation is increasing among workers who would have traditionally been permanent employees (Allen 2011; Anderson 2007; Choat 2006; Zeytinoglu, Denton, Davies & Plenderleith 2008).

To recruit participants for this research we used a combination of snowball sampling as well as requesting names of potential respondents from human resource departments of several organizations and from union representatives associated with the focal industries. Participants for this research had to be in casual employment with at least two years of previous casual work experience and casual work had to be their primary source of income. Casual employment was determined according to the definition used on the New Zealand Department of Labour web site (www.dol.govt.nz), which describes casual employment as an employment relationship in which "*the employer and employee agree that the employer will offer the employee work when work is available*". This definition captures the key feature of casual employment, the lack of commitment from the employer to provide on-going work. Casual workers are the focus of this research because even though it is recognised that other forms of employment can be precarious (Tucker 2002), the insecure features of casual employment make it much more likely to be perceived as precarious by the job holders. This is especially so in New Zealand where, unlike many other countries, there are no special protections for casual or temporary employees. Once identified, eligible participants were sent an information sheet and invitation to participate in the research. Informed consent was obtained via a written form and anonymity, along with other rights, was assured.

The chosen data collection strategy was in-depth interviewing with key informants (Kvale, 1996), a method congruent with the interpretive/phenomenological sensibilities underpinning the research (Schwandt, 2000). Depth interviews allow for the different voices, perspectives and experiences of the casual employees to emerge, and provides rich, in-depth, holistic information that is more likely to capture the complexities and lived reality of precarious employment (Denscombe 2005; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Spradley 1979). Respondents were given their choice of location for conducting the interview, but all preferred to visit the first author's workplace where private rooms were arranged for the interviews. Interviews varied in length from 50 to 90 minutes and were recorded and transcribed in order to facilitate effective data analysis. Data analysis was an inductive process that combined iterative cycles with processes of data reduction (Miles &

Huberman, 1994) and focused on content and thematic analysis. Emphasis was given to the identification of patterns in the data and quotations from the interviewees have been used to illustrate and support the themes/ideas that are presented.

Participants

The participants in this research were seven women and seven men from the Southland region of New Zealand. All were engaged in casual employment and this was their main source of income. The average age of respondents was nearly 40 years, with the youngest 25 and the oldest 55. All of the participants had a history of at least two years of casual employment, with an average of just over 5 years (for a summary of participant demographics see Table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This research covered casual workers from a broad range of industries and organizations, with diverse job characteristics, casual conditions and personal circumstances. Notwithstanding these differences certain commonalities in perceptions and feelings relating to precariousness and employment strain emerged. It was clear in speaking to these employees that an important source of perceptions of precariousness arose from the fact that their general employment situations were characterized by complexity, fragmentation, uncertainty, and volatility. Most of our respondents had to supplement their income by taking on a mix of casual and contracting roles. This meant that in any given work week they were likely to be working in a number of different workplaces with a number of different supervisors and work groups. Moreover, the casuals in our study reported very unstable work situations, with jobs regularly being lost and replaced with other bits and pieces of work. In this context workplace managers/supervisors were found to play a critical role in shaping casual employees' experiences and creating an environment that could lessen or could accentuate perceptions of employment strain. We discuss how managerial support, or its absence, might

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influence employment relationship uncertainty and employment relationship effort in more detail

below.

The Manager and Employment Relationship Uncertainty

Uncertainty and perceptions of instability in employment were frequently mentioned by our

respondents as a major source of strain. Often this was compounded by the economic vulnerability

of these casual workers. All of our participants reported feeling under constant pressure to ensure

reliable levels of income that would meet their financial obligations. The following quotes from

Bruce (labourer) and Sandra (hospitality) illustrate this key concern of all of our respondents.

> *There's no certainty with casual work, I don't know how much money I'm going to make each week. I'm paid not much more than minimum wage so I need a lot of hours to make a decent wage. When I'm not at work I'm not earning.* (Bruce)

> *You have that all the time… the stress of will I make enough money this week to pay the food and the rent and the other outgoings.. so the pressures on to make sure you've got enough….*(Sandra)

Managers were seen as playing an influential role in perpetuating, or militating against,

perceptions of employment relationship uncertainty. One of the critical mechanisms whereby

managers were able to shape casual employees perceptions was through the process of work

allocation and scheduling. Where managers were prepared to be accommodating and were sensitive

to casual workers' needs, this appeared to alleviate considerable uncertainty and associated strain.

