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**Contextualising construals of workaholism through
discourse analysis**

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**Contextualising construals of workaholism through
discourse analysis**

by

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A thesis submitted to Dublin City University in part fulfilment for the degree of

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Author's declaration

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others' save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: Mary Ann Breen

I.D. no: 52140784

Date: 24th Aug 2006

Dedicated to my Mom and Dad

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Abstract

Several theorists have noted that the conceptualisation of workaholism has been neglected in favour of the development of measures of the construct (Harpaz & Snir, 2003; Burke, 2004a; Scott, Moore & Miceli, 1997; Robinson, 2001). Typically, workaholism investigations treat the social sphere as peripheral. Consequently, this thesis explored workaholism from a socially contextualised perspective. Various social contexts that were constructed as playing a role in creating workaholism were examined. These included family of origin, family of procreation, formal educational, work and national cultural contexts. In addition, the construed consequences of excessive working on the social context were investigated. Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool was employed. Thirty-seven semi-structured interviews were conducted. Employees from the management consultant and financial service sectors were recruited. There were four participant groups, namely, a workaholics group, a former workaholics group, a significant others group and a control group. The workaholics group included a subgroup of Workaholics Anonymous members. Using the Nvivo (Version 2.0) software package for qualitative research, discourse analysis was applied to the interview transcripts. This thesis found that both external and internal explanations were constructed to account for workaholism. Incisive, previously unexamined explanations also emerged from the data. These included construals of personal choice and boundaries as well as addiction to excessive activity. Furthermore, contextual issues were assembled as being essential when examining the consequences of workaholism. Hence, the context was worked up as a significant, but not the only aspect of excessive work patterns. An innovative, comprehensive model integrating these findings was devised.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introducing workaholism

Contemporary societal upheavals have destabilised previous assumptions about the nature of work and family life. These changes include the second wave feminist movement; the spread of male unemployment; the entry of larger numbers of mothers into the workforce; the prevalence of dual-earner and single parent families; an emphasis on equal employment opportunity in the workplace and cultural support for an ideology of child-centeredness (Frone, Russell & Cooper, 1997). This has fuelled the recent explosion of academic interest in workaholism during the 1990s and 2000s. Originally, the term ‘workaholism’ was coined as a pun on the word ‘alcoholism’ when a professor of religion joked about his own approach to work (Oates, 1968; 1971). Thus, it emerged from a play on words rather than empirical data or observations. As such, workaholism is a social construction. It is not an entity that exists ‘out there’ but rather it is a term that has been created and propagated by society through academic research and popular culture. This is the first study to acknowledge this by adopting a social constructionist (Patton, 2002) approach to the issue.

Currently, workaholism features quite prominently in the media (e.g. Intili, 2002; Rohrer, 1993; Ramsey, 2002; Garson, 2005; Nowicki & Summers, 2005), as well as in accessible popular psychology books (e.g. Fassel, 1992; Killinger, 1992; Robinson, 1998). Many of these portrayals lack robust empirical research and theory. Even within rigorous academic literature, there is no widely accepted definition of workaholism. Indeed, the term ‘workaholism’ is used quite casually both in everyday and scientific discourses without specifying what is being referred to. Several theorists (Harpaz & Snir, 2003; Burke, 2004a; Scott, Moore & Miceli, 1997; Robinson, 2001) have highlighted the lack of clarity surrounding the definition of the concept, in particular the antecedents. The development of measures has been addressed in favour of clarifying conceptualisations. This approach is far from best practice as measures may be meaningless if the concept they are supposed to be

quantifying is not fully understood. This study redresses this underlying flaw by investigating the construct of workaholism. It thereby innovatively expands the boundaries of workaholism research and promotes new scientific understanding of the concept.

1.2 The study's potential contribution to the workaholism literature

The majority of researchers endorse either the addiction (Porter, 1996; 2001a, 2001b, 2004; Robinson, 1998, 2001; Robinson, & Kelley, 1999; Robinson & Carroll, 2000) or the personality trait frameworks (Burke, 2002a, 2003, 2004b; Burke, Richardsen, & Mortinussen, 2004a, 2004b; Buelens, & Poelmans, 2004; Spence & Robbins, 1992). Within the addiction perspective, workaholism is portrayed as a progressive, compulsive, potentially fatal disorder, which involves forms of maladjustment such as poor self-worth, difficulty with intimacy and fear of loss of control (Robinson, 1998, 2001; Robinson, & Kelley, 1999). The trait framework views workaholism as a core aspect of the individual's personality. The most commonly used definition of workaholism in the trait model is Spence and Robbins' (1992) definition which specifies high work involvement (i.e. psychological involvement with work in general), high drive (i.e. an inner pressure to work) and low work enjoyment (i.e. work related pleasure). The major shortcoming of both the addiction and trait approaches is that they situate workaholism inside the individual mind, thereby neglecting the socio-cultural dimension of the issue. Broader environmental factors such as cultural work ethic, economic situation and stage in life cycle are marginalised. Hence, in investigations of workaholism, the social sphere is treated as peripheral.

Two under-explored elements of the workaholism literature (Machlowitz 1980; McMillan, O'Driscoll, Marsh & Brady, 2001) have pointed towards the need to consider the environmental side of the issue. Machlowitz (1980) concluded that to the observer, workaholics always appear to be toiling, whereas from the workaholics' point of view their job is highly enjoyable. Her study, the first scientific examination of workaholism, is only briefly mentioned in the literature review sections of workaholism papers, the implications of her findings appear not to be taken into

account. Similarly, McMillan et al (2001) drew attention to the possibility of workaholism being caused by the environment. This learning theory framework has as yet not been empirically investigated. The thesis builds on these neglected elements of the literature.

The present study proposes a groundbreaking, theoretical reworking of workaholism as a contextualised concept. It innovatively considers the environmental dimensions of this phenomenon, which is typically viewed from an individualistic perspective. This piece of research draws on a wide range of literatures that highlight the importance of the context when examining work-related issues. For instance, *karoshi* researchers have argued that Japanese history (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994) and childhood socialisation processes (Meek, 1999; 2004) need to be taken into account to fully explain the issue. Consequently, the study examines familial, educational, occupational and national cultural contexts as explanations for the causes of workaholism. This is the first time that social contexts have been examined as antecedents. The construed consequences of workaholism are also investigated from a contextualised perspective, to investigate if those surrounding the workaholic are positioned as being more adversely effected than the individual. The importance of the context to consequences has never been investigated before. In summary, the thesis uniquely advocates the readjustment of the lens through which workaholism is viewed, from internal explanations to the social context. Thus, in this study workaholism is defined as a work-dominated lifestyle choice, without work-home or temporal boundaries, that is created by a combination of contextual influences and perfectionistic tendencies and which has more of an adverse impact on others rather than the individual himself.

This study is also extending the methodological barriers of the literature. A half hour session using psychometric tests is typical of the research strategies employed in the dominant theoretical frameworks (e.g. Burke, Richardsen, & Martinussen, 2004a; McMillan, O'Driscoll, & Brady, 2004; Robinson, Flowers, & Carroll, 2001). As such, wider contextual influences, which may be impacting on workaholism, are ignored. This is redressed in the study as it is the first qualitative examination of the issue in twenty-five years. Traditionally, participants' responses

have been determined by quantitative measures developed from theory rather than 'real world' data. This will be overcome by conducting semi-structured interviews and qualitatively analysing participants' words. Accordingly, this piece of research is the first to examine the language used around the issue of excessive working through discourse analysis and is the first to adopt a social constructionist (Patton, 2002) approach. All other workaholism studies have adopted a realist slant (Punch, 2005). This has yielded a disparate and patchy body of literature. Adopting a social constructionist perspective will reveal fresh insights into this phenomenon. This approach is concerned with participants' constructions of the social world in talk and text, especially how they are achieved and undermined (Potter, 1996). Significantly, Silverman (2001) posited that in discourse analysis 'everything is situated in particular contexts' (p.180). Given the contextualised interpretation of workaholism proposed, a corresponding approach to analysing data is most appropriate. Also, this is one of the few workaholism studies where the sample was not one of convenience and the first to interview partners, colleagues and friends. As demonstrated, this study rectifies a large number of important methodological gaps. In conclusion, this thesis makes a highly valuable and original contribution to the workaholism literature as it expands both methodological and conceptual borders.

1.3 Summary of content

The first section reviews the entire workaholism literature. Particular attention is drawn to the individualising approach of the dominant theoretical frameworks. Alternative views that position the environment as an important factor for workaholism are presented. These unexamined perspectives are built on in the present study. A wide variety of cognisant research fields are drawn on to demonstrate the importance of the social context to work patterns. The study's contextualised interpretation of workaholism is subsequently outlined.

The next part details the methodological aspects of the study. The philosophy behind science and the quantitative-qualitative debate is discussed. Determining the quality of research is addressed by presenting reliability, validity and generalisability issues. A discussion on sampling strategies ensues. A variety of data collection methods and modes of analysis are also examined. Towards the end of this section,

the application of these issues to the thesis is described. This approach involves employing purposive and emergent sampling techniques to conduct semi-structured interviews and discourse analyse the data. These methodological choices are fully justified throughout the chapter.

Analysis section

This section presents the extensive discourse analyses that were conducted on the data. There are five general themes to the results. The first three tie into research question one. These include the construed environmental and internal antecedents of excessive working patterns. The key social contexts examined are familial, educational, occupational and national cultural. From the individual point of view, addiction and personality as explanations are discussed. The third strand of analysis focuses on constructions that emerged from the data such as the distinctive Workaholics Anonymous (WA) group, personal choice and boundaries. The final two analysis chapters deal with research questions two and three respectively. The first examines construals of the impact that working excessively has on those in the participant's family and work contexts. The last results chapter explores discursive constructions of the effect that working excessively has on the individual.

The findings of the study are amplified in the discussion chapter. Each of the five analysis themes outlined above are discussed in-depth, with their implications for the wider literature being stressed. Firstly, the construed significance of both environmental and internal causes is illustrated. Thus, an interaction between the two is put forward as the most fitting explanation. Next, the importance of the constructed context when examining the consequences of excessive work patterns is highlighted. Previously unexamined issues such as personal control, work-home boundaries and indoctrination of WA members are then considered. Innovative ideas for future studies are also suggested. Finally, the comprehensive, original model derived from the study is detailed. The expansion of conceptual and methodological boundaries in workaholism research as a result of this study is underlined. Therefore, this section clearly demonstrates how the thesis is an invaluable, unique addition to the literature.

Section summary:

Literature review

This section will critically review the workaholism literature. Chapter two will discuss the decontextualisation of the issue within the dominant theoretical frameworks. This will be achieved by highlighting both the conceptual and methodological marginalisation of the social sphere. Revisiting under-explored aspects of the workaholism literature will then be advocated in chapter three. The significance of the social context to work related issues will be underlined in chapter four. This section will conclude by presenting the theoretical and methodological gaps this study addresses.

Chapter 2

The decontextualising dominant theoretical frameworks

2.1 Introduction

In extensive reviews of the workaholism literature, McMillan et al (2001) and (2003) identified the addiction and the trait models as the dominant theoretical frameworks. The vast majority of workaholism researchers can be categorised as addiction theorists (e.g. Robinson, 1998; Porter, 2001a; Killinger, 1991; Thorne & Johnson, 2000; Taris, Schaufeli & Verhoven, 2005). Within the addiction perspective, workaholism is portrayed as a compulsive, potentially fatal disorder, which involves the release of adrenaline leading to so-called 'work highs'. The trait framework is the second most prominent (e.g. Burke, 2001a, 2003, 2004b; Kanai & Wakabayashi, 2001; Spence & Robbins, 1992). This model views workaholism as a core aspect of the individual's personality. This chapter will present an extensive review and critique of workaholism theory and research within these two main schools of thought. In particular, the decontextualising aspects of these dominant theoretical frameworks will be criticised.

2.2 Addiction theory

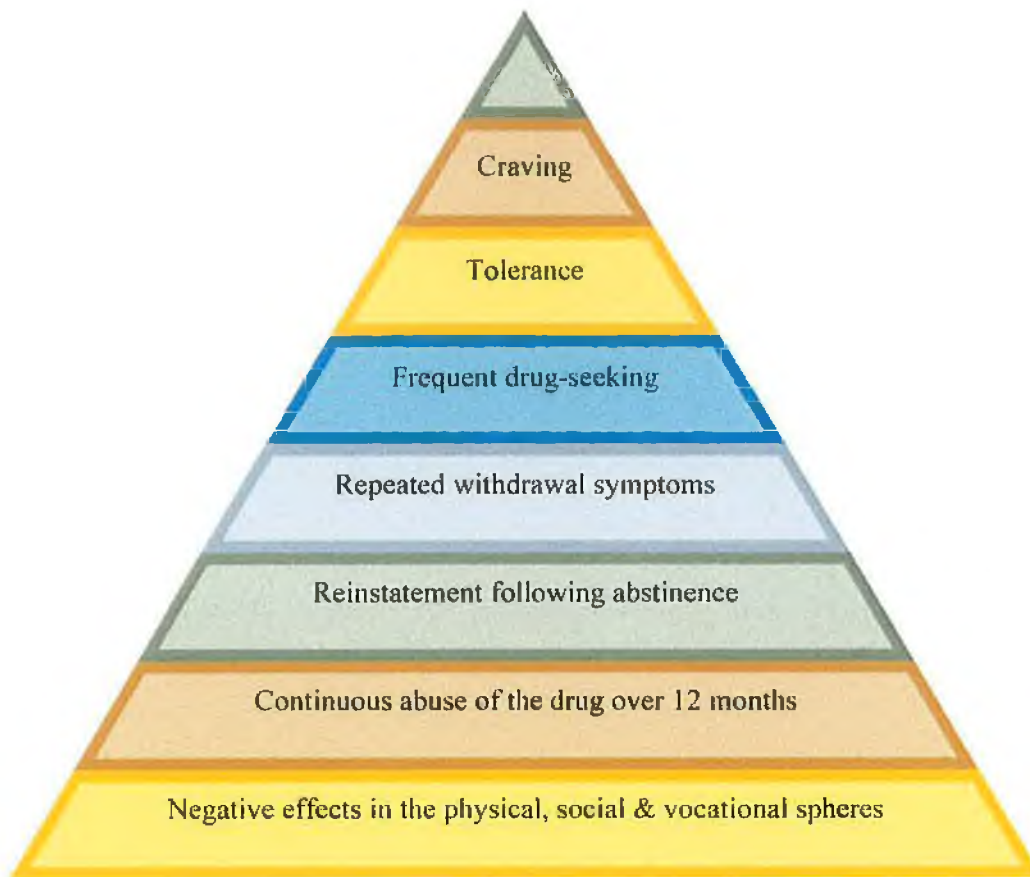
The term 'addiction' refers to the difficulty a person has in managing to do without something (West, 1991). Addiction involves a number of interacting factors, the unravelling of which provides a challenge to addiction research (Teeson, Degenhardt, & Hall, 2002). Traditionally, addiction has been seen as a disease (Goldstein, 2001). Several contemporary theories have proposed alternative interpretations of addiction. These will be discussed in the coming pages. Following this, a critical slant on the construct of addiction will be explored.

2.2.1 The traditional disease model of addiction

During the 1930s and 1940s, researchers began studying alcoholism (Stevens-Smith, 1994). As a result of these investigations, Jellinek (1952) proposed that alcoholism is a disease that involves a number of behavioural and physiological symptoms and requires 'treatment'. This disease was thought to originate within the individual, but was not thought to be the responsibility of the person (Marlatt & VandenBos, 1997). The establishment of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) supported the interpretation of alcoholism as an incurable, progressive ailment (Stevens-Smith, 1994). The AA movement began in 1935 when Bill Wilson and Robert Smith found that by sharing their experiences they could strengthen their resolve to stay abstinent from alcohol (Wells, 1991). Within AA, recovery is seen to be attainable if the member remains completely abstinent and follows the twelve-step program (Room, 1993). Anthropologist Cain (1998) examined AA members' life stories and concluded that the AA model is a cognitive tool, a mediating device for self-understanding. This cultural information is transmitted and implicitly learnt via the AA literature, meetings and contact with long term members. The establishment of the AA and scientific theorising in the early part of the 20th century positioned the disease model as the accepted view.

During the 1970s, Griffith Edwards and his fellow researchers were the first theorists to provide a clinical description of alcohol dependence (Edwards, Arif & Hodgson, 1981; Edwards & Gross, 1976; Edwards, Gross, Keller, Moser & Room, 1977). They asserted that alcoholics exhibited a number of symptoms that could be employed to diagnose addiction (Teeson, Degenhardt & Hall, 2002). The original description of the alcohol dependence syndrome (Edwards & Gross, 1976) emphasised observable phenomena and did not include any explanation of underlying causes. This model has subsequently been expanded to include other psychoactive drugs and forms the basis of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual-IV-Text Revision (DSM-IV-TR) (APA, 2000) criteria for substance dependence. These are summarised in figure 2.1.

Fig 2.1: DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) criteria for substance dependence



This disease model is still strongly advocated by the medical profession and self-help fellowships such as AA (Leonard & Blane, 1999). However, there are a number of flaws in this perspective. Firstly, many of the central concepts have not held up under scientific scrutiny. The loss of control hypothesis, which claims that there is a progressive course to addiction and the belief that abstinence is crucial for recovery, have both been challenged by empirical investigation (Blume, 1988). Secondly, a major weakness of this model is that there is little emphasis on the impact of psychosocial variables, and the role of learning in causing the addiction (Loose, 2002). Finally, the macro-environmental factors that influence substance abuse are not considered. The role of government regulation, drug subcultures, as well as the social values, beliefs and norms that influence drug use are ignored

(Leonard & Blane, 1999). To conclude, the disease interpretation of addiction has historically been supported by the clinical profession and self-help ideologies. This view identifies several aspects of addiction, which have yet to be scientifically verified. Moreover, viewing addiction as a pathology neglects the broader socio-cultural elements of the phenomenon. This traditional approach has been challenged by emergent theories, which will be discussed in the following section.

2.2.2 Alternative contemporary theoretical approaches to addiction

Three alternative theoretical frameworks have attempted to explain the concept of addiction, namely biological, psychological and sociological theories (Teeson, Degenhardt, & Hall, 2002). These are outlined in table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Alternative theoretical approaches to addiction

	Description of theory
Biological approaches	
Neuroscientific	All drugs affect two key pathways in the brain: the dopamine reward system (craving) and the endogenous opioid (blissfulness) system (Koob & LeMoal, 1997; Nutt, 1997).
Biological factors	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Liability to drug dependence due to genetic predispositions (Kendler, 1999). 2. Changes in the brain due to excessive drug use (Koob et al, 1997).
Psychological approaches	
Behavioural	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reinforcement: drugs may be socially reinforcing (Altman et al, 1996). 2. Classical conditioning: cue exposure theory-cues are key to the development and maintenance of addictive behaviours (Drummond et al, 1995).
Cognitive	A lack of self-regulation and overdependency on external structures may explain drug abuse (Miller & Brown, 1991).
Personality	Certain individuals are more prone to addictive behaviours due to their personality (e.g. sensation seeking) (Eysenck, 1997).
Sociological approaches	
Functionalist	Drug use stems from the rejection of accepted values by those living in socio-economically deprived areas (Clausen, 1971).
Marxist	Use of illicit drugs is a form of resistance for downtrodden groups (e.g. working class youth). It is a threat to the reproduction of labour power (Gabe & Bury, 1991).

Although each level of explanation for addictions (i.e. biological, psychological and sociological) has been supported by empirical research, there has yet to be any incorporation of these different levels into a more comprehensive model of addiction (Teeson, Degenhardt, & Hall, 2002). Recently, the biopsychosocial model (Marlatt & VandenBos, 1997) of the causes of addictive behaviours has been proposed. In contrast to the traditional disease model, this theoretical framework conceptualises addiction as involving a complex interaction of biological, psychological and societal factors (Goldstein, 2001). Significantly, the most neglected element in traditional explanations of addiction has been socio-cultural influences (Stevens-Smith, 1994). Thus, a major drawback of dominant addiction theories is the lack of scrutiny of the social context. The concept of addiction will be further critiqued in the following section.

2.2.3 A critique of the concept of addiction

Davies (1997) proposed that the term 'addiction' is too mechanistic and too removed from the reality of human desires. This theorist asserted that people take drugs because they choose to and because it makes sense for them to do so, given the context of their lives. They do not become compelled to do so because of the chemical components of the ingested drugs or due to an 'addictive' illness that numbs their capacity for voluntary behaviour (Davies & Baker, 1988). Notably, if an individual over-indulges in an activity that creates negative consequences for their health, family, friends and economic situation, the statement 'I cannot stop' enables explanation in an acceptable fashion. It removes the personal responsibility of the addict for their single-minded pursuit of an activity (Ogden & Wardle, 1990). This is known as pathologification, which means defining benign, non-pathological but negative aspects of behaviour, in terms of disease. Problem behaviour is thereby redefined from 'badness' to 'sickness' and moves the issue from the moral and legal realm to that of medicine. This is characteristic of the dominant disease model of addiction. Significantly, the 'cure' or 'treatment' for addictions is more akin to changing the individual's attitude rather than addressing an illness (Davies, 1997). Indeed, the twelve-step AA program advocates overcoming alcoholism, by being less individualistic and more considerate to others (Room, 1993). The addict's sense of self-efficacy is also claimed to be a key factor in recovery from addiction (Lewis,

1994). Self-efficacy refers to a person's belief that he can solve a problem, accomplish a task, or function successfully in a certain area (Bandura, 1982). In conclusion, Davies (1997) proposed that addiction is a functional collection of cognitions which are made necessary due to the sanctions for drug taking found in interpersonal, legal, political, and media circles. This researcher thereby highlights the importance of the social context to addiction.

2.2.4 Conclusion of addiction theory

This section has presented an overview of theoretical interpretations of addiction. The traditional disease model was detailed, in which identifying tolerance, withdrawal and cravings are seen as core aspects of the progressive disease of addiction (Stevens-Smith, 1994). However, these elements have yet to be scientifically verified (Blume, 1988). This theoretical framework underlies the currently clinically accepted criteria for addiction, embodied in the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000). It is also endorsed by the self-help ideology of AA's twelve-step recovery program. Nevertheless, portraying addiction as a disease, neglects the societal influences. The pathological interpretation has been challenged by alternative conceptualisations, namely biological, psychological and sociological (Teesson, Degenhardt, & Hall, 2002). These approaches have been supported by research but have been theorised in isolation from each other. The biopsychosocial model (Marlatt & VandenBos, 1997) has attempted to redress this issue. Davies (1997) has questioned the construct of addiction, underlining the significance of the social world to the choices of the addict. Overall, the neglect of the socio-cultural context was highlighted as the major shortcoming of addiction theories. Influential factors such as family situation, economic disadvantage and the legal-political climate have traditionally been ignored. The addiction tenet of the workaholism literature will be discussed in the following section.

2.3 Application of addiction theory to workaholism

It is unclear what the addiction theorists (Robinson, 1998; Killinger, 1991; Porter, 1996; Thorne & Johnson, 2000) of workaholism endorse. This lack of clarity is due to the absence of explicit attempts to tie workaholism addiction research to

either the criteria outlined in the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) or any other addiction theories outlined in table 2.1. It could be proposed that the workaholism addiction theorists advocate the disease model. This is evidenced in the construal of workaholism as involving withdrawal symptoms (i.e. D.W.W. - Driving While Working mentality), endogenous pharmacological mechanisms (i.e. becoming addicted to the adrenaline released during 'work highs') and as a fatal illness (Robinson, 1998). The neglect of the social context has been highlighted as a major flaw of the disease model in the previous section. This lack of attention to societal processes is also apparent in the workaholism addiction literature (Robinson, 2001; Robinson & Kelley, 1998; 1999).

It has of yet to be established if conceptualising workaholism as an addiction is warranted. A large section of the addiction literature may not be applicable to the phenomenon of workaholism, as addiction theory typically involves ingestion of substances, illegal drugs and socially disapproved behaviours. Conversely, workaholics engage excessively in a behaviour that could be seen as being a responsible citizen (Killinger, 1991). It is also impossible to 'abstain' from work if one wants to remain functioning socially (Killinger, 1991). Indeed, the workaholism addiction literature is an area of much speculation and little research. It is dominated by popular psychology self-help books based on anecdotal evidence (i.e. stories gleaned from theorist's experiences). The theories, psychometric measures and empirical studies of this strand of the literature are outlined below.

2.4 Workaholism theorists within the addiction framework

B.E. Robinson is perhaps the key workaholism addiction theorist. There are a number of other contributors to this theoretical framework (Porter, 1996; 2001a; 2001b; 2004; Killinger, 1991; Fassel, 1992). Robinson (1998) defines workaholism as a progressive disorder characterised by self-imposed demands, compulsive overworking, inability to regulate work habits, and overindulgence in work to the exclusion of intimate relationships and major life events. This theorist detailed the major aspects of the phenomenon in Robinson (1998). Firstly, workaholism was portrayed as a negative quality, creating stress and burnout for the workaholic and

their colleagues. Secondly, it was proposed that workaholics overextend themselves to fill 'an inner void, to medicate emotional pain, and to repress a range of emotions' (Robinson, 1998, p.31). Robinson (1998) further suggested that workaholism can be a secondary addiction that blends with other addictions. His telltale signs of workaholism are detailed in figure 2.2; his portrait of the workaholic mind-set is presented in figure 2.3.

Fig. 2.2: Telltale signs of workaholism (Robinson, 1998)

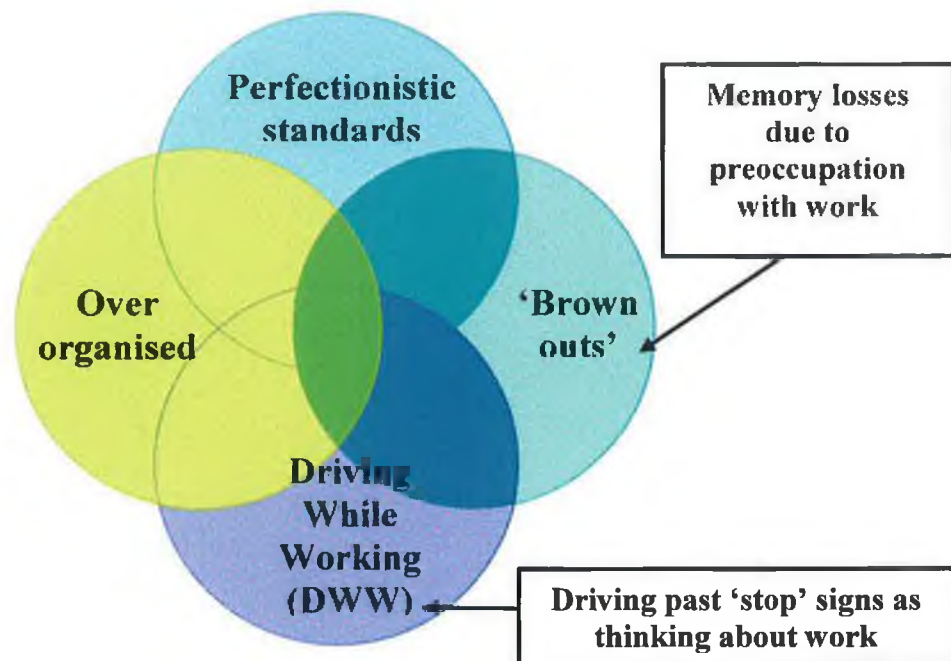
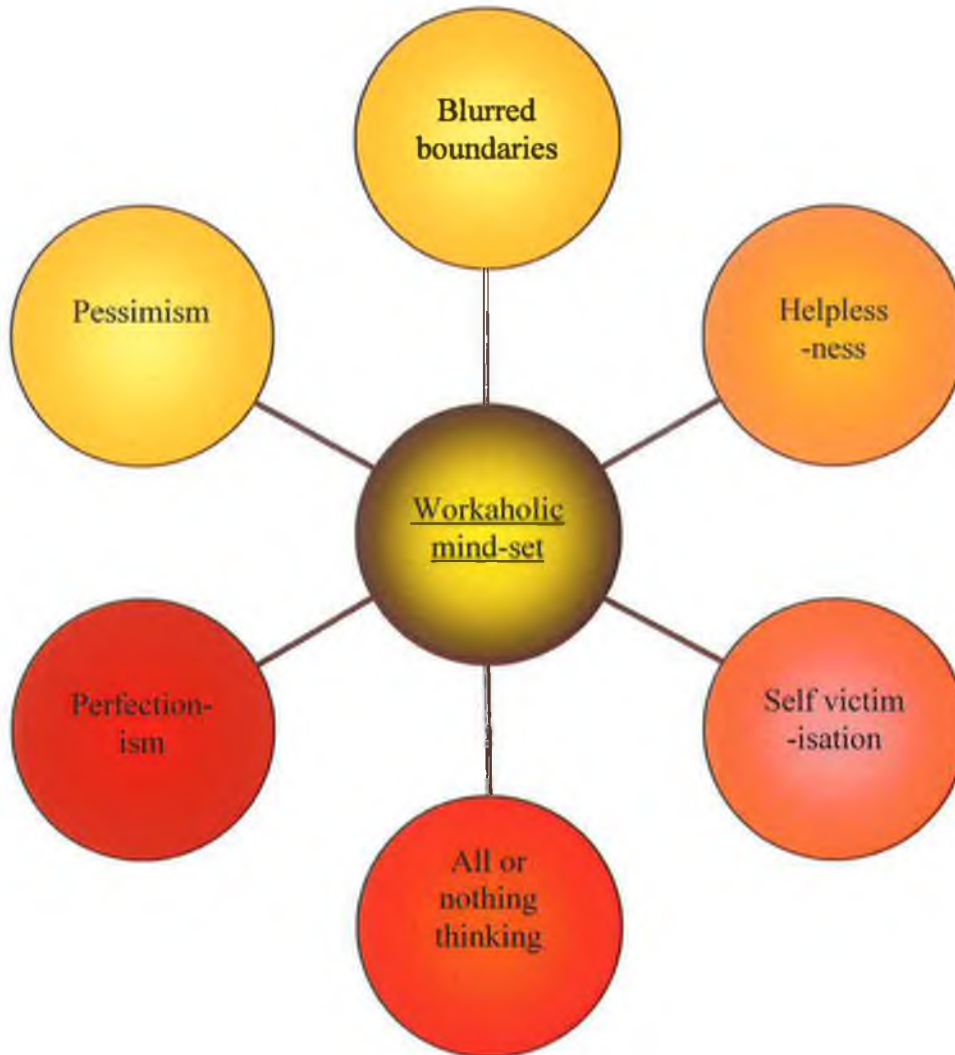


Fig. 2.3: Portrait of the workaholic mind-set (Robinson, 1998)



In a later article, Robinson (2001) attempted to develop a family systems perspective on workaholism. The family systems approach claims that the psychopathology of a family member is shaped by dysfunctional patterns of familial interaction (Bowen, 1976; Kaslow, 1996; Minuchin & Fishman, 1981). It views the family as a complex system in which a state of homeostasis is sought to be maintained (Kaslow, 1996). This system can be healthy for the individual members, accepting them fully and enabling them to change. In contrast, the family system can be dysfunctional, requiring psychopathological tendencies in one or more members so as to maintain the status quo (Schultz, 1984). The type of psychopathology that manifests depends on the complex interactions between family cohesiveness, communication styles and environmental factors. Kaslow (1996, p.9) categorises families in which each member is too greatly involved in each other's lives as an

To sum up, these addiction theories are largely based upon anecdotal evidence rather than empirical studies. There is also a distinct lack of references to support the plethora of assertions made about workaholics. For instance, without any supporting evidence, Porter (2004) claimed that ‘the workaholic’s life is an endless pursuit of more and more accomplishment, in an attempt to finally feel of genuine worth – but to no avail’ (p.435). Thus far, no reference has been made to the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) criteria for substance dependence or abuse. There has been a recent development of the family systems theory approach (Robinson, 2001). This theory is based almost solely upon clinical experience rather than scientific studies (Sher, 1997). It is an addiction treatment approach and is not intended to be used to conceptualise about addiction. This framework is also psychoanalytically deterministic, portraying childhood as a key determinant in adult work patterns. Through family systems theory, a dysfunctional family of origin is the only aspect of the social sphere to be implicated in creating workaholism (Stevens-Smith, 1994).

Despite this new development, the vast majority of the literature fits into the disease interpretation of addiction (Wells, 1991; Room, 1993). The major criticism of the disease model is its aforementioned neglect of social contextual issues (Loose, 2002). For instance, Robinson (1998) posits that ‘the source of work addiction is inside us’ (p.28). Although, Porter (2004) presents an in-depth historical examination of work and work ethics, she fails to explicitly link socio-historical influences to the concept of workaholism. The marginality of the social sphere is clearly illustrated in the following quotation; ‘although cultural and historical trends may support and encourage work addiction, they do not cause it, any more than they create addictions to drugs and alcohol’ (Robinson, 1998, p.19).

This perspective represents the therapeutic approach to the issue, but surprisingly addresses workaholism from an unsympathetic, high moral standpoint. An example of this is that workaholics are portrayed as ‘dishonest, controlling, judgemental, perfectionistic, self-centred...confused...and ultimately spiritually bankrupt’ (p.3). Perfectionism is mentioned by all theorists as an element of workaholism. Yet, the relationship between these constructs is not explored in any great depth. These are the only theories on workaholism in the addiction framework.

In conclusion, this theoretical approach locates workaholism within the pathologised individual, thereby decontextualising the issue. The marginalisation of the context will become further evident in the following review of methodologies and studies.

2.5 Measuring workaholism in the addiction framework

2.5.1 The Work Addiction Risk Test (WART)

The construct of workaholism within the addiction framework is typically measured by the WART. It contains 25 items drawn from symptoms of the phenomenon described by Robinson (1998). Respondents rate items on a four-point Likert scale (1=never true, 4=always true) according to how descriptive the item is of the respondents' work habits. Possible scores range from 25 to 100. Scores of 25-56 indicate non-workaholism, scores from 57 to 66 indicate mild workaholism, and scores from 67 to 100 suggest that the respondent is highly workaholic (Robinson, 1999a).

It is imperative to look behind the psychometric properties of the WART and examine the populations and research tools employed in the development and validation of this questionnaire. Measures of type A behaviour pattern (TABP) are frequently used to validate the WART. In 1959, Friedman and Rosenman separated male personalities into two categories, 'type A' and 'type B', and linked them to coronary artery disease. Those with type A personalities are aggressive, impatient, and competitive. In contrast, those with type B personality are relaxed, easygoing and unpressured (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2004). Current research suggests that type A is a multidimensional concept with some aspects being more toxic than others. TABP has often been written about as the semantic equivalent of workaholism (Burke, 1999; Robinson, 1996). However, Perez-Prada (1996 in McMillan et al, 2001, p.76) asserted that this is a relatively tenuous link that has yet to be investigated.

Concurrent validity of the WART was established (Robinson, 1996) by employing three inventories that investigate constructs, which have not been scientifically linked to workaholism. These were 'generalised anxiety' as measured by the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory ($r = .40, p < .05$) and TABP as measured by both the Jenkins Activity Survey (Type A Scale - $r = .50, p < .05$; Speed and Impatience Scale - $r = .49, p < .05$; Hard-driving and Competitive Scale - $r = .38, p < .05$; Job Involvement Scale - $r = .20, p < .05$), and the type A Self Rating Inventory (Blumenthal, Herman, O' Toole, Haney, Williams & Barefoot, 1985) ($r = .37, p < .05$). Similarly, to assess the criterion validity of this measure, Robinson (1999b) compared the WART scores with results on the Jenkins Activity Survey and the type A Self Rating Inventory (Robinson, 1999). Both of these TABP measures assess behaviours that apply to life in general and are not restricted to work patterns (McMillan et al, 2001).

Flowers and Robinson (2002) examined the underlying dimensionality of the WART. There is no literature put forward to support the five-factor structure of this questionnaire (i.e. compulsive tendencies, control, impaired communication/self-absorption, inability to delegate, and self-worth). How and why the factors examined were selected is unclear. A discriminant analysis was utilised to determine how accurately the WART differentiates between the control and workaholism group. The workaholism group consisted of members of Workaholics Anonymous and volunteers from U.S. self-help conferences (Flowers and Robinson, 2002). They were not screened to establish if they had workaholic tendencies. Therefore, members of the 'workaholic group' might actually not have been workaholic at all. According to the WART, 43 per cent of the workaholics group were not actually workaholics. This raises questions about the suitability of this sample and the validity of the findings. It also casts doubt on the accuracy of the WART as an identifier of workaholics, as the population was drawn from the Workaholics Anonymous group. In a similar vein, the appropriateness of employing a sample of undergraduate students to establish the test-retest reliability of the WART ($0.83 p < .01$) (Robinson, Post & Khakee, 1992) is questionable.

Content validity of the WART was examined (Robinson & Philips, 1995) by twenty psychotherapists. They were instructed to identify twenty-five items from a list of thirty-five statements which they believed to be symptoms of workaholism. The mean percentage score of correctly identified symptoms for the sample was 89.4 out of a possible 100. It is not clear if these therapists had ever dealt with workaholic clients, or if they were familiar with the academic literature on workaholism, given its lack of status in the official psychiatric literature (Piertropinto, 1986). The theoretical slant of the individual therapists (e.g. Freudian, Applied Behaviour Analysis or Gestalt) or their professional experience was also not reported. Surely these factors impacted on the research findings.

Although test-retest reliability, internal consistency (cronbach alpha = 0.88), face validity and content validity have been established (Robinson, 1999; Robinson & Post, 1994), questions regarding certain items on the WART can be raised. Firstly, only eight of the twenty-five items are linked to work activities (e.g. 'I find myself continuing to work after my co-workers have called it quits'). Secondly, quite a number of the items refer to behavioural tendencies that are more cognisant of TABP than workaholism (e.g. 'things do not seem to move fast enough or get done fast enough for me'). Thirdly, there are also several items, which are tinged with colloquialisms (e.g. 'I stay busy and keep many irons in the fire'). These particular items may affect the WART's applicability across various contexts. Additionally, Robinson (1999a) claimed that the WART items 'were drawn from symptoms by clinicians in the diagnosis of workaholism' (p.201) and from case studies. Workaholism does not feature in the DSM-IV-TR (APA, 2000) and, as of yet, there is no widely accepted definition of workaholism. As such, uniformity of diagnosis cannot be guaranteed. Further to this, case studies offer limited generalisability.

The WART, the main questionnaire of addiction framework, was presented and critiqued. Several criticisms were levelled at the research techniques employed to develop and validate this measure. Construct confusion with type A behaviour pattern (TABP) was commonplace, especially the use of TABP questionnaires to

validate the WART. The appropriateness of the groups used to develop the measure is questionable. Also, many of the WART items do not relate to work based issues. Although the psychometric properties of the WART (Robinson, 1999) may be adequate, this section highlighted underlying conceptual errors.

2.5.2 *The Children of Workaholics Screening Test (COWST)*

Another psychometric tool which features in the addiction paradigm is the Children of Workaholics Screening Test (COWST). Robinson and Carroll (1999) sought to develop a measure of the perceptions, feelings, attitudes and experiences of the offspring of workaholics. Adequate levels of test-retest and split-half reliability, as well as concurrent validity were reported (Robinson & Carroll, 1999). However, if it is probed deeper, the problematic nature of this questionnaire becomes evident. The Beck Depression Inventory, the Parentification Questionnaire and the Children of Alcoholics Screening test were used to establish validity. Although theoretical links have been postulated (Robinson, 2001), there is as yet no established empirically grounded link between workaholism and these constructs. Indeed, the use of the Children of Alcoholism test with this sample (mean age = 25.1 years) is inappropriate, as this inventory was normed on nine year olds and adolescents. The authors assert that children of workaholics experience similar mental health problems to children of alcoholics (e.g. depression) (Robinson & Carroll, 1999). The only justification offered for the incorporation of the Beck Depression Index and the Parentification Questionnaire into the experimental design is that they are employed to research children of alcoholics.

‘Higher scores (on the parentification inventory) have been found for children of alcoholics than for a control group....Each participant’s depression was measured with the Beck Depression Inventory (Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock & Erdbaugh, 1961), the most frequently used measure of depression in the literature on both children of alcoholics’ (p.1130).

The correlation between scores on the COWST and Children of Alcoholics test was found to be weak and non-significant ($r = 0.13$). Therefore, the scores on the Parentification Questionnaire and the Beck Depression Index were irrelevant, as the children of alcoholics' mental health did not correlate with that of the workaholics' offspring (Robinson & Carroll, 1999). These findings challenge the analogy that is often drawn between workaholism and alcoholism (Oates, 1971; Robinson, 1998). A further criticism is that the participants' parents were not interviewed but were 'diagnosed' as workaholic by a questionnaire completed by their offspring (Robinson & Carroll, 1999). This is despite the APA Textbook of Psychiatry's view that interviewing is the 'single most important method of arriving at an understanding of the patient who exhibits the signs and symptoms of a psychiatric disorder' (Schreibert, 1999) (p.194). If workaholism is being interpreted as an addiction, interviewing both parent and child would be a more fruitful means of exploring the issue.

The COWST does not differentiate between possible male and female modes of parenting. Mothers and fathers may deal with and display workaholic behaviours differently. In addition, this psychometric instrument does not take into account familial issues, norms or rituals. It appears to have an implicit view of what 'normal family functioning' should be, or rather what it should be remembered as. Moreover, Robinson's attempts to explore the dysfunctions and dynamics of the workaholic family appear to be based on the assumption that the nuclear family is the norm. This bias is implicit in a number of items (e.g. 'did you ever think your father was a workaholic?'). The danger here is that certain approaches to family functioning could become reified as the norm within workaholism literature, thereby marginalising alternative forms of family life.

Retrospective measures were employed in this study as the subject sample consisted of adult children of workaholics (age range: 19-55 years). Due to the nature of the COWST, they were required to assess their parents work patterns, as they perceived them during their childhood years. Memory studies conducted in the field of cognitive psychology highlight the unreliability of human memory

(Baddeley, 1996), and thus the inappropriateness of the subject sample. It is unclear if any section of the sample were employed as a control group. There was also a significant gender imbalance in the sample (182 female: 25 male), which affected the findings, as females may be more observant and sensitive to parents' moods (Baron-Cohen, 2004). To conclude, this section has questioned the conceptual basis of the COWST. In particular, the samples and research methods used to verify and develop this measure have been called into disrepute. The application of both the COWST and the WART in workaholism addiction studies will be demonstrated in the next section.

2.6 Studies in the addiction paradigm

Robinson (2001; Robinson & Kelley, 1998; 1999) is the leading researcher within this theoretical framework. His work focuses on the relationship between workaholism and family functioning. This section will present and assess several major workaholism addiction studies.

Inappropriate sampling is a frequent feature of addiction studies. A case in point is Robinson and Kelley's (1999) investigation of the relationship between childhood workaholism and type A behaviours in terms of their self-esteem, anxiety and locus of control. It was found that workaholism among the sample of school children was positively related to their level of anxiety ($r = .39, p < .01$) and inversely related to their self-esteem ($r = -.45, p < 0.5$) and locus of control ($r = -.42, p < 0.1$). Although these correlations were significant, they were moderate. Workaholism was measured using the WART and by substituting the labels 'study habits' and 'school work' instead of employment terms. Significantly, the mean age of the sample was 10.6 years and so the participants may not have been developed enough cognitively (Cole & Cole, 2001), to understand such concepts as schoolwork patterns, as well as optimum and excessive amounts of study. The sample was extremely small ($N=40$) and it was not specified how many participants were deemed workaholic. As such, there is cause to question these empirical findings.

Robinson's studies have also used unsuitable research tools. For instance, Robinson and Kelley (1998) found that in comparison with adult children of nonworkaholics, adult children of workaholics reported higher levels of depression, anxiety and external locus of control. A non-randomised undergraduate sample of convenience was employed. Of the 211 subjects, only 60 were classified as having workaholic parents according to the WART. However, the WART was standardised on workaholics, not offspring of workaholics and so the appropriateness of employing this measure in this research design is questionable. The researchers justify this limitation by reference to the lack of alternative measures and also to the infancy of the field. Yet, it is unclear how the WART items relate to the experience of having a workaholic parent.

The most recent research conducted within the addiction paradigm exhibits construct confusion. Robinson, Flowers and Carroll (2001) considered the relationship between work stress and marital cohesion. They claim to have found, using structural equation modelling, that workaholism as measured by the WART predicted marital cohesion. Without any reference to workaholism, Robinson et al (2001) hypothesised that work stress would have an inverse relationship with marital cohesion. The authors claimed that the findings have implications for the marriages of workaholics. If work stress was being assessed it is unclear why the WART was used. Similarly, workaholism and work stress are different constructs (McMillan et al, 2001) and so findings from studies of one cannot be generalised to the other.

All addiction studies have been conducted by Robinson and his research team. This section has underlined methodological inadequacies characteristic of this framework. Studies are typically limited to undergraduates and Workaholics Anonymous members. There are several other perennial sampling errors, including the inappropriateness of populations and the small number of workaholics. Construct confusion is also prevalent in addiction research.

2.7 Conclusion of the workaholism addiction framework

Workaholism research and theory within the addiction framework has been critiqued. The majority of assertions in this approach are based on anecdotal evidence and may be aimed more at the popular psychology market than academia (e.g. Killinger (1991) 'The Respectable Addicts'). The construal of workaholism as an addiction has yet to be empirically established. There is a reluctance to explicitly link workaholism theory and research to the wider field of addiction studies. It is possible to view workaholism literature as fitting into the disease model of addiction.

The disease model of addiction has been heavily criticised for its neglect of the social sphere (Loose, 2002). In a similar vein, workaholism addiction theory views the socio-cultural dimension as a peripheral influencing factor and situates the issue inside the pathological individual. Through family systems theory, a dysfunctional family of origin is the only aspect of the social context considered to be important. This assertion is quite Freudian and as yet to be empirically verified. Indeed, it can be criticised for over-emphasising the significance of childhood on a person's work pattern for the duration of their life. Broader environmental issues are not considered as impacting on the workaholic's work pattern (e.g. professional norms, cultural work ethic, economic situation and stage in career). Thus, the addiction framework decontextualises the issue of workaholism.

This decontextualisation is further evident in the methodological approaches and research designs employed. The development and validation of the two psychometric measures in the addiction framework (i.e. the WART and the COWST) are questionable. In a study to validate the COWST, participants' parents were not interviewed but were 'diagnosed' as workaholic by a questionnaire completed by their offspring. Also, many of the WART items do not relate to work based issues. Most of the addiction studies were conducted on self-selected, sometimes inappropriate, samples of convenience (e.g. Workaholics Anonymous members, undergraduate students and school-age children). Typically, samples included quite a small number of workaholics and so findings are not statistically viable. Construct confusion between workaholism and type A behaviour pattern as well as work stress

was commonplace. The studies reviewed here are the sum total of the workaholism addiction research. To conclude, the workaholism addiction literature is based on speculative, unscientific grounds and neglects the impact of broader, environmental factors.

2.8 Personality trait theory

2.8.1 Introduction

This section will firstly introduce general personality trait theory. The application of trait theory to the workaholism literature will then be critiqued in the remainder of this chapter. A personality trait is an internal disposition that is stable over time and situations (Pervin & John, 2001). It refers to consistent patterns in people's way of thinking, feeling and behaving (Hogan, Johnson & Briggs, 1997). Questionnaires are the preferred method of assessment (Arnold, Cooper & Robertson, 1998). The trait approach has been very influential throughout the history of personality psychology. Indeed, the idea of traits is quite popular in North American psychology as well as layman's understanding of 'folk' psychology (McAdams, 1997).

The development of personality types, which situates individuals in distinct and discontinuous categories, dates back to Ancient Greece (Arnold, Cooper & Robertson, 1998). Hippocrates (400 BC) outlined four types, namely: phlegmatic (calm); choleric (quick-tempered); sanguine (cheerful, optimistic) and melancholic (sad, depressed). Each of the individual personality types were thought to be an indication of an excess of one of the four bodily fluids (Carver & Scheier, 1992). A more recent typology is that proposed by Carl Jung (1933) who suggested that individuals fall into one of two categories, namely introverts and extraverts. An introverted type person tends to be more solitary and withdraws into himself during times of stress. The extroverted type is thought to be quite the opposite (Jung, 1933). Contemporary psychologists tend to favour trait theories rather than typologies (Wiggins, 1997). Within trait theory, individuals are placed along a continuum

rather than putting them into a 'pigeon hole' typology (Pervin & John, 2001). Individual differences are thus based on different amounts of the various elements of their personality and are quantitative rather than qualitative (Carver & Scheier, 1992).

Trait researchers propose that human behaviour and personality can be organised into a hierarchy (Hogan, Johnson & Briggs, 1997). Particular behaviours are considered at the specific response level (e.g. enjoying bungee jumping). Some of these responses are grouped together to form habitual behaviours (e.g. extreme sports enthusiast). These collections of habits occur together and feed into what is known as a trait (e.g. sensation-seeking). These traits can be linked together further to form higher-order factors or 'super factors' (e.g. Extraversion) (Eysenck, 1970). Allport (1937; 1961), Eysenck (1967; 1990) and Cattell (1957; 1965) are the three most influential trait psychologists (McAdams, 1997). Their theories and research are outlined in table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Key trait psychologists and their theories

Theorist	Key theoretical assertions
Gordon W. Allport	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="842 387 1339 477">1. Traits are based in the human nervous system.<li data-bbox="842 510 1339 712">2. Primary traits are evident in many situations, secondary ones are only apparent in certain situations.
Hans J. Eysenck	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="842 745 1339 1059">1. PEN three-factor model of personality: Psychoticism (egocentric, unconventional) 'introversion-Extraversion' and 'Neuroticism' (emotionally stable-unstable).<li data-bbox="842 1093 1339 1182">2. Classification system of traits based on factor analysis.
R.B. Cattell	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li data-bbox="842 1216 1339 1417">1. Preferred to stay at the level of traits, rather than move up to the super factor level (e.g. PEN model).<li data-bbox="842 1451 1339 1653">2. Major outcome of his research was the multivariate Sixteen Personality Factor (16PF) questionnaire.

2.8.2 The 'big five' factor model

Since the 1960's, the number of personality traits and questionnaire scales designed to measure these traits has increased incessantly. Organising this plethora of research into a coherent structure has been a major concern of trait theorists since the 1990s (McAdams, 1997). Contemporary trait researchers (e.g. John, 1990; Costa & McCrae, 1992) agree that traits can be organised into five broad, bipolar dimensions. They have been labelled the 'big five' due to their wide scope and high level of abstraction (Pervin & John, 2001). Yet, there is more agreement on the number of traits rather than what the actual traits refer to (Pervin & John, 2001). The most comprehensive list (Digman, 1990) of these five basic dimensions is presented in table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Digman's (1990) five basic dimensions of personality

Dimension		Explanation
1	Extroversion (e.g. sociability, assertiveness).	Assesses the quantity and intensity of interpersonal interaction, activity level, need for stimulation and capacity for joy.
2	Emotionality (e.g. anxiety, insecurity).	Examines adjustment vs. emotional instability. Identifies individuals prone to psychological distress, unrealistic ideas, excessive cravings or urges and maladaptive coping responses.
3	Agreeableness (e.g. conforming, helpful to others).	Deals with the quality of an individual's interpersonal orientation along a continuum from compassion to antagonism in thoughts, feelings and actions.
4	Conscientiousness (e.g. persistent, organised).	Examines the individual's degree of organisation, persistence and motivation in goal-directed behaviour. Contrasts reliable, hardworking individuals with their lazy, negligent counterparts.
5	Intellect (e.g. curiosity, openness to experience).	Investigates the proactive seeking and appreciation of experience for its own sake as well as toleration for and exploration of the unfamiliar.

2.8.3 Criticisms of the personality trait approach

During the early 1970's, discontent with the field of personality psychology was embodied in a number of highly influential critiques of the approach (e.g.

Carlson, 1971; Fiske, 1974; Mischel, 1968, 1973). These writers were critical of the lack of coherence in the field, contradictory research findings and measurement issues (McAdams, 1997). Mischel (1968, 1973) suggested that the only place traits may truly exist is in the mind of personality theorists. His most significant criticism was that behaviour varies from situation to situation considerably more than trait theory suggests. This theorist's correlation coefficient of .30, between traits and behaviour became an intrinsic part of psychological lore and ignited the person-situation controversy (Wiggins, 1997). This is a perennial debate between psychologists who stress the importance of personal, internal variables in determining behaviour, and those who emphasise the situational, external influences (Bandura, 1999; Pervin, 1994). This dispute appears to have subsided somewhat, as some personality psychologists have settled on the compromise position of interactionism (Wiggins, 1997). This viewpoint proposes that situations and personality interact to determine behaviour (Carver & Scheier, 1992). This dissatisfaction with the concept of traits may also have spawned from wider socio-cultural changes that were occurring in western society during the late 1960's. Antiwar, civil rights and women's movements all highlighted the impact of the environment on individual behaviour (i.e. family context, social class, race and nation-state) (Johnson, 1997).

