RESEARCH ARTICLE

Work-Family Conflict and Turnover Intentions amongst Indigenous Employees: The Importance of the Whanau/Family for Maori

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The links between work-family conflict and turnover intentions have received less attention within the OB/IO Psych literature, with family-work dimensions often being found to be less influential. The present study tested work-family and family-work conflict (time and strain dimensions) towards turnover intentions with a sample of 197 New Zealand Maori employees. Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand and typically hold strong family orientations. We hypothesized this might distort the influence of conflict for these workers, creating greater influence from family-work conflict. Overall, work-family and family-work conflict time and strain were significantly related to turnover intentions, but work-family conflict dimensions were fully mediated by family-work conflict dimensions. In addition, the moderating effects of whanau (extended family) support were tested and significant interaction effects were found although in opposite directions. Respondents with high whanau support reported higher turnover when family-work time increased but reported less turnover intentions when family-work strain increased. The implications for research are discussed.

Keywords: work-family conflict, turnover intentions, whanau support, moderation, Maori.

Introduction

Work-family issues have become increasingly important for employees, families, and organizations (Bourhis & Mekkaoui, 2010); with less time for family responsibilities and obligations creating stress on the home-work interfaces (Slan-Jerusalim & Chen, 2009). A common theme in the literature is the negative consequences of long working hours and the struggle to balance work and home life (e.g. Aluko, 2009; Slan-Jerusalim & Chen, 2009). Research by Major, Klein and Ehrhart (2002) stated that "long work hours are associated with increased work–family conflict and, at least indirectly, with psychological distress" (p. 433). Overall, issues of time and other factors (e.g. working parents, dual career couples) have led to increased research attention towards work-family conflict and associated outcomes.

The present study examines work-family conflict as a predictor of turnover intentions amongst Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand. Due to the strong cultural ties towards family and whanau (extended family), the study of Maori workers provides a unique group for studying work-family conflict. We focus on employee turnover because high employee turnover can be costly for organizations (Waldman, Kelly, Arora, and Smith 2004), estimated at up to 5.8% of the annual operating budget. This paper makes four major contributions: (1) it explores an indigenous employee population which has not been explored fully in the work-family literature; (2) it tests and finds that family-work conflict is a stronger predictor of turnover intentions due to cultural norms around family; (3) it tests and shows that family further moderates these relationships; and (4) this study provides implications for researching other cultures, particularly those with strong cultural ties to family.

Work-Family Conflict

Greenhaus and Powell (2006) stated that "as many scholars have observed, the work-family literature has been dominated by a conflict perspective" (p. 72), and Greenhaus and Beutell

(1985) defined work-family conflict as a "form of role conflict in which the pressures from work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect" (p. 76). Trachtenberg, Anderson and Sabatelli (2009) noted that work-family conflict is a term "used to illustrate the competition between one's professional role and one's personal and family life" (p. 472). It is well established that conflict occurs in the workplace and enters the home (referred to as work-family conflict, WFC) or occurs in the home and enters the workplace (family-work conflict, FWC). This bi-directional approach to conflict is well established (Eby, Casper, Lockwood, Bordeaux & Brinley, 2005; Allen, Hurst, Bruck & Sutton, 2000).

Conflict that can take varying forms depending on time, strain or behaviour (Slan-Jerusalim & Chen, 2009). Time-based conflict is when time devoted to one role makes it difficult to participate in the other role, with the number of hours worked being directly related to the amount of work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Associated factors include work hours, frequent overtime and irregular shift work (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Strained-based conflict is when strain symptoms experienced in one role (work or family) intrude into the other role (family or work) resulting in symptoms such as fatigue, irritability and depression (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, Granrose, Rabinowitz & Beutell, 1989). For example, a person experiences stressful events at work, resulting in unfulfilled expectations within their job, which in turn results in fatigue, tension, and frustration, making it difficult for them to pursue a fulfilling family life (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Finally, behavior-based conflict is where specific behaviours required in one role are incompatible with behavioral expectations within the other role (Greenhaus et al., 1989). For example, a manager may have to be focused and have aggressive characteristics at work, while at home in a family situation might be expected to be warm, emotional, and thoughtful in their interactions with other family members. Therefore, if a person cannot manage their behavior to suit the expectations of different roles they are likely to experience conflict between the roles (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). As a consequence of these three types of conflict, a number of detrimental outcomes are likely to occur both at home and in the workplace.