For example, Amy (call centre) expressed her appreciation of her current manager in the following

way:

> *Our boss is a good boss you don't get that everywhere else, we don't have set hours but having said that if we don't want to work we just write our name on the calendar. That's why I stay there, the money's crap and in general the job is quite crap but I stay there because I can get time off … no dramas for holidays, no dramas for family things. If I decided that I want next Wednesday off, and I go down there and write my name on … and it's fine, as long as she hasn't done the roster already.*(Amy)

Unsurprisingly, scheduling of work had significant implications for casual workers efforts

to juggle multiple responsibilities, including securing other employment opportunities. The short-

term rostering of hours and days of work by managers, especially for those in the laboring or

hospitality sectors where they could be called up minutes before they were required to work, created

considerable ambiguity and made planning activities outside of work very difficult. This also

presented a considerable challenge for those casual workers balancing multiple work roles. Cory, a

teacher, commented on the difficulties when work schedules are fragmented and unpredictable.

> *There are too many gaps in my week where I'm not getting paid to meet the bills if I keep that up, I have to look to the future, the kids are getting older, more costs and demands and stuff. It's good to say yeah I'm working Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday but it's half day Monday and Wednesday, all day Thursday Friday. You need two full days when you're not working so you can go work for someone else but you can't now because it's a half day here and there and a bit of something there.* (Cory).

The allocation of work was also a source of uncertainty and strain with some managers

perceived as encouraging competitiveness between casual workers who felt they were vying with

other casuals for a limited supply of employment opportunities. Competition for the limited work

opportunities available, coupled with the unbalanced nature of power relations in the employment

relationship, meant that casual employees often felt compelled to take work whenever it was

offered. Raj, a labourer, describes how his dependent situation leaves little room for him to exercise

discretion.

> *I will tell you like they have a lot of groups of casual workers… if I don't go for that job they will ask somebody else, I have to take immediately and say yes I'm coming for the shift otherwise they will get someone else and they might always get the work. I want to be rung first.* (Raj).

Competition between casual employees could occasionally lead to perverse outcomes,

especially when it manifested in strained workplace relations. Mary, a teacher, commented on how

she had encountered barriers to working collegially with other casuals who seemed to see

collaboration and information sharing as undermining their own prospects for securing ongoing employment. She commented that

> *People feel threatened as well…. There was someone sharing that class with me and two other teachers and they felt threatened if you asked any questions because they were vying for hours too…. They are very sensitive if you make any comments about anything really.* (Mary).

The requirement for a strong, positive relationship with the immediate manager was a common refrain amongst our participants. Maintaining good relations was seen as a necessity for casuals looking for a measure of certainty in the allocation and scheduling of work opportunities. Most of those we interviewed were of the view that if the manager likes you, you get better treatment. Consequently, these casuals worked very hard to stay in the 'good books' of their manager and to gain their support. But most of those we interviewed also recognise that this is a tenuous form of influence that can alter easily with changes in personnel or any behavior that puts you 'off-side' with management. A lack of employment protections means one wrong move with a supervisor could spell the end of a job or the loss of preferential treatment. In fact, several of our interviewees recounted how managers would exercise their power to rid themselves of unpopular casuals by allocating few hours of work, work at times inconvenient to the casual worker concerned, or to assign undesirable work assignments. Aroha, a care worker, describes what happened to her when she fell out of favour with her manager.

> *The manager who gave… divided out the hours, she got the snitch for some reason and one minute I had a regular time slot of so many hours and … something happened and she decided she was only going to give two (hours). Which meant she forced my… leaving.* (Aroha).

The Manager and Employment Relationship Effort

As alluded to above, the combination of poorly paid work and uncertainty regarding continuing employment could affect employment strain through the intensification of employment relationship effort. The respondents we interviewed often had a need to supplement their income by taking on a number of casual roles and consequently could experience considerable work overload.

Aroha (carer) reported working more than 100 hours per week across two casual positions.

Similarly, Tim (carer) described how he ended up working multiple jobs that included both day and

night shifts. He went on to recount how this caused significant problems for him.