Further to this, the explanatory status of the trait concept has been called into question. In particular, concerning whether traits really exist or are they convenient fictions that are employed for communication (Briggs, 1989, p.251). This presents a danger of circularity if a trait concept (e.g. sociability) is utilised to explain the behaviour (e.g. going to a lot of parties), which formed the basis for the trait construct in the first place (Carver & Scheier, 1992). Many argue that there is more to personality than the 'big five', such as people's self-concepts, their identities, their cognitive styles and the unconscious (Buss, 1988; McAdams, 1992). Additionally, the issue of personality change has been marginalised within the field (Pervin & John, 2001). Despite these criticisms, the trait approach has been quite influential in work psychology, most notably in the areas of selection and career guidance. The popularity of this approach may stem from the aura of predictability of behaviour that trait theory conveys (Arnold, Cooper & Robertson, 1998).

2.8.4 Conclusion of personality trait theory

The above section detailed and critiqued the field of personality trait theory and research. A trait was defined as an internal, stable and dispositional dimension of a person. The three most historically influential trait theorists were presented, namely Allport, Eysenck and Cattell. They differed in the number of core aspects of personality. Eysenck highlighted three dimensions, whereas Cattell stressed the existence of sixteen and Allport asserted that there are unique traits for each person. Contemporary personality trait theories appear to be moving towards a consensus, embodied in the 'big five' approach to personality. Yet, there is less agreement on the descriptions of each of the five dimensions. The concept of the personality trait has been criticised on several fronts. Traits have been viewed as convenient fictions that can only explain behaviour in a circular manner. The person-situation controversy in particular stresses the inability of trait theory to account for the variability of behaviours between situations. This on-going debate has underlined the marginalisation of socio-cultural issues in personality trait research. The compromise position of interactionism has sought to resolve this dispute. In the next section, the application of this field of psychology in the workaholism literature will be discussed.

2.9 Application of trait theory to workaholism

Trait theory is the second most prominent model in the workaholism literature. The definition used most frequently in this branch of workaholism research is Spence and Robbins' (1992) definition, which specifies comparably high work involvement (i.e. psychological involvement with work in general), high drive (i.e. an inner pressure to work), and low work enjoyment (i.e. work related pleasure) as the core elements of the construct. This definition was based on the authors' speculations and a review of the less than well-established literature. It is unclear what theoretical framework researchers who employ the Spence and Robbins' (1992) definition belong to, as these studies have yet to be explicitly linked to theory. These researchers view workaholism as a 'stable individual difference characteristic' (Burke, 2004a, p.421). Moreover, the questionnaires employed in studies are derived from personality theory. For example, Lee, Jamieson and Earley's (1996) measure of

the personal beliefs and fears of type A behaviour pattern was used in Burke (1999a). Consequently, examining these studies under the theoretical heading of personality traits is appropriate.

R.J. Burke is the key researcher in this framework. The other main contributors are Buelens and Poelmans, (2004) and Kanai et al (1996; 2001; 2004). The majority of studies (e.g. Burke, 2003; Burke, 2004b; Burke & Mattiesen, 2004; Burke, Richardsen & Mortinussen, 2004a, 2004b) examine personal beliefs, values and preferences of workaholics, as well as the consequences of workaholism for the individual. There has been a significant lack of exploration of personality traits of workaholics. In the same manner as the addiction model, the trait framework adopts an individualised view of the origins of workaholism and thereby decontextualises the issue. Thus, socio-cultural dimensions that may be causing and influencing workaholism are treated as peripheral. The following sections will present a critical analysis of the research that has been conducted within this theoretical model.

2.10 Psychometric measures in the workaholism trait framework

The Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory is the only instrument in workaholism trait research. This measure contains twenty-five items and three scales, namely, drive (D) (i.e. an inner pressure to work), work enjoyment (WE) (i.e. work related pleasure), and work involvement (WI) (i.e. psychological involvement with work in general). Spence and Robbins (1992) derived six worker-type profiles based on these three scales which are illustrated in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Spence and Robbins' (1992) six worker-type profiles

	Workaholics	Work enthusiasts	Enthusiastic workaholics
Work involvement			
Feeling driven to work			
Work enjoyment			

	Unengaged workers	Relaxed workers	Disengaged workers
Work involvement			
Feeling driven to work			
Work enjoyment			

Key to table 2.4:

= High score on the relevant scale

= Low score on the relevant scale

This measure can be criticised on a number of issues. Firstly, Spence and Robbins (1992) define workaholism as being indicated by low levels of work enjoyment and high levels of work involvement and drivenness. However, it is unclear how the concept of enthusiastic workaholics can be encompassed by this definition. Further to this, the cause and nature of this inner drive to work has yet to be both conceptually and empirically elaborated upon. Thirdly, this inventory was developed on full time undergraduate college students, not full-time employees. The ‘adult’ versions of the scales contain references to jobs and the workplace rather than to school and schoolwork, as was used in its development. This implies that employment and schoolwork are parallel activities, which raises quite a number of contentious issues. One being that the meaning of paid work and the meaning of schoolwork may differ in terms of motivation and extrinsic rewards as well as social status and self-identity (Arnett, 2004). These matters require further clarification if college students are to continue to feature in the subject samples of workaholism

studies. In addition, the research strategy of employing college students in workaholism studies is built on the assumption that workaholism is evident prior to exposure to the world of work. This has as yet not been empirically established, given the lack of longitudinal research on workaholism. Finally, Mudrack and Naughton (2001) assert that an inherent flaw of this measure is that it examines attitudes and affect, rather than behavioural tendencies of workaholics. Therefore, these scales may be conceptually indistinguishable from other well-established psychometric tests in the organisational literature (e.g. work satisfaction, involvement or commitment) (Mudrack & Naughton, 2001). Therefore, the conceptual basis behind the development of this inventory is questionable.

As well as having questionable conceptual foundations, the internal factor structure of the Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory is also quite controversial. The work involvement scale is problematic, medium level alpha values have repeatedly been reported (Burke, 1999a; Perez-Prada, 1996 in McMillan et al, 2001, p.76) and factor analyses have not replicated the work involvement factor structure (Kanai, Wakabayashi & Fling, 1996; McMillan, Brady, O'Driscoll & Marsh, 2002; Burke, Richardsen & Motinussen, 2002).

Similar to Kanai et al's (1996) revision of the inventory, cluster and factor analysis (McMillan et al, 2002) did not confirm the original three-factor structure, as the work involvement (WI) scale was not produced as a separate factor. As a result, McMillan et al (2002) dropped the WI factor and revised the questionnaire to a two-scale (Drive and Enjoyment) instrument. Burke (2002a) argued against the revision of the Spence and Robbins' (1992) scales, arguing that to do so would make comparison between studies difficult. McMillan et al's (2002) revision of the Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory, termed the 'WorkBAT-R', has been employed in subsequent studies (McMillan, O' Driscoll & Burke, 2003; McMillan, O'Driscoll & Brady, 2004; Johnstone & Johnston, 2005). This reworking of the inventory has abandoned the notion of the six different types of worker profiles. Those categorised as workaholics score extremely high on the work enjoyment scale and driven scale, where non-workaholics score extremely low on these scales. This is at odds with the Spence and Robbins' (1992) definition of workaholism as involving low work

enjoyment.

Recent workaholism studies employing the Spence and Robbins' (1992) measure have been marked by confusion surrounding the workaholic profiles and relevant scales. A number of workaholism trait studies (Burke, 2003; Burke, 2004b; Burke & Mattiesen, 2004; Burke, Richardsen & Mortinussen, 2004a; 2004b; Buelens & Poelmans, 2004) have relabelled the workaholics and the enthusiastic workaholics profiles, as the 'work addicts' and 'enthusiastic addicts' respectively. This renaming has not been justified and it is unclear as to why these workaholic types should warrant the label 'addict', as workaholism as an addiction has yet to be empirically established and, more importantly, given that Spence and Robbins (1992) did not adopt this theoretical approach. Additionally, of the six worker profiles identified by Spence and Robbins (1992), only two were workaholic profiles (i.e. workaholics and enthusiastic workaholics). Yet, a number of trait studies have labelled all other profiles, in particular the work enthusiast, as workaholism profiles (e.g. Kanai et al, 1996; 2001; 2004; Burke, 2003; Burke, 2004b; Burke Richardsen, & Mortinussen, 2004a; 2004b; Burke, Mattiesen & Pallesen, 2006). The inappropriateness of this move is evident in the following quotation from Spence and Robbins (1992)

'Questionnaires were developed to assess the concept of workaholism, defined in terms of high scores on measures of work involvement and drivenness and low scores on a measure of enjoyment of work and to contrast this profile with work enthusiasm, defined as high work involvement and enjoyment and low drivenness' (p.160).

The Spence and Robbins' (1992) definition and measure are employed to operationalise workaholism in all of the trait studies. This section has highlighted the conceptual and statistical flaws of this instrument. During development, an unsuitable sample and an a priori definition (i.e. it was developed on the authors' theorising rather than on data) were employed. Statistically, there have been problems with the internal factor structure. This has prompted refinements of the original inventory. These efforts have created further confusion surrounding the

worker profiles. The following section will describe the use of this questionnaire in workaholism trait studies.

2.11 Workaholism trait studies

This part of the chapter will present and critique research that has been conducted within the trait framework. Burke (e.g. Burke 1999a; 1999b; 2000a; 2000b; 2001b; Burke & MacDermid, 1999; Burke et al, 2002; Burke et al, 2004a) has investigated psychological well being, work and extra-work satisfactions as consequences of workaholism. It was found that workaholic types are marginally less satisfied than non-workaholic types. However, Lee et al's (1996) measure of type As' beliefs and fears was typically used to assess the personal correlates of workaholics. These scales were developed to measure implications of TABP for academic performance and psychiatric disorder symptoms. As previously mentioned, there is as yet no empirically grounded link between workaholism and TABP. Consequently, these measures were inappropriate for these studies.

Workaholism studies in the trait paradigm also examine gender differences. The findings of Burke (1999c) indicated that there were no gender differences in the prevalence of workaholism in a sample of 277 men and 251 women. In such studies (Burke 1999b; 1999c; 2000c), Burke treats men's experience of the world of work as semantically equivalent to women's experience. Gender theorists assert that women encounter the world of work differently to men due to aspects that are unique to women's working lives such as the 'glass ceiling' (Tannen, 1996; Wilson, 1995) and the working mother's double burden or 'second shift' (Hochschild, 1990). As such, women and men may experience workaholism in subtly different ways that have not been explored in previous research designs. This requires further investigation.

Kanai and Wakabayashi (2004) found that the inner drive element of workaholism remained high from the beginning of the collapse of the Japanese economy in 1991 and throughout the 1990s. They claim that the enjoyment of the

work dimension of workaholism decreased during the same time period. These assertions are not based on longitudinal research but rather a retrospective re-examination of a data set collected in 1993, 1994, 1999 and 2001. Kanai et al (Kanai, Wakabayshi & Fling, 1996; Kanai & Wakabayshi, 2001; Kanai & Wakabayshi, 2004) employ an unvalidated revision of Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory. As a result, the definition of workaholism central to these studies conceptualises workaholism as an internal, stable drive to work. However, these researchers view workaholism as an adaptation to a stressful work environment. This could be interpreted as being contradictory given the internal explanation of workaholism underlying this research.

This criticism can be extended to Burke's (1999a; 2002b) studies which touch on the issue of workaholism and the organisation (e.g. organisational values of work-life balance and organisational cultural preferences among workaholics). Buelens and Poelmans (2004) also measured organisational culture, in terms of organisational pressure at work and opportunity for personal growth. Yet, workaholism was ultimately conceived of as an internal issue, as the Spence and Robbins' (1992) measure was used. Examining organisational cultural preferences assumes that workaholism exists within individuals, prior to starting work in their present organisation. Determining whether these variables are antecedents or consequences of workaholism was not elaborated upon in these studies.

The only form of data collection in all of the trait studies is mailed self-report inventories (e.g. Bonebright et al, 2000; Burke, 2002a; 2002b; 2003; 2004b; Burke, Richardsen & Mortinussen, 2004a; 2004b). This method does not enable the tapping of 'soft' phenomena such as organisational culture (Burke, 1999b). The experiential nature of organisational culture is evident in Morgan's (1986) definition of the construct, which specifies shared meaning, understanding and sense-making. Furthermore, the issue of social desirability has not been addressed in any trait study. Self-report data can be unreliable especially in the work setting where motivations may exist to either exaggerate or under-report work related behaviour (Grimshaw, 1999). Workaholics may exhibit a tendency to report greater job satisfaction and

lower workaholic behaviours due to fear of criticism or guilt. Non-workaholics may report more workaholic behaviours as Killinger (1991) describes workaholism as the respectable addiction. This response bias may have significantly affected empirical findings.

Research from the personality trait framework was reviewed in this segment of the chapter. Research design and methodological inadequacies were underlined. Issues such as construct confusion, inappropriate sampling, a limited methodological repertoire and neglect of gender differences were shown to be commonplace in trait studies.

2.12 Conclusion of workaholism trait framework

To conclude, the trait framework can be criticised for its conceptual and methodological shortcomings. The conceptual basis of the only psychometric measure, the Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory, is dubious. It was developed on a sample of undergraduates and from the authors' review of the workaholism literature, the extent of such literature being quite minimal in the early 1990s. In the most recent studies, there is some confusion surrounding the measure, concerning the identification of workaholic worker profiles, the labelling of these profiles, and the revisions of this questionnaire. Certain methodological flaws have been identified within the trait paradigm, similar to those in the addiction paradigm. Trait studies are limited by sampling methods, construct confusion between workaholism and TABP, as well as an over-reliance on mailed self-report questionnaires. Also, there is no attempt within this framework to construct a coherent profile of workaholism traits. Furthermore, the person-situation controversy has yet to be elaborated upon in the workaholism trait framework. Similar to the addiction approach, the trait framework decontextualises the issue of workaholism. Socio-cultural antecedents and consequences of workaholism such as familial, educational, occupational and cultural aspects are marginalised.

2.13 Conclusion

The majority of workaholism theorists endorse either the addiction or the trait frameworks. The above chapter has highlighted that conceptual and methodological flaws limit both approaches. The addiction framework presents an alarmist, emotive portrayal of workaholism and is characterised by much speculation and a dearth of empirical research. The theoretical and statistical foundations of the quantitative tools from this school of thought are questionable. On the other hand, the trait perspective interprets workaholism as an inner drive to work. The cause and nature of this internal explanation for workaholism has not yet been expanded upon. Further to this, a number of measurement issues have been raised in relation to the workaholism trait questionnaire, the Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory. It has been shown that conceptual issues, especially the antecedents of workaholism, have been neglected in favour of the development of questionnaires. Nevertheless, research in both these frameworks is limited by sampling errors, construct confusion and restricted research techniques.

Existing workaholism theory and research is quite deterministic, as human agency and personal choice has yet to be considered. Typically, workaholics are viewed as being driven by an inner drive or addiction to work that they are construed as having no control over (Spence & Robbins, 1992; Burke, 1999a; Robinson, 1998; Oates, 1971). This is at odds with the humanistic interpretation of the person (Rogers, 1980; Maslow, 1999). The humanists asserted that once individuals were made aware of the impact of environmental factors on happiness, they were free to make choices about the direction they wanted their lives to take (Rowan, 2001). This is another flaw in the contemporary literature.

The dominant addiction and trait theoretical frameworks marginalise the socio-cultural aspect of workaholism, both conceptually by individualising and pathologising the issue, and methodologically, through mailed self-report questionnaires. Wider contextual influences are neglected. This thesis will rectify the decontextualisation of workaholism. The following chapters outline how this will be achieved.

Chapter 3

Alternative approaches to workaholism

3.1 Introduction

The chapter outlines neglected aspects and emerging perspectives in the workaholism literature. This study builds on the environmentally-orientated learning theory (McMillan, O'Driscoll, Marsh & Brady, 2001) and Machlowitz's (1980) work on the centrality of perspective to workaholism. These elements of the literature are described below.

3.2 Recent developments in the workaholism literature

In recent years, a number of theorists have proposed new conceptualisations of workaholism. Snir and Zohar (2000) define workaholism as a person's significant allocation of time to work related activities and thoughts, which is not due to economic need. Further to this, McMillan, O'Driscoll and Brady (2004) portray workaholism as being characterised by an unwillingness to disengage from work, which is evident in a person's tendency to work or to think about work in any setting and at any time (McMillan et al, 2004). These additions to the literature position the invasion of work activity into non-work domains, as a core aspect of workaholism. This feeds into boundary theories (e.g. Campbell-Clark, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Zerubavel, 1991; Richter, 1990), which differentiate between work and home domains and conceptualise the notion of boundaries between the two. These new definitions' emphasis on time also resonate with Csikszentmihalyi's (1990; 1997) theory of 'flow'. This asserts that the experience of 'flow' occurs when individuals are in a state of deep focus due to engagement in a challenging, intrinsically rewarding task that demands intense concentration and commitment. Individuals in 'flow' thereby lose track of time. The viability of these new definitions is currently being explored. For instance, in Snir & Harpaz (2004) economic need was determined by inquiring about the participants' numbers of dependents. Lifestyle and financial situation were not examined. The preliminary findings of McMillan et al (2004) will be discussed in chapter 4.

Another recent tenet in the literature emphasises the relationship between obsessive-compulsive personality disorder and workaholism. Naughton (1987) and Mudrack (2004) present workaholism as a behavioural tendency characterised by high job involvement and obsessive-compulsive personality disorder. However, this conceptualisation has yet to be empirically established. This is similar to Clark's (1993) Schedule of Non-adaptive and Adaptive Personality (SNAP) measure. This questionnaire portrays workaholism as overlapping with obsessive-compulsive personality disorder in particular the perfectionism, non-delegation, obsessive and hypomania dimensions. This measure was developed on an a priori theoretical basis and has yet to be used in a workaholism study. Similar to the dominant theoretical frameworks, this conceptualisation of workaholism reduces the issue to the individual level. This section has described emerging aspects of the literature. Next, the importance of under-explored theory for this study will be discussed.

3.3 The significance of learning theory for this study

McMillan et al (2001) proposed a new means of conceptualising workaholism as a learnt behaviour. Behaviour analysis or learning theory is the study of behavioural patterns and the variables that influence such actions (Blackman & Lejeune, 1990). This school of thought was spearheaded by B.F. Skinner (1971). At its most extreme, behaviourism is concerned only with observable behaviour and the conditions of the environment which elicit particular behaviour. As such, invisible concepts like personality traits or defence mechanisms are conceived of as a set of behaviours and are not investigated (Nye, 2000).

The operant model of learning theory interprets behaviour changes as being a result of response-dependent consequences (i.e. due to the result of a certain behaviour) (Grant & Evans, 1994). Positive reinforcement, punishment, escape and avoidance are all examples of operant conditioning procedures (Watson, 1994). Firstly, the principle of positive reinforcement is built on the premise that rewards

influence human behaviour. There are several different kinds of reinforcers: conditioned and unconditioned, extrinsic and intrinsic, social and non-social, and natural and contrived (Staddon, 1993). Another procedure is punishment, which is a collection of methods that reduce responding or eliminate behaviour (Wozniak, 1994). There are many types including physical punishment, reprimands and 'timeout'. Thirdly, escape conditioning is the response-dependent removal of a stimulus that strengthens a response. Finally, avoidance conditioning involves making a stimulus change dependent on the failure to respond, which causes the response to be strengthened (Franks, 2001). These are the major aspects of the operant learning model, the key component of modern day learning theory.

Behaviourism was the dominant school of thought in American psychology from the 1940's through to the 1960's. It was superseded by the cognitive revolution during the 1970's. Cognitive psychologists were critical of behaviourism's neglect of internal mental processes (Murray, 1995). Within contemporary psychology, behavioural principles are still applied to a variety of areas (e.g. teaching social skills to those with autism) (Schwartz & Robbins, 1995). The main premises of learning theory have been described. In particular, the emphasis on environmental conditions was highlighted. The application of this school of thought to the workaholism literature will be discussed below.

3.4 Application of learning theory to workaholism

In the learning theory framework, workaholism is defined as

'a relatively durable behaviour that is learned via operant conditioning, a form of learning in which a voluntary response comes under the control of its consequences because it earns a desired outcome' (McMillan et al, 2001, p.80).

This model implies that workaholism will develop only when work results in desired outcomes, and so will be more likely to occur in some organisations and cultures than in others. An example of this would be that workaholism might be expected to be more prevalent in higher earning and higher status occupations. Every workaholic's behaviour and the context in which it occurs would be considered individually within this approach, enabling nuances in personal history to be taken into account (McMillan et al, 2001). Although the learning theory interpretation of workaholism was postulated in 2001, it has yet to be empirically investigated. This model draws attention to the environmental aspects of workaholism, allowing a more holistic understanding of workaholism to be explored. This study will build upon this unexamined element of the literature. The relevance of another neglected study will be presented in the following section.

3.5 The significance of Machlowitz (1980) for this study

Machlowitz (1980) conducted the first scientific investigation of workaholism. A description of this work will be presented, along with its relevance to this study. This researcher defined workaholism as 'a desire to work long and hard, beyond the prescriptions of the job and the expectations of co-workers' (p.3). This definition is the only one derived from data collected in the field. Other workaholism definitions were arrived at on an a priori basis (i.e. conceptualisations that occurred prior to fieldwork). This interpretation positions prescriptions and expectations of others as being central to the concept. In the only qualitative workaholism research to date, Machlowitz (1980) interviewed individuals who were notorious for working long hours and who were identified through features in newspapers and magazines, and by colleagues of the researcher. Thus, her sampling techniques took perspective into account. Also, the consequences of workaholism were conceptualised as being dependent on what point of view is taken (i.e. workaholic's perspective Vs family's perspective Vs colleague's perspective).

Machlowitz's research is the only study that claims that workaholics are quite healthy and happy. This finding is consistent with recent research conducted by McMillan and O' Driscoll (2004) which found that workaholism may not be as toxic as first thought. This assertion also concurs with Friedman and Lobel (2003), who claim that 'happy workaholics' are good role models for employees. These authors define workaholics as those whose priorities lie in the work domain. It is argued that these individuals set a good example because they are authentic and live their lives according to their deeply held values. Indeed, Machlowitz (1980) suggested that once workaholism is better understood, it may be possible to use research findings to enrich the experience of working for non-workaholics.

Machlowitz's conclusions have not been given much attention by subsequent theorists. Her study is often mentioned in the literature review sections of papers, but theorists do not consider the conceptual implications of her research. This thesis revisits this seminal, but neglected piece of work. However, this study employs a European sample in the 21st century as opposed to 1970's North American participants as in Machlowitz (1980). It employs Machlowitz's definition that workaholics work beyond prescriptions of job and economic necessity, work long and hard and views perspective as important to understanding workaholism. Yet, this study does not adopt Machlowitz's assertion that workaholism is caused by intrinsic motivation, as this theory is adopting a contextual approach to the issue. Rather, borrowing from learning theory, it claims that workaholism is caused by environmental elements. It also endorses the proposition that workaholism is only problematic for those who live with, and work with, workaholics. Therefore, it builds on Machlowitz's work and proposes that the concept of workaholism requires contextualisation.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter described recent developments in the workaholism literature and highlighted neglected aspects that will be addressed by this study. Machlowitz's (1980) definition and findings point towards the significance of perspective to the construct. Machlowitz's (1980) work has largely been ignored by contemporary theorists. Similarly, the under-explored learning theory approach to workaholism

underlines the importance of the environment. This thesis builds on the environmentally-orientated antecedents of learning theory (McMillan et al, 2001) as well as Machlowitz's (1980) work on the centrality of perspective to the concept of workaholism. The theoretical standpoint of this study will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Towards contextualising workaholism

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the theoretical approach to workaholism adopted. Firstly, illustrations of the neglect of the social context within the existing workaholism literature are presented. The importance of the environmental context to work related issues is then explored by presenting karoshi literature, the field of Irish sociology of work and the influence of the familial and educational contexts on work patterns. Subsequently, the theoretical gap that the thesis addresses is highlighted. The research questions that this study seeks to answer are identified at the end of the chapter.

4.2 Workaholism and the social context

As previously mentioned, the existing dominant theoretical models typically examine workaholism within an environmental vacuum. The social context is usually neglected (e.g. Robinson & Kelley, 1999; Burke, 2000; Porter, 2001b). Socio-cultural issues have yet to be addressed in any of the studies conducted in North America (Robinson & Carroll, 1999; Burke, 2003, 2004b), Europe (Burke, Richardsen & Mortinussen, 2004a, 2004b; Taris, Schaufeli & Verhoven, 2005; Buelens & Poelmans, 2004), Australia (Burke, Burgess & Oberklaid, 2003) or New Zealand (McMillan, O' Driscoll, Marsh & Brady, 2002; McMillan, O'Driscoll & Brady, 2004). Burke and Koksal's (2002) paper demonstrates this disregard of the environmental dimension. These authors attempted to replicate with a Turkish sample, workaholism studies that had been conducted in North America (e.g. Burke, 1999a; 1999b; 1999c) employing Spence and Robbins' (1992) inventory. The authors stress that this was an exploratory study. However, cultural issues which have implications for the research findings were not referred to (e.g. eastern Vs western work practices or Muslim Vs Christian traditions and values). Moreover, it is unclear from the journal article whether the language barrier was addressed or not.

For instance, the researchers did not report examining the Spence and Robbins' (1992) items for colloquialisms that may have been inappropriate for these respondents. This study typifies the marginality of contextual issues within the current workaholism literature.

Several of the most recent pieces of research on workaholism have begun to incorporate some aspects of the social environment. McMillan, O'Driscoll and Brady (2004) explored the effects of workaholism on personal relationships. Both workaholics' self-ratings and significant others' ratings of enjoyment of work, drive, workaholism, and satisfaction with partner were examined. Findings indicated that workaholism has only a minor impact on intimate relationships. The use of dyads is quite innovative. Prior to this paper, the workaholic in isolation was the main focus of methodologies. Therefore, the contextualised approach to workaholism proposed and the inclusion of significant others in this thesis is consistent with emerging trends in the latest research.

4.3 The importance of the context to work related issues

The importance of the socio-cultural climate, and organisational issues when examining work related issues, are evident when one explores the literature on *karoshi*, the sociology of work in Ireland, as well as the influence of the family and school contexts on work behaviours.

4.3.1 Karoshi: the importance of the context to work related issues

The importance of the socio-cultural climate when examining work related issues becomes evident when one examines the *karoshi* research. The term *karoshi* was coined in the early 1980's, by Uehata at the National Institute of Public Health in Tokyo. It refers to death or permanent disability caused by cardiovascular problems, mediated by excessive work and stress (Uehata, Ka & Sekiya, 1991). The stereotype of the *karoshi* worker presented in the literature is quite rudimentary (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994). It paints a dehumanising picture that depicts the Japanese as mindless robots without human feelings and individual desires (Cole, 1992).

To fully understand the phenomenon of *karoshi*, the socio-cultural landscape needs to be taken into account. For the Japanese, work is simply living as one is supposed to live in accordance with the order of society (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994). It is the process of carrying out obligations owed to society and to oneself as a social being (Cole, 1992). Psycho-social factors such as peer pressure, childhood socialisation practices, a social value system that exhorts perseverance, and a family structure in which the man is the only breadwinner, may perpetuate the syndrome. Meek (1999, 2004) asserts that one intrinsic aspect of the Japanese philosophy of life, which can account for *karoshi* is the concept of 'ganbaru', which means to suffer in silence and to endure difficulties. This element of the Japanese mentality is rewarded by unconditional support and dependence ('amaeru') on an individual's primary social group. During childhood, this primary group is the family, whereas the company becomes the main social group in adulthood. This has led to the 'nenko' system of lifetime employment. Overtime is thereby associated less with work and more with pleasant socialising with one's colleagues (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994). Similarly, it has been reported that employees feel uncomfortable taking days off, as they would be letting the collective community down for individual reasons (Cole, 1992). These features of Japanese cultural life provide a more in-depth explanation of the phenomenon of *karoshi*.

A historical slant should also be adopted when attempting to understand the concept of *karoshi*. The pre-World War II Japanese lived in circumstances bordering on poverty, bound by the moral obligation of self-sacrifice for the country, with the daily necessities of food, clothing and shelter all in short supply. The post-war generation born during the first baby boom reached maturity in the period of high economic growth in the 1960's, with their desire for food, clothing and shelter fully satisfied (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994). Their aim in life was to serve the company by working hard, but they are now dubbed as *karoshi* sufferers. *Karoshi* theorists highlight the importance of the context when conceptualising work related behaviours. In a similar vein, contextual factors such as socio-economic issues, history, as well as broader work ethics may influence workaholism.

4.3.2 The relevance of the Irish socio-cultural context to the study of workaholism

An understanding of workaholism cannot be attained without reference to the socio-cultural landscape. The term workaholism was coined towards the end of the 1960's in the US. (Oates, 1968). It probably would not have been possible to label workaholism in Ireland at that point in time. During the 1960's, Hutchinson (1969) referred to the low importance of work in the life of the majority of Irish people. This contrasted sharply with the emphasis placed on sociability and recreation. For most of the twentieth century, Ireland was an agrarian, communal based society and a late moderniser (Tovey & Share, 2000). The Protestant work ethic which views work as intrinsically good has not traditionally been part of the Irish psyche, perhaps due to the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. Weber (1958) asserted that Protestants were committed to an ethic of hard work and success in their working lives, but saw this as a way to honour God. This traditional way of life in Ireland has recently changed dramatically.

The rapid cultural change in Irish society which accompanied the economic boom in the late 1990's may have been conducive to workaholism. There has been a growth in the process of secularisation in Irish society in recent years (Inglis, 1998). Secularisation is the way in which a supernatural, spiritual orientation to life gradually gives way to a rational, material and technological approach (Gibbons, 1996). Contemporary theorists such as Kirby (2002) conclude that values such as individualism, materialism and a failure to value caring are seen to be characteristic of life in the 'Celtic tiger' era. Lee (1999) also posits that in modern Ireland people exist solely as producers and consumers. These attributes are seen to be both social values and personal characteristics to be cultivated by the individual (Peillon, 2002). It is only since the advent of the 'Celtic tiger' epoch that workaholism may have emerged in Irish society. Indeed, Sprankle and Ebel (1987) view workaholism as propagated by society's search for salvation through work and to the rise of individuation. This theoretical claim requires scientific validation, a situation that will be rectified by the thesis. Therefore, to fully understand workaholism it is necessary to immerse the issue within a socio-cultural context.

4.3.3 The impact of the familial context on work behaviours

The family context exerts significant influence over an individual's work behaviour in adult life (Arnett, 2004). The family of origin and family of procreation have differing impacts on work patterns. The former influences career development in the opportunities that are provided for children (e.g. trips to the library and paying college costs). As such, the family's socio-economic status is highly influential in determining the child's career choice and eventual occupational attainment (Conger & Galambos, 1997). Values, norms and expectations for achievement are also transferred and internalised via parent-child relations (Schaie & Willis, 1996). In particular, parenting style impacts strongly on work behaviours (Arnett, 2004). The authoritative mode of parenting (i.e. highly demanding and high responsiveness) is thought to produce the highest level of school success among students (Steinberg, 1996).

The family of procreation context also significantly influences workplace behaviour. A large proportion of the workforce is involved in multiple roles (i.e. parent, employee and spouse) (Arnett, 2004). There is an on-going debate about whether having such a large number of roles is beneficial or detrimental to an individual's mental and physical health (Maylin, 2004). Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that experiences from the home and work environments 'spill over' and affect both contexts (Conger & Galambos, 1997). One manner in which family affects employees is through absenteeism. Family demands may interfere with work commitments, for example, if a child is ill or child-care arrangements cannot be organised (Shaie & Willis, 1996). Hence, both family of origin and procreation are key factors in shaping behaviour in the workplace.

4.3.4 The influence of the educational context on work patterns

The school setting acts as a socialising agent for the workplace, an influence emphasised in Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model of human development. This social system provides the intellectual and social skills that children will use to perform roles within the adult world (Berns, 1997). It introduces pupils to notions of achievement and authority, coping and time-management skills as well as a variety of social relationships (Haycock, 1991). In essence, school educates students on how

to become fully functioning and productive members of society. A major goal of school is thereby to develop appropriate work attitudes and habits that are important for the continued development of society (Goodlad, 1984). Factors that affect the extent of the school's influence over their pupils include class size, peer group and socio-economic status of the school. Thus, the educational context is an important influence on work patterns.

4.4 Theoretical gap this thesis will address

The preceding chapters have highlighted that the construct of workaholism is still not fully understood and is side-stepped in most research on the issue (Harpaz & Snir, 2003; McMillan et al, 2003; Scott et al, 1997). Consideration of the environmental dimensions of workaholism has been shown to be a major blind spot. In addition, the causes or antecedents of workaholism have been underlined as a neglected aspect of workaholism research. These issues will be rectified by this study.

The only consensus within the literature is that workaholism involves excessive working (Harpaz & Snir, 2003). However, contextual norms define what is excessive. The notion of excessivity implies that there is a norm or average workload. Yet, this varies greatly depending on the occupation, wider socio-cultural work ethic and what the labeller perceives as 'the norm' for work habits. Further to this, an individual's co-workers, supervisor, friends and family may have a wide variety of opinions on whether a certain individual's behaviour warrants the label of workaholism depending on their relationship with the individual in question. As such, Peiperl and Jones (2001) suggest that the workaholic is in the eye of the beholder, in other words determining how much work is too much is a very subjective endeavour. It is thereby imperative that the context is central to understanding workaholism.

The socio-cultural aspects of workaholism are further marginalised methodologically. The innovativeness of the methods used in this research will solve the flaws of the existing literature. A half hour session using psychometric tests is typical of the research strategy employed. The voice of participants in workaholism

studies are thus muffled by questionnaires based on theorists' conceptualisations rather than data gathered in the field. This thesis will address this problem by conducting semi-structured interviews and qualitatively analysing participants' words. Notably, partners, colleagues and friends will be interviewed for the first time in workaholism research. This research is significantly the first qualitative study of the issue in twenty-five years. Construct confusion has marred some workaholism studies. This will be avoided by not introducing quantitative measures from other cognisant fields of research (e.g. work stress). Also, typical sampling errors of using inappropriate, college based samples of convenience will be evaded by actively searching for a full-time employed population. Furthermore, this thesis is the first to adopt a social constructionist (Patton, 2002) approach as opposed to a realist slant (Punch, 2005). It is the first to examine the language used around the issue of excessive working through discourse analysis. Hence, this study addresses a significant number of methodological gaps.

This thesis introduces a theoretical reworking of the concept, whereby a contextualised approach to understanding workaholism is proposed. Contextualising workaholism is quite a pertinent issue given the recent increase in research conducted in a range of different countries (Burke, Richardsen & Mortinussen, 2004a, 2004b; Taris, Schaufeli & Verhoven, 2005). A number of social contexts will be investigated. Firstly, within the addiction framework, Robinson (1998; 2001) has theorised about the relationship between dysfunctional families and workaholism. This study will examine the construed influence of both the family of origin and of procreation in creating workaholism. Secondly, the constructed role of school contexts in causing workaholism has yet to be examined. Additionally, the significance of both the broad socio-cultural and organisational contexts to work related issues was illustrated by drawing on the *karoshi* and the Irish sociological literatures. Consequently, this research will contextualise the issue of workaholism by examining familial, educational, occupational and national contexts as explanations for the causes of workaholism. The consequences of workaholism will also be explored from a contextualised perspective, to determine if those surrounding the workaholic are construed as more adversely affected by the issue than the workaholic in question. The contextually based research strategy also addresses numerous methodological gaps in the workaholism literature. Therefore, the main

thesis is that workaholism is a construct that requires contextualisation. The major contributions of this study are summarised in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Key contributions of this study

Conceptual contributions	1. First study to view workaholism as a contextual phenomenon.
	2. First workaholism study to address the neglect of the environment.
	3. Rectifies neglect of antecedents.
	4. First study to investigate socio-cultural contexts as antecedents (familial, educational, organisational, national).
	5. Adopts a contextualised approach to consequences.
	6. Builds on under-explored elements of the literature (i.e. Machlowitz, 1980; McMillan et al, 2001).
	7. One of the few studies that attempts to decipher the concept of workaholism.
Methodological contributions	8. First qualitative study in over 25 years.
	9. First study to interview partners, friends and colleagues.
	10. First study to adopt a social constructionist philosophical slant.
	11. First workaholism study to use discourse analysis.

4.5 Research questions

The major overarching research question asks: Is workaholism constructed as a contextualised concept? This is sub-divided into three minor questions.

1. Is workaholism constructed as originating from environmental influences or internal causes (i.e. trait or addiction)?
2. Is workaholism constructed as negatively impacting on those who live and work with individuals with excessive work habits?
3. Is workaholism constructed as negatively or positively impacting on the individual with excessive work habits?

4.6 Conclusion

A theoretical reworking of workaholism as a contextualised conceptualisation is proposed. This thesis advocates attending to social context rather than internal explanations. Familial, educational, occupational and national contexts will be examined as explanations for the causes of workaholism. The construed consequences of workaholism will be investigated from a contextualised perspective, concerning whether those surrounding the workaholic are positioned as being more adversely effected by the issue than the workaholic in question. This study will also expand the limited methodological tools of the workaholism literature, by taking a qualitative standpoint. The following section will detail the methodological approach adopted.

Section summary:

Methodology

This section will explore methodological issues. Firstly, chapter five will detail a variety of methodological options. It will focus on the philosophy behind the qualitative-quantitative debate. A critical examination of each tradition will ensue, with criteria for generating credible research being outlined. Various tools for data collection will be described. Following this, strategies for sampling and analysis will be presented. The second chapter, chapter six, will highlight the methodological choices taken in this study. Qualitative interviewing techniques and Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool will be examined. Purposive and emergent sampling approaches along with discourse analysis will be explored. Ethical considerations will also be described. These choices will be justified by reference to the research questions.

Chapter 5

Methodological options available

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will describe various methodological options for research designs. The philosophical background of social science research will be introduced. The qualitative-quantitative dichotomy will then be explored. In particular, reliability, validity and generalisability issues will be examined. This section will also outline data collection methods such as triangulation and interviewing. Additionally, the techniques and logic behind numerous sampling strategies will be explained. Further to this, descriptions of the analytical approaches conversation analysis and discourse analysis will be included. Ethical considerations will be detailed towards the end of the chapter. These methodological issues will be linked to the aforementioned workaholism literature throughout this section.

5.2 Philosophy of science

There is a long-standing debate among philosophers of science about the nature of 'reality' (i.e. ontology) and knowledge (i.e. epistemology). This argument impacts on the aims of research and what defines 'good' research (Shadish, 1995). This dispute centres on the relative value of two competing research paradigms. The first is the quantitative tradition, rooted in the philosophy of positivism. The positivist searches for facts and the causes of social phenomena. These elements are viewed as being separate from people's subjective states (Patton, 2002). Hence, quantitative methods are used to generate and test hypothetical, deductive generalisations. In contrast, qualitative research is built on the philosophy of phenomenology. The phenomenologist seeks to understand social phenomena from the actor's perspective (Patton, 2002). Appreciating the way the world is

experienced is the core issue and 'reality' is what people perceive it to be (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Consequently, qualitative methods are employed inductively and holistically to examine constructed meanings in context-specific settings (Patton, 2002). To sum up, qualitative refers to the essence of a phenomenon, whereas quantitative indicates the amount of the phenomenon (Kvale, 1996).

The appropriateness of employing either qualitative or quantitative methods depends upon the research questions that are posited. Indeed, Mayring (1983) argues that the entire research process involves the interaction of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Every study begins with a qualitative analysis of the existing literature. The stages of data collection and analyses can be either mainly qualitative or quantitative, but can also be a mixture of both approaches. The final stage of reporting the results is mainly qualitative, as even statistical tables require interpretations of their meanings. Debating whether the qualitative or the quantitative approach is the best means for examining social science issues misses the key point. Research tools should be chosen on the basis of their 'fitness' for the research purpose (Donmoyer, 1996). To date, the majority of workaholism studies have been conducted from a quantitative standpoint. The quantitative and qualitative approaches to social science research will be detailed below.

5.3 Quantitative research

5.3.1 Philosophical approach of quantitative research

As mentioned in the previous section, the quantitative tradition is based on positivism. Positivists assert that truth can only be found by following general rules of method that are independent of the phenomenon being investigated. Any influence of the quantitative researcher on the study is minimised (Kvale, 1996). Scientific facts should be quantifiable and data should be intersubjectively reproducible. Positivism views scientific statements as value neutral and

distinguished from politics (Punch, 2005). Indeed, the emergence of the social sciences was closely linked to positivism. Both positivist philosophy and sociology were founded by Comte in mid-nineteenth century France. Positivism emerged as a reaction to religious dogma and metaphysical speculation (Kvale, 1996). It has often been viewed as uncritical because it ignores the political, historical and social context. Nevertheless, positivists have expanded social research beyond myth and common sense (Silverman, 2001). The next section presents the various tools that are used in quantitative research.

5.3.2 *Quantitative methods of research*

Bryman (1988) outlined the main methods of quantitative social science research. The first being self-report questionnaires, which test hypotheses, use random representative samples and measure variables. Surveys enable a variety of people's experiences to be matched to predetermined, numbered response categories (Punch, 2005). They also allow the examination of how widely a view or belief is held. This method is quite common due to its ease of administration and data analysis. Within the workaholism literature, it is the most frequently used research tool. However, questionnaires are limited in their ability to explore the world of the respondents (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Similarly, psychometric instruments such as attitude and rating scales are used to categorise individuals (e.g. as extroverts and introverts).

Another quantitative method is the experiment, one of the main research tools used by psychologists (Mason, 2002). In an experiment, people are randomly divided into the treatment group and the control group. The independent variable is then manipulated for the treatment group, but not for the control group (Silverman, 2001). There are three types of experimental designs; true experiment, quasi-experiment and non-experimental. These designs have varying levels of experimental rigour; the true experiment being the most rigorous and the non-experimental being the least (Bailey, 1997). They vary because it is difficult to reach true experimental design standards when researching humans. These approaches differ in terms of three principles (i.e. control, manipulation and randomisation) (Punch, 2005). Control involves the control or removal of any irrelevant influences. One or more measurable

variables which are related to the subjects are manipulated, whereas randomisation ensures that systematic bias does not affect or interfere with the study. This is achieved by making sure that the sample is representative and that the treatment and control groups are similar (Patton, 2002).

True experimental designs involve manipulation, control and randomisation. They enable cause and effect research. This allows the claim to be made that the manipulation of the independent variable resulted in the changes in the dependent variable (Patton, 2002). In quasi-experimental designs, manipulation is always present but either control or randomisation may be absent. If randomisation has not taken place, then the results of the study cannot be generalised. In a similar vein, if the control issue cannot be addressed, then the findings may have been influenced by elements outside of the study (Silverman, 2001). Non-experimental designs do not feature manipulation, control or randomisation. These studies often involve variables that cannot be manipulated (e.g. height) or that occurred in the past (e.g. an accident). These types of research designs also entail the measurement and comparison of two or more variables (e.g. correlational studies) (Bailey, 1997). Other quantitative methods include analysing large databases of official statistics and recording structured observations on a predetermined schedule (Bryman, 1988). The following section highlights the advantages of using these quantitative tools.

5.3.3 Advantages of the quantitative approach

Quantitative research enables the measurement of a large number of people's reactions to a limited number of questions. This facilitates the statistical aggregation of data and results in succinct and generalisable findings (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). The quantitative method is built upon notions of precise measurement, tangibility and calculation. Thus, there is a clear and obvious end point to the process of data analysis (Punch, 2005). The quantitative approach also allows specific hypotheses to be clearly answered through factual statistical outputs. Another advantage is that it leads to the establishment of value-free scientific laws, independent of contextual influences (Bailey, 1997). The disadvantages of the quantitative approach will be described in the next section.

5.3.4 *Criticisms of quantitative research*

Several criticisms have been levelled at quantitative research. For instance, little or no contact occurs between the researcher and the 'researched' (Punch, 2005). Along with this, statistical correlations may be built on 'variables' that are arbitrarily defined (Silverman, 2001). Measuring highly problematic concepts such as 'delinquency' or 'intelligence' may result in values entering into the research process (Bailey, 1997). As such, critics assert that quantitative methods may not be appropriate for investigating certain research questions (Mason, 2002). The criteria for producing quality quantitative research will be outlined below.

5.3.5 *Credible quantitative research*

Generating credible quantitative research involves maximising validity and reliability and ensuring that findings are generalisable (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Validity is the extent to which an account accurately depicts the social phenomenon it purports to (Hammersley, 1992). Proposing a 'true' accurate depiction involves two possible types of error; type 1 and type 2 (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Type 1 error involves believing a statement to be true when it is not. This is referred to as rejecting the 'null hypothesis' in statistical terms. Type 2 error involves rejecting a truthful statement or incorrectly supporting the 'null hypothesis'. A common form of type 1 error is known as a 'spurious' correlation. For example, even if the variable A always appears to follow B, this does not mean that A causes B. There might be a third factor C which produces both A and B. The quantitative researcher uses tools to guard against the possibility of spurious correlations.

Quantitative research assumes that there is a stable reality 'out there' that is to be precisely measured and described. As a result, it is imperative that the findings are not contaminated by the research process. In other words, the design and tools need to be reliable (Patton, 2002). For example, in interview survey research, reliability is mostly concerned with trying to reduce interviewer bias. It is ensured that all interviewees are asked exactly the same questions and given similar types of clarification. This is achieved by pre-testing interview schedules, using as many fixed-choice answers as possible, and conducting inter-rater reliability checks on the

coding of answers to open-ended questions (Silverman, 2001). Kirk and Miller (1986) also described three different kinds of reliability, namely quixotic, diachronic and synchronic. Quixotic reliability refers to instances when a single research method consistently yields the same result. Diachronic reliability is when an observation is stable across different time periods. Finally, synchronic reliability occurs when the same observations happen within the same time frame. This part of the chapter has detailed the philosophy, methods, merits and criticisms of the quantitative research. The next section details the qualitative approach.

5.4 Qualitative research

5.4.1 Philosophical approach of qualitative research

There is no underlying, unifying doctrine for qualitative researchers. Instead, there are numerous philosophical orientations within the qualitative tradition. These schools of thought include ethnographic, interpretivist, biographical, life history, humanist, conversation analysis, discourse analysis and psychoanalytical approaches (Mason, 2002). Ethnography is concerned with the study of culture. The epistemology that it is based on claims that culture can become known through immersion in the social setting. Hence, the cultural setting is used as a data source. Observation and participation are central to ethnographic data collection. Ethnographers draw on a variety of research techniques such as collecting narratives, visual materials, and oral histories (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001).

Unlike ethnography, interpretivism does not require total immersion in the research setting. Rather, interviews are an effective research tool for understanding an individual's and the wider social group's cognitive processes, customs and social norms. The interpretivist approach views people's interpretations, meanings and understandings as the main source of data (Patton, 2002). Interpretivists attempt to understand the social world that individuals create and recreate through their ongoing social activities (Blakie, 2000). Similarly, biographical, life history and

humanist approaches all view people as active social agents. Within these schools of thought, life narrative, biography and autobiography communicate the essence of social actors. These approaches are thereby highly interpretative. Indeed, some interpretivists use the life story as a means of examining social, cultural and economic history (Mason, 2002). A distinctive type of humanism, known as critical humanism, is concerned with people's responses to social constraints (Plummer, 2001). Critical humanism explores talk, feelings and actions in their social and economic organisation. The critical humanist aims to advance a social world characterised by less exploitation and more equality (Plummer, 2001).

Conversation analysis and discourse analysis occupy the opposite end of the spectrum to interpretivism and biographical/humanist approaches. Both conversation and discourse analysis emphasise talk and text as the main source of data. Neither the humanist notion of the holistic human agent or the interpretivist view of meanings and reasoning processes are relevant to conversation or discourse analysis (Mason, 2002). Conversation analysis empirically examines people's methods for producing orderly social interaction, especially in naturally occurring talk (Silverman, 2001). Alternatively, discourse analysts investigate the manner in which the social world is constructed through discursive practices and subject positions. Discourse analysis is rooted in the philosophy of social constructionism. This approach, built on the philosophy of ontological relativity, claims that humans do not have access to a stable and fully knowable external reality (Patton, 2002). All understandings are thereby contextually embedded, interpersonally forged and limited (Neimeyer, 1993). 'Truth' is a matter of consensus among the informed constructors and is not due to an objective reality. Similarly, the idea of an objective 'fact' has no meaning outside of some value framework.

In contrast to conversation and discourse analysis, the psychoanalytic view of the individual is that there is a whole person. Yet, it is not the active social agent that is evident in biographical and humanist perspectives (Mason, 2002). Psychoanalytic approaches investigate the 'psycho-social subject' which is an inner, rational social agent (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). The psychoanalytic slant utilises methods for gaining insight into the subconscious elements of a subject's experience. One of

these ways is through free association where the participant says whatever comes to mind. Thus, this type of narrative is built by unconscious rather than conscious logic. As a result, the free associations follow a route defined by emotional rather than cognitive intentions (Holloway & Jefferson, 2000). This section has examined a variety of philosophies underlying qualitative research. The following paragraph will detail the types of data collection tools used by qualitative researchers.

5.4.2 Qualitative research methods

Qualitative researchers employ unique data collection and fieldwork strategies. In-depth interviewing, focus groups, participant observation and diary entries are all qualitative methods. Interviewing is the only qualitative research method that has been attempted in workaholism studies. The qualitative inquirer gets quite close to the people, the situation and the phenomenon being examined. Consequently, understanding without judgement is required. This is achieved by displaying openness, sensitivity and responsiveness (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Qualitative researchers also need to be aware of their voice in the research process. Qualitative data consists of thick description, direct quotations and conscientious document review. The analytical process is guided by analytical principles rather than governed by rules and ends with a creative synthesis (Mason, 2002). The advantages of this approach are described below.

5.4.3 Merits of the qualitative approach

Qualitative researchers engage in naturalistic inquiry, by studying real-world situations in a non-manipulative and non-controlling manner. Accordingly, findings are not constrained by predetermined research design specifications. The qualitative investigator is more aware of societal processes and group dynamics (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Valuable insights into the participants' worldviews can thus be gained. Qualitative studies also demonstrate emergent design flexibility, which adapt to changing situations and deepening understandings (Patton, 2002). Qualitative findings are always embedded within a socio-historical context (Mason, 2002). This results in a more in-depth understanding of the concepts under investigation. This type of research analyses words rather than numbers and so

meanings are stressed more than behaviours (Hammersley, 1992). As such, qualitative research can add colour to the blueprints of quantitative research findings.

5.4.4 Criticisms of the qualitative approach

Qualitative research has been criticised on a number of fronts. These focus on the lack of standardisation of research processes, in particular the finishing point for data collection. Moreover, qualitative research requires that the investigator immerse themselves fully in the data (Bailey, 1997). Frequently, qualitative studies raise more questions than provide answers (Patton, 2002). This approach also has difficulties in studying large numbers and organising sizeable amounts of data (Punch, 2005).

5.4.5 Credible qualitative research

Questions about the quality of qualitative research are fraught with philosophical dilemmas. Much of the philosophy underlying the qualitative approach is explicitly anti-positivist, anti-realist and anti-modernist. Yet, it is from these methodological traditions that criteria for assessing research have traditionally emerged (Mason, 2002). As a result, the established measures of validity, generalisability and reliability for evaluating scientific rigour are irrelevant to qualitative investigations (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The qualitative slant on these issues is detailed below.

5.4.6 The reliability issue applied to qualitative research

Within qualitative research, reliability refers to the extent to which instances are consistently assigned to the same category by different observers (Hammersley, 1992). The most common way of achieving this is through 'inter-rater reliability' (Armstrong, Gosling, Weinman & Martaeu, 1997). This involves asking a number of raters to examine the same data while independently generating a set of coding categories. These codes are reviewed, disagreements discussed and the percentage of agreed codes calculated (Bryman, 1988). Reliability can also be achieved through documenting the research procedure, using verbatim transcriptions rather than the

researcher's reconstructions and ensuring that long extracts of the data, including interview questions, are included in the report (Seale, 1999).