A meta-analysis, conducted by Allen et al. (2000), examined the relationship between work-family conflict and a range of work, non-work and stress related outcomes. They found consistent support for work-family conflict towards lower job satisfaction, life satisfaction and higher job burnout. This has been confirmed by a later meta-analysis, where Eby et al. (2005) concluded that "research predicted an unfavorable relationship between work and family" (p. 180). Furthermore, their analysis highlighted that amongst the outcomes tested, turnover intentions has received far less attention than other outcomes such as job satisfaction. Consequently, focusing upon this type of employee behavior is warranted.

Turnover Intentions

Within the OB literature, turnover intentions have been widely researched (e.g. Maertz, 1999). It measures employees' thoughts about leaving an organization (Gnanakkan, 2010). Cohen (1997) suggested that work-family conflict could cause employees to quit their job because the tasks and stress that accumulates in the workplace leads not only to frustration in the workplace, but also at home in the family domain. The emotions felt in the workplace are felt at home as employees find it hard (1) to zone out while not at work and (2) change their behaviors and feelings in the short period of time between the two locations (Powell & Greenhaus, 2006). Furthermore, employees sometimes find it hard to forget about the work that needs to be done in the 'workplace' while they are in the home environment. Other studies have examined work-family conflict and turnover intentions due to family demands, such as childcare role demands (Cordero, DiTomaso, Farris & Post, 2009).

It has been suggested that employees must make tradeoffs and adjustments to balance work and family life (Aluko, 2009). An employee's own values, whether from an individualistic or collectivistic viewpoint, will usually decide which part of their life needs more attention and/or is more important to them. For example, a manger requires an employee to work weekends to meet a major deadline. An individualistic employee may consider this an opportunity for advancement, while a more collectivistic and family orientated employee may feel the request is outrageous and begin job hunting immediately. This also highlights how conflict from the workplace entering the home might encourage an employee to leave their job and find one more suited to their family because their family domain is more important to them (Spector, Cooper, Poelmans, Allen & et al., 2004).

Boyar et al. (2003) concluded that as children and elderly family members may require care, the obligation to meet their needs can influence family roles, which in turn creates inter-role conflict, resulting in FWC. This study found both WFC and FWC were positively related to turnover intentions; highlighting that both work and family issues may encourage employees to search for employment elsewhere. Thus, employees may respond to greater conflict through seeking greater work-life balance with a different organization. Similarly, Mowday, Porter, and Steers (1982) argued that non-work factors, such as family issues and responsibilities, may also influence turnover intentions. This may be due to employees feeling that their job is of less importance to them than their family. For example, seeing their current job may not fit their desired and appropriate work hours, leading to less time with family. While empirical research has found strong support for WFC influencing turnover intentions, studies exploring FWC have had mixed results. For example, studies have tested conflict from both domains but found only WFC to be a significant predictor (e.g. Anderson, Coffey, & Byerly, 2002; Greenhaus, Parasuraman & Collins, 2001; Pasewark &

Viator, 2006). However, some studies have found both WFC and FWC to be significant predictors of turnover intentions (e.g. Shaffer, Harrison, Gilley, & Luk, 2001; Haar, 2004). Furthermore, Haar (2004) found WFC accounted for more than twice the variance as FWC, hinting the influence may cross both domains but is likely to be much stronger from the work domain. Overall, we know turnover intentions are a seldom tested outcome of work-family conflict, and while WFC is likely to be the dominant predictor, the influence of FWC has been mixed. We now proceed to detail the employee group (Maori) the present study focuses on, particularly how their cultural values and beliefs around family may alter the influence of FWC on their turnover intentions.