> *I had three jobs.. I had a flatmate who I didn't get on with, my shower box packed a sad, my washing machine packed a sad and I was at work and accidently fell asleep and got a formal warning.* (Tim).

For some casuals, the boundaries between work and non-work could be quite blurred. This

was especially so in those roles where the scheduling and allocation of work could be 'last minute'.

When combined with circumstances where casuals felt unable to turn down work, it had the effect

for those casual workers of something akin to constantly being in an unpaid, on-call situation.

Tania (hospitality) expressed this as follows.

> *They could call you and you had to come in basically. Like, if someone rang in sick the whole week, they could organise a whole weeks worth of you coming in. Like if we weren't working, we were on-call, we had no sort of off days.* (Tania).

Likewise, allocation of unfavourable and/or unsociable hours or work shifts could also

contribute to intensification of effort and strain. In some cases this was because such allocations

could lead to role conflict as casual employees tried to balance work and non-work commitments.

Sandra (hospitality) expressed how difficult it could be trying to achieve some measure of work-life

equilibrium as a casual employee.

> *I wanted more permanent part-time because you can organise your life better, being casual on-call, trying to balance two jobs and get a pay packet is hard you can't plan anything, you can't do anything.* (Sandra)

The perception shared by the casuals in our study that they needed to cultivate good quality

relations with their manager also lead to intensification of effort. As has already been mentioned,

many of our respondents were reluctant to turn down offers of work fearing that doing so would

jeopardize their standing with their manager and harm their prospects for ongoing employment.

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Feeling under pressure to take work when it is offered can mean working very long hours and many days in a row. Sandra (hospitality) described one period of intensive work.

> *Sometimes I'd start at 6am and finish at 11pm…My longest stint was 32 days in a row…no time off. I was quite a nasty person apparently by the end of it…highly stressed.* (Sandra)

Competition for limited employment opportunities, constant scrutiny, and the desire to impress managers also meant that some casual workers felt under pressure to work harder and to perform to a higher standard while on the job. Bruce (labourer) explained this as follows.

> *You have to perform in front of the boss because if they see you performing well it's more likely that they'll get you back. But it usually it means you need to work harder than the full-timers to get noticed.* (Bruce).

Fostering a sense of inclusion or exclusion

A key finding in this research is that the employee-manager relationship is a significant factor affecting casual workers' experiences of employment strain. This is partly because managers were contributed to work intensification and employee uncertainty about the employment relationship. However, other managerial behaviors and actions associated with relationship quality were also found to be influential in shaping perceptions of precariousness and strain. In particular, casual employees appeared to be attuned to managerial practices that were seen as either inclusionary or exclusionary. Many of the casual workers with negative perceptions of their employment situation mentioned strained relationships with their managers. Manager behaviors that caused problems were described as; being totally controlling, lacking empathy for casual workers, excluding casuals from meetings and social events, threats made around the allocation of work, and misuse of increased levels of power held over casual workers to bully and coerce them. Where managers engaged in such practices casual employees were likely to feel margianalised and alienated, and to experience more acutely the inherent precariousness of their employment situation. For example, Mary (teacher) described how she was sidelined from meetings and events in her workplace.

I wasn't invited to staff meetings and if I went I was sort of not part of the meeting, not involved in the discussion, not given the hand-outs, just not expected to talk. Is that…off? (Mary).

Similarly, Cory (teacher) noted how casuals were not included in decision-making and how that left him feeling like a '*second class citizen*'. Heather (call centre worker) related an instance where a manager exercised coercive power to suppress employee health and safety concerns.

I presented to the call centre manager that we were experiencing some health problems because of our work station set up and presented our solutions and got shouted at and told to harden up and if there were any more complaints like that all our hours would be gone. And that of course frightened everybody else except for two or three of us who said like no, this isn't right. Then I got dumped back to customer inbound where you earn less money. Basically I was made an example of… I learned from that experience. (Heather)

In contrast, managerial behaviors and actions associated with positive employee perceptions and reductions in strain included; sharing power and allowing some input from casual workers into decisions affecting them, including casuals in communication networks, providing verbal recognition for good work, and including casuals in work-related social networks. Efforts by managers to include casual workers and to create a sense of belonging appeared to be especially well received. Amy (call centre) describes how a small gesture by one manager was effective in building a sense of inclusiveness and cohesion.