5.4.7 The validity issue applied to qualitative research

This section presents several methods for validating qualitative studies. The first is analytic induction, whereby a small body of data is examined to see whether the hypothesis relates to it. If it does not, then the hypothesis is refined or the phenomenon is redefined to exclude the case (i.e. the constant comparative method). All exceptional cases are eliminated as hypotheses are continuously revised until all the data fits (i.e. the search for deviant cases technique) (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). Another approach, respondent validation, involves taking the research findings back to the participants for comments. Ensuring that the sample is fit for the research purpose also improves validity (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Finally, within an interview study, validity can be enhanced by techniques that allow informants to express their worldview and schedules that are informed by the literature, pilot work and research questions (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

5.4.8 The generalisability issue applied to qualitative research

Generalisability refers to the extent to which some broad claims based on the study can be made (Mason, 2002). In quantitative research, generalisability is typically achieved by statistical sampling strategies. These procedures allow inferences about the representative sample to be applied to the wider population. Such sampling techniques are unavailable in qualitative research. Generalisability can be attained, however, by combining qualitative research with quantitative measures of populations. Another procedure involves conducting purposive sampling guided by time, resources and theory (Silverman, 2003). This is examined in more detail in the sampling section of this chapter. Further criteria for establishing credibility within qualitative research include examination but not elimination of the researcher's role (Arksey & Knight, 1999) and presenting a convincing argument for the suitability of the chosen methods (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). This section has detailed the meaning, merits and disadvantages of qualitative research. The following part describes the technique of triangulation.

5.5 Triangulation

Triangulation is a navigation technique whereby two known landmarks are used to define a third. Webb, Campbell, Schwartz, and Sechrest (1966) were one of the first to use the term metaphorically in the social sciences. The underlying idea is that data is obtained from various sources by employing a number of methods, researchers or theories (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Triangulation serves two main functions; confirmation (Denzin, 1970) and completeness (Jick, 1983). Quantitative researchers use triangulation to confirm hypotheses and counterbalance the weaknesses of methods (Patton, 2002). Conversely, qualitative researchers employ it to achieve greater completeness. For example, semi-structured interviews examine an issue in depth and the commonness of this phenomenon can then be determined by surveys (Bryman, 1988). Exploring multiple sources of data also add depth and breadth to understandings in qualitative designs (Arksey & Knight, 1999).

There are four different types of triangulation including methodological, data, investigator and theoretical. Methodological triangulation draws on a number of methods for the collection and interpretation of data. Denzin (1970) distinguishes between 'within-method' and 'between-method' triangulation. The 'within-method' uses a variety of techniques within the one single method (e.g. a battery of psychometric instruments focusing on the same variable). However, 'between-method' triangulation is where two or more methods are utilised to measure the same phenomenon from a variety of different angles (Silverman, 2001). Data triangulation involves using diverse data sources to explore the same issue, whereas investigator triangulation is where a number of researchers are involved in the one study. With theoretical triangulation, a variety of perspectives are tested against the data so as to assess the explanatory power of each (Mason, 2002). Notably, between-method, investigator and theoretical triangulation have yet to be utilised in any workaholism study. The methodological tool of interviewing will be outlined below.

5.6 Interviewing

5.6.1 *The qualitative interview*

Qualitative interviewing offers the opportunity to engage in an in-depth, complex understanding of people's situated and contextual accounts (Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall, 1994). Using this method reflects the view that the social world is provisional, uneven, complex and contexted (Kvale, 1996). Qualitative interviewing enables the subject's voice to be heard. This is in stark contrast to the position of participants in workaholism research designs to date, where mailed self-report questionnaires are the primary means of data gathering. An interview is an interaction that requires orchestration of the social and intellectual dynamics. For instance, it must be ensured that the interview data is relevant to the research questions. Similarly, rapport must be established: Rapport is the degree of understanding, trust and respect between the researcher and the interviewee (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997). Many interviews are 'one-offs', so the opening stage is crucial to the success of the interview. Closing the interview on a positive note is also important. This can be achieved by thanking the interviewee for their valuable contribution (Arksey & Knight, 1999). This method thereby requires management of the interpersonal aspects of the situation.

5.6.2 *Designing interview questions*

Qualitative research, philosophically and methodologically, aims to avoid imposing predetermined responses when generating data. Thus, interview questions should be asked in an open-ended fashion that discourages dichotomous yes/no responses. Moreover, singular, clear questions help to avoid the interviewee feeling uncomfortable, ignorant, confused or hostile (Mason, 2002). According to Patton (2002), there are six types of interview questions. Experience and behaviour questions enquire about people's experiences, actions and activities. The second type is opinion and values questions, which try to understand people's cognitive and interpretative processes. The purpose of feeling questions is to elicit people's emotions to their experiences and thoughts. Another type is the knowledge questions, which inquire about respondent's factual information. Sensory questions ask about

what is seen, heard, touched, tasted and smelt. The final type of questions focus on demographic details (Patton, 2002).

In addition to questions, probes increase the richness and depth of responses. There are several types of probes, including detail-orientated questions (e.g. when? who? where? what? how?) that are used to obtain a complete picture of some activity. Elaboration probes (e.g. 'could you say some more about that?') are employed to keep the interviewee talking about a topic. Clarification probes are used to clarify ambiguity in some responses (e.g. 'I'm not sure I understand what you meant by that. Would you please elaborate?') It is also important to provide feedback during the interview (e.g. 'we're about halfway through the interview now and from my point of view, it's going very well. How's it going for you?'). In keeping with the ethos of open-ended interviewing, the interviewee should have the final say (e.g. 'that covers everything I wanted to ask. Anything you would like to add?') (Keats, 2000). This section has discussed the main issues pertaining to conducting interviews, namely the design of questions as well as the advantages and interpersonal aspects of this technique.

5.7 Sampling issues

Sampling refers to the processes employed to select relevant data sources. The term 'sampling' is typically associated with the statistical logic used in quantitative questionnaires. This involves selecting a sample which is representative of the total population being investigated (Patton, 2002). Any patterns that are found within the sample are thereby likely to appear in similar proportions in the broader population. The probability of this is calculated through statistical techniques (Keats, 2000). However, samples of convenience (i.e. MBA and undergraduate students) are frequently used in workaholism research.

Due to the small scale of studies and incompatibility with laws of probability, qualitative research demands an alternative rationale behind its sampling procedures (Mason, 2002). The most significant sampling strategy in qualitative research is theoretical or purposive sampling which was introduced by Glaser and Strauss

(1967) and developed further by Strauss and Corbin (1998). Theoretical sampling involves selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the study's research questions, theoretical position and analytical practice. Mason (2002) suggests that the process of purposive sampling is dynamic and on-going, being informed by analysis and theory. Patton (2002) outlined fifteen different types of purposive sampling, including extreme case sampling, intensity sampling and snowball sampling. The approaches most relevant to this study - theory based sampling and opportunistic sampling - will be described here. Theory based sampling is a conceptually orientated version of sampling. Incidents, time periods or people are sampled on the basis of their potential manifestation of important theoretical constructs. The sample then becomes representative of the phenomenon of interest. Opportunistic or emergent sampling often occurs during data collection when new opportunities emerge in the field. The difference between qualitative and quantitative sampling techniques has been highlighted in this section. Qualitative analytical approaches are outlined next.

5.8 The analytical approach of conversation analysis

The two main social science traditions that are employed in the analysis of transcripts of audiotapes are conversation analysis and discourse analysis. Neither of these approaches has been employed in workaholism studies. Conversation analysis describes people's methods for producing orderly social interaction (Silverman, 2001). Heritage (1984) outlined the three fundamental assumptions of conversation analysis, namely, the structural organisation of talk, sequential organisation, and the empirical grounding of analysis. The structural organisation of talk refers to the stable, organised patterns adhered to by participants. These processes are thought to exist independently of the psychological characteristics of particular individuals (Silverman, 2001). All speaking actions are viewed as being sequentially organised, or being embedded in the context of the previous sequence of conversation. The empirical grounding of analysis entails identifying the above two properties through precise examination of detailed transcripts. Conversation analysis is strongly 'data-driven', as it examines social processes of interaction that emerge from the data (Patton, 2002). Two of the main features of talk that conversation analysis is

concerned with are turn-taking and repair. Turn-taking in conversations has three aspects including how a speaker makes a turn relate to a previous turn, what the turn accomplishes interactionally and how the turn relates to the next turn. 'Repair mechanisms' come into effect when turn-taking errors and violations occur, such as when more than one person is speaking at a time. Overall, conversation analysis is an empirically oriented research endeavour that examines social interactions in an in-depth manner (Mason, 2002).

5.9 The analytical approach of discourse analysis

5.9.1 Introduction to discourse analysis

In comparison to conversation analysis, discourse analysis is more in keeping with conventional social science concerns (e.g. gender relations and social control). Potter (1997) defines discourse analysis as

'an analytic commitment to studying discourse as texts and talk in social practices... the focus is... on language as ... the medium for interaction; analysis of discourse becomes, then analysis of what people do. One theme that is particularly emphasised here is the rhetorical or argumentative organisation of talk and texts; claims and versions are constructed to undermine alternatives' (p.146).

The three unifying assumptions of discourse analysis are anti-realism, constructionism and reflexivity. The anti-realism tenet is against the assumption that accounts can be treated as true or false descriptions of 'reality'. Constructionism is concerned with participants' constructions of the social world, in particular how they are achieved and undermined (Potter, 1996). Reflexivity examines the way in which a text is one of many possible versions that establishes coherence, tells historical stories and presents an objective, out-there reality (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourse analysis does not imply that the nervous system on which psychological

processes are built does not exist. Instead, the central research topic is how the structures and functions of discursive exchanges are related (Harre, 1997). Within positivist psychological research, variability is normally not welcomed as the social world is viewed as rational, realist and clear-cut. Nevertheless, discourse analysts actively seek out variability in the data as it reveals a richer interpretation of the issue being examined. Cases of variability are incorporated into the coherent analysis of the text (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Issues relating to the quality of discourse analyses feature in the following section.

5.9.2 Warrantability and discourse analysis

Warranting in psychological studies typically refers to reliability and validity. Discourse analysis uses a different set of criteria which is in keeping with its alternative metatheoretical and epistemological perspective (Wood & Kroger, 2000). For instance, in discourse analysis there are multiple meanings and versions, none of which could be interpreted as 'the truth' that exists as singular and real (Gee, 1999). As a result, these analyses are evaluated upon the criteria of trustworthiness and soundness (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Trustworthiness involves providing a clear description of how the data was gathered and how it was analysed. This documentation of procedures enables accountability to be examined. It also allows the confirmability of claims to be determined, which tests if the interpretations are consistent with the available data (Parker, 2002). The criterion of soundness is met by presenting analysed texts and so demonstrating how conclusions were arrived at. In addition, warranting a claim is achieved by accounting for exceptions to the pattern and by discounting alternative claims (Edwards, 2000). Moreover, coherence of the analysis must be achieved by ensuring that all arguments fit together (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Claims also need to be plausible, persuasive and insightful (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Antaki, Billig, Edwards and Potter (2002) outline six shortcomings that detract from the warrantability of discourse analyses. These include: under-analysis through summary and taking sides, over-quotation or isolated quotation, spotting features and not analysing the function of these patterns. The circular identification

of discursive patterns and reifying them as 'real' mental constructs that exist outside the text is highlighted as another error found in discourse analyses. Along with these difficulties, a failure to present representative extracts is another flaw. Avoidance of these shortcomings increases the credibility of discourse analyses.

5.9.3 Different types of discourse analysis

There is a broad spectrum of discourse analysis forms which vary from micro-analysis to macro-analysis. Social interaction is the main focus of micro-analysis types such as interactional sociolinguistics and politeness theory. Turn taking, overlapping speech and repairing mechanisms are addressed during this variety of analysis. Conversely, macro-analysis styles of discourse analysis examine socio-political relations and power in society (e.g. critical discourse analysis, foucauldian analysis and post-structuralist discourse analysis) (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001a). Discursive psychology is situated between micro-analysis and macro-analysis. It focuses on the construction of sense-making, mind and selves through discourse (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This interpretation of psychology emphasises the importance of language. As such, discursive psychologists assert that the majority of psychological 'internal states' are constructed during social activity, through the use of discourse (Billig, 1997).

5.9.4 Different models of discursive psychology

There are two schools of thought within the field of discursive psychology, namely the discursive action model (DAM) proposed by Edwards and Potter (1992), and critical discursive psychology (CDP) advocated by Wetherell and Edley (1998). The CDP model is a macro-analysis type of discourse analysis, as it examines social and political power structures such as patriarchy. It concentrates on positionings, which refer to how individuals position themselves within the text (e.g. as agentive or passive). Another aspect of positioning involves identifying broad 'discourses' or interpretative repertoires, which participants use to define their identities (e.g. motherhood). However, Potter (1997) highlights the difficulty concerning the boundaries of particular repertoires outside of institutional settings.

The second approach, DAM, has more in common with micro-analysis types of discourse analysis, due to its focus on explaining, justifications and arguments. This model has three theoretical strands, namely that talk and text perform actions, that statements are constructed as facts, and that individuals have a stake in construing a phenomenon in a certain manner. Potter (1997) explains that individuals treat one another as entities with desires, motives, allegiances and as having a stake in their actions. Referencing stake undermines the significance of an action or of reframes its nature (Speer & Potter, 2000). These dilemmas of stake are managed by constructing accounts as factual. Indeed, memories and attributions are viewed by the DAM as one of many possible reports. These descriptions are situated within activities that the discourse is performing such as blamings and defences (Potter, 1996). Agency and accountability also bolster the formulation presented by the speaker (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Within the DAM, 'script' refers to the way in which individuals construct events or a person's mental state as scripted or normative. This device creates descriptions characterised by notions of appropriateness, responsibility and blame. Thus, the DAM concentrates on actions and not cognitions (Edwards, 2000). This section has detailed the various types of discourse analysis, especially drawing attention to the philosophy behind this approach.

5.10 Ethical issues

The contextual aspect of qualitative studies can result in the researcher's intimate engagement with the lives of the researched (Silverman, 2001). Most ethical guidelines emphasise the importance of 'informed consent'. This involves providing sufficient information about the study to the participants, so that they can make an informed decision about taking part (Mason, 2002). It also refers to obtaining consent by proxy (e.g. parent) from any subjects who are not competent to agree (e.g. young children). It is important to ensure that all participants freely volunteer and are not offered any payments for their time. Informants must be made aware that their contribution will be dealt with confidentially and anonymously. Withdrawal from the study at any time and requesting the removal of data must be identified as available options. These ethical considerations are consistent with the ethical code of conduct

for research psychologists (APA, 1992). Strikingly, ethical considerations have yet to be referred to in any workaholism study.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter detailed numerous approaches to social science research. It addressed the ongoing quantitative-qualitative dichotomy in current methodological techniques. Additionally, the merits, criticisms and criteria for credible research of both traditions were explained. The various means of collecting data and identifying a sample were also outlined. Analytical approaches and the ethical aspects of research were described in detail towards the end of the chapter. These methodological issues were tied to the workaholism literature throughout. The next chapter will demonstrate how the most appropriate of these methodological options were employed in this study.

Chapter 6

Methodological approaches adopted in the study

6.1 Introduction

The methodological approaches adopted in this study will be described. Firstly, the philosophical orientation will be examined. Secondly, the credibility of the research in relation to reliability, validity and generalisability issues will be outlined. Data collection was divided into two stages: screening and interviewing. The procedures involved in these will also be explored, along with the way in which triangulation was used. The sampling strategy, as well as sample size, occupational field, and subgroups will then be detailed. Next, the manner in which discourse analysis was applied to the interview transcripts will be demonstrated. Finally, ethical concerns that were addressed and a description of the pilot study will be presented. These chosen methodologies will be justified by reference to the research questions and the existing workaholism literature.

6.2 Philosophical background adopted in this study

As demonstrated in the literature review section, workaholism methodologies are overwhelmingly quantitative. The qualitative approach was adopted in this study as it was more in keeping with the proposed contextual research questions. The philosophical orientation was social constructionism (Neimeyer, 1993) because it embodies the constructed view of the world, fundamental to the research questions. This is the first workaholism study that has adopted a social constructionist as opposed to a realist approach to language and the social world. Unlike the quantitative approach, the complexities of social contexts surrounding workaholism were investigated in this study. This enabled the richness of the human experiences of excessive work patterns to be explored. Along with this, due to the non-manipulative nature of qualitative research designs, there was a lack of predetermined constraints on findings. This in-depth qualitative examination of the phenomenon yielded insightful results.

6.3 Credible qualitative research and this thesis

The criteria for credible qualitative research, outlined in the previous chapter, were strictly adhered to. The reliability issue was addressed by careful and extensive documentation of the research process, including verbatim transcriptions. Inter-rater reliability of the coding categories or 'nodes' was established. This involved providing a discourse analyst, who was not involved with this research project, with several representative interview transcripts. The discourse analyst coded this data. The level of inter-rater reliability attained was 96%. This means that 96% of the codes used in this study overlapped with the categories developed by the independent discourse analyst. In further efforts to attain reliability, long extracts of data and the interview questions that generated these answers were included. Validity was achieved through deviant case analysis, which is an inherent part of discourse analysis. Generalisability was obtained by employing a purposive sampling strategy. The neutrality criterion was met by the researcher being aware of, and critical of her voice in the research process. Convincing arguments were also put forward for the appropriateness of the chosen methodological approach. It was further ensured that all conclusions were supported by the data. As a result of these efforts, this became a highly credible qualitative piece of research. These criteria for quality research differ substantially from other workaholism studies, which are mostly quantitative

6.4 Triangulation employed in this study

As outlined in the preceding chapter, researchers who employ triangulation for the purpose of completeness typically endorse the viewpoint that social reality is multi-faceted, and their research is an attempt to reveal this complexity. Similarly, this study triangulates data sources and mixes data collection methods for completeness rather than confirmation. This is the first workaholism study to adopt such an approach as all other studies on this topic endorse a realist standpoint. Both Machlowitz's (1980) screening test and semi-structured interviews are employed to collect data. Research was conducted with participants from both workaholics and non-workaholics groups, as determined by their score on the Machlowitz (1980) measure, as well as with significant others and the emergent group of former workaholics.

6.5 Stage one of study - screening for participants

Machlowitz's (1980) measure was used so that it could be determined, prior to interviewing, participants' standing in relation to her definition of workaholism. This instrument was developed during Machlowitz's qualitative Masters degree and was utilised as a screening test for her doctoral research at Yale University. Machlowitz received two awards from the American Psychological Association (APA) in recognition of her pioneering research on workaholism. Each box of this tool ticked 'yes' warrants one point, whereas every 'no' response scores zero points. Anyone who scores above eight points is deemed a workaholic and anyone who scores below eight points is considered a non-workaholic (See appendix A).

As outlined in the literature review, this screening tool is the most robust questionnaire available. The statistical and conceptual foundations of the other workaholism measures are questionable. Further to this, Machlowitz's (1980) measure is the only one to emerge from data; all other workaholism tools are based on a priori theoretical assertions of researchers, which were subsequently tested in the field. Each item on the Machlowitz (1980) questionnaire is supported by interview data. It has no established empirical findings. Yet, the current study offers some validation and this will be illustrated in the analysis section. Machlowitz's (1980) dichotomous response scale (i.e. yes/no) is similar to the differential diagnosis response format employed by clinical psychologists when conducting a preliminary evaluation (APA, 2003). Her definition and measure are also consistent with the contextualised interpretation of workaholism adopted in this study. All the items on this test are contextual and normative. For example, item six asks if the individual works on weekends and holidays. This is viewed as workaholic behaviour because the majority of the workforce does not display these working patterns. Significantly, the majority of items on this measure refer to behavioural work patterns and not inherent attitudes.

Even though this questionnaire was based on a study conducted twenty-five years ago, the items do not refer to any aspects of work life that would render it outdated. It was also used by Doefler and Kammer (1986) in their quantitative study

of the relationship between workaholism and sex-role stereotyping in a sample of female professionals. This thesis moves beyond Doefler and Kammer's (1986) research as it probes the contextual aspects of workaholism through in-depth interviewing. This measure has also been employed as a screening tool for workaholism in books on stress management (Greenberg, 2002; Kilburg & Nathan, 1986).

Machlowitz's (1980) test was employed purely on a screening basis. As such, it is not an integral part of the methodological approach. Using this measure did not reify participants as workaholics or non-workaholics. Rather this thesis examined the construction of working patterns in these groups derived from the literature and did not centre on the existence or not of workaholism. In an effort not to reify the concept of workaholism, those who score over eight were not labelled as 'workaholics'. Instead, they were referred to as 'workaholic group members' and 'those who construed themselves as working excessively'. The social constructionist orientation of this study views social life as a collection of social discourses and consequently 'workaholism' as a discursive construction rather than an empirical reality. Adopting the above strategies ensured that ontological integration and complementarity about the nature of social life was achieved. To conclude, the Machlowitz (1980) screening tool was the most appropriate, empirically sound and conceptually weighty workaholism measure available.

6.6 Stage two of study - interviewing participants

Adopting semi-structured interviewing as a data collection method was quite appropriate given the research questions posited. This approach to interviewing is very situated, elicits rich responses and is sensitive to nuances in context (Silverman, 2001). As a result, contextualised constructions of excessive work patterns could be readily probed. The social desirability element of workaholism also influenced the choice of research tool. For instance, working beyond the call of duty may be viewed as a desirable behaviour as it may be perceived as leading to promotions. Accordingly, interviewing was a more suitable research tool than ethnography or

focus groups where the incentive to display more excessive working may be enhanced due to the presence of others. Other qualitative techniques such as diary entries were not feasible, given the busy lifestyles these individuals lead. It was thereby more practical and conceptually fitting to conduct qualitative interviews. Machlowitz (1980) is the only other interview based workaholism study. However, that study adopted a realist approach whereas this project employs a social constructionist perspective. The interpersonal aspects of interviewing that were outlined in the preceding chapter (e.g. building rapport) were very much taken into account during data generation. The following pages outline the procedures adhered to when the interview questions were being designed and the data transcribed.

6.6.1 Designing interview questions

The interview guide used in this study (See appendix B) was informed by the recommendations outlined in the previous chapter. It was the product of repeated discussion between the research student and supervisor, as well as a pilot study. The interview approach combined a guide approach with a standardised format. This involved specifying certain key questions exactly as they must be asked, while leaving other items as topics to be explored at the interviewer's discretion. This strategy offered flexibility in probing and in determining when it was appropriate to explore certain subjects in greater depth (Patton, 2002). As suggested by Mason (2002), possible interview topics and questions were cross-referenced with the study's research questions. Open-ended interview questions were constructed as they offer interviewees the opportunity to express their personal perspectives. It was ensured that the interview questions did not contain any jargon, prejudicial language or vague terms (Keats, 2000).

A loose interview structure was then developed. In accordance with Arksey and Knight's (1999) recommendations, the interview began with 'easy-to-answer' questions about general demographic details. Patton (2002) advises that opinions and feelings are likely to be more meaningful and grounded, once the respondent has verbally 'relived' the experience. Such questions can be perceived as quite threatening if asked too abruptly. Consequently, the interview guide began by asking

interviewees to describe their typical day at work. Following this, values and feeling questions about their working pattern were asked. Questions about the present tend to be easier to answer than questions about the past. In a similar vein, future-orientated questions involve more speculation than questions about the past (Keats, 2000). Therefore, questions about present work behaviours were asked first in the interview guide, this was followed by enquires about past and then projected future work behaviours.

The possibly sensitive questions that ask about the negative impacts of working patterns and relationships were left until the latter stages of the interview. By this time, it was likely that sufficient rapport would have been built up between researcher and interviewee, so that the informant would not feel threatened about disclosing what may turn out to be private information. After these demanding topics have been discussed, it was important to return the focus of the interview to less taxing topics, so as not to leave the interviewee in a state of personal disquiet (Arksey & Knight, 1999). In the interview guide, this was achieved by addressing the issue of feedback. The interview then drew to a conclusion by asking the informant whether there was anything he would like to add.

A professional dictaphone was used to record the interviews, namely a 'Sony "clear voice" micro cassette recorder'. It was placed as close to the interviewee as possible. The tape recorder was very sensitive and picked up participants' utterings, despite any background noise. The interviews took place either in private boardrooms at the participants' offices or in public places close to their workplaces (e.g. hotel lobby, public house, or café). A number of interviews were conducted over the phone because it was more convenient for the interviewees. For instance, all interviews with Workaholics Anonymous members were telephone interviews, as they were living in the US and the UK. During telephone interviewing, visual cues were not available. As such, the rapport was highly dependent on the voice manner of the researcher (Arksey & Knight, 1999). After each interview, striking quotations and possible links between data and theory were noted in a Microsoft word file. These philosophical meanderings were kept in mind during data analysis.

6.6.2 *Transcribing the interviews*

All interviews were taped and transcribed. Audiotapes and transcriptions provide a public record that is available to the research community in a way that field notes are not (Silverman, 2003). Further to this, detailed transcripts allow inspection of an extract in the context that it occurred (Sacks, 1992). Each hour of interview data took approximately ten hours to transcribe. The transcription process was informed by O'Connell and Kowal's (1995) recommendations. They stressed that transcribers should be parsimonious by presenting text in a readable manner and by not breaking up words with marks of notation. As social interaction (e.g. turn-taking and repair mechanisms) was not the focus of this study, it was decided that it would be superfluous to transcribe interruptions and overlaps of speech. The interviewer's utterances were indicated by an 'I', the participants' through the use of the capital letter 'P'. The transcripts also embody guidelines offered by Potter and Wetherell (1987) which suggest that timed pauses during the interview should be indicated by placing seconds in brackets {i.e. (3.0)}. They further state that audible pauses less than half a second be recorded by means of a full stop within brackets {i.e. (.)} and that emphasised words should be indicated by underlining (e.g. stop). This section has described the steps undertaken to devise interview questions, to manage the dynamics of the interview and to record the data.

6.7 The sample employed in this study

This section details the sampling issues relevant to this research. Firstly, the sampling strategies used to select individuals are outlined. Secondly, the occupational fields of participants are presented. The various subgroups within the sample are also examined. Following this, the rationale behind the size of the sample is explained. Finally, the recruitment of participants and the distribution of the screening tool are described.

6.7.1 *Sampling strategy used in this study*

A theory-based, purposive sampling strategy was employed. This involves finding manifestations of a theoretical construct so as to examine the construct and its variations. This type of sampling yields in-depth understanding rather than

generalisations (Patton, 2002). The opportunistic sampling strategy was also used in relation to the unanticipated group of former workaholics. They emerged during the data generation phase and have yet to be examined within the existing literature. These former workaholics were originally categorised as control group members, but during the interview constructed themselves as previously being workaholics, in accordance with Machlowitz's (1980) definition (See appendix C). This is the first workaholism study to employ theoretical and emergent sampling strategies.

6.7.2 Occupational fields of participants

The workaholism literature has highlighted two occupational fields where workaholics may exist. Machlowitz (1980) interviewed management consultants as she argued that consulting firms both attract and select individuals whose willingness to work is unlimited. Harpaz and Snir (2003) also found that workaholics were more likely to exist in professional and managerial positions within the private sector. Hence, individuals working in these occupational spheres were recruited. Participants were drawn from the financial services and management consultancy fields, as they are notorious for their demanding workloads and long hours (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2002; Robert Half Finance & Accounting, 2005). The sample also included self-selected workaholics, namely Workaholics Anonymous (WA) members. This self-help support group models their meetings on the Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) twelve-step program and constructs workaholism as a disease that one can never fully recover from. Furthermore, these individuals scored over eight on Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool, thereby fulfilling the criteria in this thesis for identifying workaholics. This is notably the first study to interview WA members. The participants are all salaried employees.

6.7.3 Subgroups within the sample

Groups of people served as the unit of analysis. The four groups that were compared were the workaholics (N=12), the former workaholics (N=7), the control (N=9), and the significant others (N=9) group including family members and co-workers (See appendix D). The workaholics group featured a subgroup of Workaholics Anonymous members (N=4). This subgroup is explained and justified

in the analysis section. It was envisaged that comparisons between each of these perspectives on workaholism would yield insights into the concept. The workaholics group was identified by Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool. Probing a sample of non-workaholics (i.e. the control group) complies with Mason's (2002) suggestions that it is not sufficient to acquire categories from which data will be generated to support the analysis, but also to illustrate that cases which do not fit the developing explanation have been rigorously examined. Thus, the control group provides a foil to compare the workaholics' group with. The significant others group provides construals from family members and co-workers of participants. This enabled a broader, contextualised perspective on the issue to be investigated. The previously unexamined former workaholics group also shed light on the research questions. The age range of the sample was 20-71 years, the mean age was 34.7 years, and the gender ratio was 26 males to 11 females. More in-depth demographic details are presented in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Demographic details of participants

<u>Participant number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Age of children</u>
<i>Workaholics Group</i>						
1	53	Male	Married	Management consultant	3	18,21,23
2	51	Male	Married	Management consultant	4	17,19,22,25
3	35	Male	Married	Management consultant	0	N/A
4	57	Male	Married	Management consultant	2	17,24
7	37	Male	Married	Investment banker	1	2
10	53	Male	Married	Management consultant	2	18,22
12	49	Female	Married	Journalist	0	N/A
13	55	Male	Married	Management consultant	3	17,22,25
17	32	Female	Single	IT consultant	0	N/A
18	71	Male	Married	Medical doctor	2	37,41
22	38	Female	Partner	IT consultant	0	N/A
33	37	Male	Married	Investment banker	2	2,4
<i>Significant others Group</i>						
21	28	Male	Partner	IT consultant	21	28
24	35	Female	Single	IT consultant	24	35
29	28	Female	Single	Management consultant	29	28
30	69	Female	Married	Homemaker	30	69
32	53	Male	Married	Management consultant	32	53
34	53	Male	Married	Management consultant	34	53
35	51	Male	Married	Management consultant	35	51
36	51	Male	Married	Management consultant	36	51

<u>Participant number</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of children</u>	<u>Age of children</u>
<i>Former Workaholics Group</i>						
5	61	Female	Married	Management consultant	5	18,20,23,27,29
8	43	Male	Divorced	Management consultant	1	19
11	41	Female	Partner	Management consultant	2	15,17
15	56	Male	Married	Management consultant	3	19,22,24
20	31	Male	Partner	Investment banker	0	N/A
26	33	Male	Married	Financial services	1	2
37	45	Male	Divorced	Management consultant	2	19,20
<i>Significant others Group</i>						
21	28	Male	Partner	IT consultant		
24	35	Female	Single	IT consultant		
29	28	Female	Single	Management consultant		
30	69	Female	Married	Homemaker		
32	53	Male	Married	Management consultant		
34	53	Male	Married	Management consultant		
35	51	Male	Married	Management consultant		
36	51	Male	Married	Management consultant		

6.7.4 *Sample size*

According to Mason (2002), the sample should be large enough to make meaningful comparisons in relation to the research questions, but not so large and diffuse as to become impossible to conduct a detailed study. As such, thirty-seven semi-structured interviews were conducted during the data collection phase. At thirty-seven interviews, theory saturation point was reached. This occurs when the data stops revealing anything new about the phenomenon being examined (Silverman, 2001). This number was thought to be appropriate as the data generated was sufficiently rich and complex to answer the research questions. It was also a practical sample size given the labour intensity of conducting semi-structured interviews, verbatim transcription and discourse analysis.

6.7.5 *Recruitment of participants*

The contact details of the companies that participated in this study were derived from the International Financial Services Centre (IFSC) and the Institute of Management Consultants in Ireland's online databases. The head of Human Resources (HR) in each company was contacted via email, letter and follow-up telephone calls, so as to obtain permission to disseminate Machlowitz's (1980) questionnaire through the company's emailing list. This letter detailed the study and the researcher's credentials (See appendix E). Once agreement had been gained, the HR specialist sent an email outlining the purpose of the study to all employees. As a result, it was impossible to calculate the response rate, as the number of employees who received this test was uncertain. One hundred and eleven companies were contacted and seventy two companies were willing to participate. Therefore, 65% of the companies contacted agreed to partake. The main focus of the data collection was on qualitative interviewing and not generating a representative sample. As such, it was not necessary to know how many screening tools were administered by HR.

Workaholics Anonymous (WA) members were recruited by telephoning the world headquarters in the US. WA members were informed that this interview-based study was interested in examining workaholism and it involved completing a web-based questionnaire. WA agreed to email the researcher's contact details and the link to the web-based questionnaire to all its members. A notice requesting participants for the project was also placed in the WA monthly newsletter (See appendix F).

6.7.6 Distribution of the screening tool to the sample

The internet provides an effective and economical means for accessing a vast and diverse number of potential participants. Experts recommend that the format of web based questionnaires should be simple, clear and closely resemble the layout of paper surveys (Hewson, Yule, Laurent & Vogel, 2003). These guidelines were closely adhered to in this piece of research. The screening test was distributed via email so that responding to the questionnaire required minimum effort on the part of the participant. It was anticipated that this would ensure a high response rate. The website address of the Machlowitz's (1980) questionnaire (See appendix G) was put at the end of the letter emailed to HR specialists (See appendix E). This website was set up in collaboration with the Computer Services Department of Dublin City University. Responses were sent automatically to the researcher's email account, without revealing the sender's email details. At the end of the questionnaire, participants had the option of indicating whether they would be willing to participate further in the study by being interviewed. There was a contact details box, where respondents provided an email address or a telephone number. Participants could also indicate if a 'significant other' would be willing to be interviewed. After individuals had agreed to participate, it was necessary to make a number of telephone calls and send several emails so as to organise the date and location of the interview. The analytical method employed will be described in the following section.

6.8 Analytical approach

Silverman (2001) posited that in discourse analysis ‘everything is situated in particular contexts’ (p.180). As a contextualised interpretation of workaholism was central to the study, this approach to analysing data was most appropriate. Discursive psychology was the analytic position adopted (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This approach was identified as the most appropriate given that this is a psychological study. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, discourse analysis involves adopting a certain theoretical view of the nature of psychological phenomena and discourse (Potter, 1997). As such, seminal works from the area were read to enable immersion in this perspective. Ten years of peer reviewed, discourse analysis articles from ‘Discourse and Society’ and ‘Discourse Studies’ were also examined.

This review of the discourse analysis literature indicated that the discursive action model (DAM) is more researched and cited than the critical discursive psychology (CDP) approach. Along with this, the central thrust of this study is how individuals explain, justify and account for excessive working patterns rather than on the power structures that may be reproducing workaholism. The analysis will consequently veer more towards the DAM interpretation as it is the most appropriate given the research questions. The interpretative strategy adopted in this study was further informed by the three major foundations of discourse analysis (i.e. construction, function and variability) suggested by Potter & Wetherell (1987).

A battery of discursive features was compiled to aid analysis. These were gleaned from readings of seminal theoretical works and peer reviewed articles on discourse analysis {e.g. Potter & Wetherell, (1987); Edwards & Potter, (1992); Potter, (1996); Gee, (1999); Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, (2001a); Speer & Potter (2000); MacMartin, (2002); MacMillan & Edwards, (1999); Walton, Wetherell & Jackson (2002)}. This template appears in table 6.2 so as to familiarise the reader with discourse analysis terms. This glossary also details the function of each of these discursive features. Typical of any discourse analysis study, there were other discursive constructions occurring in the text

that did not pertain to the research questions (Wetherell, Taylor & Yates, 2001b). These constructions were not analysed. The focus was on discursive constructions rather than discursive devices. Therefore, the construction of the causes and consequences of workaholism rather than the rhetorical devices employed by participants was examined.

Guidelines for credible discourse analysis studies outlined in the preceding chapter were strictly adhered to during analysis. These included meeting the criteria of trustworthiness and soundness. The former criterion was achieved by providing a clear description of how the data was gathered and analysed. This documentation of procedures enabled accountability to be examined and the confirmability of claims to be established. This means that the interpretations were made in a way that was consistent with the available data. Demonstrating how conclusions were arrived at by presenting analysed texts, met the criterion of soundness. In addition, it was ensured that all arguments fitted together so as to give a coherent reading of the data. Only plausible and insightful analyses were included. The study thereby fulfilled the warranting criteria for discourse analysis research. The six common errors of discourse analysis, described in the methodological issues chapter, were kept in mind during analysis.

Table 6.2: Glossary of terms employed during analysis

<u>Discursive feature</u>	<u>Explanation of discursive feature</u>	<u>Discursive feature</u>	<u>Explanation of discursive feature</u>
Corpus	The entire body of raw data generated in a study.	Category membership entitlements	Categories represent particular ways of ordering the world and members of that category are constructed as being entitled to certain values/actions/traits by virtue of being part of a particular category.
Idioms / Idiomatic expressions	These are figurative or formulaic statements commonly found in everyday speech (e.g. 'It's better to be safe than sorry'). Idioms are difficult to challenge because they invoke taken for granted cultural knowledge and are general and vague.	Hedging	This generally weakens an argument as it demonstrates uncertainty or hesitancy. The hedging of a claim marks the statement as provisional in some way. Hedging can be done in a variety of ways: through the use of conditionals (e.g. 'might', 'could'); modifiers (e.g. 'probably'); the expression of personal viewpoints known as using modals (e.g. 'I think'). All of these hedging words suggest that there are alternatives to the claim or the claims being made.
Pronouns	Are words that come before and refer to a noun (e.g. 'my' is the pronoun in the phrase 'my book'). Pronouns demonstrate how close a person is to the noun. For instance, a switch from 'I' to 'you/one' decreases accountability and increases rhetorical distance between the speaker and her uttering. Collective pronouns (e.g. 'we') may be used to stress solidarity.	Sense of agency	Where an agent is assigned responsibility, blame or credit for his actions. First person pronoun usage can be seen as one way of doing agency. One of the most important devices for obscuring issues of agency is the passive voice and in particular the form of the agentless passive.
Nouns	Naming words, including names of people, places and things.	Internal focalisation	The reporting of subjective details known as internally focalised characteristics function to lend authority to an account as the reader watches with the character's eyes.

<u>Discursive feature</u>	<u>Explanation of discursive feature</u>	<u>Discursive feature</u>	<u>Explanation of discursive feature</u>
Adjectives	Describe a noun.	Contrast markers	Highlight a contrast or difference between the previous statement and the next statement (e.g. 'but', 'whereas').
Indexicals	Are words that have no meaning except as they refer to another word (e.g. we, our, it, they).	Reflexive terms	Reflect the verb action onto the subject of the sentence (e.g. 'himself').
Extreme case formulations	The most extreme possible case or scenario is constructed through formulations such as 'always' and 'never'. These can function as effective rhetorical devices as they may construe convincing arguments. Alternatively they can assemble arguments as being too extreme. This extremity might be taken to display investment in or stance toward some state of affairs.	Definite articles	This is the grammatical label for the word 'the'.
Direct speech	Direct quotations from individuals.	Generic terms	Are global, general, vague terms (e.g. 'people').
Role talk	Where acting in line with a particular role is discursively deployed as a form of attributional accounting (e.g. 'I'm just doing my job'). It positions the actor as being less personally culpable for it.	Particularising an argument	Is achieved through restricting the statement/argument to a specific group or individual.
Binary oppositions	The situated work of making comparisons and contrasts between two concepts (e.g. right and wrong). These are powerful general purpose discursive devices for constructing the world as such.	Temporal markers	Indicate time (e.g. 'now', 'at first', 'old').
Conjunctions	Are linking words that tie two or more phrases together to form a sentence (e.g. 'and', 'but').	To construe/ construct/ assemble/work up /build up/establish/position/create	These verbs are used during analysis as they avoid reifying or making 'real' any discursive patterns evident in the text. Thus, ensuring that one of the major flaws of discourse analysis studies is avoided.

6.8.1 *Coding of data*

The process of discourse analysis involves reading and rereading the interview transcripts (MacMartin, 2002). Informed by this, themes and discursive features were indexed. The coding of these aspects of the data was driven by the research questions. Coding refers to grouping similar passages together under one code or theme. The Nvivo (Version 2.0) qualitative data management software package was employed to aid coding. In this computer package, these codes are known as 'nodes' and the process of coding can be conducted electronically (Bazeley & Lyn, 2000). It is important to note that the Nvivo package is a data storage facility that does not analyse the transcripts (Bazeley & Lyn, 2000). An example of a node features in appendix H and a comprehensive list of nodes is contained in appendix I. The codes were initially developed from readings of five interview transcripts. These codes were subsequently refined while reading the remaining transcripts, so as to accommodate emerging trends in the data. For example, the family code was divided into the family of origin node and the family of procreation node. Following this broad brush coding, preliminary analyses were conducted (Wood & Kroger, 2000). All claims were re-checked against the data, to ensure that analyses were linked to the text. The analyst must be extremely critical when writing up the analysis (Edwards & Potter, 1992). More in-depth analyses were drafted and redrafted. The writing, reading and analysing continued until a coherent reading of the data was achieved (Gee, 1999).

6.9 **Ethical issues**

This section details how ethical issues were dealt with in this study. All participants freely volunteered and were not offered payment or benefits for their time. The participants were assured of confidentiality. If, at any stage, a participant wanted to erase any aspect of their data from the tape or withdraw from the study, they were free to do so without any further questioning. All participants, except the Workaholics Anonymous (WA) members, were informed that the project was focussing on work patterns, and in particular on work-life balance. The self-selected sample of WA members was aware that workaholism was being investigated. These deception techniques were employed due to possible social desirability issues and

probable labelling effects from the negative connotations of workaholism. These concerns have not been addressed in any previous workaholism studies. The topics that were probed in this study were not thought to be overly sensitive. Nevertheless, informed consent was obtained from each participant. Before all interviews, participants were required to complete an informed consent form (See appendix J). The ethical considerations that arose during this study comply with the ethical code of conduct for psychologists (APA, 1992). Ethical approval was also gained from the Dean of Research at Dublin City University Business School and the Office of the Vice-President of Research at Dublin City University.

6.10 Pilot study

Prior to data collection, a pilot study was conducted to establish if the research design was appropriate. The first part of the pilot study examined the screening tool. The aim was to ensure that the format of the tool could be easily understood and responded to via e-mail. It was also conducted to make sure that the e-mail account of the researcher was working properly. The screening tool was emailed to ten employees of Dublin City University. This was a sample of convenience. However, the pilot study's sample was used in a knowledge based profession, similar to the participants of the actual study. It was found that the items were readily comprehended by respondents and that the technological aspects of the screening tool were in working order.

The objective of the second part of the pilot study was to determine if the interview guide and the researcher's interviewing skills were generating responses that could answer the research questions. In keeping with Mason's (2002) guidelines, interviews were conducted with 10% of the estimated sample (N=30) for the actual study. Three interviewees were selected. One of them had commented on numerous occasions that a co-worker could be a workaholic. The other interviewees were recruited because their occupation is considered professional and according to Harpaz and Snir (2003) likely to have a large number of workaholics. The audio recordings of the interviews were listened to and significant passages were transcribed. These passages were then coded and analysed in relation to the research

questions. The full interviews were not transcribed due to the significant amount of time required to transcribe one hour of an interview. Instead, the audio recordings were examined to establish whether the questions successfully elicited responses relevant to the research questions. The interview guide was revised accordingly. Aspects of interview skills that could be improved were noted.

6.11 Conclusion

This chapter described and justified the methodological approaches adopted. It argued that Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool was the most empirically sound and conceptually weighty workaholism measure available. A mainly qualitative approach was presented as the most appropriate to investigate the research questions posed. Semi-structured interviewing was deemed to be the most suitable research tool as it enables a nuanced and contextual examination of workaholism. In a similar vein, it was posited that discourse analysis was the most fitting analytical procedure due to its social constructionist philosophy and its contextual view of the social world. An apt sample was chosen which included Workaholics Anonymous members, as well as employees from management consultancy and the financial services. The chapter also addressed other pertinent research design issues such as question design, ethical concerns and triangulation. Throughout this chapter, these methodological approaches were situated in the existing workaholism literature.

Section summary:

Analysis

The analysis section is divided into five chapters. The first three (chapters seven, eight and nine) pertain to research question number one: Is workaholism constructed as being caused by environmental influences or internal influences (i.e. trait or addiction)? Chapter ten feeds into research question number two: Is workaholism constructed as negatively impacting on those who live and work with individuals with excessive work habits? Chapter eleven, the final analysis chapter links into research question number three: Is workaholism constructed as negatively or positively impacting on the individual with excessive work habits?

The structure of this section complies with Wood and Kroger's (2000) guidelines on how to write up a discourse analysis study. Each chapter is divided into subsections which correspond to the nodes developed during the coding of the data (See appendix I). Every segment begins with a general statement of the discursive pattern that will be analysed. This is followed by relevant excerpts and detailed analysis. Each extract contains both the interview question and answer. Three dots (i.e. ...) at the start of the answer indicates that the excerpt did not occur immediately after the question was asked, but later on in the reply. Including the interview questions adds to the clarity of documenting the paper trail. Carefully transcribed examples are presented alongside the interpretations to allow readers to judge the adequacy of claims (Speer & Potter, 2000).

As outlined by Potter and Wetherell (1987), a representative set of extracts are included in all chapter subsections. Representative extracts from all four participant groups: the workaholics group (W), including the subgroup workaholics anonymous (WA) members, the former workaholics group (FW), the significant others group (SO) and the control group (C) are presented in every relevant chapter segment. Each section ends with a summary of the claims made about the discourse. All chapters conclude with analytic claims being summarised and linked back to the relevant research question. For clarity, a glossary of terms used during the analysis is contained in table 6.1. Several references to discourse analysis textbooks and journal articles appear in the analysis (e.g. Edwards & Potter, 1992). These are seminal

works on discourse analysis that stipulate what aspects of talk to look for and how to interpret such discursive constructions.

Chapter 7

Explaining the external causes of overworking

7.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer research question one: Is workaholism constructed as being caused by environmental influences or internal influences (i.e. trait or addiction)?

It analyses constructions of the contextual causes of working excessively, thereby tying into the environmental aspect of the research question. It contains five sections of analysis (i.e. family of origin, family of procreation, school, work and national contexts), which were derived from Nvivo nodes (see appendix I).

7.2 The family of origin context as a cause of excessive working

This section illustrates how the home context is construed as impacting on work patterns. The family of origin is the family that the participant grew up in.

7.2.1 *The workaholics group in relation to the family of origin context*

Participant #13

I: could you please tell me what drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: ...so my background (1.0) well at seven years of age (0.5) I went working in a butchers shop (1.0) cutting up sheep and pigs and stuff behind the counter (2.0) so even from an early age I was working (2.0) my father was a holy terror for work (.) work (.) work (1.5) he'd an awful work ethic (0.5) my father (2.0) like he'd kick me out of bed at seven o' clock on a Saturday morning (0.5) when everybody else is asleep (2.0) and if you were in bed at eight o' clock (0.5) you were in trouble (2.0) he'd come in and start giving out 'that young fella is lying in bed all day' (1.5) so that was the way I was brought up (1.0) he was a very hard task master (1.5) but

he was also well able to enjoy himself then (2.0) so I would have probably (0.5) coming from that background (1.5) I would always have worked

The home context is construed as a key factor that created this participant's working behaviour. The word 'background' functions to convey the context that is behind him. It is established as an environment that he emerged from as he is positioned as 'coming from' his family context. The interviewee is assembled as working from an early age. This is not positioned as being due to his nature or personality but rather his father's influence. A detailed description of working during his childhood is built up. This is achieved through describing the tasks in his first workplace, a butcher's shop. The day and time of being called to work is included ('seven o' clock on a Saturday morning'). Direct speech from his father is also constructed ('that young fella is lying in bed all day'). This level of detail suggests a believable, accurate memory of the event (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

This W group member is established as being agentless in determining the amount of work he did as a child. A number of verbs are employed that situate him in a passive position. For instance, this individual is construed as being 'brought up' by an external force as opposed to 'growing up' out of his own choice. In addition, the action of being 'kicked out of bed' positions all the power in dictating working time with his father. This is further established through the phrase 'very hard task master' that sets up a master and servant dyad between this participant and his father. This dyad is restricted to this participant through the extreme case formulation 'everyone else'. The father's work behaviour is constructed in terms of a work ethic that was couched in negative terms ('holy terror for work', 'you were in trouble', 'giving out' and 'he'd an awful work ethic'). The repetition of the word 'work' four times constructs this participant's father as constantly working. Towards the end of the extract, the home context is worked up as creating his life long working behaviour through the extreme case formulation 'I would always have worked'.

WA member - Participant #12

I: hmm and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: well I am the second daughter of a family who wanted a (1.5) a boy (1.0) I mean they may have (1.5) I mean both us girls we (0.5) it was perfectly clear that we were second rate (2.0) we weren't really of any (1.0) importance (2.0) I'm not saying that they didn't love us but we weren't important (1.5) I mean we were the two trial runs at the boy (2.0) and there's no doubt in my mind that my father (0.5) I mean (0.5) one girl I suppose that was alright (0.5) but two girls was one too many (2.0) and I think it was incredibly clear to me in childhood (.) he also (1.0) there was also a bit of (1.0) I mean I now know (0.5) but I didn't know at the time that there was some problem about whether he thought I was his child (1.5) so that there was a lot of (2.5) I mean I was called the runt of the litter (1.0) the cowardly one (1.0) the gasa girl the (1.0) all sorts of repeated (1.0) phrases to characterise what I was (1.5) and my way out of that was I was clever (0.5) and I did well at school (1.5) so I may have been cowardly in other ways but I did well in school and that was the one area where I got some approval from him (2.0) oh and also approval from looking after my little brother (1.5) so I was trained really to look after people (0.5) and to do well at school

This WA group member constructs her and her sister's status in their family as insignificant offspring and second-class citizens on the basis of their gender. This is assembled as a position she shared with her sister, through the repeated use of the collective 'we' pronoun. The clarity of their standing within the family is built up through the use of the adjective 'perfectly'. Moreover, the clack of clarity surrounding the identity of her father is assembled as leading to name calling in the home. This taunting is construed as being solely directed towards the participant, through the repetition of the 'I' personal pronoun and the singular aspects of the name calling ('cowardly one', 'gasa girl'). Her excelling at school is established as a means of escape from this taunting. Thus, trying to gain approval from the family context is positioned as causing her to work hard at school.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and where do you think your workaholism originates from?

P: ...my dad's a work addict (0.5) he used to work at least sixteen hours a day (0.5) he probably still does actually (1.5) I don't really know what his rhythm is now (2.0) he is still working at sixty-six (0.5) so you know he was pretty actively work addicted (2.5) and both my parents are nicotine / coffee addicts anyway (2.0) I just grew up in a very disturbed home I don't think that either of them used alcohol or drugs (0.5) but I think they've that kind of going on back in their ancestral realm (1.5) so there's just been (.) I think there's like an inter-generational heritage of addiction in my family (1.5) and it's gone sort of different ways for whatever you know the idiosyncrasy of being just unconstitutionally wired (2.0) and I would consider one of my sisters to be work addicted (1.0) I also have three sisters and she's active in her (0.5) having imbalance in her life now (2.5) she's a college professor (0.5) very out of balance (.) for whatever that's worth (2.5) so for me I feel like it's a mixture of just kind of (1.0) I was probably both genetically and psychologically predisposed for the disease (2.0) and then I was around people who had that behaviour (1.5) my mom it turns out (0.5) when she had left school (0.5) she also has (0.5) she's more (0.5) she's got issues around kind of anxiety and fear a lot (1.5) so she lives in a lot of fear (2.5) so I think between both (1.5) and my dad's a little more on the control side of things (2.5) so between the two of them it was a very wild ride growing up (1.5) and you know a lot of disturbing things in the family fortune experience

This WA member attributes the cause of her workaholism to her parents. She categorises her father as a work addict. This categorisation is construed as a statement of fact through the lack of hedging. Her interpretation is justified by reference to his working hours and his age. Terms such as 'issues' and 'living in a lot of fear' establish her mother as psychologically unstable. The modifier 'just' is employed to simplify the construction of her family context as unsettled. Later on in this extract, this participant's home is constructed using tumultuous terms such as 'a very wild ride'. Therefore, growing up in this home context is assembled as a journey that was disorderly. She attributes the responsibility of this turbulent childhood to her parents.

A long-standing history of family addiction is constructed by such words as 'heritage' and 'ancestral realm'. The family of origin is positioned as creating both a genetic and psychological tendency towards the 'disease' of workaholism. This interviewee's predispositions are positioned as being caused by her membership of her family of origin. Scientific terms are utilised to work up a vulnerability to this work pattern. This builds up this extract as a legitimate scientific fact, as opposed to a daughter's interpretation of her family context. Her sister is also assembled as a work addict. This construes workaholism as a broader, contextual condition that was not only created in this participant but it occurred with her siblings as well. This legitimises this participant's construction of her work addiction as being created in the family home.

