

# The Consequences of Job Insecurity for Employers and Unions: Exit, Voice and Loyalty

---

Magnus Sverke

Stockholm University

Sjoerd Goslinga

Free University, The Netherlands

Although job insecurity has received growing recognition in connection with the transformation of working life, little is known about how unionization affects its consequences. This study addresses how unionized workers cope with job insecurity and examines the extent to which they respond with reactions of exit, voice and loyalty. Of special interest is whether such reactions tend to affect primarily the employer or the union. Survey data from four European countries (Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden) suggest that job insecurity is primarily related to exit and loyalty reactions, but not to voice. The results replicate previous findings of adverse effects of job insecurity on organizational loyalty and employees' propensity to turnover from the job. Although the findings were less consistent across countries with respect to union-related outcomes, the study suggests that job insecurity may lead to reduced union loyalty and withdrawal from union membership.

*Keywords:* coping, job insecurity, organizational commitment, turnover intention, unions

## Introduction

For most industrialized economies, the last decades represent an era of dramatic change. Information technology has paved the way for less labour-intensive production and enabled organizations to outsource a range of non-core business functions. Intensified international competition and periods of economic decline have put

---

*Economic and Industrial Democracy* © 2003 (SAGE, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi), Vol. 24(2): 241–270.

[0143–831X(200305)24:2;241–270;032968]

organizations under pressure to reduce their production costs and investments in human capital. State deregulation and an accelerating faith in market principles have brought about changes in management practices and led to an increased emphasis on numerical flexibility in the staffing of organizations (Cappelli, 1999; Pfeffer, 1998). As a result, employment relations have undergone profound transformation. Long-term relationships based on mutual dependence between employer and employee have gradually given way to short-term employment relations based on flexibility (Hartley, 1995; Sparrow, 2000; van Ruysseveldt, 1995).

A central characteristic of this trend is an increased uncertainty among employees concerning the nature and future existence of their present jobs (Hartley et al., 1991; Sverke and Hellgren, 2002). A growing number of employees face the risk of losing their jobs as a consequence of organizational restructuring and layoffs, and, hence, experience a 'powerlessness to maintain desired continuity in a threatened job situation' (Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt, 1984: 438). Official statistics indicate that in recent years such perceptions of job insecurity have increased substantially within the OECD countries. For example, the proportion of workers reporting that they are satisfied with their job security fell from 61 percent in 1992 to 56 percent in 1996 (OECD, 1997).

A growing body of research suggests that job insecurity may have important consequences for both the individual and the organization (Burke and Nelson, 1998; Cameron et al., 1991; Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt, 1984; for meta-analysis results, see Sverke et al., 2002). Indeed, job insecurity has been found to be negatively associated with factors such as job satisfaction (Ashford et al., 1989), well-being (De Witte, 1999), organizational commitment (Davy et al., 1997), trust in management (Borg and Elizur, 1992) and turnover intention (Hellgren et al., 1999). Other studies suggest effects such as lack of compliance with safety regulations (Probst and Brubaker, 2001) and resistance to change (Noer, 1993). One striking characteristic of previous research, however, is that it has generated only limited interest in unravelling the effects of job insecurity on labour unions (Sverke and Hellgren, 2002).

Given the lack of research on how job insecurity relates to union outcomes, the present research was designed to shed light on whether unionized workers' reactions to job insecurity primarily affect the company or the union. A framework which can assist researchers in addressing this issue is Hirschman's (1970) exit, voice and loyalty

theory. According to this framework, individuals can respond to dissatisfying employment conditions, such as job insecurity, by exiting from the organization, voicing their concerns in an attempt to correct the problem, or altering their loyalty to the organization. It would seem plausible to suggest that members' evaluations of which party is responsible for deteriorating employment security – the employer or the union – may make them more inclined to retaliate against that party (Mellor, 1992). The study is based on questionnaire data from union members in four European countries (Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden). Although job insecurity may make employees more inclined to unionize in order to get protection from uncertainty (Bender and Sloane, 1999), the present study focuses only on the reactions of employees who already belong to a trade union.

### **The Exit, Voice and Loyalty Framework**

The linking of unsatisfactory conditions to specific actions and work behaviours represents a fruitful area of recent research. To a large extent, this research has benefited from Hirschman's (1970) exit, voice and loyalty framework. Hirschman described exit and voice as the major economic and political alternatives for firms, organizations and states in decline to bring about change. Hence, unsatisfactory conditions can lead an actor to exit from the situation by a permanent movement away from the organization. For instance, a dissatisfied customer can switch to another supplier. In contrast, voice represents articulation of interests in an attempt to change the unfavourable situation, rather than to escape from it. For instance, the actor may, individually or collectively, attempt to change the production policies of the supplier or the quality of the merchandise. Both exit and voice can make the people in charge consider why dissatisfaction has occurred and to remedy the unsatisfactory conditions, especially if these reactions are exhibited by valuable and respected actors (Freeman and Medoff, 1984). The active responses of exit and voice can also be contrasted with a more passive form – loyalty. Hirschman (1970) described loyalty as the product of various factors that bind the actor to the organization and thus make exit costly and voice problematic.

Although Hirschman (1970) developed the exit, voice and loyalty framework to describe primarily how states and organizations

respond to decline, his theory has had broader implications by enriching the understanding of the wide range of responses that can result from dissatisfying conditions in general. Indeed, the framework has guided research investigating the consequences of a variety of factors, such as unsatisfactory romantic involvements (Rusbult et al., 1982) and job dissatisfaction (Farrell, 1983). Not least importantly, more recent studies have used Hirschman's (1970) framework to describe workers' reactions to violations of psychological contracts between employee and employer (Turnley and Feldman, 1999), downsizing (Spreitzer and Mishra, 2000) and job insecurity (Sverke and Hellgren, 2001).

Exit has been described as a typical response to job insecurity, and a growing body of research suggests that employees who are dissatisfied with their job security can choose to exit from their job or organization (Hartley et al., 1991). Indeed, numerous studies have found high levels of perceived job insecurity to be associated with an increased propensity to voluntarily turnover from the employment relationship (Ashford et al., 1989; Cavanaugh and Noe, 1999; Hellgren et al., 1999). Such exit behaviour clearly involves adverse consequences for the employer, especially because employees with valuable skills can easily find better job alternatives and therefore often tend to be among the first to leave the organization (Kozlowski et al., 1993; Pfeffer, 1998).