Maori Background

Maori accounted for a small but significant portion of the New Zealand population (14%) and a slightly smaller proportion (13%) in the New Zealand workforce (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). While research on Maori have focused on history, culture, language, health and rights (e.g. McCormack, 2009; Durie, 2003), little research has been conducted in the workplace. While Maori workforce participation continues to rise (Statistics New Zealand, 2010), some have suggested Maori are under-perform in the New Zealand economy (McLeod, 2005). This is highlighted by significantly higher unemployment rates (Statistics New Zealand, 2010) and lower incomes than New Zealand Europeans (Statistics New Zealand, 2007b). In New Zealand, a national survey *Quality of Life Survey* found that Maori reported the lowest levels of work-life balance in 2006 compared to Europeans, Asians, Pacific Islanders and others (Ministry of Social Development, 2008). Moreover, the current economic crisis has lead to decreases in subjective wellbeing for Maori, and increases in disparities of wellbeing between European New Zealanders and Maori (Sibley, Harre, Hoverd & Houkamau, In press).

. Overall this implies that Maoris' are facing challenges in balancing their work and family roles, perhaps at extreme levels, compared to other New Zealand employees.

This may relate to Maori having problems interacting with their whanau (extended family) at levels they'd desire. A likely contributing factor to this lower level of interaction with extended family is the long working hours, at 48 hours per week or above (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). Families with a least one Maori parent working these long hours increased from 24% in 1986 to 35% in 2006 (Statistics New Zealand, 2007a). Ratima and Grant (2007) stated Maori perspective is "first about one's relationship with one's own whanau, and in a broader sense it emphasises one's connection to all peoples and all things in the natural world". Hook, Waaka and Raumati (2007) outlined that there is a fundamental difference between Maoris and New Zealand European relating to the concept of individuality. Maori individuality is based on connectivity and affiliation to past, present, and future generations, whereas Pakeha individuality is based on autonomy, freedom, and self-interest (Hook et al., 2007). These differences in individuality could be a reason for the difference in views between balancing work and family.

Generally, Maori are seen as viewing family as more important and acted upon to a greater extent to that of other cultures, particularly in Western/individualistic societies (Ratima & Grant, 2007). Consequently, given the importance of family for Maori, the argument is that family may play a greater role influencing job outcomes such as turnover intentions, compared to individualistic employees. As such, this employee group may provide unique insights into how the conflict from work and family domains may influence the turnover intentions of this group. This family focus ties in with the collectivistic orientation (Hofstede, 1980, 1994), where individualism focuses on taking care of the individually and remaining emotionally independent from groups, organisations and other collectives (Spector

et al., 2004). Individualistic employees are concerned with pursuing their goals and not preoccupied with group welfare (Ali, Lee, Hsieh & Krishnan, 2005), and define their identity
starting with their personal attributes (Hofstede, 1980). Consequently, they prefer to act as
individuals rather than as members of groups (Hofstede, 1994). Ali et al. (2005) argued that
collectivistic employees are focused on group welfare, group goals, interdependence, and
relationships. People in collective societies give special attention to social relationships and
spend a great deal of time getting to know the people around them (Choi, Nisbett &
Noranzayan, 1999). Hofstede (1980) considers collectivistic people to define their identity in
terms of group life and group specificities.

We are unaware of any study that explores the relationship between work-family conflict and turnover intentions amongst a specific cultural group such as Maori. Liu (2010) concluded there is a clear need for organized investigations into cultural differences to determine whether correlations of WFC are cultural specific or whether they cross cultural boundaries. Knowing how specific cultural groups like Maori work and interact with family, will result in an expansion of the internationalization of work-family conflict studies and a wider, globalised understanding of the effects of work-family pressures. Wang, Lawler, Walumbwa and Shi (2004) argued that individualistic people tend to focus on their own needs, and thus WFC should translate into increased intentions of quitting the job. On the other hand, collectivistic people consider esteeming the self as immature, self-aggrandizing, and even narcissistic (Markus & Katayama, 1998). They view themselves in terms of social connections with co-workers and the employer, and may be more willing to sacrifice self-interest for the betterment of the larger collective. They generally remain loyal to the employer, even if employer's demands and practices produce higher WFC, collectivists may be less likely to leave their job when conflict from the workplace increases (Min, 2007).