7.2.2 The former workaholics group in reference to the family of origin context

Participant #8

I: right and when you were working long hours (0.5) what do you think motivated you back then?

P: ...it was from my upbringing (0.5) you had to do your very best (0.5) you had to prove yourself (2.0) almost a puritan thing in my upbringing (1.5) in that you are obliged to make the most of whatever talents you may have (2.5) so (3.0) I think I had a choice about that you know (1.0) I think I had a choice about it (3.0) but perhaps I made an unconscious choice (0.5) I wasn't making a conscious choice (1.5) I was making an unconscious choice (1.5) that was based probably on values from childhood (5.0) yeah but if I'd had different unconscious motivations (0.5) I could have worked less hours so

Values about work are construed as being instilled in this participant during childhood. These contextual conditions are worked up in terms of an obligation to fulfil one's potential. This puritanical expectation of working long hours is further established through the repetition of the phrase 'had to'. The switch from 'my' to 'you' externalises these statements from the participant and establishes them as a rule. A sense of choice is asserted over her working hours and is positioned as being influenced by values from her childhood. This extract is peppered with hedged

claims achieved through the modifiers ‘probably’ and ‘perhaps’. These function to construe this participant’s interpretation as tentative and one of many possible perspectives.

Participant #11

I: hmm (.) and what would you consider your greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I came from (0.5) my family background wasn’t hugely happy (1.0) they were a big family in inner city (name) and it was (0.5) my destination wouldn’t have been where it is now from when I was born (1.5) I went to the (name) school which is a north inner city school which was a good school (0.5) well it was better in those days than it is now (2.0) so I think I would consider that a success in my life too in work terms

The lack of influence of her unhappy family background and the geographical location of her childhood is assembled as a life success in work terms. The journey of her life is constructed as not following the usual route. Her current life situation is construed as being an atypical destination from the cultural context where she was born. As such, this FW’s achievements and current work status are not positioned as being created or encouraged by her home context.

7.2.3 The significant others group and the family of origin context

Participant #34

I: really and what do you think motivates him to work in the way that he does?

P: ...I was also at his father’s funeral (.) there a couple of years ago (0.5) and I saw where he grew up (1.0) it was in a small farm in the west of (name of country) you know (1.0) and now he is raking it in (0.5) I’d say he is almost a millionaire by now (2.0) so I’d say that has a motivating influence on him as well (1.0) his background you know

This SO positions the family of origin context as influencing Participant #13’s work pattern. This is worked up through the term ‘background’ and phrase

‘where he grew up’. This is built up more through the juxtaposition of this W group member’s past with his present. The details of his home context (i.e. geographical location and size of his home) are contrasted with his current life where he is labelled a millionaire. In addition, he is assembled as taking in a lot of money through the phrase ‘raking it in’. Participant #34 establishes himself as witnessing his colleague’s family context through his own eyes (‘I saw where he grew up’). This is constructed through the details of the occasion (‘father’s funeral’). This functions to legitimise this SO’s interpretations (‘I’d say that has a motivating influence on him’).

7.2.4 *The control group concerning the family of origin context*

Participant #14

I: ok and what aspects (0.5) if any of your personal circumstances do you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: my home environment (3.0) well not really (1.5) well I suppose there was never any pressure put on us at home to go to third level (1.0) but there was this kind of unwritten understanding between myself and my parents (0.5) that you work to the best of your ability (1.5) so in that sense (0.5) I suppose my home would have influenced my work pattern (2.0)

This C group member constructs the influence of home context on her work pattern through an unwritten, implicit agreement between her and her parents. The terms and conditions of this understanding was that she would try her best and work to her full potential. There is a switch from the ‘I’ personal pronoun to the ‘you’ pronoun. This distances her working behaviour from this agreement so as to establish it as an external law (Potter, 1996).

Participant #19

I: ok and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work the way you do?

P: ...I am the youngest of six brothers (1.0) so competition was a key issue in my childhood (2.0) I was always the smallest (0.5) so I had to play twice as hard to try to be at the same level as my brothers (2.5) growing up with so many people in the

family has also made me very outgoing (1.0) and very used to being around people and work in teams (2.0) I think it really depends on what sort of upbringing each person has had (0.5) it definitely influences work patterns in my opinion ... seeing my older brothers start their careers (1.0) and succeed (0.5) also motivated me to make the best out of my professional life (1.5) in any job (0.5) there are always smarter and not-so-smart people (1.0) well-prepared and not-so-well-prepared people (2.5) these differences become noticeable after a while (0.5) and influence everybody's behaviour in an office (2.0) some people become 'go-getters' (1.5) and others become simply 'task-doers' (2.0) I like to show a lot of initiative so would consider myself more of a 'go-getter' (1.5) because of having had to work twice as hard at home while growing up to play (0.5) compete if you would (0.5) at the same level as my brothers

This C group member creates dichotomous categories and aligns himself with the smarter, well-prepared 'go-getters' camp in the office. These categories are social constructions that represent particular ways of ordering the world (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This interviewee attributes membership of this category not to the conditions of his childhood. He is construed as putting more effort into competing during childhood due to his physical size and age relative to his older siblings. Watching his brothers become professionally successful is also positioned as a source of motivation for him in his own career. Towards the end of the passage, the construal of working twice as hard in order to compete with his brothers is constructed. Competing and working are juxtaposed with the activity of playing. Consequently, the notion of 'work' is generalised to playtime. This participant explicitly assembles the type of childhood he experienced as influencing his work patterns.

7.2.5 Conclusion: family of origin context

To conclude, the family of origin context, and in particular parental influences, are positioned as creating work patterns across all groups of participants. Contextual conditions of WA member's family of origin are positioned as justifying workaholism at school. Workaholism is thereby assembled as an understandable and psychologically adaptive behaviour given the home environment. C group members portray the home context as a place of learning work patterns and how to fulfil one's

potential. A SO group member also positions the home context as influencing excessive work behaviour. In some extracts, particular individuals (e.g. father and brothers) are construed as propagating their work patterns. However, one FW group member works up the influence of the home context in terms of global values, but positions herself as choosing to comply with childhood values. This establishes her as having a sense of agency over her work pattern. Similarly, another FW group member presents her current life situation as not being the typical destination for those in her family of origin. Overall, participants from the various groups construct their family of origin as one contextual condition creating their approach to work.

7.3 The family of procreation context as a cause of overworking

This section of the analysis examines the impact that the family of procreation is construed as having on work patterns. The family of procreation is the family in which the participant is a parent.

7.3.1 The workaholics group and the family of procreation context

Participant #33

I: you indicated on your response to my questionnaire that you work weekends?

P: yes but not at the office (0.5) I take some stuff home with me (0.5) I'd work on a couple of reports that needed some loose ends tied up (2.0) I also might make a few phone calls or send a couple of emails

I: and would that happen quite frequently?

P: well it used to before when I worked in the States (2.0) but not all that much any more since we've moved back (0.5) and the second kid has arrived...in the States... I was in at seven (0.5) and you could be working until nine (.) ten (.) eleven o' clock at night (2.0) well I was single at the time (1.5) so when you're not married (0.5) and

*you don't have kids (0.5) it's different (1.0) you don't really see it as a problem
...until the kids grow up I wouldn't like to up my pace*

This W group member assembles the contextual factors of being married with children as constraining the amount of time spent at work. Having a second child is positioned as an explanation for the reduction in weekend work. Working sixteen-hour days is presented as unproblematic when he was unmarried and not a parent. The switch from the 'I' pronoun to the 'you' pronoun externalises this statement from the participant's opinion. This builds up this construction to the status of fact (Potter, 1996). In the final sentence, a running analogy is constructed in reference to his intensity of work ('up my pace'). Again, this reduction in work intensity is attributed to the young age of his children.

Participant #3

I: right and could you please tell me what a typical day at work is like for you?

*P: ...the vast majority of the time it's up at eight and straight into the office (.)
because I work from home and work there until about seven o'clock when my wife
returns from her work*

The 'closing time' for this W group member's 'workshop' is constructed as when his wife arrives home from work. As such, family of procreation contextual conditions are positioned as determining work hours. Perhaps, working long hours (i.e. from 8am until 7pm) is not assembled as causing difficulties at home in this extract, as his wife is also established as working quite long hours. Hence, working excessively when one's spouse also works long hours is not positioned as creating difficulties in the home context.

7.3.2 The former workaholics group regarding the family of procreation context

Participant #15

I: hmm and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...now we only have one daughter at home (1.0) and where we'll say at the moment now I'm here (0.5) and my wife isn't working (1.5) and I'll exaggerate now (1.0) but it's like the holidays now (1.5) because I was seven years commuting up and down to (name of city) you know so (0.5) and it was hard at home (2.0) when I was travelling up and down I used to get the bus at ten to seven (0.5) and then you'd be home at about half seven or eight o'clock (1.5) and even on Saturday and Sunday you'd be absolutely exhausted from it you know (2.0)...so no at the moment (0.5) the fact that I'm here in town (1.0) I just like live around the corner from here (1.0) so I'm in a great situation now

The details of this FW's home context are positioned as resulting in his construal of his current working life as a 'holiday'. These contextual conditions include having only one daughter at home, a wife who doesn't work outside the home and living quite close to his workplace. Holidays typically involve no working. However, this participant's current workday is presented as a holiday in comparison to his past work pattern. Moreover, the temporal markers of 'at the moment' and 'now' further work up the contrast between then and now. This FW group member's previous work pattern of commuting is constructed through the phrase 'it was hard at home'. This tactile description ('hard') construes difficulties in the home context due to his work schedule.

Participant #26

I: why are you cutting back on weekends if you don't mind me asking?

P: it's just (0.5) it's just family life you know (2.0) I just have better things to be doing (2.5) just now with my son (.) he is twenty months now and I want to spend time with him (1.0) and spend time with the family at home you know

This FW group member's family life is referred to as a justification for reducing his weekend work. Family life is positioned as being superior to the past behaviour of working weekends. The modifier 'just' is repeated four times in the above passage. This discursive feature functions to attribute the change in the work

style to a single aspect of his life, namely fatherhood. This establishes contextual factors as influencing the choice to reduce excessive work patterns.

Participant #37

I: hmm and how do you feel about your work-life balance (0.5) or is that question relevant to your situation anymore?

P: ...I mean I used to (0.5) to an extent (1.0) I used to work long hours to escape my relationship with my wife (1.5) ...so I worked for a couple of years like that (1.0) like you know I used to stay late when I knew I should be at home (2.0) not that you had anything all that urgent to do at work (1.0) but just to take that break from it (0.5) so a little bit of that as well (2.5) but I think that was a symptom of a marriage breaking down as well you know (1.0) more than anything else

This FW positions workaholism as an escape route out of an unsatisfactory family context. Working long hours is assembled as a 'break' or relief from home life. The extreme case formulation of 'more than anything else' positions this as the most accurate interpretation of his behaviour. Medical terminology ('a symptom of') is used to assemble excessive working as being a reaction to and indicative of a failing marriage. Thus, the conditions of the home context are presented as being central to creating his former work pattern.

Participant #5

I: hmm and what do you do in the evenings to relax?

P: ...well I cook (.) particularly in the last ten years because (name of wife) has been out at college (2.5) and she's lately been on work experience and so on (2.0) so she has been stuck in traffic (2.0) so I make a point of finishing work around five or half five

The finishing point for this FW's workday is constructed as being influenced by the family of procreation. His wife's work schedule, her commute and cooking the family dinner are positioned as causing him to finish working for the day. This is

worked up through the temporal details ‘ten years’, ‘five or half five’ and the prominence of the ‘she’ pronoun. Consequently, contextual elements are established as influencing this FW group member’s current work hours.

7.3.3 The significant others group on the subject of the family of procreation context

Participant #36

I: do you know what hours he typically works?

P: ...before he got married to this girl (0.5) they spent a lot of time dancing and socialising (0.5) and all of that sort of stuff (2.0) so they actually never really had a conversation (0.5) and when they (1.0) when he went to Canada he was working all the time (2.5) so they never really had a conversation (.) but what he found was that for the first year or so (0.5) there was no-one else (1.5) there were no parties to go to (2.5) they didn't know anybody over in Canada (0.5) and they had to meet each other in the house (0.5) after they were married (1.5) and he discovered that they had nothing in common (.) the both of them discovered that they had nothing in common (0.5) and because he went off working all the time (1.0) she was able to put up with it (1.5) because he was never there (2.0) so he worked all the time (0.5) and then they broke up when they came back to Ireland

This extract is constructed like a narrative with a beginning (i.e. the relationship before they got married), a major crisis (i.e. discovering that they had nothing in common), and a resolution (i.e. excessive work patterns and marital separation). This construes this sequence of events as credible, sequential and inevitable (Edwards, 1997). Excessive work patterns are presented as the resolution to his friend’s discovery that he had nothing in common with his wife. As a result, working excessively is positioned as a means for continuing a broken marriage. Extreme case formulations ‘working all the time’ and ‘nothing in common’ are employed to construct a convincing argument. Consequently, this participant’s excessive work habits are assembled as being caused by the family of procreation.

7.3.4 The control group and the family of procreation context

Participant #31

I: hmm and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: ...I think it is easier to put in more hours when you don't have a family and all that (2.0)...I don't ever see myself working any longer than nine to five (.) or nine to half five or whatever (1.5) I think when you have a family (0.5) you would find it difficult to put in long hours (1.0) because your family life suffers (2.5) so hopefully if I have children I will have to see you know (1.0) maybe I will work part time

Working long hours and having a family are construed as activities that are difficult to combine. This C group member switches from the 'I' personal pronoun to the 'you' pronoun towards the end of this extract. This functions to distance this statement from her personal philosophy and construct these contextual conditions as fact (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Following this, she applies this rule to her own situation. She construes herself as working part-time or not working beyond five thirty if she has a family. The difficulty in combining these two facets of life is composed in terms of suffering ('your family life suffers'). Family life and not work life is positioned as being disadvantaged as a result of working long hours. Therefore, contextual conditions are positioned as influencing work patterns.

Participant #16

I: and when did you decide to become an independent management consultant?

P: ...so then I managed to get work in an international consultancy company and my kids (1.0) I was married at that stage and my kids were young and then I was away a lot (0.5) so that's why I decided to get a job in (name of city)

This C group member positions the family of procreation context as influencing his work pattern. His marital status, the age of his kids and the frequent absences from home are construed as the reasons why he left an international consultancy firm and joined a local company. A strong sense of agency is assembled through the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

7.3.5 Conclusion: family of procreation context

The family of procreation is positioned as influencing the work patterns in all groups of participants. A W group member assembles the contextual factors of being married with children as constraining the amount of time spent at work. A FW group member positions current family conditions as leading to his work being construed as a holiday in comparison to previous years. Another FW group member and his SO present excessive working as an escape route from marital discord. Yet, no WA member positioned the family of procreation as creating their work pattern. Other participants construe their wives' work schedule as establishing the finishing time of their workdays. This is in contrast to the difficulties of combining work and family life constructed by C group members. All participant groups, except WA members, position the family of procreation as influencing their work pattern. Therefore, contextual factors from the home situation are established as causing work patterns.

7.4 The school context as a cause of excessive working

This section of analysis investigates the construed impact of the school environment on work patterns.

7.4.1 The workaholics group in relation to the school context

Participant #33

I: hmm and are there any aspects of your personal circumstances that may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...well probably at university (2.0) I worked very hard at university (0.5) not so much at the study (1.5) I was there on a running scholarship (0.5) so I was getting up at five thirty in the morning (0.5) training with the team (0.5) going to an eight thirty class (0.5) coming back and studying for a couple of hours (1.5) training until six (0.5) then going to a job (2.0) so I kind of (0.5) I'd been working very hard for a number of years (1.0) so I was kind of used to it (0.5) especially when I went in to work in my first job (1.0) it didn't seem that strenuous

The conditions of this participant's university context are positioned as a preparing him for the work environment. 'Working very hard' is assembled as an activity that he had become accustomed to during his college years. As a result, working in his first job is construed as not being overly draining on him. This individual presents work as a variety of activities that do not occur solely at the workplace. Rather, it is construed as involving getting up early to train with the running team, studying at university and having a part-time job.

Participant #4

I: hmm and do you think your personal circumstances would have influenced your work patterns?

P: ...I went to a secondary school (0.5) that would have been in the American context a prep school (.) and I just think maybe maybe the backdrop (.) or the culture (.) or the ethos (0.5) both at home and at school (.) and to a lesser extent at university would have been (0.5) you were meant to be successful (0.5) you did a good job (0.5) you completed things (1.5) it sounds a bit like an ethical argument (1.5) you know your word is your bond (0.5) so maybe that puts a backdrop to the whole thing

'Ethos', 'culture' and 'backdrop' construe the environmental aspects that influenced this participant's work pattern. 'Backdrop' presents the foundations of his approach to work as being established at home and in the educational system. These contexts are assembled as instilling in him the virtue of finishing projects and performing well on the job. Success is positioned as being expected ('you were meant to be successful'). There is a switch in pronouns from personal 'I' pronoun to the more general 'you' pronoun as the extract progresses. This externalises his approach to work from his personal philosophy to the school context (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Hence, this W group member's approach to work is positioned as being caused by both home and educational contexts.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and where do you think your workaholism originates from?

P: ...so I think that the work addiction (1.0) when I was young (0.5) was a coping mechanism (1.0) right it got me out of the house (1.5) because I was always at school I was studying (0.5) I was busy (.) it was a good escape hatch for me (2.0) I've gotten a lot of awards (1.0) and I've got national awards (1.5) and by the time I was at the head of my high school (0.5) where I had over \$5,000 in scholarships (0.5) I had gotten loads of national awards (2.0) because my family was pretty checked out (1.5) there was a way that school (.) and the praise (0.5) trying to get the praise externally (1.0) because I wasn't getting it at home

The 'work' in workaholism is generalised to schoolwork in this extract. Workaholism at school is positioned as a route out of the family home. The praise that was received in the educational context (e.g. academic accolades) is assembled as compensating for the lack of praise from home. This approach to work is thereby presented as being formed by both the home environment and the school context. The generic 'it' and definitive 'the' constructs workaholism as a fact (Potter, 1996). Also, the phrase 'it got me out' positions a sense of agency with workaholism and not with this participant.

7.4.2 The former workaholics group and the school context

Participant #26

I: hmm and are there any aspects of your personal circumstances that may have influenced your work pattern?

P: probably school environment taught me to be fairly disciplined (1.0) and taught me how to work hard (2.0) I suppose you could say I'm (1.0) yeah discipline and hard work (0.5) that's what school taught me to bring to the job...again I think it comes from school (2.0) I suppose the culture of the school and the culture of the teachers of the school (0.5) and the priests of the school (2.0) was to work hard you know

Working hard is positioned as an activity that is learnt, through the repetition of the verb 'taught'. Discipline and hard work are construed as being learnt in the school environment, prior to entering the workplace. School is positioned as a source from which learning about hard work emerges ('comes from school'). The term culture is repeated several times. Indeed, the environment of the global term 'school' is constructed as separate from the teachers or priests of the school. The school environment is thereby established as teaching this FW group member how to work hard.

Participant #11

I: right and what aspects (1.0) if any of your personal circumstances do you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...I didn't do much work at school (1.0) I wouldn't have worked that hard at school (.) when I was like in primary school ...well growing up I played a lot of camogie (.) I did a lot of sport (1.5) I was used to short sharp bursts you know (1.5) I played tennis (0.5) big family (2.0) yeah it's true I never did any work but I got through my exams (2.0) so you know the three weeks running up to the Leaving (1.0) I used to cram you know (0.5) get it in get it in (2.0) lots of you know (0.5) and in those days we used to drink Benilyn and Coke mix to keep us going all night (1.0) but that's how we did nothing all year (1.0) and that's when we used to jam it into the short term memory (1.5) always short term memory in and out

This FW group member does not position herself as working excessively at school. Work at school is presented as an activity that occurs throughout the year as opposed to her 'cramming' approach. This activity is assembled through the verb 'jamming' and is construed as continuing right through from primary school to secondary level. She aligns this approach to work with her fellow students. Preparing for an examination is presented as a group activity, through the frequency of the collective pronouns 'we' and 'us'. Exams are positioned as something that is endured as opposed to excelled at. The extreme case formulations 'never did any work' and 'we did nothing all year' function to make this construction more effective and powerful as it draws on extremes. The specific details and vivid description of her

school days (e.g. Benilyn and coke mix), gives the impression of perceptual re-experience and a fresh visual memory (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

7.4.3 *The control group regarding the school context*

Participant #14

I: ok and what aspects (0.5) if any of your personal circumstances do you think may or may not have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...and my school (1.5) I went to a convent school and again there was a very strong work ethic (2.0) I always worked very hard at school ...so yes (0.5) I would say that both my home and school environment have influenced my current work pattern

The work ethic in this participant's school is established as influencing her current approach to work. She construes herself as consistently being a hard working student, through the extreme case formulation of 'always'. This participant also positions school as one of the two influential contextual factors over her work habits ('both'). Thus, this C group member's work pattern is built up as originating in the educational environment.

Participantt#28

I: right and would you see any aspects of your personal circumstances influencing your work in any way?

P: ...I don't think so (1.5) I'd find it hard to see any relationship between what I did at school and (2.0) well maybe how you study (.) study schedules and stuff like that (1.5) so like if you're studying for exams you need to schedule your times yourself (1.5) and similarly in the job I'm in now (0.5) I schedule my own work (2.0) but I wouldn't relate anything I did at school (1.0) or anything at home life effects how I work today

This C group member constructs a lack of linkages between past contexts (i.e. home and school) and his current approach to work. This is built up through the use of extreme case formulations such as ‘I wouldn’t relate anything’ and ‘any relationship’. This is also achieved through the repetition of temporal markers such as ‘now’, ‘to-day’ and the use of the past tense (‘I did at school’). Learning how to schedule work is assembled as being the only influence of the school environment over his current work patterns, through the hedging of claims (‘well maybe’).

7.4.4 Conclusion: school context

This section analysed construals of educational contexts as influencing work patterns. Indeed, the term ‘work’ is applied to schoolwork on a number of occasions. Several participants from every group constructed their work patterns as being shaped by the school context. W group members positioned success orientated schools with demanding workloads as causing their work patterns. In a similar vein, C and FW group members established learning the meaning of hard work and discipline from their school’s culture. WA members also assembled workaholism at school as providing an escape hatch from the home environment. However, some C group members do not position their educational environment as forming their approach to work. Additionally, other FW group members do not present their school days as being characterised by hard work. No SO group member construed any relation between work patterns and the school context.

7.5 Work context as a cause of excessive work behaviour

This node examines how the work context is constructed as influencing the work pattern. The context includes professional norms, organisational culture, requirements of the job and job role.

7.5.1 The workaholics group in reference to the work context

Participant #33

I: right so could you tell me what a typical day at work is like for you?

P: ...I mightn't get home until eleven o'clock some evenings (0.5) because we have a lot of contact with American banks as well

This W group member positions conditions of the work context as a justification for getting home from work at 11pm. The contact with America is positioned as the reason for staying late at work. This is worked up by the switch from the 'I' pronoun to the collective 'we' pronoun, which aligns him with the company. Hence, the work context is construed as causing the late working hours.

Participant #33

I: right and could you tell me what your habits were like in your first job?

P: I was working in the States in an investment bank (0.5) and so it was a more intense regime (2.0) I was in at seven (0.5) and you could be working until nine (.) ten (.) eleven o'clock at night (2.0)...everybody else (0.5) your peer group is doing the same number of hours (1.0) you don't really see it as a problem (1.0) the amount of time you spend at work (0.5) is an investment in your future (2.0) and it definitely paid off for me (0.5) I'm quite happy with my career now (2.5) you see (0.5) I never sacrifice things and invest myself in something (1.5) unless there's a pay off or compensation for it (0.5) somewhere down the road

Working sixteen hours per day is positioned as unproblematic for this participant due to the similarity of his peer's work pattern. This is worked up through the extreme case formulation 'everybody else'. The intensity of the work schedule is explained by reference to the geographical location of the job and the specific type of work context ('in the States in an investment bank'). The term 'regime' constructs the sixteen-hour workday as a pervasive routine. Working long hours is also positioned as a strategic move. It is established as not being a reward in itself but rather as yielding benefits in the future. The success of this investment for him is established through the term 'definitely' and the temporal marker 'now'. This construal is further assembled in monetary terms ('investment', 'compensation' and 'pay-off'). This investment approach is then generalised to the rest of the

participant's life, being built up through the extreme case formulation 'never' and generic terms ('things', 'something' and 'somewhere').

Participant #33

I: hmm and are there any aspects of your personal circumstances that may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...when I went in to work in my first job (1.0) it didn't seem that strenuous (1.5) I met a lot of people who hadn't had that amount of activities going on in college (1.5) and they were just really overwhelmed by the seven to ten work days (0.5) typical of investment banking

This participant's interpretation of the long work hours is juxtaposed with the negative reaction of colleagues who did not work as hard at university. This is worked up through the use of the word 'they'. The temporal marker 'days' are categorised as workdays, presenting these days as being consumed by work. The fifteen-hour workdays are positioned as being characteristic of the work context. Working from 7am until 10pm is assembled as being the norm for this participant's occupational group. This role talk (i.e. being a banker) (Edwards & Potter, 1992) externalises this behaviour to the work environment, rather than attributing it to internal factors such as personality.

Participant #33

I: hmm and how do your family view your work pattern?

P: well I know my wife thinks I work too much (1.5) she calls me a workaholic (2.0) funnily enough she didn't think that when we were in the States (1.5) but since we moved back from the states (0.5) the remuneration is a multiple of what I was getting over there (2.0) and if you're raking it in (0.5) it's not that much of a big deal (.) because you don't have to do that forever

The context is positioned as determining how this participant's work behaviour is interpreted. His wife construes him as a workaholic only since they have

moved back to Ireland from America. This is attributed to the decrease in financial reward for his job in Ireland. Working long hours temporarily when the return is high is established as being unproblematic and not workaholic. There is a switch from the 'I' personal pronoun to the externalising 'you' pronoun. This depersonalises this construction from his situation and positions it as a general rule (Edwards, 1997). Attributing workaholism to an individual is thus positioned as being dependant on conditions of work.

Participant #33

I: hmm and how do you think your friends view your work pattern?

P: ...the friends over in America would probably be working similar if not longer hours than me (1.0) so they would view my working hours as pretty normal

I: and would they be working in banking as well?

P: yes that's correct

This participant's friends are positioned as working in the same sector and putting in similar hours as him. As a result of this, they are worked up as seeing his work habits as normal. The significance of perspective is assembled through the verb 'view'. As such, what is interpreted as a typical work pattern depends on the work context.

Participant #10

I: yeah and how do you think your friends would view your work pattern?

P: a lot of my friends would be in the same business as me (1.0) and they would be bankers or auditors or something like that (1.0) and they would probably just see it as normal (0.5) that people would work forty or fifty hours a week (2.5) so I'd say that they would see it as the same as themselves you know

Category membership entitlements are construed in relation to 'bankers' and 'auditors'. For instance, a fifty-hour work week is positioned as normal working

behaviour for these occupational groups. Normality is also assembled as involving behaviours that are similar to one's own. The significance of the viewer's perspective is established through the repetition of the verb 'see'. Consequently, this W group member constructs his work behaviour as being normal. The work context and perspective are thereby worked up as determining what is interpreted as normal working hours.

Participant #3

I: and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the manner that you do?

P: ...hard work doesn't bother me at all (0.5) and I enjoy it (0.5) and I like being able to get up at six o' clock in the morning (.) and being able to put in a fourteen hour day (1.5) that's no problem to me (.) that's (.) I couldn't do that for someone else you know what I mean (1.0) it's the personal side of things (1.5) I enjoy working a fourteen hour day as long as its for me (3.0) so that would be the main driving force

Fourteen-hour work days are positioned as unproblematic and enjoyable due to this self-employed W group member's work context. This environment is personalised through the pronoun 'me' and the phrase 'the personal side of things'. This personalisation is positioned as being the major influence over his work pattern by the definitive article and the phrase 'the main driving force'. Being self-employed is worked up as affecting his ability to work long hours. This is assembled through the contrasts between the 'able' verb and the 'I couldn't' phrase.

Participant #7

I: and were your habits the same as they are now?

P: in the position that I was in (0.5) and the company I was with (0.5) I was a different person (3.0) I went in on time (1.0) I went to lunch with the ladies in the office (1.0) and I went home on time or within a half an hour or an hour afterwards

(2.0) probably had I (0.5) intended staying in the company (1.0) I would have had to change my routine (.) sorry changed my approach and maybe start taking on responsibility and staying longer (0.5) because very much the culture of the finance department between the chief accountant (0.5) and not a very well liked management accountant (0.5) and I say not very well liked across the organisation (2.0) their culture was that they stay late (0.5) and the pressure was coming on more and more the junior person (0.5) being myself (0.5) to stay late (.) as I did sometimes (1.0) but I moved on after about eighteen months (2.5) so in that case (.) in that situation it changed considerably (1.0) my approach to work you couldn't really compare it because at the time I was only training

This W group member's working hours are construed as being dependent on his work context and his job position. Coming in to work on time, taking a lunch hour and leaving work are positioned as his approach to work during the training phase of his career. The behaviour of 'staying late' at work is established as a requirement for advancing one's career within the culture of his company. This construction is worked up by the repetition of the phrase 'staying late', which builds up the work pattern as going beyond normal working hours. This participant assembles his approach to work as being dependent on external factors such as place of employment, job position and stage of career.

Participant #7

I: right and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: I'll bring this (.) maybe give a couple of examples (.) or not examples sorry (0.5) I'll explain it to you (0.5) go back to the (name of company) days (0.5) I spent eight years there (1.0) what motivated me there was (1.0) actually (0.5) to be honest with you it was fear (3.0) I was put in the deep end (.) I was made responsible (.) it was absolutely (.) it was genuine fear of an extremely (.) at the time aggressive manager (1.0) that's what motivated me and (1.0) it just had to be done (0.5) for eight years there was (0.5) you know long hours

Being frightened of an aggressive manager is constructed as a source of motivation for work behaviour. This is presented as the truth through the phrase 'to be honest with you'. This is further worked up by the use of the term 'genuine'. These discursive features establish the authenticity of this construal of his emotions. Working long hours is constructed as a necessity that spawned from his boss. This is built up through the term 'just'. Consequently, this W group member construes his work context as creating his work pattern.

Participant #7

I: ok and what aspects (0.5) if any of your personal circumstances do you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...the aim is that we are able to manage our jobs within a normal day (.) maybe an eight to eight thirty shift (2.0) no-one minds that (.) that's normal as far as most people are concerned...my brother thinks I'm (0.5) mad because he has a different approach (.) he is in the I.T. industry and he would very much make the best of flexitime (1.0) and keep his hours to the norm now that he is in a nine-to-five job whereas when he was contracting (0.5) he tended to do a bit more hours (1.5) so he went through a short period of working long hours

This passage illustrates how the context is central to what is defined as normal work behaviour. There are two types of normality constructed. The majority of banking employees are construed as viewing a twelve-hour working day as normal. Conversely, normal working hours for this participant's brother is assembled as a nine to five workday. Indeed, his I.T. job is construed in terms of its working hours ('he is in a nine to five job'). This positions the work context as determining what is viewed as normal working hours.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and would you see any aspects of American society influencing your work pattern?

P: ...it has been life saving for me to get a (1.0) to cultivate a practice where I am centred in my body (.) and coming to a place of stillness (2.0) and that is not something that is readily available in a work environment (1.5) for example at (name of company) (2.5) I mean that's why I went down to part time at (name of company) (2.0) I mean I could just feel the suction you know (1.0) the more hours you work (.) the more my supervisors were praising me (1.5) and you know they have audits (0.5) and I was getting a hundred percent on the audits and they loved that you know (2.5) everything gets cooked down to numbers (0.5) either money or percentages (2.0) they're all very superficial like how things are (1.0) it's not like they have a concern for wellness or wholeness you know (2.0) and I think that what I've seen in the last (0.5) even five or ten years is a shift more and more (1.0) where the companies don't have this sense of loyalty for the wellness of the people who work there (1.5) they're very bottom line driven (1.0) and in a way it's more explicit than it used to be (0.5) and it's extremely disturbing

The term 'suction' builds up the influence that the work context has over this participant's work behaviour. It construes her as being involuntarily pulled into a routine of working long hours by the praise from her boss. Yet, this individual positions herself as being outside the long hours culture through the numerous 'they' indexicals. She is also constructed as choosing to cut down on her working hours by opting for a part-time job. Although the work environment is assembled as creating a long hours culture, control over the participant's work hours is positioned with her. This participant's work context is construed as only attending to limited aspects of the people they employ. The human side of working is construed as being 'boiled off' and what remains are numbers. Later on, work contexts beyond the participant's own company are assembled as having a lack of concern for employees' health. This is worked up through the definitive article 'the' coupled with the plurality of the organisations in 'the companies'.

WA member - Participant #12

I: ok and what aspects of society (0.5) if any do you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...newspapers are incredibly workaholic places (0.5) they (.) you know it was not (.) and when I started general reporters had no rights at all for time off (1.5) I mean the time that I worked (.) it was 9 am to 1 am the following morning (1.0) I didn't thereby gain any time off you know for that (2.5) you were expected to put your own private life second to your work (1.5) and that was seriously expected (1.0) you know if you went to the theatre you had to get out at the end of Act I and go and phone the newspaper (0.5) to make sure that there weren't any queries on your story (1.0) and then at the end of the next Act you would have to do that (1.0) which in the days before mobile phones was very difficult indeed (2.0) so I don't suppose that helped (1.0) so that (.) the first job I did was that pattern of (2.0) workaholism (0.5)

This WA member constructs her first work environment and not herself as being workaholic. Job title 'general reporters' and work conditions are built up as justifications for working long hours. The prominence of the 'you' personal pronoun further externalise workaholism from the participant and situates it within the work context (Potter, 1996). Prioritising work over the individual's private life is assembled as being a requirement of the job. This WA group member works up a vivid description of her first place of work. The times and specific behaviours (e.g. ringing work after Act I), construct a convincing argument as they suggest a fresh and accurate memory (Edwards & Potter, 1992). At the end of the passage, workaholism is again linked to the job.

WA member - Participant #18

I: hmm and do you think any aspect of American society may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...in the medical profession we recognise long hours (.) and house calls (.) and night calls as normal (2.5) my father was a small town doctor and he made house calls (1.0) and so when I choose this profession (1.0) I saw that as being the norm (2.0) and it didn't occur to me that this was not ok (3.0) and it wasn't until years later (.) when house calls fizzled out that that allowed doctors to be able to live their own lives

Excessive working is attributed to professional norms. A collective pronoun 'we' assembles a viewpoint that doctors perceive as normal working hours. This WA group member aligns himself with this perspective. Visual terms ('recognising', 'saw') position normal working behaviour as being interpreted from a particular viewpoint. His father's work pattern is construed as establishing these long hours as the typical work routine, before this participant entered the medical profession. Role talk illustrates how not living your own life is part of being a doctor. Changes in conditions and norms of the profession (i.e. house calls), are positioned as giving permission to the doctor to live their life outside of work. A lack of ownership is assembled around a doctor's life when he is working ('be able to live their own lives').

7.5.2 The former workaholics group with regard to the work context

Participant #20

I: hmm and could you tell me what your habits were like in your first job?

P: ...first job (.) first real job (1.5) it would have been long hours (1.0) like I'm talking (name of company) as a sort of trainee chartered accountant doing audits (2.0) so that would have been strictly nine till half five (0.5) except it wasn't (1.0) it would have been nine to seven (.) and taking work home if you were working to deadlines (0.5) two weeks of deadlines to get a job done (0.5) before you move on to another job (1.5) so you'd be working quite a lot of overtime (1.5) so which would have come to working through the nights and stuff (0.5) sometimes you know (1.0) so that's the lot of a junior auditor you know...I mean bringing work home is something I've been doing since 19 really (0.5) when I started with (name of company)

This participant externalises long hours and bringing work home from a personality issue, to a requirement of the job. This is worked up through the use of role talk. Working long hours and bringing work home are behaviours that are positioned as category membership entitlements. They are intrinsic to the role of being a 'junior auditor' and a 'trainee chartered accountant'. The number of 'you' personal pronouns builds this up further. These discursive features function to externalise behaviour from this participant's own personal motivations (Edwards &

Potter, 1992). Consequently, he is established as working in this manner because the work context required it.

Participant #37

I: hmm and what were your working hours like in Canada?

P: oh I worked very long hours there (1.0) I was working in the finance division (0.5) and I became financial controller eventually (2.0) and I struggled to get on top of things (1.5) so it was eight o' clock in the morning to eleven o' clock at night (0.5) five days a week (1.0) so it was very heavy going (1.0) ...but I was trying to get my feet under the table properly (1.0) and trying to understand what was going on (0.5) I was generally the only person doing that (2.0) I remember reading a contract without any real knowledge of the business (0.5) and I remember trying to do it out on my own

The length of working hours is emphasised and tied into a particular workplace ('very long hours there'). The reason for working a seventy-five hour week is constructed as the participant familiarising himself with a new job. This is built up through the verbs 'struggling' and 'trying', as well as numerous idiomatic phrases 'to get on top of things' and 'get my feet under the table properly'. These position him as experiencing difficulties getting to grips with the new workload. He is construed as being in control of this working behaviour through the personal pronouns ('I') (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Although the participant is established as being in control of spending long hours at work, conditions of the work context are positioned as explanations for working long hours.

7.5.3 *The significant others group and the work context*

Participant #29

I: right and what do you think motivates him to work in the way that he does?

P: ...I think another factor is also that it's his own business (0.5) and so he invests more of himself in his work (.) than maybe others who are working here

This participant positions his co-worker as contributing more of himself to his work than his colleagues. This is attributed to the work context, namely his ownership of the company, which is built up through the pronoun 'his'. This extract is peppered with hedged claims that are created through modals such as 'I think' and modifiers such as 'maybe'. These function to construe this SO's interpretation as measured and well considered (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Therefore, the work context is positioned as an explanation for why Participant #4 is constructed as working harder than his co-workers.

7.5.4 The control group in reference to the work context

Participant #25

I: and are there any aspects of your personal circumstances that you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: ...like I always change the way I work (0.5) depending on the job I'm in (3.0) I think that's just the way you evolve through your jobs

This C group member positions the manner in which she works as differing between varying work roles and work contexts. This is expanded beyond her personal circumstances through the use of the generic terms 'you' and 'your'. These externalise this construal from her specific case and to construct it as a universal tendency (Potter, 1996).

Participant #28

I: hmm and you mentioned before that in the IFSC (.) that there are some people working seven until seven (2.0) do you think that is due to the nature of their job? (1.0) are they required to do those hours?

P: ...those who work in American companies here (0.5) they are all expected to do a lot more than in the English based companies (1.0) because the culture of the companies is quite different in the American firms (2.0) it's kind of got to do with the culture (1.5) I mean if people look up at six in the evenings (0.5) and they still see people working away at their desks ...yeah well my company is British-based (1.0)

but some of the American companies here expect their employees to work crazy hours (2.0) Japanese and American firms have such a different work ethic

Working long hours is construed as an expectation. The culture of the company is positioned as the cause of this obligation. This is further built up through the extreme case formulation 'all', the generic term 'people' and the collective indexical 'they'. These discursive features function to deindividualise the behaviour of working long hours from individual personalities to a pervasive collective work behaviour that is expected in certain work contexts (i.e. US based companies). The term culture is expanded upon and backed up by painting a picture of the work environment. This is achieved by reference to the typical end of the office workday, namely six o' clock, and the construal of colleagues working past official closing hours. The details of this construction (i.e. office furniture, workstations and time of the day), create a tangible portrayal and a more persuasive argument (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This C group member positions his company as a UK based organisation. The nationality of the firm, and not the organisational sector or type of industry, is employed to categorise companies. This construes cultural context as impacting on the organisational culture and as generating expectations among staff. It is the companies and not the employees who are construed as having a work ethic. Furthermore, it is the work time that is assembled as crazy and mentally ill, not the people who work these long hours.

7.5.5 Conclusion: work context

The work context is positioned as a major influencing factor on work patterns across all participant groups. The FW group construct the work context as creating their previous work habits. C group members establish work behaviours as altering from job to job. Workplace expectations are presented by C group members and WA members as creating excessive work patterns. Stage of career and conditions of the job (i.e. fear of the boss, ownership of the business and self-employment) are worked up as causing such work behaviours. Other participants from both the FW and WA groups position long hours as a professional norm.

Passages from W group members illustrate how the work context is construed as determining what is interpreted as normal working hours. Perspective and viewpoints are worked up in a number of extracts. These position normal working behaviours as being dependent on the viewers own work pattern. In this manner, similarity of viewpoints is assembled as determining what is normal. Overall, the work context is positioned as being very influential in causing excessive work patterns. However, a number of participants construe a sense of control over whether they chose to adopt the work habits that are propagated by their work environment.

7.6 National cultural context as a cause of excessive work patterns

This part of the chapter illustrates how the national cultural context impacts on the work pattern. National culture refers to the broad national societal factors influencing work patterns.

7.6.1 The workaholics group with respect to national cultural context

WA member - Participant #12

I: ok and what aspects of society (0.5) if any do you think may have influenced your work pattern?

P: I think that certainly aspects of society (1.5) actually I think the problem is in me (0.5) I don't blame society (1.5) it's up to me to regulate my behaviour (0.5) its not them outside (0.5) why should anybody outside help me regulate my own behaviour (1.0) its my (1.0) I'm the one that has to do it (1.5) but I will just say this newspapers are incredibly workaholic places...I don't blame society for my workaholism (1.5) I take full responsibility for it (0.5) I'm not a victim

The extract begins with elements of society being construed as most definitely influencing workaholism. This line of argument is then changed through the modifier 'actually' and workaholism is presented as residing within her ('the problem is in me'). Society or 'those outside' of her are not positioned as being required to help regulate her working behaviour. This participant further construes

ownership of her workaholic behaviour through the use of the possessive pronoun 'my'. Resolving workaholism is construed as being the individual's responsibility. This avoids constructing society as responsible for her workaholism and adopting a victimised stance. Despite this, recognition of the significance of the context in creating workaholism is assembled. The term 'workaholism' is employed as an adjective to construct her former work context. Her workplace is built up as being workaholic to an unbelievable level, through the term 'incredibly'. Although, the work context is positioned as being conducive to workaholism, resolving the problem is assembled as being under her personal control.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and would you see any aspects of American society influencing your work pattern?

P: ...the culture (1.0) I don't know about places other than the United States (1.0) but my experience here (0.5) especially like having a footing in the world of corporate culture (1.0) is that it is extremely insidious it's a (0.5) it's a disease that is rewarded in this culture ...and living in a world where people are using a lot of caffeine and sugar (2.0) both of which I have found to be greatly exacerbating to my disease (1.0) it seems that the whole thing (.) that people are money driven (0.5) and you know the more you do (2.0) it's like the confusion about I am what I do (1.0) and the inquisitiveness (0.5) the greed you know (2.0) just the fact that at a basic level I feel that the spiritual (2.5) the lack of spiritual resources

This WA member positions workaholism as a medical condition that is rewarded by American society ('a disease', 'my disease'). The frequent use of chemical substances such as caffeine and sugar are assembled as aggravating her illness. Materialism, a lack of spirituality and confusion surrounding the self are also assembled as rewarding workaholism. Global, generic terms ('world', 'people' and 'whole thing') are employed when constructing the effect of the cultural context. This functions to position workaholism as not only being particular to the American context but as a global issue.

Participant #33

I: what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: I would see it pretty much (0.5) staying pretty much the same (2.0) well particularly if I stay in Ireland (2.0) if we were to move back to the States (1.0) the hours would be much more intense

I: hmm and would you see any aspects of Irish society influencing your work pattern?

P: no (.) not at all (1.0) well I lived outside the country for fifteen years so

I: right and do you think that American society has impacted on your work pattern?

P: oh yeah (1.0) well I think in the States if you excel (.) that's reflected in your career path and in your salary (2.0) if you excel in Ireland that's not necessarily the case (1.5) but if you are mediocre you can survive in Ireland (1.0) with all these jobs for life (0.5) we are quite socialist (0.5) although we don't like to admit that in this country (1.5) there's a lot of tolerance of mediocrity (1.5) whereas in America they want people to succeed and excel (0.5) and it's a great system (2.0) and so I've sort of adopted that mentality

This participant's number of work hours is construed as being dependent on his geographical location. Moving to America is constructed as increasing the intensity of his work pattern. Excelling at work in the US is assembled as being rewarded both financially and in terms of career progression. In contrast, Irish society is construed as accepting mediocrity. This W group member aligns himself with Irish culture through the repetition of the 'we' pronoun. Yet, at the end of the passage he establishes himself as taking on the American way. He is not presented as embracing this approach completely, as hedging of this claim is established through the modifier 'sort of'. The verb 'adopted' is used in relation to taking on cultural work beliefs. This assembles him as an Irish citizen who adopted the US mentality of excelling in the workplace. National culture is established as an issue of the mind, a means of psychologically viewing the world ('a great system...that mentality').

7.6.2 *The former workaholics group on the subject of national cultural context*

Participant #11

I: ok and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...I'm happier (.) I don't feel as driven here (0.5) so I think that's a success (1.5)...almost since I came back to Ireland I'm happy with it (1.0) than when I was in England (2.0) I feel it's a better (.) the environment in Ireland is much more conducive still to a good work life balance (1.0) in my experience ...there is no problem about getting time off (.) to do home stuff really (2.0) whereas in the UK (.) it was difficult (2.5) there wasn't the same understanding about it you know (0.5) about having a life outside of work (1.0) whereas here I still think that people here are (1.5) what is it (.) living to work or (0.5) working to live sorry (1.5) whereas in the UK I really felt that I was living to work (2.0) ...even with the Celtic Tiger (0.5) it hasn't changed the underlying culture...the culture is not (1.0) the culture is still you know your life comes first (0.5) and your work comes second (2.0) so I'm happy enough with it as it stands you know

This FW group member positions her drive to work as being influenced by the country that she resides in. This is worked up through the repetition of the term 'here'. The Irish cultural context is assembled as life being positioned as superior to a person's work ('your life comes first'). Irish culture is also construed as promoting a satisfying balance between work and life. This is further worked up by the ease of getting time off work to deal with home issues. Conversely, the cultural context in England is built up as one where there was a lack of understanding about life outside of work. This context is presented as generating the participant's previous tendency to live for her work.

Participant #37

I: hmm and do you think any aspects of your environment have impacted on your work patterns?

P: ...I think in the early days I was just interested in having a good time (1.0) you know I'd go out with the lads (0.5) and come into the office the following morning

with a hangover (1.5) and I used to leave the office on the stroke of five o' clock (2.0) I don't think the Irish work culture (0.5) the recognition for the work that is done isn't there (1.0) ...the companies I worked with in Canada really recognised the hard work I put in (2.0) they recognised it in terms of monetary benefits and bonuses (.) as well as saying to me 'well done you've done a good job' (2.5) if I'd stayed in Ireland I don't know if I'd have gotten that recognition (1.0) and would I have kept working in the lax way I was accustomed to (2.0) I don't know I probably would have (0.5) but I can't be sure (2.0) but I do know that when I moved to Canada my work ethic changed (2.5) I don't know was it because I was in Canada (1.0) or because I was in the right job and that kind of change was going to happen anyway (2.0) but it might be a combination of all three (1.0) maybe (1.0) I don't know (0.5) but I do believe that you don't get anywhere in life (1.5) you are who you are because of life experiences (0.5) and you are changed by them (1.0) and if you change something small in your background (1.5) it might have a huge impact on who you are (2.0) like I mean when I was made financial controller (.) it was when I moved to Canada (0.5) and it was when I became aware of things that I was quite capable of doing (2.5) so it might have been a combination of all three

This FW group member constructs his work pattern as being unconscientious when he first entered the world of work. This is worked up by construing him as socialising on work nights and leaving the office at exactly five o' clock. This behaviour is justified in terms of a broad national work culture that is assembled as not rewarding hard work. Therefore, contextual conditions are positioned as causing this participant's early work behaviour. In contrast to the Irish work culture, he positions Canadian companies as providing recognition for hard work financially and verbally. A direct speech quotation makes this account more vivid and also gives these statements credibility as it signals that the participant witnessed these events (Potter, 1996).

Uncertainty surrounding his work behaviour had he stayed working in Ireland is built up. This is established through the hedging of claims by modifiers such as 'probably' and 'maybe' as well as modals such as 'I don't know' and 'I can't be sure'. However, affirmation of the change in his work practices when he changed

cultural contexts is assembled through 'but' and 'I do know'. Following this, speculation about the cause of this change is constructed. Cultural context, work context and an inevitable stage of growth are positioned as possible explanations for the change. A mixture of all three elements is construed as another explanation. Life experiences and social contexts are established as creating and changing the self. Hence, context in general and cultural context in particular are positioned as creating and changing this participant's work pattern.

Participant #5

I: what aspects (0.5) if any of your personal circumstances do you think may have influenced your work patterns?

P: well I suppose (.) just off the top of my head is my parents (0.5) weren't poor now (0.5) but they they certainly struggled (1.0) my mother was a full-time house wife (.) again we had five in our family (1.0) my father was a sales rep (1.0) so money was scarce so I suppose there was (1.0) the same as a lot of people around that time who went to school in the 1950's and early sixties (2.5) there was kind of a burning need to succeed you know...and do better than your parents did you know...I suppose I was part of that generation you know (2.5) I suppose there was the feeling as well of (1.0) my parents had fairly low means and they financed me right up to a masters degree (1.5) I did work in the summer (.) but that was only (0.5) for a short period (3.0) so there was an element of (0.5) doing well (0.5) in order to show that there was a return there you know...an awful lot of people were in that same situation (0.5) at that time you know

This member of the FW's group construes his parent's financial circumstances and their investment in his education as motivating influences over his work pattern. His parents are positioned as investors and the participant is constructed as wanting them to receive a dividend. He also attributes his work pattern to his peer group. This participant is portrayed as belonging to a generation who wanted to succeed due to the financial circumstances and the cultural climate in Ireland at that time ('I was part of that'). A 'burning need to succeed' is assembled as occurring in this particular temporal and geographical context (i.e. 1950's and 1960's

in Ireland). It is constructed as not being specific to this participant but rather an element of a generation's collective mindset. This is established through the normalising phrases 'the same as a lot of people' and 'an awful lot of people were in that same situation'. As such, cultural contextual factors are positioned as causing this participant's individual work behaviour.

7.6.3 *The control group and the national cultural context*

Participant #28

I: hmm and you mentioned before that in the IFSC (.) that there are some people working seven until seven (2.0) do you think that is due to the nature of their job? (1.0) are they required to do those hours?

P: I think a lot of it (1.0) you'd see it a lot in the American companies (.) that culture (1.0) like Americans work really hard (1.0) they don't get so much time off ...like my girlfriend's brother works for an American fund agency (1.0) he pretty much regularly does pretty much ten hours a day (0.5) if not more ...I wouldn't mind working a four day week myself (1.5) here I have about twenty-seven days paid leave (0.5) and in Germany the average number of paid holiday days is thirty (1.5) and in France they have their thirty-seven hour work week (2.0) I think it was in the European Maastricht treaty (0.5) on the social end of things that the maximum work week was fort- three or forty-five hours (1.0) but the British got that changed to forty eight hours for them (1.0) so they are slightly different from continental Europe (2.0) and I suppose because Ireland is so influenced by both Britain and America that we've adopted their work ethics to some extent (1.5) but that's not for me (0.5) I enjoy my nine to five (0.5) five day week

This C group member construes national geography as dictating the amount of holidays and number of working hours per week. This argument is worked up by reference to his friend's ten-hour workday, which is attributed to the national cultural work ethic of the firm. This is legitimised further by political terminology ('Maastricht treaty'). 'Work ethic' positions work patterns at the societal level, as a set of principles governing the average number of work hours. The verb 'adopted' construes the British and American work ethics as being part of Irish culture. This

collective Irishness is built up through the 'we' pronoun. However, this participant separates himself from the masses through the introduction of the 'I' personal pronoun and use of the term 'me'. Enjoyment of a thirty-five hour week is positioned as being this C group member's ideal. Thus, he establishes a sense of control over his working hours ('but that's not for me'). Cultural context is construed as dictating working hours, but this participant is assembled as having the freedom to accept these influences or not.

Participant #19

I: ok and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work the way you do?