However, it is not clear if there are similar exit effects for union organizations; that is, if job insecurity makes unionized employees more inclined to withdraw from membership. Union members typically place high priority on job security (Allvin and Sverke, 2000; Brown Johnson et al., 1992; Lind, 1996). Indeed, research has identified numerous motives for joining a union, among them protection against unsatisfactory employment conditions and employment uncertainty (e.g. Barling et al., 1992; Gallagher and Strauss, 1991; Kjellberg, 2001; Wheeler and McClendon, 1991), and, of particular interest here, it appears that perceptions of job insecurity typically make employees more inclined to unionize (e.g. Bender and Sloane, 1999; Iverson, 1996). The question, then, is how those that are already unionized react when they experience job insecurity. Because the mission of unions is to protect the interests of the members, the collective support derived from membership may obviously make the members less inclined to exit from the union when they fear losing their jobs. On the other hand, if

members believe that their unions are not successful in protecting their job security, or if they trust their own capacity to redress insecurity, exiting from the union would be a manifestation of dissatisfaction with union interest representation. To address these issues, we examine the relationship of job insecurity with both organizational turnover intention and union turnover intention.

Voice is conceived of as interest articulation, and thus represents a more political response than exit (Hirschman, 1970). In organizational settings voice typically represents any attempts to restore deteriorating conditions and return to previous levels of functioning (Farrell, 1983). In terms of employment relations, it has been argued that voice embodies the individual worker's efforts at restoring impairments in the contractual relationship between employee and employer (Turnley and Feldman, 1999). In one of the few studies that have explicitly addressed voice responses to job insecurity, Sverke and Hellgren (2001) investigated if unionized and non-unionized employees in an organization undergoing change differed with respect to involvement in individualized forms of voice. They found that union members typically were less inclined than their non-affiliated co-workers to individually raise their concerns and protest against the organizational change. However, the study did not consider collective forms of protest.

Whereas unionization in itself can represent a voice function by putting pressure on management to improve the characteristics of the employment contract (Freeman and Medoff, 1984), unions also represent a forum for collective voice expressions (Heller et al., 1998). Research generally suggests that dissatisfaction with various facets of work may make union members more inclined to participate in union activities in an effort to bring about change (Barling et al., 1992; Gallagher and Strauss, 1991; Klandermans, 1996). Hence, we investigate if job insecurity is associated with union participation.

The third category of responses to unsatisfactory conditions proposed by Hirschman (1970) is loyalty. Originally, loyalty was described as passive support of the organization, as a characteristic of individuals who 'suffer in silence, confident that things will soon get better' (Hirschman, 1970: 38). More recent research, however, suggests that workers, rather than silently supporting their organization, respond with emotional withdrawal and loss of loyalty when confronted with unsatisfactory employment relations (Sparrow,

2000; Turnley and Feldman, 1999). In this vein, numerous studies have found job insecurity to be negatively associated with organizational commitment (Davy et al., 1997; Yousef, 1998; for meta-analysis results, see Sverke et al., 2002).

In contrast to the vast amount of research that has addressed the loyalty implications of job insecurity for the employing organization, the understanding of the consequences for union loyalty is limited at best. Research on union member adjustments to industrial conflicts may help illuminate this issue. It appears that in situations plagued with union–management conflict, such as a strike, members tend to express more positive attitudes towards their union (Mellor, 1990; Stagner and Eflal, 1982). Along similar lines, it could be assumed that downsizing and job insecurity may evoke expressions of loyalty to the union, at least if the employer is perceived as responsible for the unsatisfactory employment security and if the union makes this an important issue. Consistent with this reasoning, positive evaluations of union performance have been found to predict union loyalty (Johnson and Johnson, 1992). However, there is also research to suggest that members' loyalty to the union could drop if the union is blamed for the unsatisfactory conditions. For instance, a study by Mellor (1992) showed that the level of union commitment was lower when members attributed the responsibility for layoff decisions to the union. In addition, research suggests that members' loyalty to the union is higher when they feel that their jobs are secure (Iverson and Kuruvilla, 1995). We addressed the loyalty implications of job insecurity by investigating the effects on both organizational and union commitment.

### **The Present Study**

The overall aim of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the behavioural consequences of job insecurity. More specifically, we investigate if job insecurity is primarily associated with exit, voice or loyalty reactions. Given that previous research typically has focused on organizational outcomes, as opposed to consequences for the union, the study is designed to detect if job insecurity mainly affects the company or the union.

In addition, whereas most research is based on data from one single sample, we use data from union members in four European countries – Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden. Although

labour unions all over the globe are facing membership decline and challenges posed by internationalization, the accelerating diversity of the workforce, deregulations in labour laws and employer opposition, there are also important differences between countries (Ferner and Hyman, 1998; Sverke, 1997; Visser, 1994; Waddington and Hoffman, 2000). Hence, the use of data from countries with differing industrial relations characteristics allows for investigating to what extent the reactions to job insecurity generalize across cultural settings.

One striking difference between the four countries concerns union density. Sweden is a country with a very high unionization rate in international comparison, and the Swedish model of interest representation has long served as a source of inspiration for union officials as well as industrial relations researchers. In 1995, the proportion of unionized workers in Sweden (85 percent) could be contrasted to the rather low union density rates in the Netherlands (23 percent) and Italy (32 percent), with Belgium (60 percent) in an intermediate position (Ebbinghaus and Visser, 2000; Kjellberg, 2001; figures include unemployed workers). In Sweden and Belgium, the unemployment insurance funds are administered by the unions, and hence many unemployed individuals retain union membership in order to benefit from the unemployment insurance (Kjellberg, 2001). This fact can partly explain the higher unionization rates in comparison with countries such as Italy and the Netherlands. Another difference concerns the division of the union movement into federations. Whereas the federations are based on political as well as religious grounds in Belgium (van Gyes et al., 2000) and the Netherlands (Valkenburg and Coenen, 2000), the Italian union movement is divided on political grounds (Regini and Regalia, 2000), and Sweden has separate federations for blue-collar workers, white-collar employees and professionals (Kjellberg, 2000). A third example of differences between the four countries concerns industrial relations climate. The number of industrial conflicts (strikes and lockouts) in 1995 was very high in Italy (545), while there were rather few in Belgium (46) and the Netherlands (14) and none in Sweden (Gold and Weiss, 1998).

There are also a number of characteristics of the labour market scene that distinguish between the four countries. For instance, the level of unemployment in Belgium (10.0 percent) and Italy (10.7 percent) was substantially higher compared to the Netherlands (3.0 percent) and Sweden (5.9 percent) in 2000 (OECD, 2001).

Further, in 1996 the percentage of workers employed on fixed-term contracts in the Netherlands (12.0 percent) and Sweden (11.8 percent) was substantially larger than in Belgium (5.9 percent) and Italy (7.5 percent), as observed in a publication from the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Gold and Weiss, 1998). Also the share of part-time employment of total employment differs between countries. In 2000, the proportion of part-time work in the Netherlands (32.1 percent) clearly exceeded that of Belgium (19.0 percent), Italy (12.2 percent) and Sweden (14.0 percent) (OECD, 2001). These factors could influence the level of job insecurity perceived by the workers and affect individuals' choice of strategies to cope with employment uncertainty.