The present study suggests that given the importance of whanau (family & extended family) to Maori, FWC may play a major role in the challenges working Maori face, including decisions regarding leaving their job. For example, Harris (2007) argued that whanau can play a strong role on working Maori including dictating career decisions. Furthermore, given Maori are collectivistic in nature, they are less likely to be influenced by WFC, which may create greater opportunity for FWC to influence turnover intentions. Consequently, we hypothesize that both WFC and FWC will lead to greater turnover amongst Maori employees. However, given the nature of collectivistic employees (lower influence of WFC) and the cultural importance of family amongst Maori (higher influence of FWC), we also suggest FWC will be the dominant predictor.

Hypothesis 1: Higher WFC (a) Time and (b) Strain will be positively associated with higher turnover intentions.

Hypothesis 2: Higher FWC (a) Time and (b) will be associated with higher turnover intentions.

Hypothesis 3: FWC will be more influential than WFC on turnover intentions.

Whanau Support

Generally, social support is viewed from a positive perspective, as it can play a moderating role between a stressful event (e.g. WFC) and the stress reaction (e.g. higher turnover intentions) by preventing a stressful evaluation of the situation and increasing the employee's ability to respond in an appropriate manner (Monat & Lazarus, 1991). There are three basic types of social support, (1) *emotional* (e.g. someone to talk to), (2) *instrumental* (e.g. assistance to resist a form of threat), and (3) *informative* (e.g. communicating to decrease uncertainty) (Fenlason & Beehr, 1994; House, 1981; Scheck, Kinicki & Davy, 1997). Support can be provided from both the workplace or outside of work, and we focus upon whanau of

Maori employees. While support has been explored in the work-family literature (e.g. Haar & Roche, 2008) there has been less attention towards the role of family support compared to workplace support. This is surprising, given the importance family plays within the majority of people's lives, and researchers recognizing the growing importance of non-work dimensions in providing greater understanding of the work-family phenomenon (Graves, Ohlott, & Ruderman, 2007; Ford, Heinen, & Langkamer, 2007). Hence this study focuses on the role of family support and extends this approach to take a culturally appropriate perspective relating to Maori workers, where family support is extended to whanau, which relates to a much wider and inter-generational conceptualization of family.

The connection to extended family is especially important for Maori (Papuni & Bartlett, 2006); with O'Connor and MacFarlane (2002) stating two of the most striking values for Maori are (1) respect for place, and (2) honouring of family and ancestors. Ratima and Grant (2007) noted that for Maori, "it is first about ones relationship with one's own whanau (family), and in broader sense emphasises one's connection to all people and all things in the natural world" (p. 3). Maori culture is based on a set of traditional principles (Hook et al., 2007) including *whanaungatanga*, which refers to the importance of relationships and networks (Haar & Delaney, 2009). In their meta-analysis, Viswesvaran, Sanchez, and Fisher (1999) stated "there seems to be at least partial evidence of a moderating effect of social support on the work stressor–strain relationship" (p. 327). Consequently, given the importance Maori culture holds for their whanau we suggest that whanau support will moderate the relationships between conflict and turnover, buffering the detrimental effects.

Hypotheses: Whanau support will moderate (buffer) the effects of (4) WFC and (5) FWC towards turnover intentions, reduced the influence of conflict.