P: well in general (0.5) in the western world we are taught to be very ambitious and I guess I am no exception (2.0) after all (0.5) capitalism is what drives society these days ... I guess I believe there are five different groups that influence the way we are (1.5) these are society (.) school (.) family (.) friends and religion (2.0) so in my personal case (1.0) I grew up in Spain where there was (0.5) up until five years ago (.) a fairly high unemployment rate (1.5) so society made of competition the key issue to succeed

Being ambitious is positioned as a lesson that everyone living in the western world learns. Capitalism is positioned as what is driving contemporary society. This is constructed through the modifier 'after all'. Socio-political terms like 'capitalism' and 'western world' legitimise this extract as being informed by sociological labels and theories and not merely a personal opinion of this participant (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This passage is also worked up by a number of global, general terms such as 'society' and 'world'. A list of five groups is positioned as creating individuals. This is particularised to this participant's personal situation ('so in my case'). The name of the country where he grew up is construed and the specific conditions ('high unemployment rate') are assembled. As such, national cultural context is constructed as influencing his work pattern.

7.6.4 *Conclusion: national cultural context*

Extracts from all participant groups except SOs, construe national contextual conditions as strongly impacting on individual work patterns. A wide range of national cultural contexts are constructed, namely Canadian, Spanish, Irish, British and American work cultures. In addition, national culture is construed as a psychological means of viewing the world of work. However, other participants acknowledge the effect society has on work patterns but portray regulation of work behaviours as being determined by personal choice. The cultural context is thus positioned as creating work patterns, but individual work habits are constructed as ultimately being influenced by personal control.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter features discursive construals of external causes of overworking. Excessive work patterns are constructed as being influenced by a range of social contexts including familial, educational, work and national. Similarly, non-excessive work patterns are also positioned as being caused by contextual factors. Influential familial conditions that are constructed include parental values and childhood experiences. Being married with children was another aspect that is frequently construed. Indeed, working excessively is assembled as a means of escape from marital discord. Within the school context, discipline and hard work are presented as affecting work patterns. The work context is established as a major influence over work behaviour. In particular, organisational culture, professional norms, stage of career and job role were positioned as creating work habits. A variety of national cultural contexts are also constructed as influencing approaches to work. A number of participants establish the environment as impacting on their work patterns but their personal control is constructed as ultimately causing their work habits. This chapter provides an answer to research question number one which asks if workaholism is constructed as being caused by contextual or internal factors. The evidence suggests that excessive work patterns are construed as being influenced by both environmental contexts and internal personal choice. The individualised aspect of the research project will be analysed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8

Explaining the internal causes of excessive working

8.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer research question one: Is workaholism constructed as being caused by environmental influences or internal influences (i.e. trait or addiction)?

The three sections of analyses, namely, addiction, personality types and perfectionism, correspond to Nvivo nodes identified in appendix I.

8.2 Addiction to work as an explanation of overworking

This section of analysis features construals of working in an addictive manner.

8.2.1 *The workaholics group concerning addiction to work*

Participant #13

I: no this is great (2.0) so could you please tell me what drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: ...but I suppose there's a bit of excitement attached to it (1.0) the adrenaline would be pumping as well you know (1.0) when you're working out deals and sorting out operational issues

This W group member positions the biochemical adrenaline as pulsating throughout his body, while he performs particular work activities (i.e. co-ordinating contracts). This is worked up through the verb 'pumping'. The introduction of the 'you' pronoun externalises this effect from his body and normalises it to other people's anatomy. However, this participant does not position himself as being addicted to this adrenaline generated by working. For instance, he does not construe

the release of this biochemical as creating withdrawal symptoms, blackouts, cravings or any other aspect of addiction.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...what I feel is (0.5) I suffer (0.5) I'm an activity junkie (1.0) I can't sit still (1.0) I can't do nothing (0.5) I will do more than one thing at once (1.0) so that I will be reading a book and watching television

This participant construes herself as being unable to sit still and as frequently engaging in multitasking. Through the slang term 'junkie', she positions herself as being addicted to being active, but not specifically to working. This is built up further by examples of activities that are not explicitly linked to gainful employment ('reading a book and watching television').

WA member - Participant #18

I: hmm and how did you realise that you might be becoming a workaholic?

P: ...that was really my first touch of being in regular twelve-step meetings (1.0) and I realised that there was something there for me to pay attention to (2.0) and so I was able (.) finally to realise what I was doing (0.5) all the rushing (.) the feeling of lack of time (1.0) was really a severe addiction for me

This participant construes himself as only becoming aware of his addiction after attending a twelve-step meeting of WA. This is worked up through the temporal marker 'finally', the repetition of the verb 'realised' and the tactile construal 'first touch'. The strength of this addiction is assembled as being quite intense. This is established through the adjective 'severe'. The substance that this WA group member constructs himself as being addicted to is time urgency rather than working. This is built up through the verb 'rushing'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: and why did you decide to go into WA?

P: ...in college I took a year out (.) because I was so burnt out (2.0) it increasingly became true that I was having a lot of medical problems (0.5) and physical deterioration (1.5) and when I was in high school I used to get just two or three hours of sleep at night (1.0) I would not eat until five o' clock in the evening (1.0) it was (1.0) I mean I was an adrenaline junkie (0.5) basically is what I am (2.0) how I understand it is that there's a physiological component and a psychological component to the disease (2.0) and the physiological component is the adrenaline addiction (1.5) and the psychological element is that whole complicated set of things that go along with the addiction

This WA member assembles her approach to working in school. The negative effects of working hard are constructed as leading to physiological ailments and burn out. This is built up through specific temporal details ('five o' clock', 'two or three hours'), which function to construe a fresh perceptual memory. Working hard, sleeping for a fraction of the night and not eating during the day is established as her typical behaviour. She constructs her sense of self as being addicted to adrenaline through the phrase 'basically is what I am'. This is also worked up through the informal term for an addict, namely 'junkie'. This WA group member construes workaholism as a disease that has two elements, namely a psychological and a physical one. The bodily aspect of workaholism is positioned as adrenaline addiction.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and would you see any aspects of American society influencing your work pattern?

P: ...I think caffeine is especially toxic for work addicts because the adrenaline its (1.5) you know these people are already adrenaline addicts

This WA group member constructs work addicts as being addicted to adrenaline. She also assembles drinking coffee as poisonous for those who are already addicted to work. This passage is worked up using chemical terms such as 'caffeine', 'toxic' and 'adrenaline'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and what do you think your work pattern in the future will look like?

P: ...you know I used to be a social activist (0.5) and I literally crippled (0.5) I mean I spent years recuperating from the damage I did to my body (1.0) trying to make the world a better place ...because I had medical diagnosis with long names like fibromyalgia (1.0) and all these other (0.5) I had parafascitis (.) I could hardly walk I got hit by a car (1.0) and I had all these things happen (0.5) that ground me to a halt (1.0) and I had to focus on physical (.) physically recuperating my body (2.0) and that really helped me learn (0.5) this is what self-care is like (name) (0.5) doing yoga twice a week that's what (1.5) that's normal activity

This participant establishes the detrimental effects working has had on her body. She is construed as taking responsibility for this 'the damage I did to my body'. This WA member positions herself as a social activist. The idiomatic phrase 'trying to make the world a better place' assembles the type of global tasks that were tied her job. Idioms are quite difficult to refute as they are vague and invoke taken for granted cultural knowledge (Drew & Holt, 1988). Medical labels for physiological diseases constructs this passage as factual and scientific (Potter, 1996).

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism as underlying workaholism

P: ...so before program what that looked for me is (0.5) I had to do everything as perfectly as I possibly could (2.5) now what happens is (.) I make it so big and hard in my head (0.5) but then I get paralysed and go like 'I can't do it' (1.5) it becomes overwhelming (0.5) the thought of having to do it like that (2.5) so then I'd start procrastinating on things (0.5) this is actually what I'd consider part of an

adrenaline cycling (2.0) so then I would procrastinate on it until the last minute (1.0) and then I'd have to rush to do it (0.5) and that's where I'd get the adrenaline (2.5) so perfectionism is the psychological component but there's the physiological addiction going on (0.5) that's the adrenaline

This participant positions herself as generating adrenaline through postponing work and then hurrying to meet deadlines. Adrenaline is construed as an addictive substance ('that's the adrenaline') that she assembles herself as being physiologically addicted to. The lack of hedging constructs this addiction as a statement of fact. This is enhanced through the prominence of scientific terms such as 'addiction', 'physiology' and 'adrenaline', which makes it appear factual (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

WA member - Participant #22

I: ok (.) so could you tell me what your work habits were like in your first job?

P: ...and also another part of my work addiction is that (0.5) before I got into recovery (1.0) I was also like a volunteer junkie (1.0) so I would also volunteer for lots of different organisations you know what I'm saying (2.0) so that was the whole aspect of the addiction (0.5) that I was involved in a lot of things (1.5) like when I was in college (0.5) over the course of the four years I was in college (0.5) I ran twenty different organisations so its very (0.5) my work addiction is very intense (1.0) I hit my first bottom when I was sixteen (1.5) so I was very (.) you know (1.0) when I was nine I had teachers who were concerned about me (2.0) so it started out really early for me

This participant construes herself as being addicted to volunteering. This is positioned as being part of her addiction to work, even though volunteering is not conventionally categorised as paid employment. The 'work' in work addiction is also attributed to schoolwork. This is established through the construal of teachers concern for her behaviour. The jargon of twelve-steps program ('first bottom', 'junkie') is employed. These terms serve to legitimise this passage as being part of an addict's life story. Yet, the label of being an addict is applied without any construals of addictive behaviours, symptoms or signs. This passage is worked up through the

numerical and temporal details ('four years', 'twenty organisations', 'sixteen' and 'nine'), which convey fresh and accurate perceptual memory (Edwards, 2000).

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and would you see any aspects of American society influencing your work pattern?

P: ...I'm also in recovery in six other programs (0.5) because the work addiction then just opens the door for a bunch of other addictions you know (1.5) to anything to enable me to continue to work

This WA member positions herself as a being a member of six other twelve-step program support groups. Being addicted to other substances besides work is construed as allowing her to continue with her work addiction. These other addictions are assembled as occurring after and being caused by her work addiction. This is built up through metaphorical language 'opens the door' as well as the extreme case formulation 'anything'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism underlying workaholism

P: ...when I went to college (.) and got into social activism (0.5) I became co-dependent to all the problems of the world (2.0) so I really had an endless resource of addictive things that I'd feel guilty about (1.0) feel overwhelmed about (1.0) feel under-resourced

The troubles of the world are positioned as being addictive. This is worked up through the extreme case formulation 'all' and generalised, global terms 'problems', and 'world'. Again the jargon of the twelve-steps program ('co-dependency') is employed. This term assembles this participant as needing the world to have problems that required fixing. She construes herself as feeling responsible for and under-equipped by the addictive substances of all the world's problems.

8.2.2 *The significant others group regarding addiction to work*

Participant #27

I: and what do you think motivated her or drove her to work in the way that she did?

P: ...I think what drives people to work (1.0) or to do anything in any addictive way really (2.0) is some perceived lack that they have (0.5) that is inherent in them (1.0) that they are trying to either cover up (0.5) or fill up (1.0) or disguise in some way (2.5) so that the rest of the world won't notice it (2.0) and that they themselves won't have to notice it (1.0) so someone for instance might work all the time (1.0) because they fear that they are lazy (0.5) or they're not productive enough or they don't (1.5) you know there's something they're trying to (1.0) some need they're trying to meet (2.0) and it's the need that's faulty it's not (0.5) you know it's the need itself that isn't even true

This SO assembles work addiction as being pursued so as to conceal personal flaws. This lack is positioned as being an internal aspect of work addicts. This construal is subsequently worked up by examples of personal flaws such as a fear that one is lazy or unproductive. This lack is constructed in terms of a defective, fictitious 'need' that the work addicts are positioned as attempting to fulfil by working so hard. This interpretation is generalised to all addictive behaviours through the extreme case formulation 'anything in any'. This SO distances herself from these addicts through the prominence of the collective term 'they'.

8.2.3 *Former workaholics group in relation to addiction to work*

Participant #11

I: hmm could you talk a little about that job?

P: ...I get hooked on the adrenaline of crisis management (0.5) like everybody does (1.0) or lots of people do (0.5) and I do like it (1.0) but I don't like it in the long run (.) I get fed up of it (0.5) in the long term I prefer a more planned approach

A particular approach to management is construed as causing the release of adrenaline. This is worked up through the definitive article 'the' and the term 'of'.

The verb 'hooked' construes this participant as being addicted to crisis management. She generalises this behaviour to others through the extreme case formulation 'everybody'. Following this, she changes it to the majority of people. This constructs her argument as less extreme. However, she establishes herself as getting tired of the adrenaline of managing crises and preferring a more organised approach to working. A sense of agency is worked up through the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun. Therefore, this participant positions herself as being in control of her addiction to the adrenaline of managing crises.

8.2.4 Conclusion: the addiction section

Within the corpus of data, a WA member is the only interviewee who assembled her work pattern in addictive terms on numerous occasions. Other WA members position themselves as being addicted to activities such as volunteering and reading rather than paid employment. Furthermore, the label of 'addict' is applied without any construals of addictive behaviours, symptoms or signs. A SO of a WA member assembles work addiction as an attempt to conceal personal flaws. One W group member and one FW group member construct the release of adrenaline to the work context, such as a certain type of management and particular work tasks. Yet, the W group member does not position himself as being addicted to this adrenaline. The FW group member normalises this work pattern as a common occurrence and constructs herself as having control over it. No C group member constructed his work patterns in terms of addiction.

8.3 Personality traits and typologies as a cause of excessive working

This segment of analysis deals with text in which participants attribute their work behaviours to personality traits or typologies.

8.3.1 The workaholics group on personality traits and typologies

Participant #3

I: and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the manner that you do?

P: personal ambition (1.0) ...making my own company succeed that's the first thing (2.0) the second thing is probably money (.) I enjoy it I have to say (1.0) and I do reasonably well and after that (2.0) I don't know (1.0) that's really it (1.0) but personal ambition would be way up there (2.0) to know that I can actually start my own business and keep it going (0.5) and build it into something that's quite successful and that would keep me going (0.5) and keep me (1.0) you know give me a good living and that's that's what its for (1.5) the number one position (2.0) the number two position is money (0.5) but its way down the list you know

This participant assembles himself as having the personality trait of being ambitious, which is construed as involving running his business successfully. This is positioned as the key source of his motivation to work, followed by monetary benefits. This construal is established through structuring these motivators in a list format ('number one position', 'number two position' and 'way down the list'). The purpose of work is explained as providing him with a good life.

Participant #33

I: right and how does your working pattern compare to your colleagues' approach to work?

P: a lot of people get here before me in the morning (0.5) but they are gone out of here on the stroke of five (2.0) and I have a number of people who are reporting to me (1.0) and now I won't criticise them for leaving at five (0.5) because they don't really get compensated for staying any longer (1.0) in fact neither do I (2.0) but I guess we're just different personalities (0.5) but sometimes things that are critical to get done (0.5) don't get done because it's five o' clock (1.5) and that drives me crazy (1.5) I think once in a while it wouldn't cause anyone all that much hassle (0.5) to make an exception (0.5) and stay on late (2.0) but on the flipside of that then is (0.5) when they look at their paycheque at the end of the month (1.0) it (0.5) the long hours don't show up on it (1.0) so that's fair enough

Differences in work behaviours are attributed to personality ('we're just different personalities'). This interviewee positions himself as occasionally working long hours on an urgent project, which is in contrast to his co-workers. This is

assembled as a source of annoyance by the phrase 'drives me crazy'. His team members are constructed as leaving the office at exactly five o' clock. This is built up through the repetition of temporal details ('on the stroke of five', 'leaving at five' and 'because it's five o' clock'). Neither this participant nor his colleagues are positioned as being rewarded in monetary terms for staying late. This is worked up by the financial terms such as monthly paycheques and 'compensation'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism as underlying workaholism

P: some of the other character defects were (2.5) I'm very wilful and controlling (1.0) so for example if I am fearful (0.5) one of responses is to try and control (1.0) to get into my illusion of control (2.0) so if I don't know what's going to happen (1.0) or I think something bad's going to happen

The character flaw of being wilful and controlling is established by reference to this participant's typical reaction ('my illusion of control'). She also constructs her inner thought process surrounding this character defect ('I think something bad's going to happen'). The prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun and 'my' position this WA member as owning this character flaw.

8.3.2 The former workaholics group on the subject of personality traits and typologies

Participant #11

I: ok and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: ...I'm not as ambitious as I was when I was younger either so I think (1.0) not as ambitious (0.5) I don't know (1.5) I am ambitious (.) see I want my business to succeed (0.5) maybe I am ambitious but just in a different way (.) since I came back to Ireland

Firstly, this participant positions herself as being less ambitious compared to when she was younger. She then constructs herself as being hesitant about that interpretation through the phrase 'I don't know'. She construes herself as currently being ambitious as she wants her business to be a success. This is built up through the verb 'see'. The manner in which the personality trait of ambition manifests itself is assembled as varying, depending on her age and geographical location.

Participant #11

I: ok and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: my dog had puppies and I remember really thinking about it (1.5) they were (.) they'd kind of be fast asleep for hours and then they go mad (0.5) and then they drop (2.0) they just had a really high energy level (1.0) and then it dipped (2.0) so I think (0.5) I'm a bit (.) my personality is like that (1.5) I like the excitement or the buzz of being against a deadline (.) and you know it makes me creative and it gets me doing things (1.5) but I get exhausted from it (2.0) so I really also like (0.5) the other extreme and I'm inclined to go (1.5) and I think I'll always try to create somehow extremes in my life (0.5) as opposed to (.) I get very bored doing the same thing (1.0) and I'm a starter (.) I'm not a completer finisher by nature

This participant's puppies are worked up as having extremely high levels of energy followed by extreme tiredness. The physiology of the dogs ('energy level') is linked to her psychological makeup ('my personality'). The movement from the analogy of the puppies to this participant's work pattern is established through the switch from 'they' to the 'I' personal pronoun. The excitement of working against the clock is positioned as a way of working that this participant finds enjoyable but tiring. She establishes herself as purposely creating a life which enables her to work in this manner so that she does not get bored. This approach to work is explained as being part of her personality and her nature.

8.3.3 The significant others group and personality traits and typologies

Participant #30

I: hmm and what do you think motivates him to work in the way that he does?

P: I think it is the way he approaches everything in general (1.5) he is very optimistic and eager to do his best in everything he does

This SO of C group member Participant #19 generalises the personality trait of optimism and eagerness to fulfil his potential to all aspects of his life and not just his work pattern. This is worked up through the repetition of the extreme case formulation 'everything'. Thus, Participant #19's optimistic personality is positioned as motivating him in the workplace.

8.3.4 The control group members in relation to personality traits and typologies

Participant #31

I: hmm and how do you think your work pattern compares to your colleagues' approach to work?

P: well in my office (1.0) there are two types of people (1.5) there's people who are a bit more like me (0.5) because we will go do our work from nine until six (2.0) and we will then get out (0.5) and do something else with our life (2.0) and generally (1.0) funnily enough those people are not really happy with the place (1.0) because it is too quiet for us (1.0) we are quite active people (2.0) and there is another faction of the office (1.0) I suppose different types of people (1.5) they are happier with the place because they can take it easy (1.0) and make a half an hour job last four hours (1.0) and they are happy with that (2.0) and they even stay late (0.5) maybe up until eight or nine (.) Monday to Friday (1.5) they don't really have anything to do except maybe surfing the net (1.0) or pretending that they are working or whatever (2.5) but funnily enough it is the male side of the office that do this (0.5) and it is the male side of the office that get the promotions

This C group member construes her colleagues as being divided into two types of people. The first group is constructed as working during the day and leaving the office at six. The other section is presented as completing their work tasks very slowly and staying in the office long into the evening. These contrasting work patterns are attributed to a typology. This is established through the phrases 'two

types' and 'different types of people'. This participant is aligned with the 'nine to six' group, by the 'we' and 'they' pronouns. The long hours section of the office, which receive the promotions, is further differentiated by gender. This is assembled through the repetition of the phrase the 'male side'. This is the only construal of gender affecting work patterns in the corpus of interview data.

Participant #23

I: hmm and could you tell me what your work habits were like in your first job?

P: ...so in my first job (0.5) I was always a conscientious person (1.0) it's just my nature (0.5) I was never not conscientious on a job

This C group member positions being meticulous at work as an inherent aspect of her make up. The term 'just' functions to simplify this attribution of her conscientiousness to her nature and establishes this construal as being the most accurate. This is further worked up through the extreme case formulations 'always' and 'never'.

8.3.5 Conclusion: the personality traits and typologies section

Typologies of people and the generic term 'personality' are assembled to explain differences in work patterns. Both C group members and W group members construe typologies to account for contrasting approaches to work. There are only four constructions of specific personality traits namely ambition, optimism, conscientiousness and perfectionism. The only personality trait that was established on numerous occasions was perfectionism. This is dealt with separately in the following segment of analysis. Overall, construals of personality traits and typologies in relation to work occurred infrequently in the data set.

8.4 Perfectionism as a cause of overworking

In this segment of analysis, participants construe and explain work patterns by reference to perfectionism. This is the most frequently appearing personality trait in the data.

8.4.1 *The workaholics group in reference to perfectionism*

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism underlying workaholism

P: ...the perfectionism (2.0) there's this whole pattern I call the three p's (0.5) its perfectionism (0.5) which leads to paralysis (0.5) which leads to procrastination (2.0) there's actually a really great book on procrastination (0.5) which I read when I was in high school (1.0) it's like the three p's

Perfectionism is construed as setting in motion a chain reaction of events, namely, psychological paralysis and procrastination. This is assembled as being a legitimate interpretation by sourcing it in a book. Assembling this as a 'pattern' externalises it from this interviewee's own circumstances and establishes it as a general law of behaviour (Potter, 1996). This is also achieved through coining the label 'three p's' and the use of the definitive article 'the perfectionism'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism underlying workaholism

P: ...and I just beautifully had learnt this from my father (2.0) like I'd have a project where I needed to build something for third grade or something (2.5) so pretty soon it's turning into a hundred hour construction project (1.0) where there's fine architectural rendering (0.5) like I don't know whatever it was (1.0) one thing was a medieval castle or something (1.5) it turned into this huge project (2.0) and then my father (.) he must also be obsessive-compulsive (0.5) he's brilliant (1.5) so he would spent hours and hours doing this thing (1.5) and I would watch him for hours (2.0)

and this was my class project or something (.) you know what I mean (2.5) so I (0.5) because I have the capacity to know what's possible (2.0) there's a part of me that thinks that that level of detail has to be done on things (1.5) so before program what that looked for me is (0.5) I had to do everything as perfectly as I possibly could

Perfectionism is construed as behaviour that was learnt from this participant's father. This construction is worked up by an example of him helping her build a school project. This is established through the temporal and project details ('third grade', 'medieval castle' and 'hours and hours'). These specifics convey fresh, perceptual knowledge that assembles this account as convincing (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This WA member positions her father as making her aware of the possibility of perfection. This exposure is blamed as creating her attention to detail. Generalising this perfectionism to a large number of indiscriminate tasks is established through the non-specific term 'things' and the extreme case formulation 'everything'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism underlying workaholism

P: ...now what happens is (.) I make it so big and hard in my head (0.5) but then I get paralysed (.) and go like 'I can't do it' (1.5) it becomes overwhelming (0.5) the thought of having to do it like that (2.5) so then I'd start procrastinating on things (0.5) this is actually what I'd consider part of an adrenaline cycling (2.0) so then I would procrastinate on it until the last minute (1.0) and then I'd have to rush to do it (0.5) and that's where I'd get the adrenaline (2.5) so perfectionism is the psychological component but there's the physiological addiction going on (0.5) that's the adrenaline

Perfectionism is construed as being the psychological element of workaholism. This construal of psychological paralysis is worked up through self-talk ('I can't do it'). Viewing tasks as impossible is positioned as leading to

procrastination. This is attributed to causing the physiological addictive element of workaholism (i.e. the release of adrenaline). The adrenaline construal is dealt with in the 'addiction' section of analysis. This extract is peppered with the indexical 'it', which functions to not link this participant's behaviour to any particular task or context.

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you mentioned before that you see perfectionism underlying workaholism

P: ...so perfectionism drives a lot of things (0.5) either because I would be driven when I was inside of it (1.0) or I'd be trying to avoid the project (.) because I knew what the perfectionism would require of me

Perfectionism is positioned as influencing a variety of activities. It is built up as driving this participant's avoidance of tasks. This interviewee positions herself in a powerless stance in relation to perfectionism. This is achieved by constructing perfectionism as demanding standards of perfection from her. Perfectionism is also assembled with a sense of agency through the construal 'perfectionism drives a lot of things'.

Participant #33

I: hmm and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: well (1.5) I'm a bit of a perfectionist (0.5) other people here say that I am one (2.0) I don't know if it is true (1.5) I don't think I am a perfectionist (0.5) there are certain things that I might just get to a point and say (2.0) I know people who are perfectionists and I'm certainly not that (1.0) but I'll get to a point where I'm satisfied so ...I hold out a certain few examples of people (0.5) and they were into the finer details (1.0) but I get in so far (0.5) and once I'm satisfied and once it's good enough for me (1.0) then I'll move on the next thing ...so yes I would strive towards perfection (0.5) but there's a certain point at which too much perfection gets in your

way (1.0) you know if you want to get all the way to the end (1.5) until you are satisfied yourself (1.5) I suppose different people demand different standards

This participant does not fully categorise himself as being a perfectionist. This is worked up through the fractional statement 'I'm a bit of'. This hesitancy is justified by the next few sentences, which makes the construct of perfectionism more complex. This W group member's colleagues are construed as labelling him a perfectionist. Nevertheless, this participant positions himself as meeting his personal standards of detail and then maintaining his momentum of working by beginning the next project. This is worked up through the phrase 'then I'll move on'. This participant contrasts examples of others that he would label as perfectionists with his approach to work. The defining character of perfectionists is assembled as getting involved in extreme details, which is positioned as an obstacle for completing projects. A diversity of quality standards is worked up in the final line through the generalised term 'people'. This justifies the disparity between his colleagues labelling him a perfectionist and his construed resistance to this categorisation.

Participant #4

I: and how do you feel about working with others?

P: ...I believe it doesn't go out if it isn't pretty perfect (0.5) and it shouldn't go out (2.0) and that means probably (.) we're a little bit (1.0) that probably slows down the process (2.0) I would tend to have my finger in all pies in this operation (0.5) albeit a small operation

Perfection is the standard that is established for all projects to reach before they leave the company. This work practice is assembled as a personal belief of this W group member ('I believe'). This requirement is construed through the term 'shouldn't'. The consequence of having such a high standard of quality is assembled as slowing down the rate of work. The idiom of having a 'finger in every pie' is employed to construct this participant as having an input into all on going projects. The repetition of hedged claims created through the modifier 'probably' construct this argument as being well thought out and not extreme (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

8.4.2 *The significant others group regarding perfectionism*

Participant #29

I: right and what do you think motivates him to work in the way that he does?

P: well (name)'s a perfectionist (0.5) he doesn't let any piece of work go until it is perfect in his eyes (2.5) I think this perfectionism is innate

The lack of hedging in the sentence '(name)'s a perfectionist' establishes it as a statement of fact. Perfectionism is assembled as remaining in control of work projects until they reach this participant's colleague's standard of perfection. This is built up through the verb 'let go'. The dependence on her co-worker's perspective is worked up through the construal of 'his eyes'. Perfectionism is construed as being an inborn element of this individual. The modal 'I think' positions this sentence as a personal opinion of Participant #29 and thus constructs other interpretations as being possible (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

8.4.3 *The control group in relation to perfectionism*

Participant #14

I: yeah and how do you feel about delegating?

P: I'm not a perfectionist by any stretch of the imagination (0.5) I mean I was sort of (1.5) I've very good organisational skills (0.5) but I wouldn't be a huge detail person so (1.5) when I have to deal with numbers etc I do (0.5) and I've become a lot better at it

This participant rejects the construed category of perfectionist in relation to herself. She positions labelling herself a perfectionist being beyond the capacity of the imagination. Instead of constructing herself as a perfectionist, she alternatively assembles her organisational skills. Yet, this C group member does not categorise herself as being interested in detail.

Participant #16

I: and do you think any aspects of your character influence your work pattern?

P: ...well what I work at (.) I try to be a perfectionist you know (0.5) the work I do might take longer than someone else doing the same job (1.5) but I have a policy of doing things to perfection (0.5) I have a policy of zero errors (0.5) I've developed a system around that (.) with all the work I do (.) I don't make mistakes (1.0) well I try not to make them as is humanly possible (0.5) that's critical (0.5) I try to be very very conscientious about it (0.5) I try to give it my best (1.0) so as to produce you know high quality work

This C group member construes himself as working at being a perfectionist, through the repetition of the phrase 'I try to'. Not making a mistake in his work is assembled as being planned. This is established through the repetition of the phrase 'I have a policy' as well as through the construal of developing a system. This C group member positions himself as being a perfectionist only in relation to his work and not in any other aspect of his life. He constructs himself as being very much in control of and choosing to be a perfectionist in his work. The justification for pursuing this work behaviour is construed as yielding excellent work projects. Again, the concession for being a perfectionist is assembled as taking a longer time to complete work tasks.

8.4.4 Conclusion: the perfectionism section

There are a number of construals of perfectionism evident in the data. A large portion of this section of analysis features WA member Participant #22. She constructs perfectionism as being the psychological element of workaholism, the physiological element being the release of adrenaline. Perfectionism is construed by other interviewees as slowing down work progress and as involving in-depth detail and personal standards of perfection. Moreover, a SO establishes perfectionism as being an inborn aspect of a W group member. Significantly, no FW group members construed perfectionism as influencing their work pattern. A C group member positions labelling herself a perfectionist as being beyond the capacity of the imagination. Yet, other C group members and W group members, position perfection as a standard that they try to achieve. Hence, the construal of perfectionism does not seem to differentiate between those who work excessively and those who do not.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter examines constructions of the internal causes of overworking. WA members, who construe workaholism as an addiction, position themselves as being addicted to activities not categorised as 'work'. There are no constructions of withdrawal symptoms, an increase in working time, 'brown outs' and all the other aspects of being addicted to work that are hypothesised in the literature. Only two non-WA members construe adrenaline as being released during certain work activities. One of these participants does not present himself as being addicted to this chemical. The other constructs herself as having control over whether she is addicted to this particular type of working or not. The general term 'personality' is worked up as explaining differences between work patterns. The only major personality trait that is assembled in the data was perfectionism. Yet, this trait is not positioned as differentiating between those who work excessively and those who don't. Thus, this chapter provides an answer to research question number one, which asks if workaholism is constructed as being caused by contextual or individual factors. The evidence suggests that excessive work patterns are construed as being caused by both internal and external influences.

Chapter 9

Emergent findings relating to research question one

9.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer research question one: Is workaholism constructed as being caused by environmental influences or internal influences (i.e. trait or addiction)?

It includes three further sections which emerged from the data during analysis. The FW section examines constructions of choosing to abandon excessive work patterns. The WA strand contains two parts that analyse distinctive aspects of data from this subgroup. The purpose of including these analysed passages here is to justify the separate subgroup for the WA members. The constructing boundaries around work section analyses both temporal and work-home boundaries. These segments of analyses were derived from Nvivo nodes that are detailed in appendix I.

9.2 Choosing to abandon former excessive work patterns

This segment of analysis focuses on the FW group as these participants position themselves as choosing to stop working excessively. This section also clearly demonstrates the difference between the FW group and the W group.

Participant #11

I: ok and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: ...I did decide to come off the seniority treadmill when I left London (1.0) because it really was you know (0.5) they really do expect your heart and your soul and your life (0.5) if you were going to get anymore senior there (1.5) so I did (.) my boss collapsed (0.5) she got diabetes you know from overwork and (1.5) I thought well I'm not going to and they were very quick to drop her at age fifty-four down a hole as fast as possible (1.0) because in those highly political jobs (1.0) either you have to

be performing or you're out (1.0) there's no way that you can be anything in between (2.0) I saw that and I thought well I don't want that

The change in this participant's work pattern is portrayed as occurring after a personal encounter with the consequences of working excessively and her subsequent reflection. She establishes watching her boss get sick and subsequent demotion as causing her to alter her approach to work. This participant's observation of the incident is built up through the verb 'saw' as well as the numerous 'I' personal pronouns. Self-reflection is construed through the repetition of the construal 'I thought well'. Her supervisor's physiological disease is attributed to her excessive working behaviour. The company dropping her sick boss is justified by role talk, as the unacceptability of under-performing is attributed to one of the requirements of being in a highly political job. The prominence of the 'you' personal pronoun further establishes this as a law external to this particular context (Potter, 1996). The intolerance of below par performance is also established through extreme case formulations such as 'no way' and 'anything'.

This participant is constructed as having a strong sense of agency in relation to her work pattern. This is evident in the prominence of first person phrases such as 'I decided' and 'I thought'. This is made apparent in the 'seniority treadmill' description, which positions her as choosing to remove herself from the continuously forward moving pace of the company treadmill. In contrast, the language used in relation to the boss situates her in a passive position. For instance, the boss 'collapsed', 'got' diabetes and was 'dropped' by her employer. Therefore, personal choice is constructed in relation to this FW group member's work pattern.

Participant #11

I: ok and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: ...I am inclined to (.) I'm an A type person (0.5) I'm inclined to overwork by nature but I took a decision I wasn't going to do it

This participant constructs altering work patterns as overriding natural tendencies. This is worked up through the verb 'taking' a decision and she is

positioned as being in control of her choices surrounding her work pattern. Also, the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun constructs a strong sense of agency. This interviewee categorises herself as a Type A person. Following this, overworking is naturalised and positioned as a category membership entitlement of being a type A person. The absence of hedging assembles this extract as a statement of fact (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

Participant #20

I: hmm and why did you decide to cut back?

P: ...I was finding that I was spending all my time at work (1.5) and I simply said 'well enough is enough (.) and I'm going to cut my hours back' (1.5) which I did (2.0) so now I just work nine to five (0.5) Monday to Friday

This FW group member positions himself as choosing to cut back on his work time. This construal assembles the participant as being in control of his work hours. This is also built up through the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun as well as the verb constructions 'I'm going to' and 'I was finding'. The accuracy of this participant's memory is established through the use of direct speech quotations (Wood & Kroger, 2000). Moreover, the continuation of this decision is construed through the temporal marker 'now' and the establishment of temporal boundaries surrounding his current workday ('nine to five Monday to Friday').

Participant #26

I: hmm and did you find it difficult (1.0) when you began cutting back in hours (0.5) did you find it difficult to adjust to the different working pattern?

P: ...you have to be determined (.) I suppose to stick to it I suppose (1.0) and once you do that (1.5) you get back into it (2.0) it's all about habit really I suppose (1.5) it's a routine (0.5) once you get into the routine of not working weekends and getting out of the office at a reasonable hour (1.5) you end up sticking to it (2.0) so no I didn't find it too difficult

This participant assembles how he found changing from his long working hours to working eight-hour days. Being committed to the new work behaviour is worked up as a necessary requirement, through the phrase 'you have to be determined' and the verb 'to stick'. Working schedules are established as a habitual behaviour pattern. He positions adjusting to a different work schedule as being unproblematic once he had chosen to become dedicated to the routine. The prominence of the general 'you' pronoun distances this construal from his situation and thus positions it as a universal law (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This passage is also worked up by the hedging of claims through a number of modals such as 'I suppose'. These construe alternative interpretations as being possible and thus position this argument as well rounded and not too extreme (Edwards, 2000).

Participant #8

I: ok and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: I've had family members over the years really really urging me to work less hard (3.0) I have a sister who died about (0.5) eleven years ago and almost the last thing she said to me was (2.0) stop doing what I have done (.) which was work too hard (1.5) so that had a big impact on me (.) a big impact (2.0) so I'd say my family think that I've maybe finally got it sussed a bit (1.0) in terms of not working too hard

This participant links the change in her working pattern to an incident involving her dying sister, who is established as telling her to cease working excessively. This interviewee's sister is also built up as being a hard worker. The effect of this event on her is constructed as a physical impression through the repetition of the phrase 'a big impact'. The authenticity of this account is assembled through the temporal details 'eleven years ago' and the direct speech quote from her sister (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Participant #15

I: and did you find it difficult switching from twelve hour days?

P: ...so no as regards to the work pattern (0.5) there's no (1.0) your instincts are still the same (2.0) but it's just that you kind of make a judgement (0.5) that if I invest like a thousand hours (0.5) is it going to change anything (2.0) I don't really think (1.0) well it's hard to get excited (1.0) because if you think you're going to win the race (0.5) then you don't mind training for it (2.5) but if you think that you're there to fill the crowd (1.5) well it's different

This FW group member assembles his previous working behaviour as being instinctual. Overcoming natural tendencies is positioned as being a result of personal reflection. The verb 'make' construes this participant as having a sense of control over his work pattern. This decision is established as being based on whether or not working long hours pays off sufficiently. This is worked up through a 'racing' metaphor. Getting rewarded for working hard is positioned as justifying the effort. If this behaviour is not getting sufficiently recognised, then he constructs himself as deciding to ignore instinctual tendencies. This is further assembled through the term 'investment' whereby working long hours is established as yielding rewards. The prominence of the 'you' personal pronoun functions as an externalising device. This establishes this interpretation of working patterns, as not being tied solely to this participant's own life situation; rather it is construed as a universal occurrence (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

9.2.1 Conclusion: the former workaholics element

These participants assemble themselves as being in control of their work patterns by choosing to alter their previous excessive work behaviours. This choice is positioned as being triggered by a critical incident, as involving overriding natural tendencies, and by taking an agentive stance to change their work habits. Hence, these interviewees assemble themselves as choosing their own work behaviour and not being under the control of addictions or personality traits. Also, these participants establish themselves as being influenced by the social context (e.g. critical incident) but as ultimately choosing their approach to work.

9.3 The Workaholics Anonymous subgroup

This section analyses data from the workaholics subgroup, WA members, pertaining to workaholism and the WA organisation. It differentiates WA members from the non-WA members in the general W group. Four of the W group members position themselves as members of WA, namely Participant #12, Participant #17, Participant #18 and Participant #22. These interviewees construct themselves as being in recovery from workaholism through their participation in the WA twelve-step program. Yet, these individuals scored over eight on Machlowitz's (1980) screening tool, thereby fulfilling the criteria in this thesis for identifying workaholics.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right and could you talk a little bit about WA (1.0) when did you decide to join?

P: I joined in 1992

I: and why did you decide to join?

P: I was in another addiction support group at the time (1.0) and I thought WA might be a good way of dealing with my overworking

This participant construes arriving at WA through attendance at other self-help groups for addictions. Overworking is equated with workaholism. Furthermore, the possessive pronoun 'my' builds up this participant's ownership of her working behaviour.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...and I believe if I could only love myself (1.0) I wouldn't be compelled to work so much (1.0) under this sort of compulsion to work is a sort of harried feeling of shame about myself (1.0) and if I could only practice the programme of WA more successfully (2.0) but I am better than I was anyway

Feeling the need to work is attributed to a construed lack of love for herself. Being more successful at performing the WA programme is positioned as easing her compulsion to work. Thus, the WA programme is assembled as an action that is undertaken.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...I do suffer from intermittent depression (0.5) I haven't had to have in-patient treatment for it (2.0) but when I'm bad (0.5) I work more so you know

This participant construes being depressed with an increase in her working behaviour. She also portrays herself as suffering from depression at different intervals. This is worked up by constructing her whole self as being distressed through the personal pronoun 'I'.

WA member - Participant #17

I: right so could you tell me what a typical day at work is like for you?

P: ...I might on some days go out and walk (.) usually alone (2.5) and I think that's something characteristic of WAs too (1.5) that we tend to probably be alone more than the average work person (.) who might socialise more

This participant aligns her behaviour of being alone with other WA group members. This is worked up through the change from the personal pronoun 'I' to the collective pronoun 'we'. She separates WA members from 'average' workers through the abbreviated label of 'WA'. In addition, the hedging of claims through modals ('I think') and modifiers ('tend to' and 'probably') construct this argument as balanced and thought out (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

WA member - Participant #18

I: and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and non-work commitments?

P: ...what I have learned in doing the twelve-steps programme (2.0) is to take care of myself (2.5) it's ok to take care of myself (1.0) I don't have to be always taking care of others

Being involved in the twelve-steps program is positioned as being a learning experience. This participant establishes the important message that he was taught through attending WA meetings is that self-care is acceptable and looking after others is not always necessary. This is built up through the repetition of the reflexive term 'myself' as well as through the verb 'take care'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: and why did you decide to go into WA?

P: ...what I've since mapped out (1.0) is just sort of whole years where I would be in binge cycles (0.5) and then in kind of burn out cycles (2.0) and at WA we talk about (0.5) there's this work bulimia and work anorexia (1.5) so I would work really hard for a couple of years (1.0) then I would get so burnt out I would have (0.5) like in college I took a year out

This interviewee is positioned as fitting her life into the WA interpretative framework. This is established through the movement from the 'I' personal pronoun to the 'we' collective pronoun and back again to the 'I'. Psychiatric terms in relation to eating disorders are assembled to explain work behaviours ('bulimia', 'binge' and 'anorexia'). These construals are built up as statements of fact through the absence of hedging ('there's this work bulimia').

WA member - Participant #22

I: and why did you decide to go into WA?

P: ...I started going to open AA meetings (2.0) and so I started going to any twelve-steps meeting I could get my hands on (1.5) and then I called around a lot and found out about WA (0.5) and then we started WA meetings in (name of town)

This participant is assembled as discovering the existence of WA through her indiscriminate attendance at a variety of twelve-step meetings. This is worked up through the arbitrary term 'any' and the tactile construal 'get my hands on'. Being a workaholic first and then seeking out a suitable self-help group is not construed in this extract. Subsequently, she construes herself and others as forming a local WA branch.

WA member - Participant #22

I: ok (1.0) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...I was completely driven (0.5) as they say in the program we're driven to beat the clock

This participant elaborates on what she construes as being driven as being in competition with the clock. This aligns herself with the behaviour of other WA members. Thus, her interpretation is framed in terms of WA sayings. This is worked up by the movement from the 'I' personal pronoun to the 'we' collective pronoun, and the direct speech quotation 'we're driven to beat the clock'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: ok (1.0) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...I was always behind you know (1.0) and where there was always huge paper backlogs (0.5) huge amounts of things to do (1.5) and what in program we call my stash (2.5) so some people have a stash of drugs (1.0) I had a stash of projects and activities that was never ending

Firstly, the participant constructs her work behaviour. Next, the WA construal of this behaviour is established through the phrase 'what in program we call my stash'. This interpretation is subsequently applied to her life situation. This is built up through the movement from the 'I' personal pronoun to the collective 'we' pronoun and back again to 'I'. This is further assembled through an analogy with drug addicts. Work projects and activities are positioned as her collection of addictive substances. This is worked up through the repetition of the extreme case formulation 'always' and the size adjective 'huge'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: ok (1.0) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...I talk to my sponsor everyday (0.5) I constantly (0.5) I make program calls everyday (1.0) I'm constantly infused (1.5) I go to like five twelve-step meetings a week (2.0) I constantly feel (0.5) I constantly have spiritual intervention or I would literally (1.5) I'm sure it would start up again you know (2.5) I've relapsed in some of my other programs (1.0) and it always starts (0.5) I mean (1.5) and I'm back in it worse than before within a few weeks (2.0) so this is a life or death matter for me (1.5) so I don't have (0.5) I just don't have the internal barometer that (2.0) the gift of the program is I now know I have to check in every hour (1.5) I have to take stretch breaks (0.5) I have to take lunch breaks (1.0) I have to you know do self care

This interviewee construes herself as being constantly immersed in the twelve-steps program. This is established through the repetition of temporal details such as ('constantly', 'everyday'), numerical details ('five twelve-step meetings a week'), twelve-step jargon ('my sponsor') as well as the immersing verb 'infused'. The twelve-step program is assembled in medical terms 'relapsed' and positioned as giving a 'gift' to this participant. This is built up through examples of behaviours that she constructs herself as engaging in so as to combat her workaholism ('stretch breaks'). These construals are positioned as necessary requirements that she must attend to ('I have to'). These are further portrayed as pressing issues through the phrase 'life or death matter for me'.

9.3.1 Conclusion: the WA subgroup

All of the WA members featured in this section of analysis are part of the workaholics interviewee group. No participant from the FW group, C group or SO group mentioned the twelve-step program of WA. The majority of the WA participants construed themselves as having psychiatric illnesses such as depression and substance abuse. A number of these interviewees position themselves as arriving at WA through membership of other twelve-step support groups. WA jargon ('the program', 'my sponsor') and membership is incorporated into their explanations of past and present behaviour. This is built up through a number of frequently occurring construals such as the movement from the singular 'I' to the collective 'we'.

9.4 Workaholics Anonymous members defining the 'work' in 'workaholism'

This section of analysis only features WA members' construals of how to define the work in workaholism. As such, this part of the chapter is an offshoot of the previous WA segment. The purpose of this segment is to explore WA members' constructions of the word 'workaholism' and in particular what types of activities they position themselves as performing excessively.

WA member - Participant #17

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask you (2.0) would you like to add anything to what's already been said?

P: ...the way that workaholism shows up in my life (1.0) even though I don't have paid work (1.5) it's showing up in other things (1.0) where I'm constantly busy (.) even though it's not work that I'm paid for (2.0) I keep myself busy doing (0.5) I'm over committed doing volunteer projects (0.5) and keeping myself busy around the house (1.5) whether it's reading something (0.5) or getting distracted by the email (1.0) or something on the web (0.5) or researching something in a political vein for one of my volunteer projects (2.0) my workaholism shows up in that way ... well I'd just like to emphasise that the way workaholism shows up in my life now is not categorised as paid work (2.0) and I think that may be part of the understanding workaholism (1.5) is staying busy and keeping my mind occupied (2.0) so that I don't

want to think about things that really scare me (1.0) be that family issues or financial situation issues (0.5) or feeling or (1.0) not feeling confident

This unemployed WA member construes workaholism as revealing itself in her life through being overly dedicated to her voluntary work and housework. This is worked up through examples of the unpaid activities she positions herself as engaging in such as reading, checking email and researching. She establishes this slant on workaholism as being specific to her own situation through the possessive pronoun 'my'. Furthermore, her work activities are construed as one of the possible guises that workaholism takes. This is assembled through the repetition of the phrase 'the way' which functions to legitimise her label of workaholism. Keeping busy and not reflecting on frightening thoughts is worked up as a key element in understanding workaholism. These thoughts are assembled in list form as monetary, familial and emotional issues.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...for me this is not about work (0.5) this is not specifically about work (.) the label may be workaholism but it is about activity ...I will give you an example of my workaholism (1.0) on floor one I was working on the next chapter of my book (0.5) I was also cooking supper in the basement (1.0) so I was running up two flights of stairs to floor one (0.5) I was then running down three flights of stairs to the basement to look at my food (0.5) and then I was coming back to my word processor on the first floor

This WA member positions workaholism as not being solely tied to work. Activeness is assembled as the most appropriate explanation for workaholism. This is worked up further by an example, which includes location details ('floor one') and the number of stairs. She establishes specific activities cooking, climbing stairs and writing as being indicators of her workaholism. Yet, completing her chapter is the

only activity that is financially rewarded and would conventionally be construed as gainful employment.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...and then there's (.) I suppose the emotional and spiritual side (0.5) which is (.) you know who am I? (1.0) am I just here to work? (1.0) am I justified by my deeds you know? (1.0) is that the way I should look at myself? (1.5) as a thing which has to keep busy (1.0) so as to (.) perhaps to feel better about myself?

This participant assembles the emotional and existential aspect of workaholism, through a series of self-questioning. She construes herself as an entity that is required to stay busy. This necessity is worked up through the phrase 'has to'. Staying busy is positioned as enabling her to improve her feelings about herself.

WA member - Participant #12

I: right that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what has ready been said?

P: ...I would look at Pascal (1.0) there's a wonderful passage when he talks about everybody inventing things to do (0.5) so they can keep busy (0.5) so that they don't have to think about the things that matter (2.0) and I'm on that treadmill because I'm frightened about stopping (1.0) I'm frightened about thinking about the things that might (1.0) I'm frightened about (1.5) you know my self-hatred is so big at times (0.5) that you know the only way I can live with myself is to think that (0.5) 'oh well I've published x y and so many books (0.5) and I've been so helpful to others' (1.0) as if I've no right to you know (0.5) live in the sun and have my own life you know

This WA member constructs herself as constantly being busy and on the continuous forward motion of the 'treadmill'. The repetition of the verb 'frightened' construes this participant as keeping busy out of fear of having nothing to do but

reflect. This fear is worked up as being caused by her self-hatred, which is constructed as fluctuating from time to time. The intensity of her self-disgust is positioned as being made tolerable by her achievements at work. The introduction of a philosopher's name 'Pascal' functions to give more weight to this participant's argument. Pascal's thesis is presented as individuals creating activities so as to avoid reflecting on important issues. This behaviour is worked up as a common occurrence through the generic, extreme case formulation 'everybody'. This participant applies this theory to her own particular case, through the numerous 'I' personal pronouns. Self-talk is built up through direct speech which functions to create a convincing insight into her thought processes.

WA member - Participant #18

I: hmm and what's your typical day like (.) now that you're retired?

P: well workaholism can carry on right into retirement (2.0) I found something that I could do right away as soon as I was retired (2.0) these activities were relaxing (0.5) but yet it gave me work to do with my days (2.5) these days I take classes at the senior centre (.) I sing in a choir (.) and I'm also in a concert chorus (1.5) for a time I was volunteering in fourth and fifth grades (0.5) in one of the grammar schools (1.5) and for a year I was volunteering being a tutor (.) in music (.) in a kindergarten class (2.5) I have taken computer courses (1.0) I am now involved in a life stories writing class (0.5) which involves homework

This WA member constructs workaholism as existing after retirement. This sentence is construed as a statement of fact, through the absence of hedging. He assembles his own personal experience to legitimise the previous claim. This is worked up through the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun. This participant establishes himself as becoming involved in a variety of activities directly after retirement. Significantly, these unpaid volunteer work and hobbies are positioned as work. Thus, work is construed as an activity that occupies this participant's time. This is built up through the temporal marker of 'day', which is positioned as an object that activities are performed upon. Following this, Participant #18 assembles a large number of specific details of these activities. For example, the location of the

class 'senior centre', subjects taught and studied as well as requirements of the job. This depth of detail establishes this account as accurate and legitimate (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

9.4.1 *Conclusion: WA members' definition of work*

WA members position workaholism as not being solely tied to work. It is construed as continuing on in retirement and unemployment, as well as involving a variety of unpaid activities such as household activities, voluntary work and hobbies. Excessive activity to avoid reflection is assembled as the most accurate explanation for workaholism.

9.5 Constructing work-home boundaries around work

This section of analysis features constructions of boundaries between work and home.

9.5.1 *The workaholics group in relation to work-home boundaries*

Participant #4

I: and I also noted on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you find holidays hard to take?

P: very difficult to take (1.0) I'm notorious (.) in business and in my personal life for cancelling a holiday (0.5) for cutting it short (0.5) postponing it (0.5) coming back early ... and in fairness (.) when I do go on holidays (0.5) which is kind of disjointed (1.0) it only seems to me you're on the plane (0.5) and this is a little bit of paranoia (1.0) but you get the call from the office that so and so is looking for you (0.5) and I told him that you wouldn't be back for a week (2.0) and then with the mobile you're very inclined to pick up the mobile and call (2.0) so I think (0.5) and I've never been unduly pressurised knock on wood again (0.5) business has always gone well for me (1.5) but I think it's just (1.0) maybe a little bit afraid to miss the opportunity (1.0) and maybe a little bit of reluctance or unwillingness to say no (0.5) that I'm not

going to be available (2.0) and I always look (.) at my colleagues (1.0) and other people seem to have no problem (0.5) you know saying I'm going on holidays (2.0) I have trouble getting the words out of my mouth (.) and yet the few times you do 'I'm not going to be here for two weeks' (1.0) everyone takes it in their stride (2.0) but probably the backdrop to it all again is just you don't want to miss the business opportunity

This participant construes himself as frequently cutting short his holidays for the sake of the business. Firstly, this is attributed to a fear of missing a contract. He paints a picture of what is constructed as typically happening when he goes on holidays. For instance, contacting clients while on holidays is linked to the workplace tool of the mobile phone. Secondly, a dislike of saying no to work is positioned as another explanation for cutting his holidays short. This is assembled as being unique to him and unproblematic for others, and is worked up through the general labels of 'colleagues' and 'other people'. The direct speech quotations such as 'I'm going on holidays' illustrates the words that the participant is construing as being unable to articulate. The rare time that this participant does take his holidays is positioned as causing no-one any problems. This is built up through the extreme case formulation 'everyone'. This passage is peppered with hedged claims achieved through modals such as 'I think' as well as modifiers such as 'probably' and 'maybe a little'. These position his constructions as quite tentative and one of many possible interpretations (Potter, 1996).