## **Data**

### *Sample Characteristics*

This study is based on data from a European project which encompasses four countries (for details of the project, see Sverke et al., 2001). Questionnaire data were collected either before (Belgium and the Netherlands) or after (Italy and Sweden) initiation of the project. Efforts were made to obtain relatively heterogeneous samples within countries. However, because the focus of the project is not on cultural differences, no attempts were made to have identical samples across countries. Given that the primary interest rather is cross-validation, the differences between samples enable us to analyse the extent to which results generalize across countries. Sample sizes, response rates and characteristics of the respondents are presented in Table 1. For all countries, the analyses were based only on union members with complete data on the study variables.

The Belgian data originate from a telephone survey conducted in the period April–July 1998. The sampling focused on employees in relatively large private sector plants in all three parts of Belgium (Flanders, Brussels, Wallonia). First, a representative sample of 98 out of 589 Belgian municipalities was selected. Second, proportional to the number of inhabitants in each municipality, telephone numbers were randomly drawn within each municipality. Based on this, a total of 23,912 persons were contacted. Individuals eligible



**TABLE 1**  
**Summary of Sample Characteristics**

	<b>Belgium</b>	<b>Italy</b>	<b>The Netherlands</b>	<b>Sweden</b>
Sample size	13,358	865	1590	2564
Participants	1487	476	799	1923
Response rate (%)	11	55	50	75
Union members (%)	58	62	100	100
Effective sample size <sup>a</sup>	851	287	611	1806
Mean age (years)	39	41	43	45
Proportion women (%)	40	31	28	78
Average union tenure (years)	–	13	14	16

– indicates not measured.

<sup>a</sup> Unionized participants with complete data on the study variables.

for the study had to be wage-earners employed in workplaces with at least 50 employees. About 44 percent (10,554 persons) did not fit the sampling criteria. Of the remaining 13,358 individuals, 45 percent refused to participate, 44 percent could not be contacted (telephone number incorrect, never at home, ill, etc.), and no more than 1487 did fit the criteria and were willing to be interviewed. The minimum response rate could thus be estimated to be 11 percent (based on the conservative assumption that all individuals in the group that could not be reached met the criteria for inclusion in the study). Approximately 58 percent of the participants were members of a union, which leaves us with an effective sample of 851 individuals. The mean age of the sample was 39 years ( $SD = 9$ ), and the proportion of women 40 percent. No data were available on union tenure.

The Italian data were collected by means of fill-out questionnaires in spring 2000 among a sample of 865 workers, mainly in small groups and at their workplaces. The sample was recruited mainly in the north and the centre of the country, and represented both the service and the manufacturing industries, primarily in the private sector. Completed questionnaires were received from 476 employees, for a response rate of 55 percent. In the present study, we used data only from the 62 percent of the participants that belonged to a union. After correction for internal attrition in the study variables, there remained an effective sample of 287 union members with complete data on the study variables. Around one-third of the participants were women (31 percent), the mean age was

TABLE 2  
Reliability of Variables (Cronbach's Alpha)

	Belgium	Italy	The Netherlands	Sweden
	No. of items	No. of items	No. of items	No. of items
	$\alpha$	$\alpha$	$\alpha$	$\alpha$
Job insecurity	1	5	5	5
	.89	.78	.91	.89
<b>Exit variables</b>				
Organizational turnover intention	0	3	1	3
Union turnover intention	1	3	3	1
	—	.68	.68	.77
	.89	.75	.68	.89
<b>Voice variables</b>				
Union participation	1	2	2	1
Union participation intention	1	2	2	1
	.82	.72	.71	.82
	.82	.82	.80	.82
<b>Loyalty variables</b>				
Organizational commitment	0	5	5	5
Union commitment	4	5	4	5
	.79	.88	.78	.86
	.86	.74	.84	.86

— indicates not measured.

⌘ Variable measured using a single item.

41 years ( $SD = 9$ ) and the average length of union membership 13 years ( $SD = 10$ ).

The Dutch sample was drawn from one wave of a longitudinal panel survey which started in 1992, and the present data were collected in summer 1999. The telephone survey was conducted among members of the largest trade unions affiliated with the National Christian Trade Union Federation (the CNV), the second largest trade union federation in the Netherlands. The 10 CNV unions included in our study represent over 90 percent of the total CNV constituency. Among these 10 unions six are public sector unions. Out of 1590 members sampled for the data collection wave, 799 (50 percent) agreed to participate. List-wise deletion for missing data resulted in an effective sample size of 611 members. Their mean age was 43 years ( $SD = 10$ ), their average union tenure 14 years ( $SD = 11$ ) and the proportion of women 28 percent.

Data for Sweden were taken from a national sample of blue-collar workers from the Swedish Municipal Workers' Union (Kommunal) affiliated to the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO). The union represents service workers, mainly within the public sector. In spring 2000, postal questionnaires were sent to a random sample of 2564 members, and a total of 1923 usable questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 75 percent. The effective sample was reduced to 1806 members with complete data on the study variables. They had been union members for an average of 16 years ( $SD = 8$ ) and their mean age was 45 years ( $SD = 11$ ). Women comprised 78 percent of the sample.

### *Measures*

The ambition was to obtain comparable data from all countries. However, the fact that all data collections were not tailored for the project explains why there are small differences in operationalizations across countries and why a few variables were not measured in one of the countries (Belgium). Table 2 presents the number of items used for each variable in the four different countries along with reliability estimates. In general, the variables exhibited acceptable reliability in all countries. Correlations among the study variables are reported in the Appendix.

**Job insecurity.** In Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden, job insecurity was assessed using five items (e.g. 'I am afraid I will get fired') drawn from other measures of job insecurity (Ashford et al., 1989; De Witte, 2000; Hellgren et al., 1999). The response alternatives ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The Cronbach alpha reliability varied between .78 and .91. In Belgium, job insecurity was measured with a single item developed by De Witte (1997). Respondents rated the perceived likelihood of losing their job on a scale ranging from 1 (very unlikely to become unemployed) to 5 (very likely).

**Exit variables.** Both exit variables, which reflected the propensity to leave the employing organization and the union, respectively, were assessed on a five-point Likert-scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Organizational turnover intention was measured with a three-item scale (Sjöberg and Sverke, 2000) in Italy and Sweden. The items, which were drawn from commonly used turnover scales (Cammann et al., 1979; Lyons, 1971), evidenced reliability estimates around .70. Only one of the items ('I feel that I could leave this job') was used in the Netherlands. This variable was not included in the Belgian survey. Union turnover intention was measured with three items in Italy and the Netherlands (e.g. 'I would quit my union if I had a good alternative'). The scale, which was developed by Sverke and Kuruvilla (1995), showed a reliability estimate of .75 in Italy and .68 in the Netherlands. The surveys in Belgium and Sweden included only one of these items.