Method

Sample and Procedure

Data was collected from 13 New Zealand organizations in a wide geographical location. This location was selected due to the high population of Maori employees. Surveys were hand delivered by one of the researchers and collected from a secure drop box by the same researcher. CEOs or Senior Managers sent all employees a notice or email about the research encouraging Maori employees to participate. Data collection was done in two waves with a two month gap between surveys to eliminate any issues relating to common method variance. Surveys were matched by a unique employee code. Survey One contained the measures for work-family conflict, whanau support, and demographic variables. Survey Two had the dependent variable (turnover intentions). From a total of 350 Maori employees, a total of 238 participants responded to the first survey for an initial 68% response rate. The follow up survey produced a total of 197 responses, resulting in an overall response rate of 56.3% for surveys one and two.

On average, the participants were 38.7 years old (SD=11.8 years), married (73%), parents (75%), and female (51%). On average, respondents worked 38.4 hours per week (SD=7.1 hours) and had tenure of 4.1 years (SD=4.0 years). Education was widely represented, with 19.4% having a high school qualification, 37.2% a technical college qualification, 33.3% a university degree, and 9.4% a postgraduate qualification. While the majority of respondents (92.8%) noted they could speak some Te Reo Maori (the native language of Maori), analysis by extent showed that 35.6% had limited skill, 24.7% average, 18.6% rated themselves as good speakers and 14.9% fluent.

Measures

Criterion Variable

<u>Turnover Intentions</u> was measured using a 4-item measure by Kelloway, Gottlieb, and Barham (1999), coded 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree. A sample question is "I am thinking about leaving my organization" (α = .85).

Predictor Variables

Work-family conflict was measured with 12-items from Carlson, Kacmar and Williams (2000), 3-items each for dimensions of work-family and family-work towards time- and strain-based conflict, coded 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree. Sample items are: WFC Time "My work keeps me from my family activities more than I would like" (α = .78), WFC Strain "When I get home from work I am often too frazzled to participate in family activities/responsibilities" (α = .731), FWC Time "The time I spend on family responsibilities often interfere with my work responsibilities" (α = .73), and FWC Strain "Due to stress at home, I am often preoccupied with family matters at work" (α = .73).

Moderator Variable

Whanau Support was measured with 4-items based on the supervisor support measure by Lambert (2000), coded 1=strongly disagree, 5=strongly agree. The original items were focused on help and support from the supervisor, and were reconfigured to refer to whanau (extended family). A sample item is "Help out when there is a family or personal emergency". Factor analysis (principal components, varimax rotation) confirmed this measure with it loading onto a single factor with Eigen-values greater than 1 (2.314), accounting for 57.8% of the variance ($\alpha = .75$).

Control Variables

Similar to other work-family studies (e.g. Kossek, Colquitt, & Noe, 2001), a number of demographic variables were controlled for: <u>Gender</u> (1=female, 0=male), <u>Marital Status</u> (1=married/de-facto, 0=single), and <u>Parental Status</u> (1=parent, 0=non-parent). We also

controlled for a cultural dimension as Durie (2003) noted that for Maori, cultural identity can be highly important. We control for language as follows: <u>Native Language</u> to represent the extent of fluency with Maori Language (0=none, 1=limited, 2=average, 3=good, 4=fluent).

Analysis

The direct effects of WFC and FWC on turnover intentions (Hypotheses 1 to 3) and the potential moderating effects of whanau support (Hypotheses 4 and 5) were tested with hierarchical regression analysis. The dependent variable was turnover intentions and control variables (age, marital status, parental status, and native language) were entered in Step 1, with WFC and FWC dimensions entered in Step 2. The potential moderator variable (whanau support) was entered in Step 3 and the interaction variables (WFC/FWC dimensions each multiplied by whanau support) were entered in Step 4. The centering procedure (Aiken & West, 1991) was followed where interaction effect variables were z-scored.

Results

Descriptive statistics for all variables are shown in Table 1.