Participant #13

I: right and you indicated on your response to my questionnaire that you don't like to work at weekends?

P: ...the weekends now are spent with my family (2.0) I have to sometimes (0.5) I would run out to the garage and make a couple of phone calls (0.5) if things were going a bit astray (1.0) or if I was concerned about some issue (1.5) I would take a call or make a call (2.5) a typical example (0.5) this weekend I got a call from a major client (1.0) 'how are you fixed?' (.) 'can we meet up?' (1.0) that's the kind of call I'd take (1.5) because you have to do that (0.5) it's your business (1.5) but generally no (0.5) I try not to (2.0) now that's taking calls (0.5) but do I work on the

job (0.5) yes (0.5) I will jump into the auld study at home (1.0) and check my emails (1.0) and do that for a couple of hours

This W group member constructs himself as working at home over the weekend. This is built up by examples of tasks (i.e. taking or making a call and checking emails) and temporal details ('for a couple of hours'). Direct speech quotations such as 'how are you fixed?' and 'can we meet up?' also work up these examples. A designated workspace for weekend work is construed as being located in the home ('the auld study at home'). Role talk is introduced to justify this participant's construal of working over the weekends. For instance, taking calls is established as a requirement of self-employment, through the repetition of the phrase 'have to'. This externalises weekend work from his work behaviour preferences and links it to a necessity of his job. Furthermore, the switch from the personal pronoun 'I' to the more general 'you' pronoun further distances working at the weekend from his personal circumstances (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

WA member - Participant #18

I: hmm and how do you feel about going on holidays?

P: yeah (2.0) we did go on short vacations (1.5) you know I don't remember very many until we were going along to the period when the boys were in boy scouts (1.5) we went to boy scout camp (.) where our camp had a place for the wives of the scouters (1.5) and my wife and I and our sons would go up to camp (1.0) and I would be the camp doctor (1.5) so then I felt well occupied and was able to help everybody (1.0) it still felt like a vacation

This WA member positions himself as working during family holidays as the camp doctor. The rewards for working during his holidays is assembled as feeling busy and giving him the ability to help out. However, working at the camp is positioned as still feeling like a holiday.

WA member - Participant #12

I: hmm and what aspects of your work (.) if any don't you enjoy?

P: ...I work at home (0.5) which I like because I therefore avoid office hierarchies (2.0) however the bad bit to that is the work arrives on my doorstep (1.5) so that it is very difficult for me (1.0) and that's why one of my difficulties in not blocking off a day (0.5) when I definitely don't work is that (2.5) so that I have tried to take a holiday at home (0.5) that's difficult because I can actually see my post building up (2.0) if I go away for a week (1.0) I will have a foot at least of post (1.5) I mean it will be twelve inches of post (0.5) and it might be a bit more (2.0) and when you see that building up over the week (1.0) it's very difficult not to open it

Working at home is positioned as causing difficulties around taking time off work. This is attributed to this participant's work assignments arriving by post at her home. This is constructed through the repetition of the verb 'see' and measurement details ('a foot', 'twelve inches of post'). The phrase 'difficulties in not blocking off' construes problems in having a boundary around workdays.

9.5.2 The significant others group with regard to work-home boundaries

Participant #32

I: ok and used he work weekends?

P: oh yeah he used to work both Saturdays and Sundays (2.0) I remember calling down to him one Sunday afternoon (1.0) and he had files spread out all over the living room floor (0.5) and he had his young daughter in helping him (2.0) he used often do that (0.5) bring his children with him (1.0) while he was working during the weekend (2.0) so yeah he used to work quite a lot during the weekends

This SO constructs his colleague as working all weekend. This is assembled through a memory of his co-worker working at home on a Sunday. This construal is very detailed; containing information on time ('afternoon'), work tools ('files'), particular location ('living room') and the age and gender of the child ('young daughter'). This establishes a fresh and convincing visual memory of the encounter (Edwards, 2000). The frequency of weekend work is built up more by the temporal marker 'often' as well as the phrase 'quite a lot'.

9.5.3 *The former workaholics group concerning work-home boundaries*

Participant #20

I: right and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: ...what drives me to work nine to five is the fact that I like my free time (2.0) so I do like to work hard while I'm at work (.) get as much done as possible (1.5) and then go home and forget about it

This participant positions enjoying life outside of work as causing him to work very hard between nine and five. He constructs himself as putting work out of his mind once he leaves the office. This is worked up through the phrase 'and forget about it'. Hence, this participant establishes himself as only working at the workplace.

Participant #5

I: right (0.5) and I noted on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you never work weekends (2.0) could you talk a little bit about that please?

P: ok (0.5) well if you go back over the years (0.5) I went out on my own in 1985 (1.0) and for the next ten years I was absolutely run off my feet ...and in that period it involved working weekends and so on you know (1.0) but now I definitely keep Saturdays and Sundays for free time you know (1.5) I just have a thing about that (.) that I work Mondays to Fridays (0.5) I work hard but Saturdays and Sundays are for leisure (0.5) and for family time

This participant construes a contrast between his past and current work patterns. Setting up his own business in previous years is assembled as involving working weekends. Conversely, he currently positions himself as working hard during the week and ensuring that the weekend is free from work activities. This 'free' time is subdivided into two different types of time, namely leisure and family. This construal is established through the temporal details ('now', '1985', 'go back over the years', 'the next ten years' and 'in that period').

9.5.4 The control group in reference to work-home boundaries

Participant #14

I: ok and how do you think your work pattern would compare to your colleagues?

P: ...there are a lot of young ambitious people here (1.0) and they don't have partners or kids (1.5) so they don't have that pull factor drawing them out of the office at the end of the day (2.5) and so they would work longer hours than I do (2.0) those who do have pull factors (0.5) I find that they work quite effectively during the day (1.0) and are very focused to ensure that they get the work done (2.0) so as to be able to leave the office at six o' clock and go home (1.5) I suppose I would fit in to the latter group (0.5) my family and my outside interests pull me away from my work at the end of the day (1.5) and that's why I don't work all the hours God sends

A dichotomy of this participant's colleagues is set up. On one end of the spectrum is the young ambitious group who work long hours and do not have commitments outside of work. This group is juxtaposed with those who work effectively during the day so that they can leave work at the official closing time and tend to their other life commitments. Partners and children are construed as an influential factor that would cause them to leave their work at the end of the official workday. This C group member applies this construed dichotomy to her specific life situation and aligns herself with the group with pull factors outside of work. This is worked up through the prominent possessive pronoun 'my'.

Participant #9

I: hmm and you also indicated that you don't find holidays hard to take?

P: ...I like to take my days off (1.5) I like to get away from the business (0.5) and relax (0.5) and just get away from it all (0.5) and get a tan

This C group member positions herself as enjoying her days off work. Work is assembled through the definitive article 'the' and generic label 'business'. This excerpt is worked up through the repetition of escaping phrase 'to get away', which distances this participant from her work during holidays. Holiday activities are assembled as involving relaxation rather work.

9.5.5 *Conclusion: constructing work-home boundaries*

Differences in constructed work-home boundaries are quite evident. W group members assemble poor work-home boundaries by positioning themselves as working on holidays, cutting holidays short, working from home at weekends and bringing their children with them to work. The FW group members and C group members serve as contrasts as they construe strong boundaries between work and home. They position their homes, evenings, holidays and weekends as work-free zones. Hence, the construal of work-home boundaries is a key factor that differentiates between the various participant groups.

9.6 **Constructing temporal boundaries around work**

In this section of analysis, constructions of temporal boundaries are examined. These boundaries are positioned as rules and finishing points surrounding work time.

9.6.1 *The workaholics group in relation to temporal boundaries around work*

Participant #7

I: yeah that's perfect (1.5) and you indicated on your response to my questionnaire that you work weekends?

P: ...this weekend I only went in because I finished up at 11.30 Friday night (0.5) and I went in on Saturday for about two hours (1.0) and I worked from home for about two hours on Sunday (2.0) the previous weekend (.) I finished up (0.5) again it was about 11.30 Friday night (2.0) and worked from about seven o' clock Saturday morning until 12.30 (1.0) and then I left it for the weekend (.) although then I had some (.) oh no then I had some calls from the States on Sunday

This W group member's extract contains a lack of constructions of time limitations surrounding his working pattern. Working time is built up as spilling into the weekends and evenings. For instance, finishing time on Friday is constructed as

being almost midnight and starting time on Saturday is positioned as early in the morning. The generic 'working' verb is employed firstly and, then more specific details of his working tasks are construed, such as taking phone calls at home on a Sunday.

Participant #33

I: and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: when I can (.) I get home early (1.0) I mean there's days (0.5) there's weeks where you kind of forget (1.0) you put the family at the back of your mind (0.5) and you get stuck into a transaction (1.0) and you get stuck into your work (1.0) and next thing you look at the watch (0.5) and you go oh no it's a quarter past ten (.) I won't get the train (.) I'll get a taxi

During certain workdays this participant is construed as positioning his family towards the back of his mind. Becoming immersed in his work, and losing track of time, are assembled as accompanying this behaviour. This is established through the phrase 'you get stuck into'. It is as if this W group member becomes an inherent part of and merges with his work. Temporal details 'quarter past ten', modes of transport details and the specific behaviour of looking at a watch, work up the persuasiveness and accuracy of this narrative (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

WA member - Participant #22

I: hmm and you indicated earlier that you become immersed in your work

P: ...my ability to lose myself in my work really can be a character asset (1.0) if I'm living inside of a life structure that's supporting me (2.0) so for example (.) before I certainly would get lost in my work for ten hours or twelve hours or whatever you know at a time (1.0) and I wouldn't eat (0.5) and I wouldn't take breaks or whatever (2.5) and now I'm able to become immersed (0.5) but because of the prayer and

meditation (.) I eat regularly (1.0) I exercise regularly (1.0) I sleep enough (1.0) I don't get (0.5) I can immerse myself (1.0) and then I can come back into the world again you know what I mean (1.5) in a way that's more grounded and sustainable

This WA member constructs her sense of self as becoming deeply involved in her work. This is built up by construing herself as disappearing in her work for long periods of time. This is assembled through the repeated phrase 'get lost', temporal details 'ten or twelve hours', as well as this participant's neglect of basic bodily functions. However, this workaholic's group member positions herself as currently attending to her physiological needs while working through the phrase 'come back into the world'. This change in work behaviour is attributed to the spirituality of the WA twelve-step program.

WA member - Participant #22

I: ok so could you tell me what your working patterns were like in your first job?

P: ...I've been in recovery about six and a half years (1.5) I have been continuously abstinent during that period of time (2.0) which means that I have not worked more than forty-five hours a week on average since (1.0) Sept 24th 1997

This W group member positions working longer than forty-five hours a week as a point that if crossed is not conducive to recovery from workaholism. The exactness of time is worked up through the recall of specific dates.

9.6.2 The former workaholics group and temporal boundaries around work

Participant #20

I: hmm (.) and you indicated on your response to my questionnaire that you don't work weekends?

P: not any longer no (2.0) I don't work after five anymore either (2.0) I used to work long hours (1.5) but I've cut back a lot now (0.5) so...I'm not one anymore to work hard (2.0) well when I say work hard (0.5) I'm worked off my feet constantly (.) nine

to five (.) Monday to Friday (.) there's no doubt about that (2.0) but I'm not one that sees anymore (2.0) I'm not very tolerant of working beyond five o' clock (1.0) or certainly beyond half five (1.0) because I find that (0.5) as I said the work is never finished anyway (1.5) there's always something coming along the way you know (1.0) so if you work until seven o' clock in the night (.) it makes no odds (0.5) because you still have something else to do (1.0) so the next day (1.5) you'll have new stuff to do (1.0) and you'll be working till seven the following night (2.0) so you know (.) I find that I can still get it all done (.) nine to five

In contrast to his previous work pattern, this FW group member establishes boundaries around his work time. This is worked up through the reference to the temporal starting and finishing points of each work day and work week ('nine to five (.) Monday to Friday'). Moreover, the finishing time in the evening is construed as a temporal boundary through the term 'beyond'. The logic behind establishing these personal temporal boundaries is built up as the lack of pay-off for working long hours. This is established through the use of gambling terms 'it makes no odds' and the infinite nature of his work which is built up through extreme case formulations ('the work is never finished', 'there's always something coming along').

Participant #8

I: right and I noted on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you don't like to work weekends

P: no I used to do it (2.0) I used to work very long hours and I used to work weekends (2.0) and now I just don't ...I used to work weekends (0.5) and evenings (0.5) and late nights (0.5) and early mornings (1.0) all the hours that God sent

This FW group member constructs her past work pattern as involving working weekends, evenings, nights and mornings. This is worked up through the temporal details, repetition of the past tense verb 'I used to' and the extreme case formulation 'all the hours'. She construes herself as currently not engaged in this work pattern through the phrase 'now I just don't'.

9.6.3 *The significant others group in reference to temporal boundaries around work*

Participant #21

I: what are abstinence hours?

P: its part of WA's twelve-step program (1.5) abstinence hours are the rules you lay down for yourself (0.5) in relation to your working life (1.5) and if you obey them (0.5) you are not leading a workaholic lifestyle (2.0) so she tries not to work longer than forty-five hours a week (0.5) and she's not allowed to be on the computer after midnight (2.0) so as long as she follows her abstinence hours (0.5) she's good

In this passage, the temporal rule of working forty-five hours a week is construed as the difference between a workaholic life and a non-workaholic lifestyle. This time limitation is worked up as a rule through the terms relating to obedience and permission such as 'obey them', 'allowed to'. This time management behaviour is positioned as an element of the recovery program for WA members.

Participant #32

I: right and could you tell me what kind of hours (name) used to work?

P: well (1.5) (name) is the kind of person who would start working at nine o' clock in the morning (0.5) and could keep on working until one or two o' clock at night (0.5) without realising it (1.5) he would just look up from his work and go (1.0) 'God is it that time already'

This SO categorises his colleague as the type of individual who could work for seventeen continuous hours. He is constructed as not being aware of the passage of time while working and is positioned as only realising the time when his gaze is averted from his work. This is assembled through the verb 'to look'. The direct speech quotation and specific temporal details build up the legitimacy and accuracy of this construal (Potter, 1996).

9.6.4 *The control group on the subject of temporal boundaries around work*

Participant #14

I: hmm and I noted that on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you don't work weekends

P: no (1.0) as a rule I don't like to work weekend (2.5) I work very effectively during the week (1.5) and try and get it all done within my hours

A strong sense of agency is constructed in relation to this C group member's work schedule. She positions herself as the personal gatekeeper of what hours are dedicated to work. This is worked up through the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun as well as the lack of references to job role or work context. Temporal boundaries are built up around the weekend. Not working weekends is established as a limitation around her time, through the phrases 'as a rule' and 'within my hours'.

Participant #25

I: hmm and I noted that on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you don't work weekends?

P: no (.) not at all (1.0) and we leave at half five on the dot

The extreme case formulation 'at all' constructs this C group member as never working weekends. The phrase 'on the dot' assembles this participant as punctually leaving work at exactly half five o' clock in the evening. This behaviour is positioned as being similar to her work colleagues, which is worked up through the collective pronoun 'we'.

9.6.5 *Conclusion: constructing temporal boundaries around work*

Temporal boundaries are construed as a key difference between the various participant groups. W group members construct working time as spilling into the weekends and evenings. They also position themselves as becoming so absorbed in work that they lose track of time. This lack of boundaries surrounding working hours

is in contrast to the discursive features of passages from FW group members and C group members. C group members establish not working weekends and leaving work at five o' clock as a law around their work time. In contrast to previous work pattern, FW group members assemble boundaries around work time, through reference to the temporal starting and finishing points of each work day and week. Thus, setting time limits around work behaviours is constructed as differentiating between excessive and non-excessive working patterns.

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter analyses discursive constructions of personal choice and boundary issues as well as construals from WA members. Working excessively is established as a personal lifestyle choice that one can choose to abandon. This is evidenced in the FW group who assemble themselves as choosing to no longer work excessively. Constructions surrounding the WA self-help group and WA members defining the 'work' in their workaholism are also included. WA members position workaholism as not being solely tied to work but as involving a variety of unpaid activities such as household activities, voluntary work and hobbies. Excessive activity to avoid reflection is established as the most accurate explanation for workaholism among WA members. The purpose of including these analysed passages here is to justify separating the WA subgroup from the W participant group, because of their unique interpretations. Another emergent construction is the work-home and temporal boundaries around work. This differentiated the W group from the non-workaholic groups. The W group present themselves as working at home, on holidays, weekends and evenings, whereas the other groups do not. Research question one seeks to identify what is constructed as the cause of workaholism. The analyses in this chapter construe personal choice, excessive activity and a lack of boundaries as leading to excessive work patterns.

Chapter 10

Consequences in the familial and work domains

10.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer research question two: Is workaholism constructed as negatively impacting on those who live with and work with individuals with excessive work habits?

This question further contextualises the issue of workaholism, as it explores the construed outcome on those in the social contexts of the individual with excessive work patterns. There are three sections in this chapter which were derived from Nvivo coding nodes (See appendix I). The first two parts deal with the familial domain and the remaining section refers to work colleagues.

10.2 Constructing the family's perspective on excessive working patterns

This section examines how participants construct their family's perspective on their work pattern.

10.2.1 The workaholics group in relation to the family's perspective

Participant #10

I: and how do you think your family would view your work habits?

P: well they would probably think that I spend too much time at work (0.5) I would think so (1.5) but my daughter is going to university herself (.) and my (name of son) is seventeen (1.0) now so again they wouldn't really think that (2.5) but my wife would probably say that I don't spend enough time at home (0.5) and that's (1.0) I think common enough for this business you know

This participant's family are construed as viewing his work patterns as excessive. The collective 'they' term builds this up. Subsequently, the individual family members' attitudes to his work practices are worked up. His son and daughter's stage of education and age are presented as explaining why they don't think he spends an inadequate amount of time at home. In contrast, this W group member positions his wife as stating that the amount of time he spends at home is insufficient. This spousal dissatisfaction is portrayed as typical of the sector that he works in. This distances his wife's complaints from him and situates the blame for working long hours with the work context.

Participant #7

I: right (.) and how do you think your family view your work pattern?

P: my wife is extremely understanding (.) because I prepare her upfront and (1.5) however the fact that the year end has gone on now for fifteen or eighteen days (2.0) and that she has seen me working the hours (0.5) I only see them in the morning when I get up (1.5) she's saying that this is ridiculous (0.5) you know when she sees you coming home at half nine and going back into the office at half twelve that night to work through the night (2.5) it's a bit ridiculous (1.0) and then not coming home until eleven o' clock the following night (2.0) its ridiculous (.) that's her view

This W group member constructs his wife's interpretation of his work pattern in visual terms. This is worked up through the repetition of the 'seeing' verb and by construing his wife's perspective as a 'view'. According to his wife, his work pattern is positioned as being worthy of ridicule. This is attributed to the long working hours and to the construal of him as only seeing his family in the morning.

WA member - Participant #18

I: how do you think she viewed your work patterns?

P: she didn't like them (1.5) I was not at home very much at key times (0.5) and I did not provide very much home support (2.5) I thought that being the bread winner was all you needed to be (1.0) and that was fine and upstanding (2.0) but being a hands-on husband and father was something I had to learn (0.5) it took many years to learn

This WA member construes his wife as not approving of his work patterns. He is constructed as being absent from home at important occasions due to work commitments. Being a father and husband is construed as being a provider in the home context. This is differentiated from the financial provision that can be achieved through working. This is worked up through role talk, by juxtaposing the label of money earning 'breadwinner' with 'hands-on' husband and father. The tactile term of 'hands-on' positions the role as requiring involvement. This participant assembles himself as providing monetary support as opposed to fatherly and spousal help.

10.2.2 The former workaholics group in reference to the family's perspective

Participant #11

I: hmm and how do you think your family views your work pattern?

P: well (1.5) I think the kids would say that I'm always at work (.) and that's to do with the history (0.5) I used to be always at work when they were growing up (1.0) I was always at work during the weekends (2.0) God they used to be going mad when I usen't spend time with them (.) and I wouldn't (1.0) I'd be always working ...also they're in school a lot now (1.0) so they don't know what I'm doing because they can't see if I'm working ...they'd probably also say I would be around a lot more than I was in England (1.0) I think that's what they'd say (2.5) and I definitely am more available to them

This participant positions the children as viewing her as continuously working. This family perspective is worked up as being informed by her previous working pattern. She constructs herself as working excessively while her children were growing up, through the repetition of the extreme case formulation 'always'. She also presents her children as disliking her previous work behaviour. Currently, her children are assembled as being at school and unable to see if she's working during the day. This is worked up as explaining why her family are positioned as viewing her as working excessively, even though she is built up as no longer working in that manner. In comparison to the past, her presence and availability for the family is construed as having increased.

Participant #20

I: hmm and how do you think your family would view your work pattern?

P: fine (1.5) I think some would be envious (2.0) my fiancé (.) she works shift work so (2.5) very often she would come home at maybe eight or nine o' clock at night (1.0) and find me well settled into the house you know (2.0) I wouldn't think that they are very worried that I'm overworking myself (1.5) not any longer (2.0) in the past yes (2.0) they would have worried and said look relax (0.5) do less (0.5) you know what I mean (1.5) take less on or what have you (2.0) but it took me a while to see the light (1.0) but now I'm happy (0.5) I'm a happy little bunny

This participant constructs his family's past and present views of his work pattern. His family is assembled as previously being concerned about him but not at the moment. This is worked up through direct speech ('look relax', 'do less' and 'take less on') and temporal details ('in the past yes'). This creates a convincing argument by suggesting fresh memory and direct perceptual experience (Potter, 1996). Overworking is positioned as involving tension, large amounts of activities and working beyond one's limits. It is established as being under the control of the employee, as he can choose to abandon it. This is built up by the 'take' verb. This FW group member construes himself as being in the darkness when he was overworking and as eventually 'seeing the light' and working less. Indeed, happiness is constructed with the present and not the past.

10.2.3 *The significant others group and the family's perspective*

Participant #24

I: ok (1.0) so could you tell me what it was like when he came home from work?

P: he was often exhausted when he came home from work (1.5) and he would come home to eat and often hurry back to work...we didn't have a social life

This SO construes her husband as being extremely fatigued when he returned home from work. Lack of time spent in the home place is established. Home is construed as a place to eat before returning to work. This is assembled through

presenting eating as the purpose of his trip home from work ('he came home to eat') and also through the construal of his rushing back to work after eating ('hurry back to work'). The frequency of this behaviour is built up through the repetition of the temporal marker 'often'. The collective pronoun 'we' construes both her and her husband as lacking a life in the social sphere.

10.2.4 *The control group concerning the family's perspective*

Participant #16

I: hmm (.) and how do you think your family view your work pattern?

P: how they view it (0.5) they've no problem with it (.) they don't mind it you know (1.5)... they accept it as normal

This C group member positions his family's perspective on his work pattern as being unproblematic. This is worked up further by normalising their interpretation of his work behaviour. This participant assembles his entire family as one unit through the repetition of the collective indexical 'they'.

Participant #28

I: right and how do you think your family view your work pattern?

P: well (2.0) my girlfriend works until seven most nights (1.0) so when I'd get home I'd do some shopping (0.5) and have the dinner ready by the time she gets in (1.0) so it doesn't effect her (0.5) as in I don't work late and I would always have my weekends free (2.5) so its not any problem (0.5) there's no are you working this weekend? (0.5) are you working late? (0.5) are you working this weekend? (2.0) so generally I'm not (0.5) so my work doesn't make any sort of impact on stuff like that (1.0) and because it is so scheduled (1.0) like I work nine to five (.) five day (1.5) and so people know that's when I work and I'm not available

This C group member construes his work pattern as unproblematic for his girlfriend. This is built up through a list of possible questions about his working hours ('are you working this weekend? are you working late? are you working this

weekend?'). These questions are positioned as being absent from his life because he construes himself as not working late or on weekends. This is assembled through the extreme case formulation 'always'. This participant establishes his work pattern as not affecting his partner as he construes himself as being home from work before her. The lack of impact of work on his life is attributed to his highly structured work schedule.

10.2.5 Conclusion: the family's view section

Participants' spouses are worked up as voicing dissatisfaction with excessive work patterns, in particular absences from the home due to work. Previous negative and current positive family views of FW group members' work patterns are assembled. However, their children's perspective is construed as still being informed by the past. In stark contrast, C group members' family perspectives are positioned as being unproblematic for family and partners.

10.3 The implications of excessive working patterns for work-life balance

This section features constructions of how participant's work behaviour is positioned as impacting on their balance between work and life commitments.

10.3.1 The workaholics group regarding work-life balance

Participant #7

I: hmm (.) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: a bit frustrated at the moment (1.5) whereas I understand the importance of delivery (1.0) that seems to be my priority at the moment (2.0) I'm letting personal commitments slip such as (1.0) I've taken it upon myself to find out which school (name of daughter) is going to go to (1.5) that hasn't been done (.) as well as many other things that I just haven't done (1.0) the Christmas tree only came down last weekend (3.0) so its difficult and frustrating (0.5) and I've made that clear at work (2.0) its not that I'm adverse to hard work (1.0) its not that I'm adverse to long hours

(0.5) but it's the sacrifices are what slips on the other side and as well as that I don't feel as if (2.0) there's no such thing as me going off at lunch for an hour and a half to meet someone or to have a relaxing lunchtime (.) very often I work my lunch so (1.0) yes I am very very frustrated because there is no balance (1.0) its completely out of balance

Work is positioned as this W group member's current priority through the personal pronoun 'my'. Detailed examples work up this construal of letting personal commitments slide (e.g. not finding a school for his daughter and not taking down the Christmas tree). The verb 'slip' construes him as losing touch with life commitments due to working long hours. The absence of balance between work and life is worked up through the extreme case formulation 'completely'. This imbalance is positioned as being frustrating.

Participant #4

I: hmm (.) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: yeah I think I'm pleased enough (0.5) if I were to do it again I might do it marginally differently (1.5) I think it probably a little too business focused and less time at home ... but I think yeah maybe priorities (0.5) I got a little bit wrong (2.0) but then I would tend to be (.) I would say (1.5) forward thinking and (0.5) that's history and (0.5) its not going to change (1.0) so I wouldn't be looking over my shoulder very often

This participant's work-life balance is constructed as being overly concentrated on business. This prioritising is established as being incorrect. He construes himself as wanting to change his past balance between work and life. Yet, he establishes his cognitive processes as always going in a forward direction. A number of hedged claims are created through the modal 'I think' and modifiers ('marginally', 'maybe' and 'a little bit'). These construct a cautious argument (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

Participant #33

I: hmm (0.5) and what do you think drives you or motivates you to work in the way that you do?

P: ...well maybe (1.0) it has definitely (0.5) I mean when you get home most nights the kids are in bed (2.0) and there's a certain amount of remorse (0.5) when you're sitting at your desk at quarter to seven and you realise that your kids are in bed (2.0) and when you get in (.) some nights it's really disappointing (0.5) it's like the Taz (0.5) the Tasmanian devil has just gone to bed and has left the trail of devastation in it's wake (2.0) you'd like to see that (1.0) you'd like to see her before she goes (2.5) but at the same time (1.5) but I suppose when you think about it (1.5) them missing out on you (0.5) is less important than you not providing for them in later life (0.5) education wise (2.0) you only have to look at the situation with third level fees (1.0) and the pensions are already disappearing (0.5) so I have that in mind (2.0) and I think that they are estimating that parents will have to fork out eight thousand euro each year to put their kids through college (1.5) and it will probably have doubled by the time my kids start college (2.5) I mean it's a sacrifice that has certainly influenced my work (1.0) but in the long term it's worth it

This W group member paints a picture of what typically happened when he gets home from work. The specific details of this narrative such as time ('a quarter to seven') and location ('sitting at the desk') position this as an accurate portrayal (Potter, 1996). The frequency of this behaviour is worked up through the term 'most'. He assembles himself as being sorrowful when he is working late and he does not see his children before they go to bed. Only seeing their untidiness is presented as being an anti-climax. A metaphor of the cartoon character 'Taz' constructs the destruction left by his daughter. Working late is built up as a sacrifice he makes so that he can provide financial security for his family. The prominence of the 'you' pronoun distances working long hours as a universal behaviour that is not specific to his life (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Similarly, he employs the broader social context as a justification for his working long hours (i.e. the disappearance of pension funds and the introduction of college fees). Monetary figures (8,000 euros) are introduced to back up his argument. The nameless 'they' establishes this financial

estimate as being quite separate from his personal opinion. This is also assembled through the generic labels 'parents' and 'kids'.

Participant #13

I: hmm and how do you think your family view your work pattern?

P: ...I'm away all week ...I do an awful lot of work at home in my study (2.0) and Sunday night she'll go to bed at eleven o' clock (0.5) I'll usually go to bed at half twelve (0.5) it drives my wife mad (2.0) so well Sunday night isn't too bad (0.5) but Monday night (1.0) she goes to bed at ten o' clock (0.5) so I've a flash lamp that I use going around the room (0.5) and I read my book with a flash lamp (1.0) so I won't upset her (1.5) the light drives her mad (2.0) I'm a nuisance when I'm there (1.0) so she's into her routine (1.5) when I'm gone (name)(0.5) our seventeen year old daughter sleeps with her (1.0) they're great buddies and I'm a nuisance (1.5) I upset the auld rhythm you know (0.5) and if I arrive in on a Thursday night 'ah Jesus what are you doing here?'

This participant construes himself as being absent from home during the week. Also, a large proportion of his weekend work is constructed as being completed in his home office. He establishes himself as a source of annoyance and irritation to his wife. Working late and reading with the light on is built up as an activity that infuriates his wife, through the repetition of the phrase 'drives her mad'. The temporal details position this construal as an accurate portrayal ('eleven o' clock', 'half twelve' and 'ten o' clock'). His presence is also positioned as interfering with a well-established routine ('the auld rhythm'). Coming home from work during the week is assembled as generating a surprised response from his wife. This is worked up through a direct speech quotation 'ah Jesus what are you doing here?'. This is in stark contrast to the relationship that is construed between his wife and his daughter. Their friendship is worked up through the informal description of 'buddies' as well as the collective 'they'.

WA member – Participant #17

I: right so could you tell me what a typical day is like for you?

P: ...in the evenings I would leave work somewhere around seven or eight (2.0) so my home life wouldn't have any time

This WA member positions the time she leaves work as leading to a lack of time spent on her home life. This is constructed through the extreme case formulation 'any'. This participant construes herself as having a sense of control over the time she leaves work. This is established through the 'I' personal pronoun.

WA member – Participant #22

I: ok and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...so there was no work-life balance before (2.0) before my life was either I'm working (.) or I'm volunteering (.) or I'm recuperating from being burnt out (2.0) that was it (0.5) that was what my whole life was ...so I had no work-life balance then you know

An absence of work-life balance before joining the WA program is worked up through the repetition of the term 'no' and temporal details ('before', 'after'). In the past, this WA member construes her life as involving either working, voluntary work or recovering from work. This is established through the term 'whole'. The lack of hedging in this construction establishes it as a legitimate interpretation of her life ('that was what my whole life was') (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

10.3.2 The significant others group in relation to work-life balance

Participant #34

I: what do you think his approach to balancing work and life commitments is like?

P: I'd say his family life is pretty miserable (2.5) although he does dote on his daughter (1.5) you know often we'd be in a meeting (0.5) and he'd get a call on the mobile from her (0.5) and he'd say 'oh I have to take this' (2.0) so I'd say he does try and make an effort at home (1.0) but in general I'd say his home life is pretty poor

(0.5) because he just spends most of his life either off working (1.0) or doing other things to make money for himself

Firstly, this SO of Participant #13 constructs his family life as being unhappy. This is followed by a construal of a regular occurrence in meetings. Answering a call from his daughter during a business meeting is presented as a necessary action ('I have to take this'). This behaviour is positioned as an attempt to make an effort at home. The frequency of this behaviour is worked up through the temporal marker 'often'. The direct speech quotation construes the authenticity of this account. This passage moves from this specific behaviour to a broader viewpoint. His poor home life is attributed to the lack of time spent at home. The majority of his colleague's life is presented as being split between working and being engaged in other financially beneficial activities.

Participant #32

I: what do you think his approach to balancing work and life commitments was like?

P: it was terrible (2.0) it was very sad really (1.0) those kids almost grew up without a dad (0.5) because he was always off working (2.5) I'd say he missed out on lots of special occasions as well (1.5) so he had quite a poor home life you know (1.0) because he was just too preoccupied with his work

This participant constructs his co-worker as having very little input into raising his children. This absence is attributed to his continuous working, which is established through the extreme case formulation 'always'. This situation is also worked up by positioning him as being neglectful of a large number of important family events. Again, this poverty of home life is assembled as being a result of his preoccupation with work. This sentence is built up as a statement of fact through the lack of hedging.

Participant #27

I: and what do you think her work-life balance was like (1.0) prior to her recovery from workaholism?

P: I don't think there was any balance (2.5) I think everything was driven out of balance (.) by her level of work (1.0) I don't think she could be present for her home or for her family (0.5) because she wasn't healthy (1.0) and she couldn't you know (.) she was just (2.0) there wasn't a balance

This SO construes her colleague as having a lack of balance between her life and her work. This is attributed to the intensity of her working pattern. Her co-worker is thereby positioned as being unavailable for her family at home. Hedging of claims construct arguments involving extreme case formulations ('everything') as well thought out arguments (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

10.3.3 The former workaholics group in reference to work-life balance

Participant #15

I: right and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...so that at the time (1.0) even though the job was very satisfying up there (1.0) ...it was hard at home...but (0.5) you've no life from the point of view of the family (2.0) and even when (name) (0.5) the youngest you know (1.0) when she might have wanted a help with maths and stuff (0.5) I used to do it over the phone (2.0) and so its not a very useful way of giving a bit of support (0.5) you know what I mean (1.5) so no at the moment (0.5) the fact that I'm here in town (1.0) I just like live around the corner from here (1.0) so I'm in a great situation now

An absence of family life is constructed in the text. The phrase 'from the point of view of the family' construes different points of views that can be taken on life. Working long hours is positioned as creating an absence of family life. This is worked up by a narrative about helping his youngest daughter with her homework over the phone. The specifics of this example (e.g. name of offspring, position in the family and school subject) construe it as an accurate, fresh memory (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This story establishes this participant as being an unsupportive family member. The passage also presents the possibility of having a life outside of the

family. For instance, work life is assembled as 'very satisfying' in stark contrast to 'it was hard at home'.

Participant #8

I: and why did you decide to change your work habits?

P: because it isn't a life (0.5) it just isn't a life (2.0) it's not good for family (.)it's not good for (0.5) you end up not having enough time for friends and (1.0) it just isn't real (1.5) and things that aren't important at all take on an importance (1.0) you lose your perspective (0.5) and so I've gone to the other extreme now (2.5) ...I'm really interested in peace of mind and health so (1.0) anything that threatens peace of mind I don't think I would do any more (1.5) and I think that overworking leads to tiredness () and leads to this (3.0) poor perspective on what really matters (1.0) so trivial things begin to seem important (1.0) and I'm just not going there again (2.0) so its about being calm (0.5) and having a good life and having a bit of fun

Working too much is positioned as causing fatigue as well as an ineffective perspective on what is significant in life. A lack of perspective is construed as a place that this participant wishes to avoid by remaining calm, having fun and leading a good life. The 'you' personal pronoun construes these statements as not only being pertinent to her situation.

Participant #5

I: right and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...now in former years when I was exceptionally busy (1.0) an awful lot of that work was away from home (2.0) so I could have three and possibly four nights a week away from home (1.5) so that was stressful in that (2.0) all of the responsibility in raising a young family fell on my wife you know

This FW group member construes himself as being extraordinarily busy in the past. Justification for being absent from home for several nights a week is attributed to the location of his work. He builds up this situation as being stressful due to family demands. Raising a family is established as a responsibility that 'fell' on his wife. This participant's wife is positioned in a very passive position. She is established as not having a choice in the matter. He assembles himself as not being there to help her with such responsibilities.

10.3.4 The control group and work-life balance

Participant #14

I: hmm and I noted that on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you don't work weekends

P: ...I ensure that the weekend is reserved for family (1.5) we don't have any kids (.) but our extended family is very important to us

This participant positions herself as making certain that she does not work weekends. Family life is constructed as being very significant to this interviewee and her spouse. This is assembled through the verb 'reserved'. A sense of togetherness and connection with family is worked up through the prominence of collective indexicals ('we', 'our' and 'us').

Participant #14

I: and what do you think your work habits in the future will be like?

P: ...I have a career plan made out in my mind anyway (1.5) but I don't think I will advance to a role with greater seniority really (1.5) because if I did (.) I know I would have to compromise on my current work-family balance you know (2.0) I'd have to spend longer hours in the office (.) and work at the weekends (0.5) and I really don't want to do that (2.5) I'm quite happy with the balance I have at the moment

Role talk is employed. This participant construes an increase in seniority and responsibility in the workplace as requiring a compromise on her work-life balance. This is positioned as working longer hours and at the weekend. This aspect of advancing her career is construed as a necessity through the repetition of 'have to'. As such, she constructs herself as being content with her current work-life balance and not wanting to change her approach.

Participant #31

I: hmm and what do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

P: ... when you have a family (0.5) you would find it difficult to put in long hours (1.0) because your family life suffers (1.0) you do when you are busy you do (1.5) your relationships with other people obviously suffer a bit (0.5) when you don't have all that much time

Working long hours is construed as negatively impacting on relationships with others and in particular on family life. This spin off of working long hours is positioned as being caused by the lack of time available to spend with others. The repetition of the 'you' pronoun externalises this construction from this participant's own experience and establishes it as a general law (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

Participant #6

I: hmm (.) and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: I think I've got the balance reasonably well there (2.0) if anything my work has suffered (0.5) because I've allowed my other life commitments (3.0) take a position ahead of my work (1.5) so consequently I need to refocus on my work (2.0) but my other life commitments to my family (1.0) to my friends (0.5) to society at large (2.0) they get a fair slice of me (2.0) in fact in the last year or so (0.5) probably too large a slice

This C group member positions work as one of his many life commitments which include family, friends and society. These commitments are positioned as receiving fractions of him. Thus, he is constructed as dividing himself up for his various life interests. Those commitments outside of work are assembled as being given too large a portion of him. Returning his concentration to his work is worked up as a necessity for the future. He is positioned as having an agentive stance in relation to his work-life balance by deciding the size of the slice and ranking them in order of priority. This is also worked up through the prominence of 'I' personal pronoun.

Participant #23

I: so how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...so I think I'm letting valuable opportunities slip by (0.5) when I focus on my job (2.0) and you have to be realistic (2.0) companies like you and you get a positive spin from them (1.0) and they're glad to have you and everything (1.0) but at the end of day (0.5) if you fell off the face of the earth the company would still trudge on (1.5) I mean it would still earn its money you know (0.5) you'd be a little blip and that's the end of it

Participant #23 positions herself as missing out on important life opportunities by concentrating on work. This argument is bolstered by establishing herself as being insignificant to the company's grand scheme of things. The continuity of the company regardless of the presence of one particular worker is worked up through the aural description ('little blip'). The plural form of the term 'companies' and the collective pronoun 'they' distance this statement from her circumstances and construe it as a generalised law (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

10.3.5 Conclusion: the work-life balance section

This subsection contains varied constructions of balance between work and life outside of work. W group members construct themselves as being overly focused

on work issues and neglecting personal commitments. Furthermore, they establish themselves as missing out on everyday family life and special occasions because of excessive working. In contrast to the present, FW group members constructed a blinkered approach to life, where all of the individual's attention was previously directed towards work. C group members construe themselves as being content and unwilling to compromise on their work-life balance. Thus, family life is constructed as being adversely effected by excessive working.

10.4 The consequences of excessive working patterns for colleagues

This subsection examines problems and issues that are assembled as arising when those who are constructed as workaholics interact with others in the workplace.

10.4.1 The workaholics group on the subject of colleagues

Participant #13

I: right so could you please tell me what a typical day at work is like for you?

P: ...the culture is (0.5) 'I will drive these managers to deliver (.) or I will drive them out' (2.5) right

This participant constructs the organisational culture as an ultimatum; if his managers don't work effectively they will lose their job. He construes himself as being the force behind this company's ethos and as being in control of his employees. This is worked up through the 'I' personal pronoun as well as the repetition of the 'drive' verb. This establishes this W group member as directing his colleagues and locates them in a passive, powerless position.

Participant #4

I: and how do you feel about working with others?

P: ... there's only four cum five of us here (1.5) I'm probably not a particularly strong democrat (0.5) I I was in the military at one point which I didn't mention to you (3.0) so I (0.5) maybe reasonably take charge you know (1.0) I'm not any better at leadership than anybody else but maybe more prone to take the lead...so yeah (0.5) I think I'd be particularly (.) it's my business so that might explain part of why I'd be very demanding (.) I probably wouldn't be terribly easy to work for

This participant is assembled as taking control in the workplace rather than sharing power with colleagues. This is worked up through the use of the political terminology such as 'democrat' and 'leadership'. This is further couched in hedging terms such as 'probably' and 'not a particular'. He also positions himself as a difficult boss ('wouldn't be terribly easy to work for'). Ownership of the business is construed as a justification for the demands he places on his staff.

Participant #7

I: ok and what aspects of your work (.) if any don't you enjoy?

P: I'd have to be honest with you I don't like the human resources side (0.5) I don't like the overkill on meeting...meetings to talk about talks (1.0) and meetings to talk about meetings (0.5) or you know lets sit down (1.0) very often I find it particularly comes from senior management that when they don't want to work (.) they'll have a meeting to talk about it (1.5) and I don't like that and (3.0) I suppose deep down I'm probably better working on my own (2.5) so responsibility for a team and team meetings is something I have to work at (1.0) and teach myself (2.0) so I think they're the aspects

This participant's wholesale rejection of human resources elements of work ('I don't like the human resources side') is subsequently made more particular through a dislike of superfluous meetings. This is worked up through the repetition of the words 'talking' and 'meetings'. 'Deep down' he reluctantly constructs himself as being more suited to working alone and as lacking skills for the human side of

working. This reluctance is worked up through the hedging of claims achieved by the use of modifiers such as 'suppose' and 'probably'.

Participant #7

I: right (.) and how does your work pattern compare to your colleagues' approach to work?

P: ...I think generally when people leave the office in there (1.0) they tend to forget (2.0) I know my team would forget (3.5) whereas very often I would be the one left behind picking up the pieces (1.0) or I would be the one at the weekend (.) planning out what everyone has to do

This W group member distances himself from the work behaviours of his colleagues. His co-workers are construed as putting work out of their minds once they leave the workplace. This is juxtaposed with his work pattern, which is assembled as tying up the loose ends at work and organising staff schedules at the weekend. This is worked up through the contrast between 'they' and the 'I' personal pronoun, as well as the antithesis between the singular 'one' and the extreme case formulation 'everybody'. Separation from the majority is further established through the phrase 'left behind'.

WA member - Participant #22

I: right (.) and could you tell me how you felt about working with others prior to recovery?

P: ...I was a very harsh task master (2.0) I loved collaborating and I always have (1.5) but I (.) you know (0.5) but I would say that one of the biggest areas of my recovery right now is about how to get along with other people (1.0) and not be an asshole (0.5) before recovery (1.5) I really bless and thank all the people who put up with me (1.5) because between my perfectionism and my criticism you know (1.0)

and my bluntness (0.5) and you know my just trying to control everything (0.5) I was not an easy person to be around you know (2.0) I was very bossy (.) I would get quick to anger (2.0) so working with other people was a difficult thing (0.5) and I had a lot of problems with it (1.0) it is still difficult for me now

This participant construes dealing with people in the workplace as the major focus of her WA recovery program. She positions herself as a critical, perfectionist and controlling colleague. Difficulties in working with others are not confined to a specific group of co-workers, but are generalised through the generic term 'people'.

10.4.2 The former workaholics group in relation to colleagues

Participant #15

I: hmm (.) and what aspects (.) if any of your work don't you enjoy?

P: ...you know one of things is that (.) you know (1.0) whereas before I would have done more analysis (2.0) no you don't (1.0) you must get some political (0.5) try a different tool to influence (1.5) you don't (0.5) you know if someone doesn't accept your first decimal (0.5) you don't go to the tenth decimal point to make your case stronger (1.5) you've to try going for a cup of tea with the person (0.5) or you know (2.0) if it was myself you know I'd actually do more analysis (1.0) but at the end of the day it's a political decision (0.5) but if you don't (0.5) you know the way it is (1.0) is that you don't do more analysis (1.5) you must get into the political kind of domain of internal politics to kind of communicate what you have

This FW group member establishes political influence as being more effective than mathematical details. Mathematical terminology 'decimal point' is contrasted sharply with the politically influencing behaviour of 'going for a cup of tea'. This participant positions himself as veering towards more analysis rather than political methods. This is assembled through the phrase 'if it was myself'. The 'you' personal pronoun appears quite frequently in this passage and construes him as receiving this advice from someone.

Participant #5

I: hmm (2.5) and what aspects of Irish society (.) if any do you think have influences your work patterns (1.0) for example the Celtic tiger?

P: ...there's also a huge element of meeting people and (0.5) of course within that you've got very difficult people that you've got to manage (1.0) and then you've got the majority of people who (0.5) will work with you and are very pleasant and are great company

Working with others is positioned as being a major aspect of this FW group member's work. His colleagues are divided into two categories. The minority group are built up as being challenging, whereas the majority are construed as being co-operative. Moreover, this contrast is established by positioning the difficult minority as requiring management and the co-operative majority as being collaborative ('work with you'). The lack of the 'I' personal pronoun and the prominence of the 'you' generalise these constructions beyond his situation (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

10.4.3 The significant others group regarding colleagues

Participant #35

I: hmm and do you think he enjoys his work?

P: ...I believe with his boss (0.5) he works around his boss to endear himself to even more senior people (1.0) by the depth of his detailed (.) numerical (.) information you know (2.0) he doesn't get involved in any opinions (0.5) he is always dealing with the factual things and aspects (2.0) so he can be relied on to (1.0) that's what he does with his time (1.5) he puts a lot of time into answering any question that comes up (0.5) in detail

This participant construes his co-worker as having in-depth, numerical, know-how of the job. He is positioned as using this knowledge of the job as a

political tool to impress the senior individuals in the company. Further to this, he is constructed as getting involved in the factual elements of work rather than being concerned with personal perspectives. This is worked up through the extreme case formulation 'always'.

Participant #34

I: ok and does he work on weekends?

P: ... if he senses that he is losing money in some area (0.5) he gets out of it (1.5) or in the case of the business he gets rid of the person that's making a loss for him (1.0) and that's how he says it 'get rid of them (0.5) I want their desk clear by this afternoon' (2.0) so he creates this culture of nervousness or anxiety at work (1.0) and he loves that (.) he loves people to be dropping things in front of him and fumbling out of fear of him ...so he is a very shrewd business man (0.5) but a terror to work for

This SO positions his colleague as not tolerating employees that make monetary losses for the business. This is worked up through a direct speech quotation ('get rid of them (0.5) I want their desk clear by this afternoon'). He is also assembled as creating a culture of fear in the workplace. This is worked up by constructing specific behaviours, such as subordinates letting objects fall, and trembling in front of him. Thus, he is established as a frightening employer ('a terror').

Participant #27

I: ok and what was it like to work with (name) ?

P: it was both wonderful and frustrating (2.5) it was wonderful because she is brilliant and could (1.0) you know ultimately get a lot done (2.0) and it was frustrating because she would often say that she would do things (1.0) and then she

wouldn't follow through on them (2.0) because she had too much to do (1.0) because she over committed (2.5) and it was frustrating because she was always late (1.5) because she had you know packed her day so full (0.5) that she could not possibly (1.0) no human being could not possibly keep the schedule (1.0) and so she would make agreements that she couldn't keep (0.5) both in tasks and in time

This SO construes working with Participant #22 as being both a positive and negative experience. Unpunctuality and unfulfilled promises are constructed as the irritating aspects. These are attributed to her work patterns such as overloading her schedule. This failure to meet deadlines is externalised from this participant by positioning it as being impossible.

Participant #27

I : ok and what was it like to work with (name) ?

P: ...and it was also great because she had an enthusiasm that could carry when other people were sort of (2.0) I mean I don't think that it was a healthy level of enthusiasm (1.0) but I think sometimes workaholics get positive feedback for having a huge level of enthusiasm (.) and drive (1.0) and excitement and verve for things (1.5) because people can exploit that and sort of ciphher off it (1.5) so that they don't have to give their energy so much (4.0) so I saw lots of that happening too

The positive side of working with Participant #22 is assembled as the zest that she created in the workplace. However, co-workers are positioned as sometimes exploiting this energy, so that they don't have to invest all that much of themselves in work projects. This SO categorises her as a workaholic and the high levels of enthusiasm are construed as category membership entitlements.

Participant #32

I: right and what was (name) like to work with?

P: ...he is a genuinely lovely man (1.5) well he was my boss and to work with him (1.0) he demands a lot from his workers (1.5) he often used to get bogged down in the finer details of things (2.0) and as I said before (1.0) he wasn't really that good at dealing with the political end of the job (2.0) so he used to surround himself with people that agreed with him (1.0) if you didn't agree with him (0.5) then you couldn't work for him (1.0) he was like that you know (0.5) and he'd tell you straight out if he thought you were wrong (1.5) he wouldn't dress it up or anything (2.0) but yeah he did have this great passion for his work (1.0) and when you work with him this kind of rubs off on you as well

This participant positions his co-worker as a difficult boss. This is worked up through the construction of job tasks as 'demands'. Dissenting voices are assembled as being unacceptable among his staff ('then you couldn't work for him'). His boss is also established as being harsh with criticisms. These are worked up as being delivered without any diplomatic 'dressing'. Yet, the transferability of his love for his work is constructed as an advantage of working alongside him. This is built up through the verb 'rubs'.

Participant #36

I: do you know what hours he used to work?

P: ... in his last company part of the reason I think that he got fired was that he is a highly impulsive guy (0.5) he is a workaholic you know he's very (1.0) he's highly impulsive (0.5) he immediately jumps to conclusions (1.0) gets into all sorts of fights and troubles (2.0) and he is not polite at all (0.5) he's a rough diamond (2.0) and he has an opinion about everybody (1.0) usually they're negative (2.0) he also has a very negative opinion about himself he takes the blame all the time for everything

This SO labels his co-worker as an impulsive person and a workaholic. Workaholism is construed in terms of impulsivity and rushing to conclusions. This individual's interpersonal conflicts in the workplace are not restricted to any specific

type of arguments ('all sorts'). Furthermore, his impoliteness and negative opinion of his co-workers is built up through the phrase 'at all' and the extreme case formulation 'everybody'. This SO also employs metaphorical language ('rough diamond') to assemble how his co-worker is abrasive with others in the workplace.

10.4.4 *The control group concerning colleagues*

Participant #25

I: right and how do you feel about working with others?

P: I quite like working in a team (1.0) I prefer team work to working on my own (2.0) I mean I don't really mind working on my own but it's nice to have people there (0.5) and have that interaction (1.5) so I much prefer it

This C group member construes a preference for working with others over working alone. This is established through the repetition of the term 'prefer' and the prominence of the 'I' personal pronoun. Social interaction is worked up as an attractive element of teamwork.

Participant #19

I: hmm (.) and what aspects of your work (.) if any do you find enjoyable?

P: I have to say that I like what I do very much (1.5) what I find enjoyable is the social interaction with people in my department and around the building (2.5) to an extent (0.5) they become like family because one ends up spending as much time (0.5) if not more (0.5) with co-workers than with one's own family and friends (2.0) what makes it rewarding is when I embark myself on a difficult task and it works out (1.5) or when I see that the work I do helps others do their job better (0.5) or helps the company function at its best

This C group member constructs a sense of connectedness with his co-workers. This is built up through the construal of colleagues as family members ('become like family'). This closeness is attributed to the amount of time spent together. Communicating with colleagues is positioned as the aspect of work that he

finds enjoyable ('what makes it rewarding'). Improving others' performance at their jobs is also assembled as a satisfying aspect of his work.