**Voice variables.** Both voice variables focused on having a voice through participation in union activity. The measurement of union participation was based on two dichotomous items reflecting involvement in union activities and actions in the past six months (1 = no, 2 = yes). Both items were used in Italy (alpha = .72) and the Netherlands (alpha = .71), whereas the Belgian and Swedish data contained only one item each. The measurement of union participation intention was also conducted with slight differences between countries. Two items ('Would you want to become a representative?' and 'Would you want to organize activities for a short while?') were used in Italy (alpha = .82) and the Netherlands (alpha = .80), while only the first of these was used in Belgium and Sweden. Responses were given on a scale ranging from 1 (certainly not) to 4 (certainly).

**Loyalty variables.** A short-form, five-item version of Allen and Meyer's (1990) affective commitment scale was used to measure organizational commitment. This variable showed adequate reliability in Italy ( $\alpha = .88$ ), the Netherlands ( $\alpha = .78$ ) and Sweden ( $\alpha = .86$ ), but was not included in Belgium. Union commitment was assessed using a short-form version of Sverke and Kuruvilla's (1995) measure of value-based commitment to the union, and a sample item is 'My union means a great deal to me personally'. Five items were used in Italy and Sweden, whereas only four of these were included in the Belgian and Dutch surveys. The reliability ranged from .74 (the Netherlands) to .86 (Sweden). For both loyalty variables the response scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

### *Methods of Analysis*

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures were used to investigate whether the levels of exit, voice and loyalty reactions differed across countries. Because the *F*-test only detects overall mean level differences between samples, these analyses were followed up with Bonferroni post-hoc tests to identify which of the four countries differed from another.

To investigate the relationships of job insecurity with exit, voice and loyalty reactions, we used the multi-sample regression procedures in Lisrel 8 (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1993). These structural equation models were computed using maximum-likelihood estimation based on the variance/covariance matrices in each country. We first computed the effect of job insecurity on each exit, voice and loyalty variable. In a second step, we tested for similarities of effect sizes across countries by constraining the regression coefficients to be equal over samples. A significant chi-square test between the saturated and the constrained model indicates that the strength of the relation between insecurity and coping reaction differs between countries, whereas a non-significant chi-square signals that the magnitude of effect size generalizes over countries.

TABLE 3  
ANOVA Tests for Mean Differences

Variable	Belgium	Italy	The Netherlands	Sweden	d.f.	F	Post-hoc <sup>a</sup>
Job insecurity	1.95	2.63	1.85	2.08	3,3562	44.44*	(B,I) (B,S) (I,N) (I,S) (N,S)
<b>Exit variables</b>							
Organizational turnover intention	–	2.70	2.85	2.31	2,2699	56.09*	(I,S) (N,S)
Union turnover intention	2.98	2.34	2.41	1.39	3,3562	600.70*	(B,I) (B,N) (B,S) (I,S) (N,S)
<b>Voice variables</b>							
Union participation	1.20	1.68	1.15	1.27	3,3562	121.96*	(B,I) (B,S) (I,N) (I,S) (N,S)
Union participation intention	1.95	2.34	1.65	1.80	3,3562	35.42*	(B,I) (B,N) (B,S) (I,N) (I,S) (N,S)
<b>Loyalty variables</b>							
Organizational commitment	–	3.08	3.52	2.53	2,2699	298.29*	(I,N) (I,S) (N,S)
Union commitment	2.62	3.77	2.78	2.74	3,3562	118.28*	(B,I) (B,N) (B,S) (I,N) (I,S)

– indicates not measured.

Scale range 1–5 for all variables but union participation (1–2) and union participation intention (1–4).

\*  $p < .05$ .

<sup>a</sup> Difference between countries in parentheses is significant using the Bonferroni post-hoc test ( $p < .05$ ).

## Results

Table 3 presents mean values in all study variables, and reports the ANOVA results of tests for mean-level differences across countries. As can be seen from the table, the aggregate level of job insecurity was relatively low in all four samples, but there was a significant difference between countries. Whereas job insecurity was below 2 on the five-point scale in Belgium and the Netherlands, it was somewhat higher in Sweden (2.08), and the Italian sample evidenced a mean value (2.63) that was significantly higher as compared to the remaining countries.

If we turn our attention to the first set of coping reactions of interest in the present study – exit – the results reveal that there were significant overall differences between countries in the propensity to leave both the organization and the union. Organizational turnover intention was significantly higher in Italy (2.70) and the Netherlands (2.85) as compared to Sweden (2.31). Thus, despite the fact that the level of job insecurity was lowest in the Dutch sample and highest in the Italian, these two countries evidenced similar levels of organizational turnover intention. Union turnover intention was highest in Belgium (2.98 on the five-point scale) and lowest in Sweden (1.39), with Italy and the Netherlands in-between (2.34 and 2.41, respectively). These results also indicate that the intention to exit from the organization, on a general level, was stronger than the intention to exit from the union (even if the high level of union turnover intention obtained in the Belgian sample, because of lack of organizational data, could not be contrasted with organizational turnover intention).

In terms of voice, union participation was highest in Italy (1.68 on the two-point scale) and substantially lower in Sweden (1.27), Belgium (1.20) and the Netherlands (1.15). The pattern for union participation intention followed a rather similar pattern. Also for this variable, the mean level was highest in the Italian sample (2.34 on the four-point scale) and lowest in the Dutch sample (1.65), with the Belgian and Swedish samples in-between (1.95 and 1.80, respectively). Thus, having a voice by actively participating in union activities does not appear to be a particularly preferred option among union members in any of the samples but the Italian.

There were overall mean level differences between countries in both loyalty variables. Organizational commitment was relatively high in the Netherlands (3.52 on the five-point scale), medium in

TABLE 4  
Effects of Job Insecurity on Exit, Voice and Loyalty (Standardized Regression Coefficients)

Variable	Belgium	Italy	The Netherlands	Sweden	d.f.	$\chi^2$ <sup>a</sup>
<b>Exit variables</b>						
Organizational turnover intention	—	.37*	.10*	.09*	2	21.56*
Union turnover intention	.08*	.20*	.02	.02	3	14.50*
<b>Voice variables</b>						
Union participation	-.05	.02	-.07	-.03	3	1.78
Union participation intention	-.01	.06	.06	.01	3	2.35
<b>Loyalty variables</b>						
Organizational commitment	—	-.16*	-.17*	.05	2	28.86*
Union commitment	-.00	-.14*	.06	.04	3	9.60*

— indicates not measured.

\*  $p < .05$ .

<sup>a</sup> A significant chi-square indicates that the magnitudes of effect size differ across countries.



Italy (3.08), and rather low in Sweden (2.53), and all country comparisons were significant when the Bonferroni criterion was applied (note that this variable was not assessed in the Belgian survey). Members in the Italian sample expressed an average level of union commitment (3.77 on the five-point scale) that was significantly higher than the other three samples. The levels of union commitment in the Netherlands (2.78) and Sweden (2.74) were almost identical and higher than that expressed by the union members surveyed in Belgium (2.62). These results thus indicate that union members in Italy and Sweden express more loyalty to their union than to the organization they work in (although the levels of both foci of commitment were substantively higher in Italy), while Dutch union members are more attached to their organization than to their union (again, the lack of organizational data prohibited comparisons among commitment types for Belgium).