Insert Table 1 about here

Table 2 shows from the mean scores that levels of turnover intentions (M=2.5) is below the mid-point, while whanau support (M=3.6) is well above the mid-point. Overall, the WFC dimensions are all below the mid-point (M=2.4-2.6) while FWC dimensions are also below the mid-point and slightly lower than conflict (both M=2.3). This indicates that overall, respondents had below average levels of conflict, above average levels of support, and below average levels of wanting to leave their jobs. Paired samples t-tests show that the WFC Time dimension is significantly lower than WFC Strain dimension (t=-3.032, p<.01), while the

FWC dimensions are not significantly different. Similarly, the time dimensions are not significantly different between directions (work-family and family-work), but the strain dimensions are, with the work-family dimension significantly higher than the family-work dimension (t=4.165, p<.001).

WFC Time was significantly correlated to turnover intentions (r= .42, p< .01), as was WFC Strain (r= .39, p< .01), FWC Time (r= .46, p< .01), and FWC Strain (r= .44, p< .01). However, whanau support was not significantly linked to any conflict dimension or turnover intentions. While the work-family conflict dimensions are all significantly correlated with each other (.52 < r < .66, all p< .01), they are all below the level of concept redundancy (r > .75, Morrow, 1983).

Results of the moderated regressions for Hypotheses 1 to 5 are shown in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

When the conflict predictors are entered separately (not shown), there is support for WFC Time (β = .29, p< .001) and WFC Strain (β = .18, p< .05) influencing turnover intentions, which supports Hypothesis 1. However, when family-work dimensions are entered next, the influence of WFC dimensions is fully mediated becoming non-significant. Furthermore, both FWC dimensions are significantly related, FWC Time (β = .23, p< .001) and FWC Strain (β = .17, p< .05), supporting Hypothesis 2. Hence, Table 2 shows that FWC dimensions are significantly related to turnover intentions and WFC dimensions are not because they are fully mediated by FWC, supporting Hypothesis 3. Overall, the conflict block (Step 2) accounted for a sizeable 22% (p< .001) of the variance for turnover intentions. Further analysis shows the FWC dimensions account for 20% (p< .001) of the variance alone.

There was also support for the moderating effects of whanau support, with significant interactions with FWC Time (β = .24, p< .01), as well as with FWC Strain (β = -.22, p< .05). From Step 4 we can see the block of interaction effects accounted for an extra 4% (p< .05) of the variance for turnover intentions. To facilitate interpretation of the significant moderator effect on turnover intentions, plots of the interactions are presented in Figures 1 and 2.

Insert Figure 1 about here

The plots of the interaction terms (Figure 1) show that when FWC Time is low, there is a significant difference between respondents, with those with low whanau support reporting higher turnover intentions than respondents with high whanau support. These effects change when FWC Time increases to high, with respondents with high whanau support reporting significantly higher turnover intentions, while those with low whanau support report slightly lower turnover intentions.

Insert Figure 2 about here

The plots of the interaction terms (Figure 2) show that when FWC Strain is low, there is a significant difference between respondents, with those with low whanau support reporting higher turnover intentions than respondents with high whanau support. Furthermore, when FWC Strain increases to high, respondents with low whanau support report increased turnover intentions, while those with high whanau support report stable turnover intentions. Overall, these two interaction effects provide mixed support for Hypothesis 5.

Overall, the regression model for turnover intentions was significant and large (R^2 = .35, F = 6.823, p< .001). Finally, the variance inflation factors (VIF) were examined for evidence of multi-co linearity. While it has been suggested that VIF scores of 10 or higher represents problems (Ryan, 1997), the scores from the present study were all below 3.0, indicating no evidence of multi co-linearity unduly influencing the regression estimates.

Discussion

The focus of this paper was to explore WFC and FWC as predictors of turnover intentions from a sample of Maori employees, to broaden our understanding of conflicts influence on turnover amongst an indigenous and collectivistic people. While all WFC and FWC dimensions were significantly correlated with turnover intentions, the regression analysis showed that the FWC dimensions (time strain) were the dominant predictors of turnover intentions, accounting for large amounts of variance and fully mediating the effects of WFC. This supports the notion that WFC may be less powerful in predicting turnover intentions amongst collectivistic peoples as they seek to consider the group and not the self. Furthermore, this also reinforces the strength and power of family and whanau towards influencing job outcomes amongst Maori, providing unique findings and highlighting the need to explore the work-family interface in other cultural settings including indigenous employees.