10.4.5 Conclusion: the working with others section

W group members are construed as demanding, critical bosses and colleagues that distance themselves from co-workers. They are also positioned as having a preference for the details of the job rather than the political aspect of work. These discursive patterns contrast sharply with the extracts from C and FW group members, who currently assemble connections with other employees as being enjoyable. However, the positive aspect of working with W group members is constructed as an enthusiasm for work that affects other members of staff. These construals are worked up further by the excerpts from the SO group. To conclude, both W group members and previously FW group members are established as being inspiring but difficult individuals to work with.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides an answer to research question number two which asks if workaholism is constructed as adversely affecting those who live and work with individuals with excessive work habits. W group members are worked up as being absent from home quite frequently due to work commitments and as having an imbalance between work and life outside of work. This is constructed as adversely effecting their family life and as being met with disapproval from participants' spouses. Moreover, W group members are established as being critical and demanding colleagues. Yet, their enthusiasm for their jobs is positioned as being a source of inspiration for colleagues. The evidence suggests that those who live and work with excessive workers are built up as on the whole being negatively impacted. Nevertheless, their verve for their work is positioned as positively effecting co-workers.

Chapter 11

Consequences for the individual with excessive work patterns

11.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to answer research question three: Is workaholism constructed as negatively or positively impacting on the individual with excessive work habits?

This question further functions to contextualise the issue of workaholism. It explores whether the effect of excessive working patterns on the individual is negative or positive. Therefore, discursive construals of the impact that working excessively has on the individual are examined. There are four sections in this chapter. These were derived from the Nvivo coding nodes outlined in appendix I.

11.2 Enjoyment of work

In this section of analysis, the participants construe a deep attachment to their work.

11.2.1 *The workaholics group in relation to the enjoyment of work*

WA member - Participant #18

I: and what do you think drove you or motivated you to work in the way that you did?

P: I just enjoyed (.) I loved being there and being able to help others (1.5) and it came to the stage that I took on their lives and their problems (1.0) and the line between my life and my job almost disappeared

This WA member assembles himself as loving the help he gave others through his work. This love is positioned as causing the linear division between his

work and life to disappear. 'Taking on' his patient's lives and problems is portrayed as causing this barrier to disappear.

Participant #33

I: right (1.0) and what aspects (.) if any of your work do you find enjoyable?

P: ...I love dealing with the really difficult cases (0.5) a lot of people don't like that (0.5) you know if a company is in trouble and it's on the verge of bankruptcy (1.5) a lot of people are like 'oh I can't deal with that' (1.5) whereas I see it as a huge opportunity (1.0) and it doesn't take you all that long to build the company back up again (.) even with a slight turn of the economy (2.5) so I find those things enjoyable and challenging

This W group member constructs himself as loving working with awkward cases. This is worked up further by positioning this element of work as demanding and satisfying ('I find those things enjoyable and challenging'). Delighting in this aspect of the job is established as unusual. This is built up through distancing the majority from this stance, through the repetition of the phrase 'a lot of' and the direct speech quotation.

Participant #3

I: hmm and what would you consider the greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I find a lot of my work very interesting and it gives me a kick (2.5) an awful lot of my work gives me a kick

This W group member construes his work as providing enjoyment that is tactile. This is worked up through the forceful, physical verb 'kick', which positions this participant as receiving something quite powerful from his job. The majority of his work is built up as providing this 'kick'. This is established through the repetition of phrases 'an awful lot' and 'a lot'. The possessive pronoun 'my' constructs

ownership of his job. This functions to convey a closeness and connectedness with his work.

11.2.2 The significant others group and the enjoyment of work

Participant #32

I: ok and what do you think drove him or motivated him to work in the way that he did?

P: sheer love of his job (2.0) you know he just has this immense passion for his work ...but I think just an immense love for his work is what drove him...but yeah he did have this great passion for his work

This SO constructs this individual's depth of feeling for work. This is assembled through the following adjectives 'sheer', 'immense,' 'great'. These portray a limitless enjoyment of his work. Highly emotive terms such as 'passion' and 'love' are assembled in relation to this individual's work. Furthermore, loving his work is positioned as his motivation to work.

11.2.3 The former workaholics group concerning the enjoyment of work

Participant #8

I: right and what aspects of your work (.) if any do you find rewarding?

P: I totally love my work (0.5) I absolutely love it (2.0) I love the relationships with people (1.5) that are really what makes it good

This FW group member constructs the depth of feeling for her work through the verb 'love'. The complete and utter love of her job is assembled through the adjectives 'totally' and 'absolutely'. Relationships with clients are established as particular aspects of her work that she enjoys.

Participant #5

I: right and when did you decide to set up your own management consultancy firm?

P: ...this type of work (1.5) well firstly it suits me from two aspects I love the analytical side of it (0.5) in other words fact finding (.) analysing and assessing the facts (0.5) coming up with draft ideas and proposals (1.5) and then working with the client and his management team to (0.5) deal out the final proposal (2.0) so I love that whole process you know (1.5) that suits me ...I just enjoy the actual work (1.0) I really love the work you know ...I absolutely love the whole process of analysing (.) assessing (.) initiating new ideas and the creative part of that

This participant construes himself as loving his work on two levels. The first level is at the global point; this is built up through the definitive article 'the work' and the general phrase 'the actual work'. On another level, he construes loving specific details of work. The analytical aspects of his work and working with clients are positioned as particular elements of his work that he enjoys. These are worked up by detailing the tasks that are involved ('coming up with draft ideas and proposals').

11.2.4 The control group on the subject of enjoyment of work

Participant #9

I: and what aspects of your work (.) if any do you find rewarding?

P: ...I'm dealing with lots of people everyday (1.5) so I love that part of it (1.0) I like dealing with people ... so I love that aspect of it (1.0) I really enjoy the interview type scenario (0.5) I kind of get a kick out of that (1.5) I also love training (0.5) I'm involved in presenting training courses here (.) different kinds of training (0.5) I really like that ...in general terms I love it

At the start of the extract, this participant constructs very specific aspects of her job that she loves (e.g. dealing with her colleagues, the interviewing situation and training her co-workers). Each of these job tasks is followed by a construal of her

enjoyment of her work. This is worked up through positive emotional phrases 'enjoy', 'love', 'really like' and 'get a kick out of'. This excerpt is concluded by a general statement whereby this C group member positions herself as loving her work.

Participant #14

I: right and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: ...I certainly wake up every day and enjoy coming to work (1.5) you know there's the odd slow Monday morning (1.0) but in general I enjoy coming into work (.) I enjoy the camaraderie (.) I enjoy the challenges (.) I enjoy the varied work (1.5) and then conversely I enjoy my weekend (1.0) I enjoy the things I do with my husband (1.0) I spend time with the family

This C group member builds herself up as enjoying her work overall. A slow start to the week is constructed as occurring on rare occasions. The second phrase ('there's the odd slow Monday morning') construes this extract as more balanced and credible, given the extreme case formulation ('everyday') of the previous sentence (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Specific enjoyable aspects of her work are established ('the camaraderie', 'the challenges'). This participant also construes herself as enjoying her time spent away from work at the weekends. Activities with her family are positioned as opposite to work tasks through the term 'conversely'.

11.2.5 Conclusion: the enjoying work section

Participants from all groups position themselves as being in love with their work. They employ emotional terms such as 'passion' and 'love' to construct the deep enjoyment of their work. However, SOs construe intense emotional attachment to work as causing excessive work patterns. Participants from both W groups and C groups use the physical verb 'kick' to construe what they get out of their work.

11.3 The negative aspects of working patterns

This segment of analysis examines how participants discursively construct the negative aspects of working.

11.3.1 *The workaholics group and the negative aspects of work*

Participant #33

I: ok (.) and are there any aspects of your work that you don't enjoy?

P: ...with the amount of new regulations that have come in (0.5) in the last few years (1.0) there just seems to be more and more and more bureaucracy ...so all this red tape is one part of the job that I really despise

This participant positions the increasing levels of administration as one aspect of his work that he dislikes. The rising paperwork is attributed to rules of the broader sector (i.e. financial services) that he works within as opposed to his particular job or company. The recent introduction of these conditions is worked up through the temporal marker 'the last few years'. A strong emotive term ('despise') is employed to construct this participant's contempt of the bureaucratisation of the financial services.

Participant #33

I: right (1.0) well that covers everything I'd like to ask (.) would you like to add anything to what's already been said?

P: ...sometimes the pressure just gets too much (2.0) it builds up and builds up (1.5) and I just have to ring in and say 'I'm taking the day off' (2.5) we used to call them mental health days in the States

This participant constructs the pressure of his job as becoming unbearable at times. He positions himself as not having a choice about calling in sick some days when the pressure gets too much. This is worked up through the phrase 'I just have to'. The direct speech quotation 'I'm taking the day off' enlivens the construction and conveys notions of fresh, vivid memory (Edwards & Potter, 1992). Moreover, this behaviour is justified by externalising it from his personal pattern. This functions to ensure that he is not presented as being lazy, but rather that it is part of the job. This is built up by the collective pronoun 'we'. The pressure of work is positioned as effecting psychological well-being, as a day off is labelled a 'mental health day'.

Participant #3

I: hmm and what aspects of your work (.) if any don't you like?

P: nothing (0.5) sorry that's a very short answer but there's no aspect (0.5) well sorry obviously paying the taxman (.) but that comes with everything else (2.5) administration I'm not terribly fond of it (1.5) but that's about it really (1.5) there's no elements of my actual work that I don't enjoy

This W group member uses an extreme case formulation 'nothing' to answer the question in relation to disliking work. He subsequently backtracks by particularising his previous statement and making it more complex. This functions to construe a more credible argument (Potter, 1996). This participant concedes that paying the taxman is an aspect of his work that is not enjoyable. Nevertheless, taxation is established as being an inherent part of all other types of jobs. This is built up through the conjunction 'with' and the extreme case formulation 'everything else'. Paperwork is also positioned as a disagreeable element of his job. Yet, paying tax and administrative duties are positioned as being peripheral to his 'actual' work activities.

Participant #7

I: right (1.0) and I think that covers everything I would like to ask (1.0) would you like to add anything?

P: ...there are different types of people (2.0) there are people who have one gear (0.5) and that's all you're going to get is one gear from them (1.5) and no matter how much work comes in they will do an extra hour or whatever (1.0) but there's one rate of work (.) and that's it (2.5) then there are other people that absorb the pressure (.) and the stress and unfortunately I (.) and not only I but other people are those (0.5) and that's that's the (.) I think that's where we pay (0.5) its not the hours (0.5) it's the intensity of the hours that has become more and more (0.5) I find pressurising

This participant establishes a typology of binary opposites in relation to workers and pressure. Binary oppositions or contrasts represent a powerful discursive device for constructing the world as such (Edwards, 2000). The first category of people are those who are unaffected by the amount work. This is also built up by construing these individuals with an internal, mechanical work 'gear'. The second type of workers is assembled as internalising the tension from the work environment ('absorb the pressure and the stress'). The stress as opposed to the long hours is positioned as causing the pressure. This participant aligns himself with the second category. There is a lack of hedging which would suggest that there are alternative plausible interpretations of peoples work behaviours. Instead, the repetition of the phrase 'there are' constructs this dichotomy as fact (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

WA member - Participant #18

I: and were there any aspects of your work that you didn't enjoy?

P: what I didn't enjoy was the push (.) during recent years (1.0) gradually over many years the pressure (0.5) the press (0.5) the increased number of people to be seen by

me (0.5) the number of patients waiting out there (2.5) at times was very difficult and I was really not enjoying working under those conditions (2.0) of course a lot of that was my inability to complete my record keeping as I was going along (1.5) so I didn't enjoy that aspect

The strain and stress is positioned as an unpleasant aspect of this participant's work. This is built up through negative terms ('didn't enjoy', 'not enjoying'). He construes the pressure of work in tactile terms such as 'the push' and 'the press'. This pressure is attributed to the increasing amounts of patients over the years and this participant not keeping up to date with patient records.

11.3.2 The significant others group in relation to the negative aspects of working

Participant #27

I: hmm and do you think she enjoys her work?

P: ...I think any joy that was possible was overshadowed by the exhaustion and the illness (1.0) and I think that some of the work itself may have been joyful work (0.5) but that she couldn't even feel it (1.0) because she was (3.0) you know the detrimental parts were so overwhelming (3.0) you know it's like you are maybe sitting in a beautiful meadow (.) and the birds are singing (1.5) and there are flowers (2.5) but there's a flame too close to your skin (0.5) and the flesh is burning (2.0) you don't notice the birds (0.5) and you don't notice the flowers (1.5) they're all still there (.) but you can't notice them (1.0) because you have something else that's taking all of your attention (2.5) that's what workaholism is like (0.5) that maybe it's actually good work (1.0) and maybe you're actually doing good things in the world (0.5) but you don't notice it (.) and you don't feel it (1.0) because the way you're doing it is causing so much distress and illness to your whole person (0.5) your body and your spirit (1.5) that you just you don't (.) you can't get the benefit from it

This SO assembles enjoyment of work as being eclipsed by the fatigue associated with her colleague's work pattern. An inability to perceive the benefits of working is positioned as part of workaholism ('you don't notice it and you don't feel it'). This is built up as being a result of the physical and emotional distress associated with this work pattern. These statements are elaborated upon by means of a metaphor. Visual and aural descriptions are employed ('the birds are singing', 'there are flowers'). A tactile description of burning skin is also worked up to illustrate the negative aspects of workaholism. The extract then moves from this metaphor to a factual statement about workaholism ('that's what workaholism is like'). An absence of hedging construes this participant's argument as convincing.

11.3.3 The former workaholics group in reference to the negative impacts of working

Participant #8

I: hmm and what aspects (.) if any of your work don't you enjoy?

P: oh I hate book keeping and I hate the business administration (2.0) and I do all that myself (.) well I do most of it myself and all that (0.5) filing

This FW group member positions herself as despising the administrative aspects of her job. This is built up through the repetition of the emotive phrase 'I hate'. The specific tasks that she construes herself as disliking, also establish this construal ('book keeping', 'filing' and 'business administration').

Participant #11

I: ok and what aspects of your work (.) if any don't you enjoy?

P: I hate doing the accounts (1.0) I don't like looking for work (1.0) which you have to do (0.5) but I don't like it (2.0) so I'm hoping somebody else will join me who likes that (0.5) you know having to go and butter people up and all that (1.5) I don't like

selling myself in that sense (0.5) so that's the bit I don't like (.) but I like everything else

This FW group member positions sorting out financial reports and looking for contracts as aspects of her work that she dislikes. This is built up through the emotive term 'hate' and the extreme case formulation 'everything else'. She also constructs herself as intending to recruit someone to deal with the parts of the job that she dislikes ('go and butter people up').

11.3.4 The control group on the subject of the negative aspects of work

Participant #14

I: hmm and what aspects of your work (.) if any don't you enjoy?

P: ...I suppose (1.5) from an administrative point of view the administrative roles are a bit boring (0.5) tasks I should say not roles (.) that are a bit boring (2.0) but I think everybody has that in a job you know (1.0) you just sort of get on with it you know

This C group member picks out a specific type of work task that she positions as being tedious. This is worked up through the categorisation 'administrative' and the repetition of the phrase 'a bit boring'. There is a switch from the 'I' personal pronoun to the more generic 'you'. This distances this construal from her circumstances and constructs it as a general law (Edwards & Potter, 1992). In addition, administrative tasks are normalised as part of every job through the extreme case formulation 'everybody'.

Participant #25

I: and what aspects (.) if any of your work don't you enjoy?

P: again I think it's the nature of the job that I find myself in now its (2.0) financial services it just doesn't really appeal to me (1.0) it's not really what I expected (0.5) and it's a big let down (0.5) actually I'm finding it really tedious and boring (1.0) but again the job may change and develop (2.0) or else I'll have to move on

This participant positions herself as disliking her job, not just particular aspects of it. The job itself and the sector it is located within are construed as being unappealing, disappointing and unexciting. If the job doesn't alter, this C group member constructs herself as intending to change jobs. This extract is worked up through the many 'I' personal pronouns as well as 'me' and 'myself'. These function to tie the dislike of this job to this participant.

11.3.5 Conclusion: the negative aspects of working

Administrative tasks, marketing and paying tax are positioned as negative aspects of participants' work. Unlike the other interviewees the W group members construe the fatiguing, pressurising elements of their work as being adverse facets. In the entire data set, only one C group member positioned herself as disliking her work in general.

11.4 Professional success as a consequence of working patterns

This section of analysis examines participants' constructions of success in the world of work.

11.4.1 The workaholics group in relation to professional success

WA member - Participant #12

I: hmm and what aspects of your work (.) if any do you find enjoyable?

P: ...I like making money (.) I like having successful books ...I'm very lucky (0.5) and I'm successful (0.5) and I'm well paid

This WA member positions herself as having written successful books, which have yielded financial benefits. These are elements of her work that she positions as enjoying. This participant also construes herself as being lucky and successful. Success is assembled as being separate from monetary gain. Additionally, her success is constructed as being disconnected from luck. This is built up through the conjunction 'and'.

Participant #3

I: hmm and what would you consider the greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I think one of the most exhilarating things was definitely beating a very large company to a very large contract (0.5) and I mean having two people working on that contract (0.5) and delivering it successfully (1.0) would have been one of the most exhilarating (2.0) I don't know if it is the most important thing to me (0.5) I just thought it was (0.5) I enjoyed it... I kicked their asses

This W group member constructs one of the most thrilling events in his work life as being competing with a bigger organisation for a contract and winning. This is worked up through the repetition of the word 'exhilarating'. The very specific 'two people' is juxtaposed with the enormous size of their corporate opponent ('very large company'). This explains the magnitude of this success and his excitement. A very violent term 'beating' is employed to construe when they triumphed over their opponents for the contract ('I kicked their asses'). Performing effectively on the job is also positioned as an invigorating aspect of the experience. This is constructed in terms of conveying or transporting the goods effectively to the client ('delivering it successfully').

Participant #7

I: right and what would you consider your greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I don't have that many successes (0.5) I'd have to say (1.0) I probably wouldn't get recognised for it

Through the verb 'to have', this participant construes successes as possessions. The phrase 'that many' constructs him as having a number, but not a large quantity of successes in the work place. Using the conditional tense, he subsequently positions himself as not receiving any recognition for successes, even if he had them ('probably wouldn't').

11.4.2 The significant others group and success in the professional sphere

Participant #34

I: ok and does he work weekends?

P: ... (name) is always on the lookout for ways to earn more money (2.0) and I have to hand it to him he has increased the revenue of the business by about fifty percent since he took over

This SO attributes the monetary success of the business solely to his co-worker's management skill. The increase in profits is worked up through the use of percentages and financial jargon such as 'revenue'. This construes this SO's construction as numerical and factual (Wood & Kroger, 2000). This is further worked up through the lack of hedging, evident in the absence of modals such as 'I think' or modifiers such as 'probably'.

Participant #32

I: ok and what do you think drove him or motivated him to work in the way that he did?

P: ...he really should have been something like MD or something (1.0) because his knowledge of the job is so great (2.5) but then again he isn't great at the political end of things (1.5) I mean I remember being in a meeting with (name) one day (1.0) and the head boss (0.5) the head honcho was giving a presentation (1.5) and (name) stopped him during his presentation and said 'one of your figures there is wrong' (1.5) and the thing is it was wrong (0.5) but you just don't say that to the boss during one of his presentations you know (2.0) so (name) wouldn't see that (1.0) and then he would often wonder why he isn't getting promoted you know so

This SO positions his colleague as having the potential to become managing director. However, he is assembled as failing to get promoted due to his lack of political prowess. This construal is built up by means of a narrative, where he corrected his boss during a meeting. The direct speech quotation 'one of your figures there is wrong' constructs this memory as being accurately recalled due to the detail of the reminiscing (Edwards & Potter, 1992). This participant establishes himself as having an insight into his colleague's psychological processes. This is built up through the visual description '(name) wouldn't see that' and the phrase 'he would often wonder'. This presents his co-worker as lacking insight into political astuteness.

Participant #35

I: hmm and do you think he enjoys his work?

P: ...the way he works is that he builds complex matrices in the way that he analyses his reinsurance work (1.0) in such a way that he is the only person that can understand it (0.5) even though he has been told that he has to manage these people in a team (1.5) when he is absent all these cracks appear (0.5) and that is the safety net (0.5) he needs that security around that he is absolutely indispensable (1.0) that's a big problem now in the company (.) and it's going to (0.5) I believe it has already affected his career

This SO positions his colleague as conducting intricate analyses so that his work is only comprehensible to him. This is worked up through construction terms ('builds', 'cracks'). Being indispensable is assembled as a necessary safeguard through the description of a safety net. This behaviour is positioned as being problematic on both organisational and career levels, which are built up through the definitive article 'the company' and the pronoun 'his career'.

Participant #35

I: hmm and what do you think his approach to balancing work and life commitments is like?

P: ...it's absolutely incredible that he won't do his final exam (2.5) and he's missed out on a major promotion (1.0) and one of the people that he had hired (0.5) who hasn't half the technical competence that (name) has (1.0) but he has a lot of interpersonal skills (1.0) he's going to get the job (1.0) you know (name)'s interpersonal skills are too poor (0.5) and he can't get the job because he isn't qualified (1.0) you can't be a financial controller for the company without being qualified (2.0) so he's really hurting himself

This SO positions his co-worker as losing out on a promotion due to his reluctance to take his final accounting exam. Relating to others is construed as a skill that hasn't been mastered by this participant's colleague. In contrast, the employee who is positioned as probably getting the promotion has more people skills but less knowledge of the job. This is worked up through mathematical language ('half'). Towards the end of this passage, this participant again attributes his colleague's failure to get promoted to a lack of qualifications. The switch from the specific 'he' pronoun to the more generic 'you' pronoun presents this statement as a universal norm (Edwards & Potter, 1992). The construal of self-harm by refusing to sit his final exam is worked up through the reflexive term 'himself'.

11.4.3 The former workaholics group in reference to professional success

Participant #11

I: hmm (.) and what would you consider your greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I was very successful in the UK (0.5) but I walked off that ladder (0.5) I was a senior manager (0.5) and they were beginning to headhunt me to go up to the next level and (1.5) in those days (.) I suppose I would have seen that as a mark of success (1.0) but now I just think I'm glad I got out of it (1.0) it's a nightmare (2.0) so yeah my greatest success would be the fact that we have managed a decent life you know

This participant construes herself as previously viewing being headhunted as a sign of success but now assembles this situation in nightmarish terms. She currently positions cultivating a life with her family as being her greatest achievement. This is worked up through temporal markers ('in those days', 'but now'). The collective pronoun 'we' is employed when construing her present success with her family. Conversely, where she assembles herself as working excessively in the UK is peppered with the singular 'I' pronoun. Thus, the past is established as being successful in a self-orientated, professional sense whereas her greatest success is construed in collectivistic, familial terms.

Participant #8

I: hmm and what would you consider the greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...this is going to sound weird but its kind of like that I'm contented (0.5) I'm kind of pleased about that and its not conventional success (1.0) but it is success (0.5) kind of the fact that I'm contented

This FW group member positions being happy and contented as a success. She subsequently assembles her contentment as being factual ('the fact that I'm contented'). This passage is worked by hedging, through the repetition of the modifier 'kind of'. This functions to construe this unconventional, 'weird' sounding interpretation of success as tentative.

11.4.4 The control group concerning professional success

Participant #19

I: ok and what would you consider your greatest success in your life so far?

P: ...I think that one's professional success is always related to one's personal success (2.0) so in other words (0.5) if your personal life is going well (.) your professional life will tend to go well and vice versa (2.5) if we are talking of professional success (0.5) I would have to say the greatest success would be the promotion I just received a month ago

This C group member differentiates between success in personal and professional spheres. He also construes an interrelation between the two, positioning success in one area as leading to success in the other. Use of the generic terms 'one' and 'your' distance these construals from this participant's own personal situation and construct them as universal laws (Edwards, 2000). In addition, this interviewee construes himself as being professionally successful as he assembles himself as being promoted recently. This is worked up through the temporal details 'a month ago'.

Participant #6

I: hmm (0.5) and what aspects (.) if any of Irish society do you think may have influenced your work patterns?

P: I think probably the opportunity to succeed (2.0) that if you put the hours in (1.0) you've a fair chance of getting the results (2.0) and that there is a direct correlation between how hard you work and how successful you will be (0.5) from a financial perspective

A chance to succeed is positioned as being an aspect of Irish society that has influenced this participant's work pattern. Inputted time and effort are assembled as influencing the success of the outcome. This is worked up through the mathematical term 'direct correlation'. Success is established in monetary terms ('from a financial

perspective'). The prominence of the 'you' personal pronoun generalises this construal beyond his experience (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

11.4.5 Conclusion: professional success

FW group members assemble success in a different manner since changing their work patterns. C group members also construct themselves as being successful in the world of work. Professional success is not presented as differentiating C group members from W group members. Indeed, the majority of W group members are established as being successful in the workplace. Significantly, the key constructed difference between those who are positioned as being successful in their careers and those who are not, is political astuteness and not excessive work patterns.

11.5 A lack of activities outside of work as a consequence of excessive working patterns

This section presents analyses of the activities participants construe themselves as engaging in outside of work.

11.5.1 The workaholics group regarding activities outside of work

Participant #33

I: hmm and what do you do normally in the evenings after work?

P: ...I used to have a lot of other interests (1.0) but then with work (0.5) and then having a family (0.5) it just (0.5) there's not that many hours in the day any more

This W group member is constructed as previously having a greater number of leisure activities. This is attributed to a lack of time as a result of firstly his work, and subsequently, raising a family. This is worked up in terms of a decrease in the number of hours in the day.

Participant #33

I: hmm and what do you normally do in the evenings after work?

P: crash and burn basically...I don't have all that much energy any more (1.0) because I read of lot of legal documentation now at work (0.5) and that kind of wipes you out mentally

Using an accident description ('crash and burn'), this W group member is construed as lacking energy when he arrives home from work. This is worked up more by construing his mind as being blanked out as a result of work. This is attributed to reading legal articles at work and is externalised from this particular participant through the personal pronoun 'you'.

Participant #7

I: hmm and you indicated on your response to my questionnaire that you aren't dreading retirement

P: I'm certainly for early retirement (2.5) however (1.0) as my wife says (0.5) I'd be better off working as long as I can (1.0) because I would need to start working on pastimes (.) to fill in the time (1.0) and I might (.) as she says herself (0.5) I might be inclined to take the paper and head off to the pub at lunchtime

This passage is laced with this participant's wife's voice. This is worked up through the present tense of the verb to say ('as she says herself'). These constructions position his wife as suggesting that he currently has no leisure pursuits. The verb 'working' is worked up to mean two different actions. The first is in relation to working in the occupational sphere, and the next is in relation to exerting effort on pastimes.

Participant #2

I: and what do you normally do in the evenings after work?

P: I might go for a stroll (0.5) or watch television (0.5) or read the paper (1.0) be with the family (.) things like that really you know ...I could do with organising some more (1.0) non-work type activities to keep me amused I'm sure

This W group member constructs himself as needing to arrange more activities outside of work. This is worked up through the construal of a dichotomy of activities (i.e. work based and non-work events). The purpose of these activities is constructed as ensuring that this participant is kept occupied.

11.5.2 The former workaholics group and a dearth of activities outside of work

Participant #20

I: right and what was your work/life balance like before you decided to change your working hours?

P: terrible (1.0) absolutely terrible (0.5) more exhausting than you can ever imagine (2.0) I mean bringing work home is something I've been doing since 19 really (0.5) when I started with (name of company) (2.5) very often you'd bring stuff home that you couldn't get done at work (1.5) so you were working till ten o' clock at night (0.5) I mean you don't have a life you know (1.0) and again I used to be working till seven or eight o' clock here every night you know (2.0) you're coming home (.) by the time I used to get home it used be nine o' clock (1.0) and by then your night's over (1.0) so all you're doing is working sleeping working sleeping (1.0) and it's a nightmare (1.5) so it's a much better set up at the moment

This FW construes his previous work life balance as being tiring beyond the possibilities of the imagination ('more exhausting than you can ever imagine'). The interviewer's imagination is brought into the equation through the 'you' pronoun. This positions his previous working behaviour as being extremely fatiguing. This participant's previous repetitive cycle of working and sleeping is presented as not having a life. This nightmarish construal is contrasted with his superior current situation ('so it's a much better set up at the moment').

Participant #5

I: right (0.5) and I noted on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you never work at weekends (2.0) could you talk a little bit about that?

P: ...I'm involved in various things in the church on Sunday morning (1.0) that takes up Sunday morning and I'm involved in social work (1.0) which involves taking out children from poor backgrounds (1.0) out for the day you know and (0.5) then my own pursuits then (0.5) I love physical activities (.) so I walk quite a lot because (name of park) is right beside us ...I use the new road system to go out to beaches and (name of mountain range) to hill walk (0.5) and I also like to take the bike out quite a lot you know (0.5) and finally then I'm quite into my granddaughter (1.0) so we go to the zoo and in the summertime to farms and all over the place you know (1.0) so that's it (1.5) oh sorry I'm also hugely into sport ...so (0.5) you name it once there's a ball involved (1.5) we go to the matches you know ...we go to all of the soccer in (name of stadium) and pretty much all of the rugby as well you know

This participant construes himself as engaging in a wide variety of activities outside of work. He positions himself as participating in religious, social, family-orientated and physical leisure pursuits. This is built up by detailing how often he engages in these activities ('quite a lot'), the people he interacts with ('children from poor backgrounds' and 'my granddaughter') and the specific location where they take place ('(name of mountain range) to hill walk'). These details establish this construction as legitimate and accurate (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

11.5.3 The significant others group concerning the impact of working patterns on activities outside of work

Participant #24

I: right and did he ever miss out on social commitments because of work?

P: work was my husband's main activity

This spouse of W group member Participant #18 construes working as her husband's major life pursuit. This is worked up through the generic term 'activity' and the possessive pronoun 'my'.

Participant #35

I: right so do you think he misses out on social occasions and so on?

P: ...his wife indicated that when I was dealing with her (0.5) she was supporting what I was saying (0.5) in trying to get him do things

This SO construes his view of Participant #7 as concurring with that of Participant #7's spouse. They both construct themselves as attempting to convince Participant #7 to perform activities outside of work. This is worked up through the generic term 'things' and the verb 'supporting'.

11.5.4 The control group with regard to pursuits outside of work

Participant #23

I: right and what do you like to do in the evenings after work?

P: I end up doing things that I didn't really plan on doing (1.5) so I go out for drinks with my friends (1.5) and I do a lot of DIY around the house...yeah I'm not sporty you see (1.0) so just for my health and my weight I go walking at the weekend (1.0) I'm quite near (name of suburb)(0.5) so I kind of bring the car down to the front walk along (name of suburb)(1.5) and a friend of mine (.) she's from (name of suburb) (2.0) so I pick her up and the two of us would go off (1.0) and we'd walk say five miles (0.5) half way down the beach and back up again (2.0) and we'd do that even in the winter's evenings...generally I like to just meet up with friends (0.5) or go to somebody's house for (1.0) I end up in loads of girlie gangs like (1.0) there's certain girlie groups (0.5) like go away for the weekend here (0.5) and then I've another

girlie group that does something else (1.5) and then I've a girlie group from the MBA (2.0) and then I have my team group from my MBA

This C group member constructs her leisure activities as being varied and spontaneous. They are also established as being both sociable and solitary (i.e. D.I.Y and socialising). Going for a walk is worked up as one of this C group member's leisure activities. The specific details ('we'd walk say five miles', 'bring the car down to the front walk') construe this account as an accurate portrayal. She is positioned as belonging to a large number of social groups. This is assembled through the repetition of the collective terms 'group', 'gang' and 'team'.

Participant #9

I: and how would your work pattern compare with your colleagues approach to work?

P: well there are only two of us here in this office (2.0) but I'd say we are fairly similar (.) and probably (1.5) I don't live to work (.) I work to live and I think there might be a slight difference there... but I'm not as happy to give up my personal life on a regular (0.5) all the time (1.0) I try to make sure that I get out as early as I can (0.5) within reason (1.0) I mean I won't walk out the door in the middle of something

The idiomatic phrases 'living to work' and 'working to live' are employed. These construct this participant as not living solely for her work and as having a life outside of the confines of the office. The purpose of her work is built up as to enable living. She constructs working long hours in the evening as sacrificing her personal life. This is established through the use of the possessive pronoun 'my' and the adjective 'personal' life.

Participant #9

I: and how would your work pattern compare with your colleagues' approach to work?

*P: my career isn't my life (1.5) I love it I do (0.5) I enjoy working (0.5) I don't feel (.)
I think there will be a lot more in my life than just my career*

This C group member positions herself as loving her work, which is established through the indexical 'it'. Yet, she does not equate her life with her work. Her career is positioned as one of the myriad of elements that exist in her life, this is worked up through the terms 'in' and 'just'. These constructions are not confined to her particular job role but rather to her long term working life, through the term 'career'.

11.5.5 Conclusion: a lack of activities outside of work

In this section of analysis, individuals with excessive work habits establish themselves as engaging in very few activities outside of work. They are also constructed as being drained of energy in the evenings because of work. FW group members present themselves as previously having no leisure pursuits. This is contrasted with their current situation of being involved in a wide variety of hobbies. Similarly, C group members work up having numerous interests outside of the office.

11.6 Conclusion

This chapter provides an answer to research question number three, which asks if workaholism is constructed as adversely affecting the individual with excessive work habits. The evidence suggests that those with excessive work patterns are assembled as enjoying their work, disliking certain menial aspects of their job and the majority are positioned as being professionally successful. Being unsuccessful is attributed to a lack of political astuteness and not to excessive work patterns. This is similar to the other workers interviewed. However, where those with excessive work patterns differ from the other participants is that they are established as engaging in very few activities outside of work, as well as disliking the pressure of their jobs. Therefore, the analysis demonstrates that those with excessive work patterns are construed as being both negatively and positively affected by their work habits.

Chapter 12

Discussion

12.1 Introduction

This chapter will amplify the results of the study. This thesis is the first to have opened the window on the construed relationship between the social context and workaholism. It has revealed that the familial, educational, work and national cultural contexts are all constructed as being highly influential in creating excessive working patterns. Nevertheless, personal choice was positioned as a factor. This was very much apparent in the ground-breaking, unanticipated group of former workaholics. Other individualistic explanations included personality and addiction. Personality traits were rarely put forward as an explanation for work patterns. The only one that was constructed on a few occasions was perfectionism, an aspect that has not been considered in the workaholism trait literature. Workaholism was presented as an addiction by members of Workaholics Anonymous (WA). However, excessive activity was construed as the addictive substance rather than work. They also assembled themselves as having become indoctrinated into the ethos of WA. These original conclusions will spawn new research directions. Another unique result concerned personal boundaries around work as being positioned as a key difference between excessive and non-excessive workers. From the point of view of consequences, those surrounding the individual with excessive work patterns were constructed as being more adversely affected by the issue than the individual. In the following pages, these important findings will be detailed in more depth and will be linked to workaholism literature and broader psychological theory. Further to this, avenues of investigation for future studies will be suggested.

12.2 External explanations of excessive work patterns

This study uncovered various social contexts that were constructed as playing a role in creating excessive work patterns. This piece of research is very innovative as it is the first to examine contextual explanations for workaholism. Notably, these environments were construed as being the cause of non-excessive work patterns as well. These significant findings are summarised in table 12.1.

Table 12.1: Construed contextual influences on work patterns

<i>Name of social context</i>	<i>Influential aspects of context</i>	<i>Name of social context</i>	<i>Influential aspects of context</i>
Family of origin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parental influences. 2. Workaholism at school as an escape route out of unhappy homes for WA members. 3. A place for learning work patterns through values, unwritten understandings and specific individuals such as brothers. 	Educational	Through school's work culture taught how to: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deal with demanding workloads 2. Work hard 3. Be disciplined 4. Be successful
Family of procreation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12 Working long hours as a means of escaping from marital discord. 13 The time that spouses arrive home from work as the finishing point of the workday. 14 Difficulties in combining work and family demands constrains work hours. 	Occupational	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The most prominent social context constructed as creating work habits. 2. Causes of excessive work patterns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Stage of career -Fear of the boss -Self-employment -Job role -Professional norms
National culture	Cultural conditions from Canada, Spain, Britian, Ireland and the U.S. were assembled as strongly impacting on work patterns.		

These valuable results concur with the wide range of literatures that highlight the importance of the context when examining work-related issues. For instance, karoshi researchers (Ishiyama & Kitayama, 1994; Meek, 1999; 2004) have argued that socio-economic aspects of Japanese culture require consideration to fully comprehend the concept. In addition, sociological and psychological research has asserted that familial (Maylin, 2004; Conger & Galambos, 1997), educational (Berns, 1997; Haycock, 1991) and national cultural (McCarthy, 2000; Tovey & Share, 2000) contexts require consideration when investigating behaviour in the workplace. This study is also consistent with McMillan et al's (2001) unexplored learning theory approach to workaholism, which drew attention to the environment. Thus, these findings shed light on a neglected aspect of the literature. Moreover, they are a unique addition as they reveal, for the first time, key influential aspects of social contexts. Importantly, in every contextual section of analysis, a number of interviewees acknowledged the effect that the context has on work patterns but construed regulation of work behaviours as lying within the realm of personal control. The subsequent sections will present findings on such internal explanations of excessive working patterns.

12.3 Internal explanations of excessive work patterns

12.3.1 Addiction as an explanation

Internal explanations for excessive work patterns (i.e. addiction and personality) were investigated. Construals of such patterns as addictive were very rare in the data set as a whole. Almost all of these constructions featured in the Workaholics Anonymous (WA) members sub-group. The label of being an addict was applied without any construals of addictive behaviours, symptoms or signs. For example, there were no constructions of withdrawal symptoms or 'brown outs' that feature in the workaholism addiction literature (Robinson, 1998; Porter, 1996; Killinger, 1991; Fassel, 1992). The WA members did not construct themselves as being addicted to paid employment, but

rather to activities such as hobbies, voluntary work and household chores. They also construed workaholism as continuing on in retirement and unemployment. Excessive activity was thus assembled as the most accurate explanation for workaholism addiction among these individuals.

One explanation for this is that members of WA became indoctrinated into the twelve-step program and this resulted in them interpreting their overworking as an addiction. Significantly, participants portrayed themselves as only becoming aware of their addiction after attendance at the WA twelve-step meetings. They established themselves as a distinct group in this study, employing similar terms and phrases in relation to the WA program. These findings tie into Cain's (1998) research. She examined Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) members' life stories and concluded that the AA model becomes incorporated into the members' identity through repeated exposure to it. Also, Cain (1998) found that her interviewees relayed their lengthy drinking experience stories without any prompting. This is very similar to this researcher's experience of interviewing WA members. These findings are unique to the workaholism literature. Addiction to excessive activity is a ground-breaking explanation of workaholism. Furthermore, the notion of indoctrination into WA has not yet been examined.

12.3.2 Personality as an explanation

Construals involving personality traits and typologies in relation to work occurred quite infrequently in the corpus of data. Typologies of people and the generic term 'personality' were assembled to explain differences in work patterns. There were only four constructions of specific personality traits in the data, namely ambitiousness, optimism, conscientiousness and perfectionism. The one personality trait that was constructed on numerous occasions was perfectionism. It was construed as slowing down the work progress and involving in-depth detail and personal standards of perfection. Both control group and workaholics group members positioned themselves as perfectionists. Therefore, it revealed a significant aspect of work behaviour.

These findings link into the workaholism trait framework (Buelens and Poelmans, 2004; Kanai et al, 2004; Burke, 1999a; Spence & Robbins, 1992). In particular, perfectionism has been discussed anecdotally (Robinson, 1998; Oates, 1971; Fassel, 1992; Killinger, 1991) as an element of the workaholic mind-set. Additionally, Porter (2001b) included a perfectionism scale in a workaholism study. Further to this, these results lend weight to Clark's (1993) Schedule of Non-adaptive and Adaptive Personality (SNAP) measure. This questionnaire portrays workaholism as overlapping with obsessive-compulsive personality disorder, in particular the perfectionism, non-delegation, obsessive and hypomania dimensions (APA, 2000). This is also consistent with those who view compulsiveness as an element of workaholism (i.e. Naughton, 1987; Killinger, 1991; Flowers & Robinson, 2002; Mudrack, 2004). Hence, this study has uncovered important empirical insights that have previously only been discussed anecdotally or theoretically.

12.3.3 Conclusion of internal explanations

The dominant conceptual models in the workaholism literature advocate an internalised explanation of workaholism. However, this study found that internal explanations were quite a rare occurrence in the data. Those who explained their workaholism in terms of addiction positioned themselves as WA members. This study has uncovered new insights as it is the first to interview WA members. These individuals construed themselves as being addicted to excessive activity rather than excessive working. This has never before been mentioned in a workaholism study. The results also suggest that the concept of workaholism addiction should incorporate un-remunerated activities. This issue has not been revealed in any existing studies. The findings from the personality traits analysis have also broken new ground. Construals of perfectionism emerged as an explanation of work patterns. This sheds new light and lends support to this under-examined aspect of the literature.

12.4 Emergent constructions

Personal choice, personal boundaries and former workaholics are highly significant constructs that emerged from the data. These are valuable insights as they have not been mentioned in the literature.

12.4.1 *The emergent construction of former workaholics*

An unanticipated group of former workaholics emerged from the control group during the interviewing process. Former workaholics have yet to be referred to in the existing literature. These participants assembled themselves as being in control of their work patterns by choosing to alter their previous excessive work patterns. This was construed as overriding natural tendencies by taking an agentic stance to change their work habits. This choice was positioned as being triggered by either a critical incident (e.g. the death of a sister or boss's illness from overworking) or due to other issues such as becoming a father. In stark contrast to their past, former workaholics were presented as currently being involved in their home life and numerous activities outside of work. They portrayed themselves as still loving their work. Yet, as opposed to previous years, their families were established as approving of their work habits.

The former workaholics thereby constructed workaholism as an approach to work that is chosen to be taken up or not. This ties in with the humanistic interpretation of the person (Rogers, 1980; Maslow, 1999). It also challenges the existing view of workaholics being driven by an inner drive or addiction to work that they are construed as having no control over (Spence & Robbins, 1992; Burke, 1999a; Robinson, 1998; Porter, 1996). For instance, the former workaholics did not assemble themselves as suffering the extreme withdrawal symptoms suggested in the workaholism addiction literature (Robinson, 1996; 1998; 2001). Consequently, the former workaholics' tenet of this study is a brand new, insightful addition to the literature. It introduces the notion of personal choice and so deepens scientific comprehension of workaholism.

12.4.2 The emergent construction of personal boundaries

This thesis illustrates that what differentiates workaholics from the majority of the workforce is a constructed failure to regulate personal boundaries. These borders include work-home boundaries (Campbell-Clark, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Zerubavel, 1991; Richter, 1990) and the temporal restrictions surrounding work patterns.

Differences in constructed work-home boundaries were very evident in the interview data. Workaholic group members assembled poor work-home boundaries in their passages, such as working from home and on holidays, as well as bringing children to work. The former workaholics and control group members served as contrasts. They construed strong boundaries by positioning home as a work free zone, reserving weekends and holidays for family, leisure pursuits and other life commitments. As such, the construal of work-home boundaries is a key differential factor between the various participant groups.

Further to this, temporal boundaries were construed as a core difference between the various participant groups. In the workaholic group members' passages a lack of construals of time limitations surrounding working pattern were evident. Working time was built up as spilling into the weekends as well as evening time. Along with this, participants were positioned as becoming so absorbed in work that they lose track of time. This lack of boundaries was in stark contrast to former workaholics and control group members who established boundaries around work time. For instance, these participants positioned themselves as never working weekends and as punctually leaving work at exactly five o' clock in the evening.

These research conclusions are consistent with the most recent definitions of workaholism, namely Snir and Zohar's (2000) time based conceptualisation. In a similar vein, McMillan, O'Driscoll and Burke's (2003) definition of workaholism underlines a tendency to work or think about work at anytime and anywhere. It is also possible to draw links between the construed lack of temporal boundaries and positive psychologist

Csikszentmihalyi's theory of 'flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; 1997). Nevertheless, these aspects of workaholism have yet to be explored within the literature. Therefore, this study sheds new light on a conceptual blind spot that has to date been neglected by the dominant theoretical frameworks.

12.4.3 Conclusion of emergent constructions

To sum up, highly significant unanticipated themes emerged from the data. The previously unexamined former workaholics group positioned themselves as choosing to abandon excessive work patterns. They thereby assembled themselves as having a sense of agency and control over their excessive work patterns; an aspect that has not been examined in the existing literature. In addition, a core difference between excessive workers and non-excessive workers were construals of personal boundaries. These included constructed divisions between the work and home domains and temporal restrictions built up around work patterns. These findings are ground-breaking as they reveal uninvestigated elements of workaholism and foster new appreciation of the issue.

12.5 An integrated explanation

An interaction of both contextual and individual causes was found to be the most fitting explanation for excessive work patterns. This is a new revelation in the field of workaholism. On the environmental side, family, school, work and national contexts were assembled as creating work patterns. For example, excessive workers are single and currently building their career; the organisational culture and professional norms dictates that such behaviour is necessary if you are to succeed or they just really love their job more than anything else in their life. From the internal point of view, the construction of personality was used to explain differences between individual work behaviours. The construal of perfectionism especially predominated. Additionally, Workaholics Anonymous members explained workaholism in terms of addiction to excessive activity. Furthermore, the role of personal choice and the construction of personal boundaries

were positioned as influencing work patterns. Parallels can be drawn between this original conclusion and the interactionism solution to the person-situation debate (Carver & Scheier, 1992) in the field of personality trait theory. The interactionism compromise suggests that situations and personality interact to determine behaviour. This new finding challenges the dominant, individualised workaholism theories (e.g. Porter, 2001; Robinson & Carroll, 2000; Burke, 1999; Spence & Robbins, 1992). The unique interaction between internal and environmental factors uncovered in this study is breaking new ground. If future workaholism theory is to advance conceptually, it should integrate both the individual and environmental influences that were discovered in this study.

12.6 Contextualising the consequences

This study has revealed that the context needs to be taken into account when assessing the impact of excessive work patterns. This is a highly significant addition to the literature. Those surrounding the individual with excessive work patterns were constructed as being more adversely affected by the issue than the individual. Firstly, the impact of this working behaviour on others was examined. The evidence suggests that co-workers and family members were portrayed as largely being negatively impacted on by their significant others' work patterns. Those who work excessively were construed as being absent from home quite frequently due to work commitments. This was evidenced in terms of missing out on both special occasions and everyday events, such as seeing the children before they go to bed in the evenings. This was constructed as being met with spousal disapproval and as leading to a poor family life. In the work sphere, those who work excessively were established as being critical, distant and demanding colleagues. Yet, their enthusiasm and energy for their jobs was positioned as positively impacting on co-workers. This is consistent with Friedman and Lobel's (2003) recent assertion that 'happy workaholics' are good role models for employees. These insightful findings shed much light on a neglected aspect of the literature.

Secondly, the impact on the individual was investigated. Similar to the other workers interviewed in this study, those with excessive work patterns were construed as enjoying their work, disliking certain administrative aspects of their job and the majority were constructed as being professionally successful. Significantly, those who were established as being unsuccessful in a professional sense positioned a lack of political prowess, and not excessive work patterns as the cause. However, where those with excessive work patterns differed from the other participants is that they were established as engaging in very few activities outside of the workplace, and disliking the pressure of their jobs. Consequently, those who work excessively were positioned as being successful workers who love their jobs but have very few interests in their lives besides working. These important conclusions challenge the traditional view of workaholism as being detrimental to an individual's health and psychological well being (e.g. Robinson, 1998; Porter, 2004; Killinger, 1991).

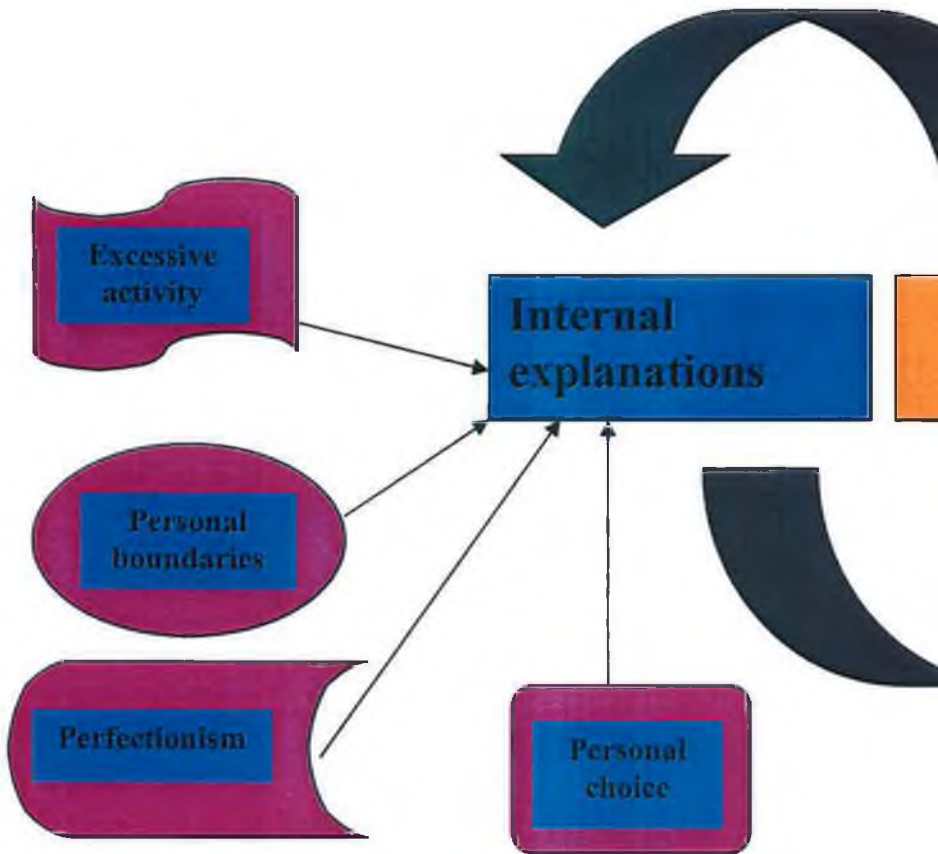
These construals tie in neatly with workaholism studies which postulate the negative consequences for those in the workaholic's social sphere (Robinson, 1996; Porter, 2001; Robinson & Post, 1997). The results are also consistent with recent work by McMillan and O'Driscoll (2004) who found that workaholics and non-workaholics have similar levels of physiological and psychological health. The findings further concur with Machlowitz's (1980) work, as well as Peiperl and Jones' (2001) claim that 'the workaholic to a great extent is in the eye of the beholder' (p.372). As a result, this study lends weight to neglected aspects of the workaholism literature. In summary, this thesis has made the original conclusion that the context needs to be taken into account when examining constructions of the consequences of excessive working. This unique finding is very important for extending academic understandings of workaholism.

12.7 Contextualising workaholism

In conclusion, this thesis is the first study to contextualise the issue of workaholism. Contextual elements (i.e. familial, educational, occupational and national) were revealed as one part of the explanation for excessive work patterns. This is the first

piece of research to make such an assertion. Uniquely, an interaction of both environmental and individual causes was found to be the most fitting explanation for excessive work patterns. Contextual issues were also assembled as being essential when examining the consequences of workaholism. It was discovered that those surrounding the individual, at both work and home, were assembled as being more negatively affected than the individual himself. In answer to the overarching research question: Is workaholism construed as a contextualised phenomenon? the context was construed as a highly significant, but not the only aspect of excessive work patterns. Thus, this study's research questions have been answered in a very insightful, pioneering manner. Figures 12.1 and 12.2 present the new, comprehensive model that has been derived from these findings. This addresses the neglect of the concept in the literature, especially the antecedents. It further highlights the importance of the social context that has typically been ignored in studies. It also incorporates internal elements that have been under-examined. This original model should be employed in any future studies to advance scientific knowledge of workaholism.