The question then arises whether the levels of exit, voice and loyalty reactions covary systematically with that of job insecurity – and if the pattern of relationships is similar in different countries. Table 4 summarizes the results of the regression analyses and the tests for equality of effect sizes across countries.

Job insecurity predicted organizational turnover intention in all three countries where this exit reaction was measured. The positive and significant relation obtained in Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden indicates that the stronger the experience of job insecurity, the more prone the employee is to exit from the present employer. However, there were differences between the countries as reflected in the significant chi-square difference test. The moderate effect size in Italy (.37) was stronger as compared to the weak association between job insecurity and organizational turnover intention in the Netherlands (.10) and Sweden (.09). A different pattern of results emerged for union turnover intention. Significant associations were detected in two countries and the chi-square test signalled differing relationships across countries. Whereas union members in Belgium and Italy were more inclined to withdraw from union membership in their attempts to redress perceptions of job insecurity, the two variables were unrelated in the Dutch and Swedish samples. These results imply that job insecurity, in general, is more likely to result in exit from the organization than from the union.

With respect to voice, job insecurity was unrelated to both union participation and union participation intention. This finding generalized across countries as reflected in the non-significant chi-square

difference tests. The lack of significant effects of job insecurity on the two participation measures thus indicates that voicing one's concerns through active involvement in union affairs does not appear to be a frequent strategy to cope with job insecurity in any of the countries.

The magnitudes of relationships between job insecurity and both loyalty variables differed significantly across countries as reflected in the significant chi-square tests. Job insecurity predicted organizational commitment in two countries (Italy and the Netherlands), and union commitment in only one country (Italy). The negative regression coefficients indicate that in these countries the level of commitment decreased with stronger perceptions of job insecurity. The results also suggest that decreased organizational loyalty appears to be a more typical response to job insecurity than decreased loyalty to the union.

## **Discussion**

We opened this article by observing that job insecurity has become an increasingly important feature of modern working life. Whereas previous research indicates that perceptions of job insecurity may have adverse consequences from both the occupational health and the managerial perspective (see Sverke et al., 2002, for meta-analysis results), very little is known in terms of consequences for union-related variables. By surveying union members from four European countries, we investigated how job insecurity relates to exit, voice and loyalty reactions. We also raised the question whether such reactions tend to affect primarily the employer or the union.

The results of the study indicate that job insecurity is related mainly to exit and loyalty reactions, but not to voice. In terms of exit, a striking pattern in our results concerns the association obtained between job insecurity and organizational turnover intention. Although the magnitudes of effect sizes differed across countries, there was a positive relation between job insecurity and the propensity to exit from the organization in all three countries where this relationship was investigated (i.e. Italy, the Netherlands and Sweden). This finding replicates previous research which has found that the intention to leave the organization increases with the level of job insecurity (e.g. Arnold and Feldman, 1982; Brockner, 1988; Davy et al., 1997; Hellgren et al., 1999). Our results also

expand previous research by indicating that job insecurity may have similar consequences for union turnover intention. Only a few studies have previously addressed this issue, and typically concluded that job insecurity is positively related to union membership (e.g. Bender and Sloane, 1999; Iverson, 1996). In our study, which focused on those that already are unionized, job insecurity was associated with a propensity to exit from membership in two of the four countries (i.e. Belgium and Italy).

With respect to loyalty, our results generally confirm the notion that job insecurity may lead employees to diminish their loyalty to the organization. Consistent with a large body of research that has uncovered a negative relationship between job insecurity and organizational commitment (e.g. Davy et al., 1997; Hartley et al., 1991; Yousef, 1998), we found job insecurity to predict reduced organizational commitment in two of the countries where this relationship was tested (Italy and the Netherlands). In contrast to this, we found a negative relationship between job insecurity and union commitment in only one of the four countries (Italy). Although research on job insecurity and union attitudes is scarce, a few studies indicate that union loyalty is higher in the absence of job insecurity (e.g. Iverson and Kuruvilla, 1995). Whereas the Italian data provide support for this view, the results for the remaining three countries suggest that job insecurity is unrelated to union commitment.

A notable finding of the present study concerns the absence of effects on voice. In neither of the countries was job insecurity associated with the two indicators of union participation. Previous research has found job insecurity to predict individualized forms of voice, such as protest against organizational restructuring (Shaw et al., 1993; Sverke and Hellgren, 2001), but the effects on collective voice through member participation in union activity have hardly been addressed. Although research on union participation has concluded that dissatisfaction with work characteristics is an important factor for members' active involvement (Barling et al., 1992; Klandermans, 1996), members' decisions to take part in union activity are also shaped by numerous other factors (Gallagher and Strauss, 1991; Sverke, 1996). The very nature of unions is to provide a forum for collectively voicing members' concerns (Freeman and Medoff, 1984; Heller et al., 1998). A plausible explanation for the absence of relations between job insecurity and union participation in the present study is that members simply count on their

unions to restore employment security without themselves taking active part in these efforts.

Let us return to the question whether job insecurity primarily has consequences for management or for unions. Consistent with previous research (e.g. Hartley et al., 1991; Sverke et al., 2002), our data clearly suggest that job insecurity tends to affect the employing organization. Insecure workers typically express less loyalty to their organization and are more inclined to exit from it. The fact that these results were obtained in different countries and in samples with varying levels of job insecurity lend credibility to this conclusion. The only exception to this uniform pattern of results is represented by the absence of a significant association between job insecurity and organizational commitment in Sweden.

In contrast, the pattern of results is not as unequivocal when it comes to consequences for unions. The fact that job insecurity was unrelated to union exit in two countries (the Netherlands and Sweden), and to union loyalty in three countries (Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden), could be taken to suggest that worries of job loss have only marginal impact on members' attitudinal and behavioural orientations to their unions. On the other hand, job insecurity was associated with reduced union commitment and a stronger inclination to withdraw from union membership in the sample where the level of job insecurity was the highest (i.e. Italy). Whereas this finding could indicate that union-related variables are negatively affected only when job insecurity is a major concern of the workers (as expressed in higher levels of worries of job loss), the absence of significant effects in the sample with the second highest level of job insecurity (Sweden) partly mitigates the plausibility of this explanation.