Putting these findings into the wider work-family conflict literature context, they clearly differ significantly from any other study. Haar (2004), in a sample of New Zealand workers, found work-family and family-work conflict to be both significantly linked to turnover intentions although work-family dimensions accounted for more than twice the variance as family-work dimensions. While other studies have found influence from both WFC and FWC (Shaffer et al., 2001; Boyar et al., 2003) there are as many studies that have

found only WFC to be significant (Anderson et al., 2002; Greenhaus et al., 2001; Pasewark & Viator, 2006). Consequently, this unique study of the indigenous people of New Zealand adds to the literature by finding that FWC not only predicts turnover intentions in this sample of New Zealand Maori, but also dominates the influence and thus cancels out the influence of WFC. This finding validates the power of whanau amongst Maori, reinforcing the assertion (Ratima & Grant, 2007) that for Maori their whanau relationship may be their top priority. Furthermore, while some work-family studies have been set in collectivistic cultures such as China (Wei, Ying & Liangliang, 2009), these appear not to have tested the influence of WFC and FWC on turnover intentions, and our findings encourage greater testing of these relationships.

While this study focused on a minority group (Maoris), it is still important to know how smaller groups operate within the larger context, especially since Maori are collectivistic and New Zealand has been rated a strong individualistic country. From an organizational view point, the culture of individuals or a groups of workers has a powerful influence on how they receive and process information and thus their approach to work and productivity (Williamson, 2007). Consequently, knowing employees individual culture and values, such as the importance of whanau for Maori, needs to be recognized and considered to get the best output and cohesion from different employee groups. These findings also support assertions by Papuni and Bartlett (2006), who noted that the between work roles and non-work roles is a relatively recent phenomenon for Maori. What differentiates Maori from non-Maori concepts of work and employment is the expectation of cultural work that is 'part and parcel' of belonging to a whanau. Ultimately, Ratima and Grant (2007) assert that the European New Zealanders must come to understand Maori perspectives in order to properly support Maori employees to reach their potential, and our findings support these calls. As such, employers

must understand that Maori employees may face strong and powerful influences on career decisions (Harris, 2007) and job hunting from their whanau.

Our study also found that whanau support has moderating effects, and interestingly, these effects can be in opposite directions depending on the source of conflict. Furthermore, and in support of direct effects, whanau support only moderated conflict originating in the home. We found Maori employees with greater strain-based FWC were able to buffer its effect, retaining stable levels of turnover intentions. In effect, Maori employees feeling strain symptoms from their family role were able to have these reduced by having greater extended family support. This finding supports Monat and Lazarus (1991) assertion that support can enhance employee's ability to respond to stressful situations in an appropriate manner. Furthermore, this finding supports Bishop (2005) who whanau customs include "warm interpersonal interactions, group solidarity, shared responsibility for one another and cheerful cooperation for group ends" (p. 119).

However, the interaction effect towards time-based FWC produced a finding counter to that expected. High levels of whanau support results in low turnover intentions when time-based FWC is low, but at high levels of this conflict type, Maori respondents with high whanau support reported significantly higher turnover intentions, not lower as per strain-based FWC. One explanation for this might be the shared domain of conflict and support i.e. family and the type of conflict, specifically time. This type of conflict suggests that employees are engaged in excessive time responsibilities towards family that subsequently interferes with their work. Thus, relating to this type of conflict, Maori employee faces excessive time demands from the family, which directly influences turnover intentions, while then also trying to get the same family to buffer this type of conflict. As such, because the direct source of the conflict and potential solution (moderator) are intertwined, the

effectiveness of this strategy is undermined. Furthermore, given the power of whanau on turnover intentions, they might actually encourage the employee to seek employment elsewhere because their interactions (whanau with employee) are creating too many workplace issues in the current organization. In this example, whanau might encourage the employee to job hunt in order to find greater whanau time and less issues with work. Furthermore, this effect isn't produced with strain-based FWC because that type of conflict may be more personal to the employee, and thus be manifested more personally rather than externally and thus witnessed by whanau. Overall, the interactions highlighted the importance of exploring whanau support, and highlighted how this support may be beneficial towards one type of conflict although counter to another type.