Figure 12.1: Contextualising construals of workaholism -



- Antecedents

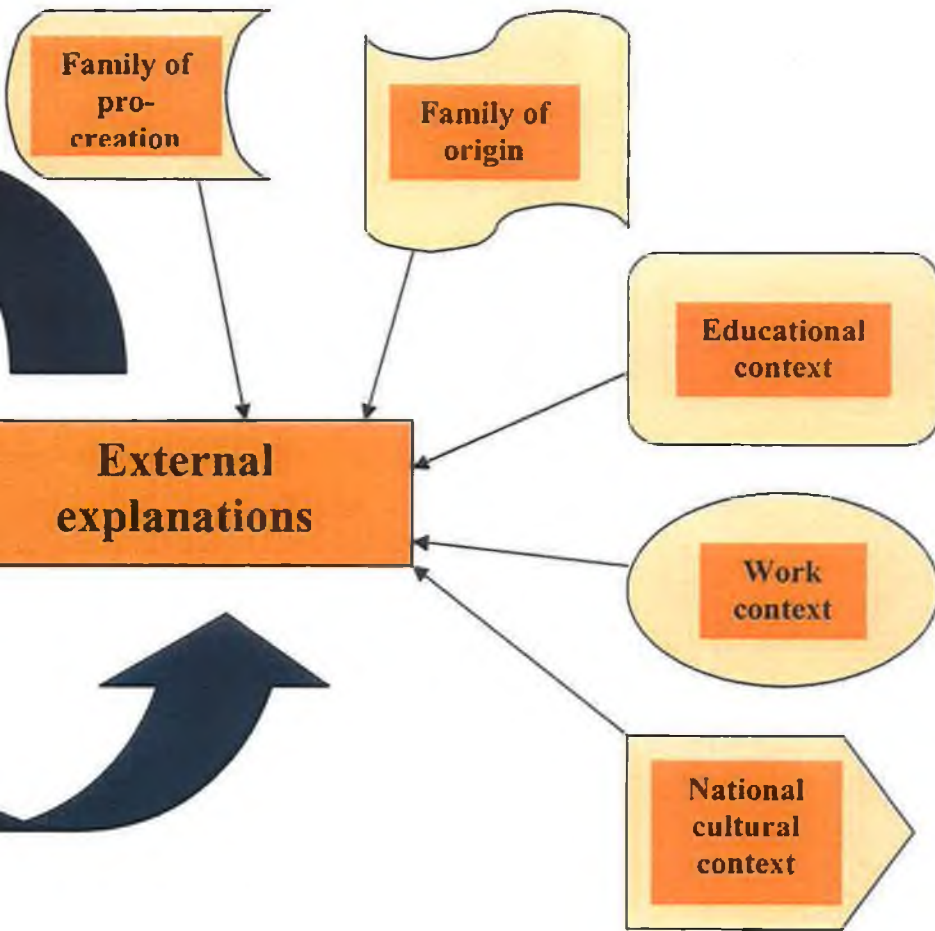
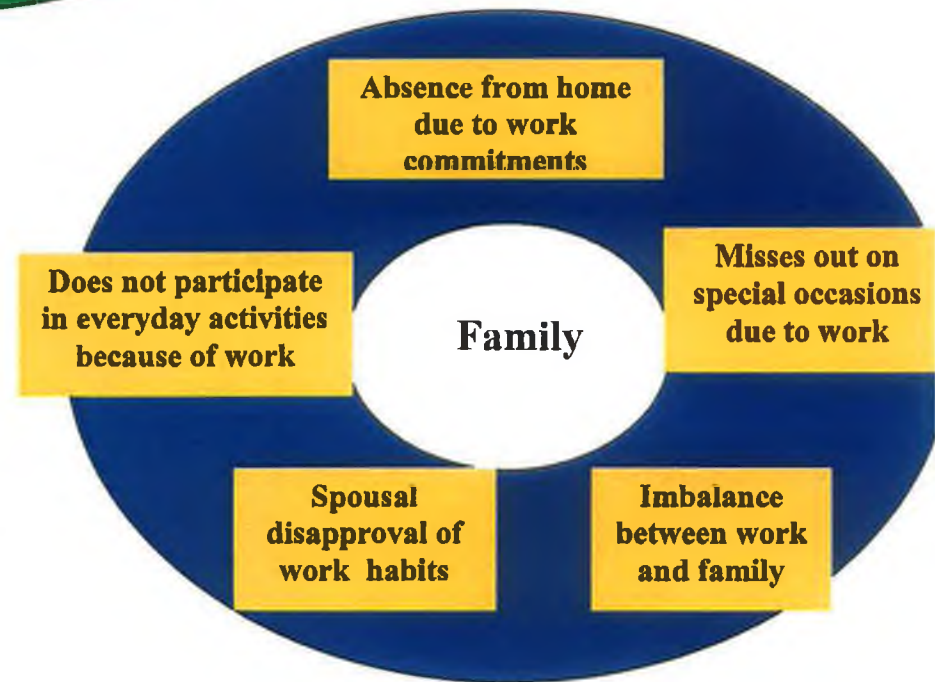
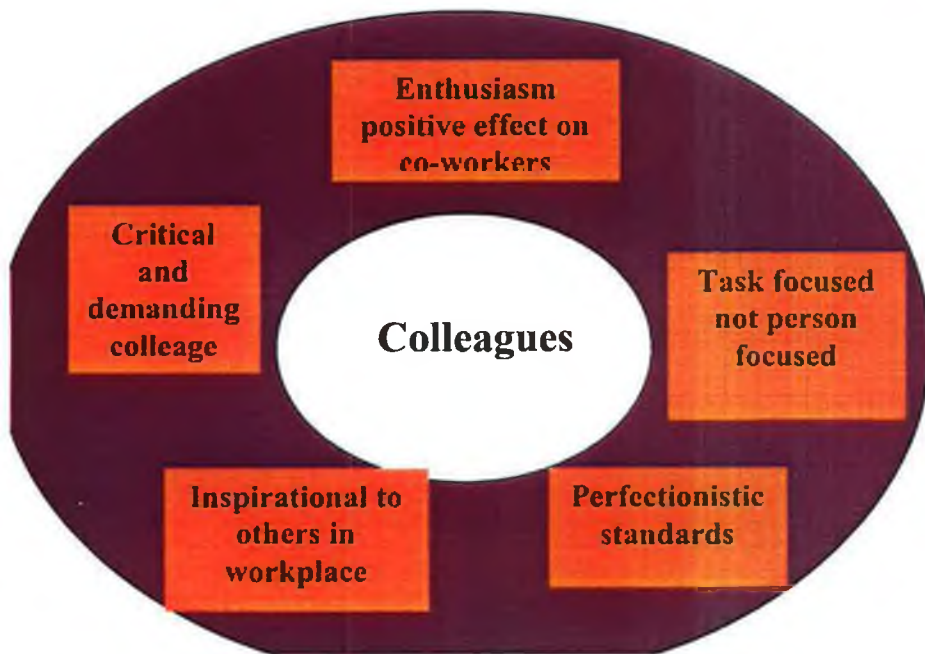
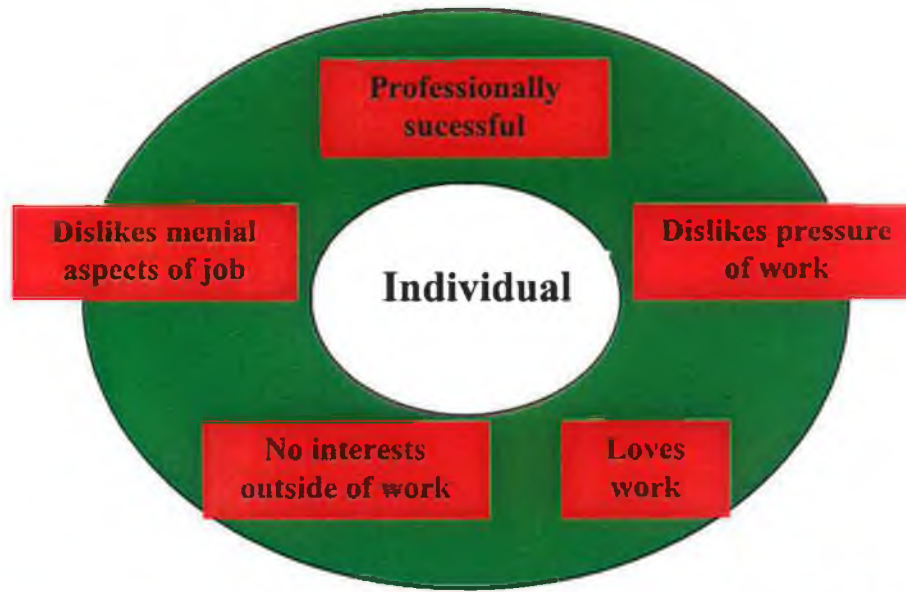


Figure 12.2: Contextualising construals of workaholism - Consequences



12.8 Limitations of study

Limitations inevitably accompany every study due to restrictions on time, funding and other resources. The term 'workaholism' has clinical overtones and has been theorised in substance abuse terms in the addiction literature. Additionally, all Workaholics Anonymous members interviewed construed themselves as having quite a number of psychological problems besides workaholism, such as depression, suicide attempts, alcoholism and drug addictions. However, any possible psychiatric records of the participants were not available because the researcher is not a clinical psychologist. In any future studies, if permissible, the psychiatric details, if any, of all participants should be obtained. This should determine if these clinical problems have influenced excessive working.

The participants' jobs were very focussed on finance and entrenched in the corporate world. In future workaholism studies, it would be insightful to investigate occupational groups in which 'emotion work' plays a major part in their job role (e.g. nurses, teachers, members of religious orders, those employed in non-governmental organisations). Further to this, recruiting significant others group members proved to be quite a challenge and during interviews these individuals proved to be unforthcoming with discourse. As a result, in the analysis section only one significant others group members' extract appeared under each node. This could be rectified in future by focusing exclusively on significant others and recruiting them anonymously.

It is important to remember that what has been found in these particular extracts, and conclusions from this study, cannot be generalised to every other individual who works excessively. These findings are discursive constructions that occurred during in-depth interviews, which cannot be reified and applied to all employees who work long hours.

12.9 Avenues of exploration for future research

The findings of this study could be expanded on by pursuing further research. Firstly, perfectionism, obsessive compulsive personality disorder and hypomania (APA, 2000) as explanations for excessive work patterns should be explored. Also, the issue of personal choice and control should be incorporated into the concept of workaholism in any future research. This could be done by fostering a humanistic theoretical perspective (Rogers, 1980). Thirdly, further studies on workaholism should include theory on work-home boundaries (Campbell-Clark, 2000; Nippert-Eng, 1996; Zerubavel, 1991). For example, it could be investigated if constructing strong work-home boundaries might combat workaholism, as was suggested by this study. Furthermore, the link between workaholism and individuals who construe themselves as being in 'flow' and losing track of time (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; 1997) while working should be examined.

In addition, the theme of time in relation to workaholism should be elaborated on in further research. Workaholism could be a result of a lack of compartmentalisation of time (i.e. the individual doesn't divide his time equally between work and life domains). Perhaps time, especially in relation to work, is very porous for those who chose to lead a workaholic lifestyle. Furthermore, the emergent group of former workaholics underline the transience of workaholism. This contradicts the vast majority of existing literature that views workaholism as a permanent aspect of the individual (Robinson, 1998; Burke, 1999a; Spence & Robbins, 1992). These issues should be explored in future research projects.

The relationship between workaholism and gender should be disentangled in any future examinations. For instance, women labelled 'workaholic' may experience more stigmatisation than their male counterparts, as they could be seen as neglecting their 'natural role' as a mother (Radner, 1995; Brannon, 1996). Similarly, the overlap between being a 'workaholic' and the male stereotype of being the 'breadwinner' should be explored. Indeed, workaholism may be viewed as hyper-masculinity, a counterfoil to the so-called emotional, family centred 'new man' (Cheng, 1996; Ross, 1994; Connell, 1995).

Perhaps workaholism is a social class issue? Kanai et al (2001) is the only study that examines workaholism among a substantial blue collar population. A number of theorists have noted this cultural bias (McMillan, O' Driscoll & Burke, 2003; McMillan, O' Driscoll, Marsh & Brady, 2001; Buelens & Poelmans, 2004), but there have been no further studies in blue collar samples. This discrepancy could be addressed by applying social structural theories to workaholism.

This research represents the first qualitative study of workaholism in over twenty-five years (Machlowitz, 1980). The workaholism field could be stimulated further if studies continue to expand the methodological boundaries. For instance, this study has underlined the prominence of the work context in creating workaholism. Ethnographic research at workplaces could be conducted to examine in more depth how the work environment influences excessive work habits. This might include exploring case studies of particular organisational cultures, by examining company reports, symbols and stories evoked during interviews.

It would be illuminating to investigate workaholism from a life cycle perspective (Rice, 1998; Sorensen, Weinert & Sherrod, 1986; Hudson, 1999). Former workaholics group members construed themselves as choosing to alter work patterns because of a new stage in their life, such as becoming a father. Individuals labelled workaholics could be examined at different stages of the life cycle and a developmental model of workaholism could be achieved. Similarly, working mothers with young children and empty nest mothers (Etaugh & Bridges, 2004; Colebrook, 2004) could be compared and contrasted on the issue of workaholism. Also, the differences between the work context of twenty-somethings, who are single and building their careers could be compared to thirty-somethings, who are involved in setting up a family and a home. This line of investigation would serve to embellish the socio-cultural interpretation of workaholism. The workaholism methodological repertoire could be enriched by asking participants of these future studies to narrate their life story (Bruner, 2003; Randall, 1997; Charon & Montello, 2002). Longitudinal studies on the topic of workaholism have yet to be carried out. Hence, taking an autobiographical (Miller, 1996), long-term perspective on the issue is warranted, especially due to the emergence of the former workaholics group.

It would be quite insightful to get the workaholism literature to turn inwards on itself. Discourse analysis could be employed to examine how workaholism is constructed in popular psychology books (e.g. Oates, 1971; Killinger, 1991; Fassel, 1992; Schaef & Fassel, 1988) and in the media (e.g. Kiechel, 1989a, 1989b; Kluft & Kleiner, 1988). Further to this, discourse analysis investigations of Workaholics Anonymous (WA) internet chat rooms could explore the construction of a virtual workaholic identity in this self-professed group.

Future research should investigate the use of the term 'workaholism' in the workplace. The term 'workaholism' may be employed to perform several negative social actions in the workplace. This label could be used by bullies in the work environment to admonish those jealous of dedicated employees' promotions. The term could also be employed as a political tool to pathologise or stigmatise certain individuals who work long hours. Alternatively, 'workaholism' may be used as another label for being a company man or woman.

There has been no exploration of the socio-historical elements of workaholism within the academic literature, besides Kanai and Wakabayashi's (2004) examination of the impact of the Japanese economic climate on workaholism tendencies. The research presented here has highlighted the construed impact of cultural context on excessive work habits. For instance, workaholism may be one of the consequences of Ireland's recent economic boom and rapid socio-cultural change. Secularisation, with its accompanying individualism and materialism may be particularly important to the notion of workaholism within Irish society. It would be beneficial to extend the workaholism research in this direction. This could be investigated by contrasting the younger members of the workforce with older members. Retired workers could also be compared with current workers.

The recent interest in workaholism may be a product of an increase in cognitive self-reflexivity in society as a whole. For example, an individual who works strictly nine to five might wonder: 'Why do some people work more than me? Is it that I don't like my job? Or is it that they are abnormal and I am fine? Why

don't I work like that? What should be the working norm? Is it because they have a pathology, are maladjusted or have deeper psychological issues that manifest themselves through excessive working?' Thus, the topic of workaholism may have sparked interest because of the popularity of self-reflexivity and self-development apparent in contemporary society (Hart, 1991; Jones & Jones, 1999). This is symbolised in the abundance of self-help psychology books on shelves, and the growing plethora of talk shows on television and radio (Kiberd, 1997). These issues should be explored in future workaholism studies.

McMillan et al (2001) advocated introducing physiological measures into workaholism research. The construals of adrenaline associated with work in this study indicate that examining biological aspects of the phenomenon is warranted. These future pieces of research could lead to an integrated biopsychosocial model of workaholism being developed. Conversely, they may establish that workaholism is purely a higher order, psychosocial issue that does not have any biological underpinnings. In sum, this section has presented several avenues of exploration for future research.

12.10 Conclusion

To conclude, this thesis makes a highly original contribution to the field of workaholism research, as it expands both conceptual and methodological borders. In conceptual terms, the study contextualises this phenomenon, which is typically viewed from an individualistic perspective. For the first time, social contexts are analysed as antecedents, and the importance of the context to consequences is emphasised. This study also redresses neglected aspects of the literature such as perfectionism. Along with this, an insightful explanation of workaholism addiction in terms of excessive activity is put forward. Significantly, this is the first time that Workaholics Anonymous members have been interviewed. Moreover, this is the first workaholism study to address constructions of personal choice, personal boundaries and former workaholics. A ground-breaking, comprehensive model that integrates internal and external causes emerged from the data. As such, workaholism can be defined as a work-dominated lifestyle choice, without work-home or temporal

boundaries, that is created by a combination of contextual influences and perfectionistic tendencies and which has more of an adverse impact on others rather than the individual himself. From a methodological perspective, this is the first qualitative study of the issue in twenty-five years. It is also the first ever to adopt a social constructionist approach and to conduct discourse analysis. In summary, this thesis is a valuable and unique addition to the workaholism literature.

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Appendix A

Work Patterns Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. This project is exploring influences on work patterns. This questionnaire will take approximately 2 minutes to complete. Please indicate your response to each question by selecting 'yes' or 'no' as appropriate. Complete confidentiality is guaranteed. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact me at Mary.breen4@mail.dcu.ie or on 087 7541659.

1. Do you get up early, no matter how late you go to bed? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
2. If you are eating lunch alone, do you read or work while you eat? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
3. Do you make daily lists of things to do? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
4. Do you find it difficult to 'do nothing'? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
5. Are you energetic and competitive? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
6. Do you work on weekends and holidays? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
7. Can you work anytime and anywhere? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
8. Do you find vacations 'hard to take'? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
9. Do you dread retirement? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>
10. Do you really enjoy your work? (Please select as appropriate)	Yes <input type="radio"/> No <input type="radio"/>

Would you be willing to participate in an interview on this topic? (Please select as appropriate)

Yes No

Would your partner/spouse/other family member be willing to participate in an interview on this topic? (Please select as appropriate) Yes No

This study is completely confidential. Participants may use pseudo-names.

Please provide some contact details so that an interview can be scheduled (telephone, e-mail address etc.):

submit this questionnaire

clear form

Appendix B

Interview Schedule for Workaholics', Control and Former group members

Introduction

My study is investigating work patterns. I will be asking you questions about your approach to work. Anonymity and confidentiality is guaranteed in this study. You are free to use a pseudo name if you wish. Your name will not be put on any records and will not appear in my thesis. You are free to refuse to answer any particular question and you are also free to withdraw from this study at any time. If you wouldn't mind I'd like you to fill out an informed consent form to ensure that you are happy with the information you have received about the study and that you are aware of your rights as a participant.

If you don't mind, I'd like to tape record what you say so that I don't miss any of it. If at anytime during the interview you would like me to turn the tape recorder off, please ask. I will be the only person transcribing this interview.

My type of research is known as qualitative research. This means that there are no right or wrong answers- it's not like a questionnaire. So please feel free to answer at length.

It would be great if I could get some background details from you now. So could you please tell me your age/ your educational background/ marital status/number of children and their ages please?

Research question 1

Could you please tell me what a typical day at work is like for you?

Probes

- what hours do you typically work? Start/finish?
- week-end work?
- holidays hard to take?
- retirement?

Could you tell me what your work habits were like in your first job?

What do you think your work pattern in the future will be like?

What do you think drives you or motivates you to work the way you do?

Probes

- What aspects, if any, of your character do you think influence your work pattern?

- What aspects, if any, of your personal circumstances do you think may have influenced your work pattern? (home environment/school or college attended or work environment)?

- What aspects, if any, of Irish society do you think may have influenced your work pattern? E.g. Celtic tiger

- How does your working pattern compare with your colleagues approach to work? In what ways? Is this the typical working pattern for your occupation?

Research question 3

What aspects of your work, if any, do you find enjoyable?

Probes

- What are you responsible for in your work? Do you find this sense of responsibility rewarding?

- What opportunities does your work provide you with? e.g. travel/meet a variety of people. Do you find these opportunities rewarding?

- Does work provide you with a sense of recognition and status? What kinds of status and recognition? What aspects of this do you find rewarding?

What would you consider your greatest success in your life so far? Why?

What aspects if any of your work don't you enjoy?

E.g. long hours/demanding work schedule

Research question 2

How do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

Probes

-what do you normally do in the evenings after work?

-how do you feel when you get home from work?

-how do you like to relax?

How do you think your family view your work pattern?

How do you think your friends view your work pattern?

How do you feel about working with others?

Probes

-do you find it enjoyable? In what ways?

-what aspects, if any, do you not like about working with others?

What are your views on delegating?

That covers everything I want to ask. Is there anything you'd like to add?

Extra questions for Workaholics Anonymous members

When did you join Workaholics Anonymous?

Why did you join Workaholics Anonymous?

Extra questions for Former Workaholics group members

Why did you change your work patterns?

Was it difficult to alter your work patterns?

Interview Schedule for Significant others' group members

Introduction

My study is investigating work patterns. I will be asking you questions about your approach to work. Anonymity and confidentiality is guaranteed in this study. You are free to use a pseudo name if you wish. Your name will not be put on any records and will not appear in my thesis. You are free to refuse to answer any particular question and you are also free to withdraw from this study at any time. If you wouldn't mind I'd like you to fill out an informed consent form to ensure that you are happy with the information you have received about the study and that you are aware of your rights as a participant.

If you don't mind, I'd like to tape record what you say so that I don't miss any of it. If at anytime during the interview you would like me to turn the tape recorder off, please ask. I will be the only person transcribing this interview.

My type of research is known as qualitative research. This means that there are no right or wrong answers- it's not like a questionnaire. So please feel free to answer at length.

It would be great if I could get some background details from you now. So could you please tell me your age and how long you know/have worked with (name of significant other) please.

Research question 1

Could you please tell me what hours (name of significant other) typically works?

Probes

- what hours typically start/finish?
- week-end work?
- holidays hard to take?
- retirement?

What do you think drives him or motivates him to work in the way that he does?

Probes

- What aspects, if any, of his character do you think influence his work pattern?

- What aspects, if any, of his personal circumstances do you think may have influenced his work pattern? (home environment/school or college attended or work environment)?

- What aspects, if any, of Irish society do you think may have influenced his work pattern? E.g. Celtic tiger

Research question 3

Do you think he enjoys his work?

Probes

- what aspects of his work?
- dislikes any aspects?

Research question 2

What do you think he is like to work with?

Probes

- delegating?

What do you think his approach to juggling work and life commitments is like?

Probes

- do in the evenings after work?

That covers everything I want to ask. Is there anything you'd like to add?

Significant Others of Former Workaholics group members

- All questions are phrased in the past tense

Appendix C

Data from the former workaholics

group

This appendix contains extracts from each participant that construed himself or herself as previously being a workaholic as defined by Machlowitz (1980). In this thesis, the former workaholic group members were Participant#8, Participant#37, Participant#5, Participant#26, Participant#20, Participant#11, Participant#15. The majority of these passages have been analysed already under various guises e.g. work context, temporal boundaries. The purpose of this section is to present raw data to justify the categorisation of the following participants as former workaholic group members.

Participant#11

oh it was different to what its like now (2.5) well I did have a fair amount of flexibility I kind of have a rule that I don't come in before ten but that was because I had to do me horses and the kids I just couldn't do it all (1.5) and I came back to Ireland for a lifestyle purpose (.) the reason I came back to Ireland was because I wanted a life (.) in England it was one of those (1.5) I was heading for a heart attack (0.5) it was too hard (0.5) it was working from six in the morning to eleven at night everyday weekends included non-stop (1.0) and I decided in 98 to get off that band wagon

over there I would have worked like a maniac so I decided in 98 that I wasn't doing it anymore (0.5) I wanted to come back and I wanted a life so that would underpin I am inclined to (.) I'm an A type person (0.5) I'm inclined to overwork by nature but I took a decision I wasn't going to do it

I was very successful in the U.K. (0.5) but I walked off that ladder (0.5) I was a senior manager (0.5) and they were beginning to headhunt me to go up to the next level and (1.5) in those days (.) I suppose I would have seen that as a mark of success (1.0) but now I just think I'm glad I got out of it (1.0) it's a nightmare

I used to be always at work when they were growing up (1.0) I was always at work during the weekends (0.5) god they used to be going mad when I usen't spend time with them (.) and I wouldn't (1.0) I'd be always working

Participant#20

first job (.) first real job (1.5) it would have been long hours (1.0) like I'm talking (name of company) as a sort of trainee chartered accountant doing audits (2.0) so that would have been strictly nine till half five (0.5) except it wasn't (1.0) it would have been nine to seven and taking work home if you were working to deadlines (0.5) two weeks of deadlines to get a job done before you move on to another job (1.5) so you'd be working quite a lot of overtime (1.5) so which would have come to working through the nights and stuff (0.5) sometimes you know (1.0) yeah so that's the lot of a junior auditor you know

I: right and what was your work/life balance like before you decided to change your working hours?

P: terrible (1.0) absolutely terrible (0.5) more exhausting than you can ever imagine (2.0) I mean bringing work home is something I've been doing since 19 really (0.5) when I started with (name of company)(2.5) very often you'd bring stuff home that you couldn't get done at work (1.5) so you were working till ten o'clock at night (0.5) I mean you don't have a life you know (1.0) and again I used to be working till seven or eight o'clock here every night you know (2.0) you're coming home (.) by the time I used to get home it used be nine o'clock (1.0) and by then your night's over (1.0) so all you 're doing is working sleeping working sleeping (1.0) and it's a nightmare (1.5) so it's a much better set up at the moment

I'm not one anymore to work hard (2.0) well when I say work hard (0.5) I'm worked off my feet constantly (.) nine to five (.) Monday to Friday (.) there's no doubt about that (2.0) but I'm not one that sees anymore (2.0) I'm not very tolerant of working beyond five o'clock or certainly beyond half five (1.0) because I find that (0.5) as I said the work is never finished anyway (1.5) there's always something coming along the way you know (1.0) so if you work until seven o'clock in the night (.) it makes no

odds (0.5) because you still have something else to do (1.0) so the next day (1.5) you'll have new stuff to do (1.0) and you'll be working till seven the following night (2.0) so you know (.) I find that I can still get it all done (.) nine to five

I: hmm and how do you think your family would view your work pattern?

P: fine (1.5) I think some would be envious (2.0) my finance (.) she works shift work so (2.5) very often she would come home at maybe eight or nine o'clock at night (1.0) and find me well settled into the house you know (2.0) I wouldn't think that they are very worried that I'm overworking myself (1.5) not any longer (2.0) in the past yes (2.0) they would have worried and said look relax (0.5) do less (0.5) you know what I mean (1.5) take less on or what have you (2.0) but it took me a while to see the light (1.0) but now I'm happy (0.5) I'm a happy little bunny

Participant#26

I would say a lot busier than what it is now (2.5) my first job consisted of twelve maybe fourteen hour days (2.0) I would say I maybe worked (0.5) maybe one weekend out of four (1.5) but I was studying part time as well (2.0) so I spent a lot of time studying as well as working (2.5) so the first couple of jobs or the first couple of years working (0.5) it was kind of a slog because I'd a lot of work to do (1.0) and I had sit exams as well (2.0) so I was very busy (0.5) so yeah it was busy

I: that's no problem and why are cutting back on weekends if you don't mind me asking?

P: it's just (0.5) it's just family life you know (2.0) I just have better things to be doing (2.5) just now with my son (.) he is twenty months now and I want to spend time with him (1.0) and spend time with the family at home you know

Participant#15

well we'll say the official hours would have been quarter past nine to half five you know (1.5) but on different spells (0.5) on different spells (1.5) there were twenty

years now where I would have worked (1.0) honestly like twelve hours a day (0.5) Saturday included (2.5) you just kind of get into the habit of it (2.0) obviously that kind of indirectly causes pressure at home

so no as regards to the work pattern (0.5) there's no (1.0) your instincts are still the same (2.0) but it's just that you kind of make a judgement (0.5) that if I invest like a thousand hours (0.5) is it going to change anything (2.0) I don't really think (1.0) well it's hard to get excited (1.0) because if you think you're going to win the race (0.5) then you don't mind training for it (2.5) but if you think that you're there to fill the crowd (1.5) well it's different (0.5) it's just different (2.0) like it's not that the analysis is different (0.5) but there's a different kind of buoyancy and excitement about it (2.0) if you're going to win (0.5) you don't mind putting in the hours (1.0) but if you feel that your kind of (0.5) feedback and that is kind of minimal (1.5) like that people are only going to have it as a reference to come back (1.0) but it's not really a core input (2.0) it's just different (1.0) like I said if you're going to win the race (0.5) you don't mind getting up early in the morning (2.5) but if you're going to be tenth (1.0) you're not getting up at six in the morning to come tenth or eight (1.5)

so that at the time (1.0) even though the job was very satisfying up there (1.0) but (0.5) you've no life from the point of view of the family (2.0) and even when Siobhain (0.5) the youngest you know (1.0) when she might have wanted a help with maths and stuff (0.5) I used to do it over the phone (2.0) and so its not a very useful way of giving a bit of support (0.5) you know what I mean (1.5) so no at the moment (0.5) the fact that I'm here in now

Participant#37

I: hmm and what were your working hours like in Canada?

P: oh I worked very long hours there (1.0) I was working in the finance division (0.5) and I became financial controller eventually (2.0) and I struggled to get on top of things (1.5) so it was eight o'clock in the morning to eleven o'clock at night (0.5) five days a week (1.0) so it was very heavy going (2.0) we didn't have kids at the time so it wasn't that much of a strain (0.5) but I was trying to get my feet under the table properly (1.0) and trying to understand what was going on (0.5) I was generally the

only person doing that (2.0) I remember reading a contract without any real knowledge of the business (0.5) and I remember trying to do it out on my own (1.0) and I remember I decided that I needed to stop working those hours (0.5) it was too crazy (1.0) so after about a year I tried to get out of the office no later than six in the evening (2.0) but being the financial controller I was in charge of security (0.5) so if the alarm goes off I had to go into work and sort things out

I: and did you find it difficult to cut down on your hours?

P: It took me a while to get into the habit of it (2.0) I mean I eventually realised that you could spend five hours working on a little aspect of the project (0.5) that wasn't really that central to the contract (1.5) whereas you could have the contract finished in half the time (1.0) if you didn't focus in on that tiny issue (2.0) so I eventually copped on and learned that

in my first job I was a trainee accountant in a company in (name of city) (1.5) for the first couple of weeks they didn't have any work for me (0.5) so it was awful (2.0) but then you'd get into an audit and it was very difficult (1.0) hugely (1.0) one extreme to the other (1.0) and then you're very busy until eight or nine o'clock at night (2.0) so it was one extreme to the other (1.0) but one of my patterns (1.0) I don't think I became a dedicated employee (0.5) what I mean by dedicated is that (1.0) the way I used to work (2.0) I used to try and get away with the least amount of work possible (2.0) and I didn't really get out of that habit until I was moved a couple of times (0.5) and I became financial controller (2.5) and I think that was where I started to get recognition for doing a good job (1.5) that was a big part (1.0) that was probably the point at which I started to become more dedicated (0.5) and wanted to put in more because it was the right thing to do (2.0) rather than trying to skive off or thinking like 'oh I should be in the pub having a few drinks with my mates rather than in here doing this' (2.0) and this was like doing accounts before Microsoft excel came in (1.0) so there were no cells (0.5) you had to manually input the figures for calculations (1.5) and a simple computation could take an hour (.) two hours (2.0) so what I used to do was go out on a Friday night (0.5) come back into work at nine o'clock (1.0) then put another computation working and pop back into the office at eleven (2.0) so that was some dedication I'm telling yeah (2.0) well the thing was (1.0) you got credit

for it that's the thing (1.5) and I wouldn't have done it otherwise (2.0) but yeah you got credit for doing a good job (0.5) and that's where I really learned to work hard (0.5) and be a dedicated employee (2.0) so that was a lesson learned (2.5) so I moved on from there to Canada (1.0) and in Canada it really took off for me you know (0.5) I had a lot of credibility in that job (0.5) I was the one who was dedicated (1.0) I was the one who could be relied upon (0.5) I was making the decisions (2.0) I effectively ran that operation (1.0) my manager was very indecisive (1.5) and I used to force him to make decisions (0.5) and I got a lot of credit for that

I mean I used to (0.5) to an extent (1.0) I used to work long hours to escape my relationship with my wife and I moved on from that job and my wife then insisted that you have to be home for six o'clock in the evening and I mean we were living in London and work was an hour and a half away so I mean that meant leaving work at four thirty that wasn't doing my career any good as long as I did that then I was I said to hell with that and seven thirty is the earliest I can be home and that worked then for a while (2.5) but a lot of it is you know you're under pressure at work and you're under pressure at home you've no respite at all (1.5) so I worked for a couple of years like that (1.0) like you know I used to stay late when I knew I should be at home (2.0) not that you had anything all that urgent to do at work (1.0) but just to take that break from it (0.5) so a little bit of that as well (2.5) but I think that was a symptom of a marriage breaking down as well you know (1.0) more than anything else

plus for your own sanity at the end of the day you can't do it all I mean when I was working in Canada it was eight o'clock in the morning to eleven o'clock at night time Monday to Thursday and on Fridays I used to finish at seven or eight and it's not a life you know you can't keep doing that because it isn't a life and I don't respect that approach to working anymore and delegating I find is one way of avoiding the long hours

Participant#5

well if you go back over the years (0.5) I went out on my own in 1985 (1.0) and for the next ten years I was absolutely run off my feet (2.0) I was trying to squeeze maybe

seven days work into five (1.0) it was very very successful and in that period it involved working weekends and so on you know (1.0) but now that I've become older (2.0) I definitely keep Saturdays and Sundays for free time you know (1.5) I just have a thing about that (.) that I work Mondays to Fridays (0.5) I work hard but Saturdays and Sundays are for leisure time (0.5) and family time you know

I: right and how do you feel about your current approach to juggling work and life commitments?

P: well I suppose I wouldn't use the word juggling because I'm in the happy position that (1.5) I work from home and (1.0) I'm definitely saving two or three hours every day in commuting no doubt about that (1.5) so I feel very good about it at the moment so there's no conflict there (3.0) now in former years when I was exceptionally busy (1.0) an awful lot of that work was away from home (2.0) so I could have three and possibly four nights a week away from home (1.5) so that was stressful in that (2.0) all of the responsibility in raising a young family fell on my wife you know

I: right

P: there you have it life is (1.5) not perfect (2.5) I definitely think in the last ten years I'm totally involved now in the home and housework (0.5) and the children you know

I: yeah

P: you just go through phases you know (0.5) they don't last forever you know

Participant#8

I: right and I noted on your response to my questionnaire that you indicated that you don't like to work weekends?

P: no I used to do it (2.0) I used to work very long hours and I used to work weekends (2.0) and now I just don't (2.5) I've been doing this sort of work now for twenty three years (1.5) and I used to work weekends (0.5) and evenings (0.5) and late nights (0.5)

and early mornings (1.0) all the hours that God sent (0.5) and then I got sense (laughter)

I: and why did you decide to change your work habits?

P: because it isn't a life (0.5) it just isn't a life (2.0) it's not good for family (.)it's not good for (0.5) you end up not having enough time for friends and (1.0) it just isn't real (1.5) and things that aren't important at all take on an importance (1.0) you lose your perspective (0.5) and so I've gone to the other extreme now

my first job (1.0) my very first job was as a teacher (2.0) and as an inexperienced teacher I worked very hard because (0.5) I was trying to get on top of the subject (2.0) at twenty-one (0.5) teaching History and English (1.0) I didn't have that great a degree so (3.0) I had to work very hard to stay ahead of the content and (3.0) I overworked (2.5) so at the time I remember my mother saying to me that some friend of hers had said (1.5) 'she'd overworking now it means she'll do it for all her life' and my mother was very worried (1.5) there was some truth in it I did it for a lot of my life (2.0) so that was normal teachers hours but (2.5) I spent hours and hours in the evenings just staying ahead of subject matter and (1.5) the other thing was that (3.0) I had a lot of close interaction with the students that I taught as well

I've had family members over the years really really urging me to work less hard (3.0) I have a sister who died about (0.5) eleven years ago and almost the last thing she said to me was (2.0) stop doing what I have done (.) which was work too hard (1.5) so that had a big impact on me (.) a big impact (2.0) so I'd say my family think that I've maybe finally got it sussed a bit (1.0) in terms of not working too hard

Appendix D

List of Participant Groupings

Workaholic group members (N=12)

NON-WORKAHOLICS ANONYMOUS MEMBERS

- Participant#3
- Participant#4
- Participant#7
- Participant#1
- Participant#2
- Participant#13
- Participant#10
- Participant#33

WORKAHOLICS ANONYMOUS MEMBERS

- Participant#22
- Participant#12
- Participant#18
- Participant#17

Control group members (N=9)

- Participant#9
- Participant#14
- Participant#16
- Participant#6
- Participant#23
- Participant#25
- Participant#28
- Participant#19
- Participant#31

Significant others group members (N=9)

- Participant#21 (Significant other of Participant#22)
- Participant#27 (Significant other of Participant#22)
- Participant#24 (Significant other of Participant#18)
- Participant#29 (Significant other of Participant#4)
- Participant#30 (Significant other of Participant#19)
- Participant#32 (Significant other of Participant#15)
- Participant#34 (Significant other of Participant#13)
- Participant#35 (Significant other of Participant#7)
- Participant#36 (Significant other of Participant#37)

Former workaholic group members (N=7)

- Participant#8
- Participant#37
- Participant#5
- Participant#26
- Participant#20
- Participant#11
- Participant#15

Appendix E

Dear Mr/Mrs/Ms _____,

I am a full-time doctoral candidate at Dublin City University Business School. I have a first class honours degree in Applied Psychology from U.C.C. and I am currently investigating how and why people work the way they do. My research supervisor is Dr. Melrona Kirrane, who can be contacted at melrona.kirrane@dcu.ie or on 01 7005439.

In order to draw conclusions, I need to gather a lot of data and I was hoping you might be able to help me out here. I have a questionnaire on working practices that takes about 20 seconds to complete (please click on the following link: <http://student.dcu.ie/~breenm4/questionnaire.html>). Could we have a quick chat about the possibility of having all employees in your company complete it? It is completely confidential and anonymous; the only identification mechanism in it would concern people who may be interested in taking further part in the research. All companies that participate will receive a general synopsis on the influential factors on work patterns in the Dublin area.

I would be extremely grateful for this help and look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,
Mary Ann Breen B.A. (Psychology)
Postgraduate Researcher

Appendix F

W.A. Q&A

Questions WA members would like to hear your answers to the following questions:

(please send in responses by end of May)

1. How do meetings handle meeting topics? Literature reading, favorite topics, etc.?
2. Financial prosperity for meetings, different approaches.
3. What are group's tips and success stories on publicizing new meetings?

Pre-Conference Yosemite Trip In the Planning

A member is interested in loosely organizing a trip to Yosemite the week before or after the WA conference. Share hotel rooms, hike/sightsee/do whatever during the day, talk with people at night or have informal meetings. Might be \$200-\$300/person plus food for Sunday-Thursday nights (thinking that would work well for the week before). For those of us flying in from out of state, that would be an added reason to go and a chance to connect to other WA members in a longer time span than the conference. I can make the hotel reservations relatively soon and then cancel them later depending how many are interested. If nobody else is interested I will go by myself and either stay in a tent or a hostel. Contact WA-WSO for the organizer's contact information.

Instructions for Reaching the Closed WA Voice Chat Meeting on Recovering Workaholics

Meeting is held weekly, on Sundays, at 2:00 p.m. U.S. Eastern Time (ET) and lasting about two hours:

- ✎ You need to have Windows OS, also a microphone or the ability to type fast. (You will need to enter a login name, which doesn't need to be your usual one. Your password at Yahoo doesn't need to be your usual one.)
- ✎ Go to <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/recoveringworkaholics/chat> and sign in with Yahoo.
- ✎ You don't have to post anything at the Recovering Workaholics group.
- ✎ In the left sidebar, click on "CHAT"
- ✎ This meeting is conducted like any traditional WA meeting. The Secretary reads the opening and closing, there is a topic and people share in turn.
- ✎ The login names of all participants in the voice chat are visible to each other but not to outsiders. Anonymity and the "closed meeting" can be enforced about as well as in face to face meetings.
- ✎ You may be asked to wait to be checked out before being welcomed into the voice chat group. This is done to try to weed out commercial entries.
- ✎ Some people have tried a Mac version of chat software, successfully tested on a 2-person PC/mac chat. Check that out at www.ivisit.com.

Researcher in Ireland Looking for Recovering Workaholic Study Participants

Greetings from Ireland!

I am currently investigating workaholism and I am looking for people to participate in my study. I am a full-time PhD student at Dublin City University Business School and I have a first class honours degree in Applied Psychology from University College Cork. I have a short questionnaire on working patterns that takes about 20 seconds to complete (<http://student.dcu.ie/~breenm4/questionnaire.html>). It is completely confidential and anonymous; the only identification mechanism in it would concern people who may be interested in taking further part in the research. This questionnaire was developed by M.M. Machlowitz* in 1980.

She interviewed over 100 workaholics and found the behaviours featured in the questionnaire, to be indicative of workaholism. This questionnaire serves as a preliminary research tool in my thesis, it is just to get a general flavour of the participant's work patterns. My main methodology is in-depth interviewing. The vast majority of workaholism research employs questionnaires as the main research tool.

I have chosen to conduct interviews, as I feel it will enable the more human or 'softer' side of workaholism to be explored. Anonymity and confidentiality is guaranteed in this study. Participants are free to use a pseudo name if they wish but their names will not be put on any records and will not appear in my thesis. The interview should not take any longer than a half an hour. Feedback will be provided to all participants in the form of a general synopsis of the emergent themes. I would be extremely grateful for this help.

[Please contact WA-WSO if you would like the contact information for this researcher.]



Workaholic Questionnaire Used in the Research

1. Do you get up early, no matter how late you go to bed? Yes No
2. If you are eating lunch alone, do you read or work while you eat? Yes No
3. Do you make daily lists of things to do? Yes No
4. Do you find it difficult to 'do nothing'? Yes No
5. Are you energetic and competitive? Yes No
6. Do you work on weekends and holidays? Yes No
7. Can you work anytime and anywhere? Yes No
8. Do you find vacations 'hard to take'? Yes No
9. Do you dread retirement? Yes No
10. Do you really enjoy your work? Yes No

* Machlowitz's (1980) book is entitled *Workaholics: Living with them, working with them* and was published by Addison-Wesley.

Appendix G

From: ()
To: mary.breen4@mail.dcu.ie
Cc:
Subject: Work Habits
Date: Fri, 7 Nov 2003 13:54:52 +0000

Below is the result of your feedback form. It was submitted by
() on Friday, November 7, 2003 at 13:54:52

q1: yes

q2: yes

q3: yes

q4: yes

q5: yes

q6: yes

q7: yes

q8: no

q9: no

q10: yes

Would you be willing to participate in an interview on this topic?: yes

Would your partner/spouse/other family member be willing to participate in an interview on this topic: yes

contact_details: 086 2423778

Appendix H

NODE CODING REPORT

Node: school context

Created: 20/07/2004 - 09:56:51

Modified: 15/09/2004 - 17:51:30

Description:

this node illustrates the impact of the school environment on work patterns and what the participant's work pattern was like in school

Documents in Set: All Documents

Document 1 of 70 interview transcript#11

Passage 1 of 2 Section 14, Para 108, 1310 chars.

108: I didn't do much work at school (1.0) I wouldn't have worked that hard at school (.) when I was like in Primary school (2.5) I don't know I think it's just my personality (1.5) I think I always did things (0.5) well growing up I played a lot of camogie (.) I did a lot of sport (1.5) I was used to short sharp bursts you know (1.5) I played tennis (0.5) big family (2.0) yeah its true I never did any work but I got through my exams (2.0) so you know the three weeks running up to the Leaving (1.0) I used to cram you know (0.5) get it in get it in (2.0) lots of you know (0.5) and in those days we used to drink Benilyn and Coke mix to keep us going all night but that's how we did nothing all year and that's when we used to jam it into the short term memory (0.5) always short term memory in and out and kept that pattern up (1.0) although with the open university its difficult to keep that pattern up because you have to do these bloody essays to schedule and things (1.0) but even with that I'd always be right up against it doing them so I couldn't do the reading now if you (0.5) no I couldn't do it in first time I'd have to do it the week the thing was due in and then I'd jam in it and then regurgitate it (2.0) so maybe it comes from that kind of pattern around exams at school (0.5) it's the only thing I can really think of

Document 2 of 70 interview transcript#12

Passage 1 of 1 Section 10, Para 39, 669 chars.

39: I mean I now know but I didn't know at the time that there was some problem about whether he thought I was his child (1.5) so that there was a lot of (2.5) I mean I was called the runt of the litter (1.0) the cowardly one (1.0) the 'gasa' girl the (1.0) all sorts of repeated (1.0) phrases to characterise what I was (1.5) and my way out of that was I was clever (0.5) and I did well at school (1.5) so I may have been cowardly in other ways but I did well in school and that was the one area where I got some approval from him (2.0) oh and also approval from looking after my little brother (1.5) so I was trained really to look after people (0.5) and to do well at school

Document 3 of 70 interview transcript#14

Passage 1 of 1 Section 14, Para 59, 792 chars.

59: and my school (1.5) I went to a convent school and again there was a very strong work ethic (2.0) I always worked very hard at school (1.0) and I was always in the high achieving classes (0.5) I went to college then to study social science but I knew half way through that it wasn't for me (1.0) so I dropped out (2.0) but when I took the decision to go back to college at thirty (0.5) I had a much clearer idea of what I wanted and where I was going in my life (2.5) compared to when I was eighteen (1.5) and I suppose also because I had to make sacrifices to go to college in my thirties (1.0) and give so many things up (0.5) I put in so much more effort the second time around (3.5) so yes (0.5) I would say that both my home and school environment have influenced my current work pattern

Document 4 of 70 interview transcript#15
Passage 1 of 1 Section 18, Para 71, 358 chars.

71: the point I'm making is that clearly at the relative age (1.0) that I had my determination certainly all the way through secondary school (1.5) and even with playing football (1.5) it wasn't as if it was formed in my first job because it was there in university as well (2.0) but I'd say you know (1.0) I'd say it's something to do with the parents you know

Document 5 of 70 interview transcript#16
Passage 1 of 1 Section 15, Para 88, 852 chars.

88: well one thing I will speak about alright is (1.0) when I was growing up I used to be left handed (0.5) but that was changed through school as I was slapped on the wrist and told to switch over (1.5) and I developed a terrible impediment going through the primary and secondary school (0.5) I was never asked questions because the teachers found it very embarrassing when I couldn't answer (0.5) because I had a terrible impediment and I think people who have a disability (1.0) and that's what it was a disability (0.5) people that have that type of disability or any disability are always out to prove that they're normal as it were (2.0) well maybe that's part of it you know (0.5) that eventually that kind of went you know (1.0) and you get (0.5) you know I think that helps you (0.5) you know you kind of do whatever you're doing better you know

Document 6 of 70 interview transcript#22
Passage 1 of 3 Section 12, Para 63, 306 chars.

63: in college I took a year out (.) because I was so burnt out (2.0) it increasingly became true that I was having a lot of medical problems (0.5) and physical deterioration (1.5) and when I was in high school I used to get just two or three hours of sleep at night (1.0) I would not eat until five o'clock in the evening

Passage 2 of 3 Section 13, Para 67, 229 chars.

67: so I think that the work addiction (1.0) when I was young (0.5) was a coping mechanism (1.0) right it got me out of the house (1.5) because I was always at school I was studying (0.5) I was busy (.) it was a good escape hatch for me

Passage 3 of 3 Section 13, Para 67, 833 chars.

67: I've gotten a lot of awards (1.0) and I've got national awards (1.5) and by the time I was at the head of my high school (0.5) where I had over \$5,000 in scholarships (0.5) I had gotten loads of national awards (2.0) because my family was pretty checked out (1.5) there was a way that school (.) and the praise (0.5) trying to get the praise externally (1.0) because I wasn't getting it at home (2.0) you know it kind of hooked me into the whole academic thing (1.5) and it was very easy for me (0.5) I have that particular intellectual gift or whatever

Document 7 of 70 interview transcript#23
Passage 1 of 1 Section 5, Para 27, 689 chars.

27: it would be a lassiez faire school of management that our boss exercises (1.5) even exercises is a strange word to use (1.0) he just leaves everybody to it basically (2.0) that's fine for some people but not for other people (2.0) it works for me because I really like to be autonomous (0.5) that's why I left school early (0.5) way back then I never really liked taking orders you know (1.5) I always felt that I do things when I wanted to do them (2.0) I know that's a stupid attitude but that's just the way I am (1.5) so it suited me fine you know (1.5) so when I realised that this was the type of person I was (.) I thought to myself well this is fine I can just make my own hours

Document 8 of 70 interview transcript#26
Passage 1 of 2 Section 13, Para 79, 222 chars.

79: probably school environment taught me to be fairly disciplined (1.0) and taught how to work hard (2.0) I suppose you could say I'm (1.0) yeah discipline and hard work (0.5) that's what school taught me to bring to the job

Passage 2 of 2 Section 15, Para 95, 309 chars.

95: again I think it comes from school (2.0) I suppose the culture of the school and the culture of the teachers of the school (0.5) and the priests of the school (2.0) was to work hard you know (1.5) I think that's probably the answer to that (1.0) you know the culture of the time when I was at school you know

Document 9 of 70 interview transcript#28

Passage 1 of 1 Section 13, Para 63, 433 chars.

63: I don't think so (1.5) I'd find it hard to see any relationship between what I did at school and (2.0) well maybe how you study (.) study schedules and stuff like that (1.5) so like if you're studying for exams you need to schedule your times yourself (1.5) and similarly in the job I'm in now (0.5) I schedule my own work (2.0) but I wouldn't relate anything I did at school (1.0) or anything at home life effects how I work to-day

Document 10 of 70 interview transcript#33
Passage 1 of 1 Section 17, Para 83, 766 chars.

83: well probably at university (2.0) I worked very hard at university (0.5) not so much at the study (1.5) I was there on a running scholarship (0.5) so I was getting up at five thirty in the morning (0.5) training with the team (0.5) going to an eight thirty class (0.5) coming back and studying for a couple of hours (1.5) training until six (0.5) then going to a job (2.0) so I kind of (0.5) I've been working very hard for a number of years (1.0) so I was kind of used to it (0.5) especially when I went in to work in my first job (1.0) it didn't seem that strenuous (1.5) I met a lot of people who hadn't had that amount of activities going on in college (1.5) and they were just really overwhelmed by the seven to ten work days (0.5) typical of investment banking

Document 11 of 70 interview transcript#4
Passage 1 of 1 Section 9, Para 87, 459 chars.

87: I went to a secondary school (0.5) that would have been in the American context a Prep school (.) and I just think maybe maybe the backdrop (.) or the culture (.) or the ethos (0.5) both at home and at school (.) and to a lesser extent at university would have been (0.5) you were meant to be successful (0.5) you did a good job (0.5) you completed things (1.5) it sounds a bit like an ethical argument (1.5) you know your word is your bond (0.5) so maybe that puts a backdrop to the whole thing

This Node codes no other documents in this set.

Appendix I

List of Nvivo Nodes

Nvivo nodes relevant to research question number 1

External Explanations

- Family of origin context
- Family of procreation context
- School context
- Work context
- National cultural context

Internal Explanations

- Addiction
- Personality traits
- Perfectionism

The Former Workaholics Element

- Choosing to abandon excessive work patterns

The Workaholics Anonymous Element

- Workaholics Anonymous
- Defining the 'work' in 'workaholism'

Constructing Boundaries around work

- Temporal boundaries
- Work home boundaries

Nvivo nodes relevant to research question number 2

- The family's perspective on work
- Work life balance
- Working with others

Nvivo nodes relevant to research question number 3

- Loving work
- What I don't like about work
- Success
- Leisure activities

Appendix J

Informed consent form

This consent form is to check that you are happy with the information you have received about the study, that you are aware of your rights as a participant and to confirm that you wish to take part in the study.

Please tick as appropriate

Yes No

- | | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| 1. Have you received enough information about the study to decide whether you want to take part? | ----- | ----- |
| 2. Do you understand that you are free to refuse to answer any questions? | ----- | ----- |
| 3. Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any time without giving your reasons? | ----- | ----- |
| 4. Do you understand that the researcher will treat all information as confidential? | ----- | ----- |
| 5. Do you agree to take part in the study? | ----- | ----- |

I confirm that quotations from the interview can be used in the final research report and other publications. I understand that these will be used anonymously.

Signature _____

Date _____

Name in block letters, please _____