An alternative explanation would be that characteristics of the national industrial relations system explain whether members retaliate against their employer or their union when they experience job insecurity. For instance, the lack of union exit and loyalty effects in Sweden could be a result of the harmonious union-management climate and the high degree of unionization. Along similar lines, the characteristics of Italy – a relatively low union density rate and an industrial relations climate fraught with conflict – could explain why the Italian workers were more inclined to respond with exit and loss of loyalty when they experienced job insecurity. However, this explanation is contradicted by the observation that union vari-

ables were unaffected in the country with the lowest unionization rate (the Netherlands) and the fact that job insecurity was related to union turnover intention in the country with the second highest proportion of unionized workers (Belgium). It could also be argued that absence of a union exit effect in Sweden is a function of the fact that the unemployment insurance funds are administered by the union, thus making union turnover more problematic for Swedish unionized workers threatened with job loss. However, the significant relation between job insecurity and union turnover intention in Belgium, in which the unemployment insurance system is also operated by the unions, contradicts this explanation. Moreover, in the two countries where the unemployment insurance is not union administered, job insecurity predicted union exit in one (Italy) but not the other (the Netherlands).

Yet another potential explanation of our findings concerns labour market characteristics. The effects of job insecurity on union variables were more pronounced in the countries with the highest unemployment rates (Belgium and Italy). Clearly, a high level of national unemployment would increase the difficulties of finding alternative jobs and thus make perceptions of job insecurity especially burdensome (Hartley et al., 1991). However, whereas this might explain why insecure workers in Belgium and Italy expressed more negative reactions towards their unions, this explanation is partly contradicted by the strong relationship between job insecurity and organizational turnover intention in Italy. Moreover, following Hirschman's (1970) reasoning, if exit is costly then increased loyalty would be a natural option for employees to restore employment uncertainty – by supporting the employer and putting in extra effort at work, employees have the opportunity to prove that they are valuable to the organization (Sverke and Hellgren, 2001).

A perhaps more convincing explanation of the findings of the present study focuses on members' judgements of the performance of the union. For instance, it has been shown that positive evaluations of union performance typically make members embrace more positive views of their union and express more loyalty to it (Johnson and Johnson, 1992). As suggested by Mellor (1992), it could be that members' perceptions of their unions are negatively affected only when they attribute the dissatisfying employment situation to the unions. According to this view, only to the extent members hold the union responsible for the experience of job insecurity, they

would respond with reduced loyalty and be more inclined to exit from the union. Hence, it could be that union membership serves as a collective source of support which protects members from both job insecurity and the adverse consequences of it (Dekker and Schaufeli, 1995; Hellgren and Sverke, 2001), something which is also apparent from the observation that job insecurity typically makes workers more inclined to unionize (Bender and Sloane, 1999).

Given the turbulence on the labour market scene in most industrialized countries, job insecurity will continue to take its toll on employees as a consequence of organizational restructuring, layoffs and more flexible employment relations (Burke and Nelson, 1998). Although the cross-sectional nature of our data warrants some caution in drawing causal inferences, the similarity of findings across countries with respect to organizational consequences of job insecurity has an obvious managerial implication. A workforce plagued with impaired organizational loyalty and a stronger inclination to turnover from the job cannot reverse decline and make their organization more effective (Hartley et al., 1991; Sverke et al., 2002). Even if the pattern of results was not as uniform when it comes to union-related consequences of job insecurity, the implication for unions is that members' perceptions of job insecurity can result in loss of loyalty and diminished membership numbers. The challenge for unions, when corporate decline forces unions to work together with management and employment security becomes less characteristic of working life, is to continue protecting members' interests and to provide alternative ways to handle market demands and pressures from corporate competition.

## Appendix

TABLE A1  
Variable Intercorrelations

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Belgium</b>							
1. Job insecurity	1						
2. Organizational turnover intention	-.08*	1					
3. Union turnover intention	-.05	-.15*	1				
4. Union participation intention	-.01	-.19*	.30*	1			
5. Organizational commitment					1		
6. Union commitment	-.00		-.37*	.17	-.39*	1	
<b>Italy</b>							
1. Job insecurity	1						
2. Organizational turnover intention	.37*	1					
3. Union turnover intention	.20*	.16*	1				
4. Union participation	.02	-.05	-.19*	1			
5. Union participation intention	-.11	.03	-.23*	.53*	1		
6. Organizational commitment	-.16*	-.46*	.02	.04	-.09	1	
7. Union commitment	-.14*	-.13*	-.37*	.31*	.42*	.14*	1

Table continued on next page

TABLE A1 (continued)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>The Netherlands</b>							
1. Job insecurity	1						
2. Organizational turnover intention	.10*	1					
3. Union turnover intention	.02	.19*	1				
4. Union participation	-.07	.00	.00	1			
5. Union participation intention	-.03	.08	-.14*	.21*	1		
6. Organizational commitment	-.17*	-.37*	-.12*	.10*	-.02	1	
7. Union commitment	.06	-.15*	-.43*	.02	.29*	.21*	1
<b>Sweden</b>							
1. Job insecurity	1						
2. Organizational turnover intention	.09*	1					
3. Union turnover intention	.02	.21*	1				
4. Union participation	-.03	-.02	-.17*	1			
5. Union participation intention	.00	.01	-.22*	.41*	1		
6. Organizational commitment	.05	-.41*	-.15*	.10*	.18*	1	
7. Union commitment	.04	-.18*	-.36*	.35*	.56*	.48*	1

- indicates not measured.

\*  $p < .05$ .



## Note

This article has been written within a European project (European Unions in the Wake of Flexible Production) financed by a grant to Magnus Sverke from the Swedish National Institute for Working Life through the Joint Programme for Working Life Research in Europe (SALTSA). Data collections in the participating countries were made possible through financial support as follows: Belgium: the Christian Labour Union (ACV) and the Hoger Instituut voor De Arbeid (HIVA) at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven; the Netherlands: the National Christian Trade Union Federation (CNV); Italy: CGIL-Nazionale; Sweden: the Swedish Council for Work Life Research.

## References

- Allen, N.J. and J.P. Meyer (1990) 'The Measurement and Antecedents of Affective, Continuance and Normative Commitment to the Organization', *Journal of Occupational Psychology* 63: 1–18.
- Allvin, M. and M. Sverke (2000) 'Do New Generations Imply the End of Solidarity? Swedish Unionism in the Era of Individualization', *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 21: 71–95.
- Arnold, H.J. and D.C. Feldman (1982) 'A Multivariate Analysis of the Determinants of Job Turnover', *Journal of Applied Psychology* 67: 350–60.
- Ashford, S.J., C. Lee and P. Bobko (1989) 'Content, Cause, and Consequences of Job Insecurity: A Theory-Based Measure and Substantive Test', *Academy of Management Journal* 32: 803–29.
- Barling, J., C. Fullagar and E.K. Kelloway (1992) *The Union and its Members: A Psychological Approach*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bender, K.A. and P.J. Sloane (1999) 'Trade Union Membership, Tenure and the Level of Job Insecurity', *Applied Economics* 31: 123–35.
- Borg, I. and D. Elizur (1992) 'Job Insecurity: Correlates, Moderators and Measurement', *International Journal of Manpower* 13: 13–26.
- Brockner, J. (1988) 'The Effects of Work Layoffs on Survivors: Research, Theory, and Practice', pp. 213–55 in B.M. Staw and L.L. Cummings (eds) *Research in Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 10. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Brown Johnson, N., P. Bobko and L.S. Hartenian (1992) 'Union Influence and Local Union Leaders' Perceptions of Job Insecurity: An Empirical Test', *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 30: 45–60.
- Burke, R.J. and D. Nelson (1998) 'Mergers and Acquisitions, Downsizing, and Privatization: A North American Perspective', pp. 21–54 in M.K. Gowing, J.D. Kraft and J.C. Quick (eds) *The New Organizational Reality: Downsizing, Restructuring, and Revitalization*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Cameron, K., S.J. Freeman and A.K. Mishra (1991) 'Best Practice in White-Collar Downsizing: Managing Contradictions', *Academy of Management Executive* 5: 57–73.
- Cammann, C., M. Fichman, D. Jenkins and J. Klesh (1979) 'The Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire', unpublished manuscript, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