Limitations

One limitation of this study is the use of a non-random sample, but this was necessary given the dispersed nature of Maori in the workplace, accounting for only 13% of the workforce. Clearly, a more widely sampled group of organizations and professions would aid the generalization of findings. While data was cross sectional, the separation of variables at two distinct time periods reduces the chances for common method variance, as does utilizing tests for interaction effects (Evans, 1985). Future studies might consider longitudinal analysis and also collect outcome variables from whanau, such as family satisfaction to test the potential crossover effects.

Conclusion

The present study examined work-family conflict as a predictor of turnover intentions amongst Maori, in order to broaden our understanding of these relationships amongst indigenous, collectivistic employees. Findings supported our assertions that FWC dimensions would dominate the influence of turnover intentions, a finding never before found in the

literature. We also followed the influence of family by testing and finding moderating effects from whanau support, highlighting the potential benefits and challenges of this support. Indeed, understanding the potential importance of whanau may be highly beneficial for organizations seeking to recruit and retain Maori employees, especially given that New Zealand's increasingly multi-cultural economy is only beginning to be explored in an HRM context (Papuni & Bartlett, 2006). While we know that connection to extended family is especially important for Maori, again we find this can influence key decisions such as where to work, which organizations may need to consider. For example, encouraging and including whanau participation in employer-employee discussions regarding career decisions may be a worthwhile avenue, as this may provide greater insight and understanding and improve the Maori employees' retention decisions. Finally, additional work-family conflict studies in new cultures will ultimately enhance our understanding of how different groups of people operate and manage the work-family interface. Ratima and Grant (2007) highlighted this importance by suggesting that cultural perspectives are worth noting if cultural harmony is to be treated as a goal worthy of pursuit.

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<u>Table 1. Correlations and Descriptive Statistics of Study Variables</u>

Variables	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Native Language	2.0	1.2							
2. WFC Time	2.4	.90	13						
3. WFC Strain	2.6	.84	03	.59**					
4. FWC Time	2.3	.78	10	.63**	.53**				
5. FWC Strain	2.3	.80	02	.65**	.55**	.65**			
6. Whanau Support	3.6	.87	09	.04	.08	08	12		
7. Turnover Intentions	2.5	.86	05	.42**	.39**	.46**	.44**	.07	

N=197, *p<.05, **p<.01

<u>Table 2. Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Turnover Intentions</u>

	Turnover Intentions							
Variables	Step 1 Controls	Step 2 Work-Family Predictors	Step 3 Support Moderator	Step 4 Interactions				
Gender	01	.06	.06	.05				
Marital Status	.08	.06	.06	.06				
Parental Status	28***	15*	15*	15*				
Native Language	05	02	02	02				
WFC Time		.10	.09	.02				
WFC Strain		.08	.08	.12				
FWC Time		.23**	.24**	.19*				
FWC Strain		.17*	.17*	.26**				
Whanau Support			.02	.03				
WFC Time x Whanau Support				.08				
WFC Strain x Whanau Support				12				
FWC Time x Whanau Support				.24**				
FWC Strain x Whanau Support				22*				
R ² change	.09**	.22**	.00	.04*				
Total R ²	.09	.31	.31	.35				
Adjusted R ²	.07	.28	.27	.30				
F Statistic	4.243**	9.584***	8.484***	6.823***				

[†] p< .1, * p< .05, ** p< .01, *** p< .001, Standardized regression coefficients. All significance tests were single-tailed.