The manager made chocolates at Christmas and made them up into packs with other stuff and the casuals and everyone got one… that was cool. (Amy)

In another instance, Sandra (hospitality) described how she felt marginalized by her organization because they only provided Christmas bonuses for the permanent workers, and how she really appreciated the actions of her supervisors in making sure the casuals were included.

We had a couple of managers who were really good, who would say nah.. we'll take the money out of the social club and use all the Christmas money we get and make sure the casuals got something special … so a couple of them were really good. (Sandra)

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Conclusions

We found that the immediate manager plays an important role shaping casual workers'
perceptions of employment relationship uncertainty and employment relationship effort. Managers
were seen as having considerable influence over the allocation and scheduling of work for casuals
and feelings of precariousness and employment strain were ameliorated in situations where
managers implemented work schedules that allowed casual employees some measure of certainty,
flexibility and control. In contrast, where managers were autocratic, provided little information and
few guarantees regarding work availability and scheduling, this heightened perceptions of
employment relationship uncertainty, enhanced the likelihood of work-life conflicts, and generally
increased feelings of strain.

Likewise, we found that the quality of relations between the casual employee and their
manager could affect employment relationship effort. Many of our respondents emphasised the
importance of cultivating a positive relationship with their manager. With few legal protections and
safeguards many of these precarious workers felt obliged to take up work opportunities whenever
requested, often leading to periods of significant overload and strain. Moreover, in some cases
regular scrutiny and monitoring by managers left some casual employees feeling that they must
constantly work at full capacity and must be more productive than other permanent and casual
employees. Where employee-manager relations were positive casual workers generally felt under
less pressure to work whenever asked and were less likely to experience the workplace as
competitive.

Overall, our results highlight how many of the factors in the Employment Strain model
(Clarke et al. 2007) are significantly affected by the quality of relations between casual workers and
their managers. The nature of these relationships has a direct impact on the day-to-day workplace
treatment casual workers receive, and also percolate out to strongly affect other elements of the
broader employment relationship such as work flexibility, hours of work allocated, income level,
certainty of work tenure, facilities provided, and inclusion in social and communication networks.

More importantly, the supervisor has a very important role in fostering a workplace that is perceived by casuals as inclusionary or exclusionary. Inclusionary practices appear to buffer against the negative effects of precarious work and employment strain whereas exclusionary practices seem to significantly augment perceptions of precariousness and strain.

Notwithstanding the prominent role that managers play as intermediaries affecting the quality of employment experiences we caution against overstating their capacity to eradicate employment strain experienced by precarious workers. Ultimately, it is the broader labour market and socio-economic context that determines precariousness. In this regard it is worth noting that the significance of the casual worker – manager relationship may be relatively greater in the New Zealand work environment where there are very few legal protections for casual workers. They can be hired on an hour-to-hour basis, have no on-going rights to the work available, and because most casuals can be effectively dismissed, or not engaged for the next block of work, at any time for any reason, they are very vulnerable and easily exploited. This suggests that further research in other jurisdictions with different employment relationship frameworks would be worthwhile. Likewise, replicating the research in other sectors and with a broader cross-section of employees would bolster confidence in the robustness and generalisability of the findings. Finally, most research in this domain has concentrated on employee accounts and it would be helpful to explore supervisor perceptions as this would allow for triangulation of research findings.