- Cappelli, P. (1999) *The New Deal at Work: Managing the Market-Driven Workforce*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
- Cavanaugh, M.A. and R.A. Noe (1999) 'Antecedents and Consequences of Relational Components of the New Psychological Contract', *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 20: 323–40.
- Davy, J.A., A.J. Kinicki and C.L. Scheck (1997) 'A Test of Job Security's Direct and Mediated Effects on Withdrawal Cognitions', *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 18: 323–49.
- Dekker, S.W.A. and W.B. Schaufeli (1995) 'The Effects of Job Insecurity on Psychological Health and Withdrawal: A Longitudinal Study', *Australian Psychologist* 30: 57–63.
- De Witte, H. (1997) 'Is Jobonzekerheid Problematisch? Een Pleidooi voor meer Onderzoeks- en Beleidsaandacht op Basis van een Bedrijfsenquête', pp. 105–19 in K. van Hoof (ed.) *De Arbeidsmarktonderzoekersdag 1997: Verslagboek*, Dossier No. 14. Leuven: Steunpunt Werkgelegenheid, Arbeid, Vorming.
- De Witte, H. (1999) 'Job Insecurity and Psychological Well-Being: Review of the Literature and Exploration of Some Unresolved Issues', *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 8: 155–77.
- De Witte, H. (2000) 'Arbeidsethos en Jobonzekerheid: Meting en Gevolgen voor Welzijn Tevredenheid en Inzet op Het Werk', pp. 325–50 in R. Bouwen, K. De Witte, H. De Witte and T. Taillieu (eds) *Van Groep Naar Gemeenschap. Liber Amicorum voor prof. dr. Leo Lagrou*. Leuven: Garant.
- Ebbinghaus, B. and J. Visser (2000) *Trade Unions in Western Europe Since 1945*. London: Macmillan.
- Farrell, D. (1983) 'Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and Neglect as Responses to Job Dissatisfaction: A Multidimensional Scaling Study', *Academy of Management Journal* 26: 596–607.
- Ferner, A. and R. Hyman (1998) 'Introduction: Towards European Industrial Relations', pp. xi–xxvi in A. Ferner and R. Hyman (eds) *Changing Industrial Relations in Europe*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Freeman, R.B. and J.L. Medoff (1984) *What Do Unions Do?* New York: Basic Books.
- Gallagher, D.G. and G. Strauss (1991) 'Union Membership Attitudes and Participation', pp. 139–74 in G. Strauss, D.G. Gallagher and J. Fiorito (eds) *The State of the Unions*. Madison, WI: Industrial Relations Research Association.
- Gold, M. and M. Weiss, eds (1998) *Employment and Industrial Relations in Europe*, Vol. 1. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Greenhalgh, L. and Z. Rosenblatt (1984) 'Job Insecurity: Toward Conceptual Clarity', *Academy of Management Review* 3: 438–48.
- Hartley, J. (1995) 'Challenge and Change in Employment Relations: Issues for Psychology, Trade Unions, and Managers', pp. 3–30 in L.E. Tetrick and J. Barling (eds) *Changing Employment Relations: Behavioral and Social Perspectives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Hartley, J., D. Jacobson, B. Klandermans and T. van Vuuren (1991) *Job Insecurity: Coping with Jobs at Risk*. London: Sage.
- Heller, F., E. Pusic, G. Strauss and B. Wilpert (1998) *Organizational Participation: Myth and Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hellgren, J. and M. Sverke (2001) 'Unionized Employees' Perceptions of Role Stress and Fairness during Organizational Downsizing: Consequences for Job Satisfaction,