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│  Employment Relationship    │
│        Uncertainty          │
│  (uncertainty about future  │
│  employment, about the terms│
│  terms & conditions of future│
│  employment, and about work │
│         schedules)          │
└─────────────────────────────┘
              │
              ▼
         ╭──────────╮          ┌─────────────────────────────┐
        ╱            ╲         │  Employment Relationship    │
       │  Employment  │ ◀──────│          Support            │
       │    Strain    │        │  (support from organizations,│
        ╲            ╱         │  co-workers, & from family  │
         ╰──────────╯          │       and friends)          │
              ▲                └─────────────────────────────┘
              │
┌─────────────────────────────┐
│  Employment Relationship    │
│          Effort             │
│  (effort finding & keeping  │
│ employment, effort coping with│
│   multiple employers, and   │
│   pressures from close and  │
│    constant evaluation)     │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```
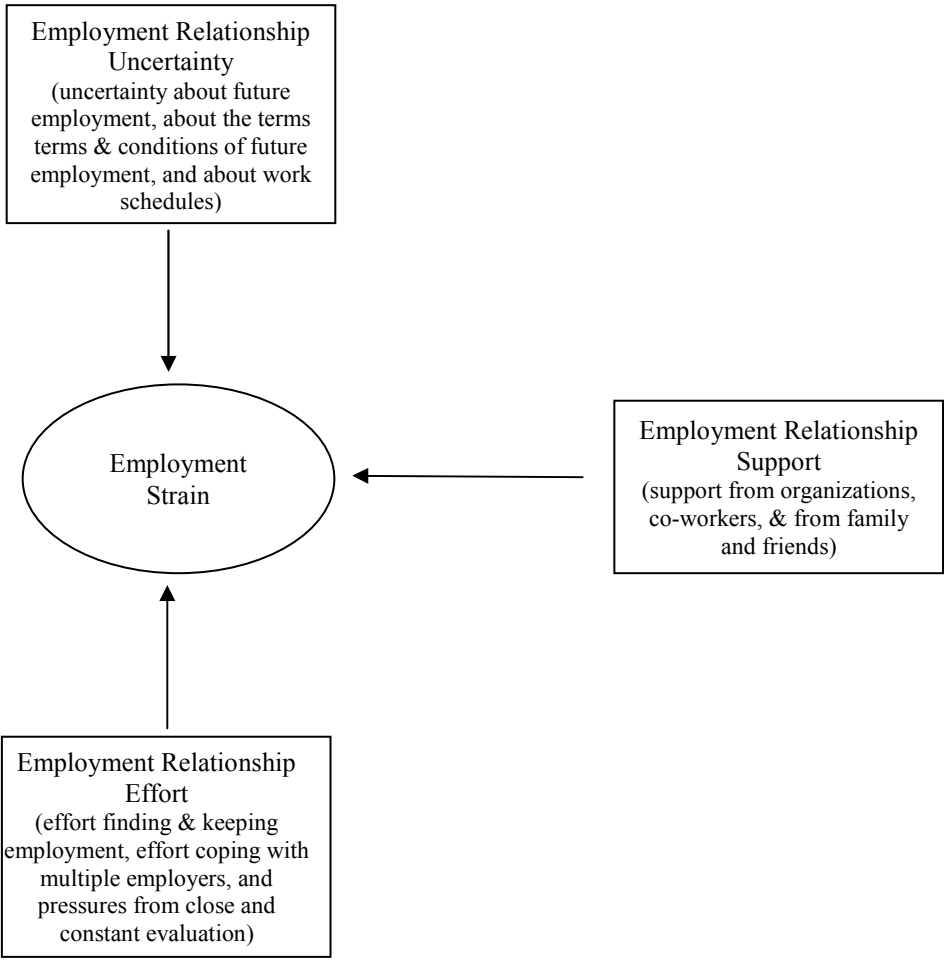
Figure 1: Employment Strain model (adapted from Clarke et al. 2007; p.313)

Name[1]	Age	Ethnic Group	Years Casual	Children D = dependent	Highest Qualification Level	Industry of Primary Casual Role
Amy	46	European	3	2	High School Certificate	Call Centre
Heather	35	European	3	0	Industry Certificate	Call Centre
Raj	25	Indian	4	0	Post-Graduate Diploma	Labouring
Bruce	48	European	8	2 (D)	None	Labouring
Tim	55	European	10	0	Diploma	Carer
Aroha	42	Maori	3	3	Diploma	Carer
Scott	30	Maori	3	0	None	Hospitality
Sandra	50	European	2	2	Industry Certificate	Hospitality
Tania	32	Maori	14	1 (D)	Certificate	Hospitality
Geoff	26	European	3	0	NCEA Lvl 3	Hospitality
Jenny	29	European	8	0	Diploma	Education
Cory	36	European	3	3 (D)	2 Bachelors Degrees	Education
Mary	48	European	6	0	Degree	Education
Jim	54	European	3	3	IT Degree	Education
Averages	**39.7**		**5.2**			

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of casual worker participants

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[1] Real names have not been used