- Union Satisfaction, and Well-Being', *Economic and Industrial Democracy* 22: 543–67.
- Hellgren, J., M. Sverke and K. Isaksson (1999) 'A Two-Dimensional Approach to Job Insecurity: Consequences for Employee Attitudes and Well-Being', *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 8: 179–95.
- Hirschman, A.O. (1970) *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Iverson, R.D. (1996) 'Employee Acceptance of Organizational Change: The Role of Organizational Commitment', *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 7: 122–49.
- Iverson, R.D. and S. Kuruville (1995) 'Antecedents of Union Loyalty: The Influence of Individual Dispositions and Organizational Context', *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 16: 557–82.
- Johnson, W.R. and G.J. Johnson (1992) 'Union Performance and Union Loyalty: The Role of Perceived Steward Support', *Journal of Applied Social Psychology* 22: 677–90.
- Jöreskog, K.-G. and D. Sörbom (1993) *Lisrel 8: Users Reference Guide*. Chicago, IL: Scientific Software.
- Kjellberg, A. (2000) 'The Multitude of Challenges Facing Swedish Trade Unions', pp. 529–73 in J. Waddington and R. Hoffman (eds) *Trade Unions in Europe: Facing Challenges and Searching for Solutions*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Kjellberg, A. (2001) *Fackliga Organisationer och Medlemmar i Dagens Sverige*. Lund: Arkiv.
- Klendermans, B. (1996) 'Ideology and the Social Psychology of Union Participation', pp. 259–74 in P. Pasture, J. Verberckmoes and H. De Witte (eds) *The Lost Perspective: Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe (Vol. 2): Significance of Ideology in European Trade Unionism*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Kozlowski, S., G. Chao, E. Smith and J. Hedlund (1993) 'Organizational Downsizing: Strategies, Interventions and Research Implications', pp. 263–332 in C.L. Cooper and I.T. Robertson (eds) *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, Vol. 8. New York: John Wiley.
- Lind, J. (1996) 'Trade Unions: Social Movement or Welfare Apparatus?', pp. 105–20 in P. Leisink, J. Van Leemput and J. Vilrocx (eds) *The Challenges to Trade Unions in Europe: Innovation or Adaptation*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Lyons, T.F. (1971) 'Role Clarity, Need for Clarity, Satisfaction, Tension, and Withdrawal', *Organizational Behavior and Human Performance* 6: 99–110.
- Mellor, S. (1990) 'The Relationship between Membership Decline and Union Commitment: A Field Study of Local Unions in Crisis', *Journal of Applied Psychology* 75: 258–67.
- Mellor, S. (1992) 'The Influence of Layoff Severity on Post-Layoff Union Commitment among Survivors: The Moderating Effect of the Perceived Legitimacy of a Layoff Account', *Personnel Psychology* 45: 579–600.
- Noer, D. (1993) *Healing the Wounds: Overcoming the Trauma of Layoffs and Revitalizing Downsized Organizations*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- OECD (1997) *Employment Outlook*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD (2001) *Labour Force Statistics*. Paris: OECD.
- Pfeffer, J. (1998) *The Human Equation: Building Profits by Putting People First*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Probst, T.M. and T.L. Brubaker (2001) 'The Effects of Job Insecurity on Employee Safety Outcomes: Cross-Sectional and Longitudinal Explorations', *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 6: 139–59.
- Regini, M. and I. Regalia (2000) 'The Prospects for Italian Trade Unions in a Phase of Concertation', pp. 365–92 in J. Waddington and R. Hoffman (eds) *Trade Unions in Europe: Facing Challenges and Searching for Solutions*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Rusbult, C.E., I.M. Zembrodt and L.K. Gunn (1982) 'Exit, Voice, Loyalty, and Neglect: Responses to Dissatisfaction in Romantic Involvements', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 43: 1230–42.
- Shaw, J.B., W.M. Fields, J.W. Thacker and C.D. Fisher (1993) 'The Availability of Personal and External Coping Resources: Their Impact on Job Stress and Employee Attitudes during Organizational Restructuring', *Work and Stress* 7: 229–46.
- Sjöberg, A. and M. Sverke (2000) 'The Interactive Effect of Job Involvement and Organizational Commitment on Job Turnover Revisited: A Note on the Mediating Role of Turnover Intention', *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 41: 247–52.
- Sparrow, P.R. (2000) 'The New Employment Contract: Psychological Implications of Future Work', pp. 165–87 in R.J. Burke and C.L. Cooper (eds) *The Organization in Crisis: Downsizing, Restructuring, and Privatization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Spreitzer, G.M. and A.K. Mishra (2000) 'An Empirical Examination of a Stress-Based Framework of Survivor Responses to Downsizing', pp. 97–118 in R.J. Burke and C.L. Cooper (eds) *The Organization in Crisis: Downsizing, Restructuring, and Privatization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stagner, R. and B. Eflal (1982) 'Internal Union Dynamics during a Strike: A Quasi-Experimental Study', *Journal of Applied Psychology* 67: 37–44.
- Sverke, M. (1996) 'The Importance of Ideology in Trade Union Participation in Sweden: A Social-Psychological Model', pp. 353–76 in P. Pasture, J. Verberckmoes and H. De Witte (eds) *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe, Vol. 2, Significance of Ideology in European Trade Unionism*, Perspectives on Europe series. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Sverke, M. (1997) 'Emerging Union Structures: An Introduction', pp. 3–18 in M. Sverke (ed.) *The Future of Trade Unionism: International Perspectives on Emerging Union Structures*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sverke, M. and J. Hellgren (2001) 'Exit, Voice, and Loyalty Reactions to Job Insecurity in Sweden: Do Unionized and Non-Unionized Members Differ?', *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 39: 167–82.
- Sverke, M. and J. Hellgren (2002) 'The Nature of Job Insecurity: Understanding Employment Uncertainty on the Brink of a New Millennium', *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 51: 23–42.
- Sverke, M. and S. Kuruvilla (1995) 'A New Conceptualization of Union Commitment: Development and Test of an Integrated Theory', *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 16: 505–32.
- Sverke, M., J. Hellgren, K. Näswall, A. Chirumbolo, H. De Witte and S. Goslinga (2001) *European Unions in the Wake of Flexible Production: Technical Report on the Data Sets Used in a SALTSA Project*, SALTSA report 2001:1. Stockholm: National Institute for Working Life and SALTSA.

- Sverke, M., J. Hellgren and K. Näswall (2002) 'No Security: A Review and Meta-Analysis of Job Insecurity and its Consequences', *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 7: 242–64.
- Turnley, W.H. and D.C. Feldman (1999) 'The Impact of Psychological Contract Violations on Exit, Voice, Loyalty and Neglect', *Human Relations* 52: 895–922.
- Valkenburg, B. and H. Coenen (2000) 'Changing Trade Unionism in the Netherlands: A Critical Analysis', pp. 393–415 in J. Waddington and R. Hoffman (eds) *Trade Unions in Europe: Facing Challenges and Searching for Solutions*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Van Gyes, G., H. De Witte and P. van der Hallen (2000) 'Belgian Trade Unions in the 1990s: Does Strong Today Mean Strong Tomorrow?', pp. 105–41 in J. Waddington and R. Hoffman (eds) *Trade Unions in Europe: Facing Challenges and Searching for Solutions*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Van Ruysseveldt, J. (1995) 'Growing Cross-National Diversity or Diversity *Tout Court*? An Introduction to Comparative Industrial and Employment Relations', pp. 1–15 in J. van Ruysseveldt, R. Huiskamp and J. van Hoof (eds) *Comparative Industrial and Employment Relations*. London: Sage.
- Visser, J. (1994) 'European Trade Unions: The Transition Years', pp. 80–107 in R. Hyman and A. Ferner (eds) *New Frontiers in European Industrial Relations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Waddington, J. and R. Hoffman (2000) 'Trade Unions in Europe: Reform, Organization and Restructuring', pp. 27–79 in J. Waddington and R. Hoffman (eds) *Trade Unions in Europe: Facing Challenges and Searching for Solutions*. Brussels: European Trade Union Institute.
- Wheeler, H.N. and J.A. McClendon (1991) 'The Individual Decision to Unionize', pp. 47–83 in G. Strauss, D.G. Gallagher and J. Fiorito (eds) *The State of the Unions*. Madison, WI: Industrial Relations Research Association.
- Yousef, D.A. (1998) 'Satisfaction with Job Security as a Predictor of Organizational Commitment and Job Performance in a Multicultural Environment', *International Journal of Manpower* 19: 184–94.

## Magnus Sverke

is associate professor at the Department of Psychology, Stockholm University, where he is heading projects on various aspects of organizational behaviour. His research interests include organizational change and its effects on employees; downsizing and job insecurity; labour market flexibility and new employment contracts; employee attitudes and well-being; work climate and employee motivation; and union member attitudes and behaviour.

**Sjoerd Goslinga**

is conducting research on union participation, collective action and organizational commitment. At the time the present study was conducted he was researcher at the Department of Social Psychology of the Free University Amsterdam and coordinator of the CNV/VU research programme. He is now researcher at the Dutch Criminal Investigation service of the Tax and Customs Administration.