Miraglia, M. & Johns, G. (2020, June 10). The Social and Relational Dynamics of Absenteeism from Work: A Multi-level Review and Integration. *Academy of Management Annals*. Advance Online Publication. https://doi.org/10.5465/annals.2019.0036

THE SOCIAL AND RELATIONAL DYNAMICS OF ABSENTEEISM FROM WORK:

A MULTI-LEVEL REVIEW AND INTEGRATION

MARIELLA MIRAGLIA

University of Liverpool

Chatham Street

Liverpool, United Kingdom, L69 7ZH

E-mail: m.miraglia@liverpool.ac.uk

GARY JOHNS

John Molson School of Business

Concordia University

1455 de Maisonneuve Blvd. West

Montreal, QC, Canada, H3G 1M8

and

Sauder School of Business

University of British Columbia

2053 Main Mall

Vancouver, BC, Canada, V6T 1Z2

E-mail: gary.johns@concordia.ca

The Social and Relational Dynamics of Absenteeism from Work:

A Multi-Level Review and Integration

ABSTRACT

Absenteeism from work is disruptive and expensive for organizations and may be indicative of poor work adjustment for employees. It is therefore important to understand the causes of absenteeism. However, traditional individual-centric explanations for absence are inadequate, particularly given the rise of contemporary relational, team-focused, and customer-driven work designs and in growing recognition of the permeable boundary between work and nonwork. Although there has been considerable, if fragmented, research interest in the social and relational causation of absenteeism, limited effort has been spent systematizing the evidence and formulating an overall model of the social dynamics of the behavior. Our review integrates this multidisciplinary body of research, explicating the social and relational determinants of absenteeism. We propose a multi-level model that identifies the social factors shaping absence that stem from the work (organization, occupation) and non-work (family, community, nation/society) domains. The model establishes six primary paths and related theories through which these social factors operate, including normative influence, social exchange, job resources, work attitudes, emotions, and ethics. The review offers extensive evidence for the influence of the social context and provides insights concerning how team dynamics, occupational norms, gender composition, family demands, community forces, and cultural context affect absenteeism. We conclude with future research directions and social implications for attendance management, bridging the absenteeism and presenteeism literatures.

INTRODUCTION

Occasional absences from work are among the most innocuous instances of organizational behavior. However, the decision to attend or not attend work represents something fundamental about the person-organization relationship, and most employees would probably concede that showing up at work is an obligation in their psychological contract with their employer.

Additionally, meta-analyses affirm that absenteeism is associated with reduced job performance (Bycio, 1992; Viswesvaran, 2002) and a precursor of organizational turnover (Berry, Lelchook, & Clark, 2012; Harrison, Newman, & Roth, 2006), and many studies show that aggregate absenteeism costs the economies of numerous nations billions of dollars a year (Grinza & Rycx, 2020; SHRM, 2014). For instance, a European Union study estimated the cost of absenteeism at somewhat over 2% of the GDP of member states (Eurofound, 2010). However, such estimates are often based on direct wage costs that greatly underestimate the impact of absenteeism in the context of contemporary relational, team-focused, and customer-driven work designs, and the additional firm-level indirect costs associated with such absenteeism can be substantial (Grinza & Rycx, 2020; Nicholson et al., 2006; Strömberg, Aboagye, Hagberg, Bergström, & Lohela-Karlsson, 2017). And even these costs may fail to capture the added impact of absenteeism as reflected in workplace accidents (Goodman & Garber, 1988), conflict among co-workers (Barker, 1993; Kessler, 2017), damaged labor relations climate (Clay & Stephens, 1994), reduced student performance due to teacher absence (Miller, Murnane, & Willett, 2008), and poor patient outcomes resulting from absence among nurses (Unruh, Joseph, & Strickland, 2007).

Despite the copious negative outcomes of absenteeism, going to work when ill (presenteeism) is often counter-indicated due to contagion (Pichler & Ziebarth, 2017), as

forcefully illustrated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Hence, appropriately accounting for the sources of variance that underpin absenteeism decisions is of crucial importance.

Because of its various consequences, absenteeism has been studied by a wide variety of disciplines, spanning management, psychology, sociology, economics, the health sciences, law, and ergonomics (Johns, 1997). Traditionally, these studies have focused on individual-centered determinants of the phenomenon, stressing the role of demographic characteristics, disposition, job attitudes, unhealthy habits, and poor health itself. However, beginning with calls for a broader vision of absenteeism that incorporates social causation (Chadwick-Jones, Nicholson, & Brown, 1982; Johns & Nicholson, 1982; Marcus & Smith, 1985; Nicholson & Johns, 1985), in the last three decades a proliferation of research has shown that absence varies across social units, including work groups, departments, plants, organizations, occupations, and countries in ways that are consistent with more social, relational, and contextual explanations for the behavior. This research is the focus of our review.

The social nature of absenteeism is in fact intrinsic in its definition as an "individual's lack of physical presence at a given location and time when there is a social expectation for him or her to be there" (Martocchio & Harrison, 1993, p. 263). Moreover, absence is widely viewed as mildly deviant behavior (Harrison & Shaffer, 1994; Johns & Miraglia, 2015; Johns & Xie, 1998), which, coupled with a lack of absolute standards for what is considered acceptable attendance, sets the stage for social influence. Additionally, absenteeism is a topic of discussion within organizations (Edwards & Whitston, 1993) and the broader society (Patton & Johns, 2007, 2012a) and thus subject to collective attribution and rationalization processes. In combination, these factors point to the value of adopting a more relational perspective (Grant & Parker, 2009) concerning the nature of the behavior.

Despite increasing interest in the social causes and correlates of absenteeism, only a few literature reviews have included a discussion of this phenomenon (Harrison &

Martocchio, 1998; Johns, 1997, 2008), and an updated, coherent integration of the impact of social context on absence is much needed. Our review is intended to conceptually organize the last three-plus decades of research in this domain to provide such integration and to explicate the social and relational dynamics behind the behavior. Drawing on Johns (2006, 2017, 2018), we define *social context* as the opportunities and constraints stemming from the social forces operating within an organization (e.g., peers, team mates, supervisors, management), at the organizational boundary (e.g., patients, clients), and outside the organization (e.g., family, community) that can influence the meaning and manifestation of absenteeism. We thus seek to summarize how associated social and relational opportunities and constraints affect absence attitudes, beliefs, and behavior. For this purpose, we build a coherent framework to systematize the primary social contextual factors that shape individual absenteeism. Moreover, we identify the mechanisms through which these factors operate, explaining the underpinning theories and related processes linking the social context to absence behavior. Such a social perspective integrates the various scholarly approaches to absence and complements recent reviews of the impact of social relationships on employee turnover (Jo & Ellingson, 2019) and the influence of psychological individual differences on withdrawal behavior (Zimmerman, Swider, Woo, & Allen, 2016). With regard to the latter, much of the research we describe concerning social influence controls for individual differences (e.g., in job satisfaction), hence illustrating the added value of a social approach.

In summary, the review aims to address the following critical questions: a) What are the multiple factors at various levels of the social context that shape absence behavior? Among these factors, what are the most relevant social drivers of absenteeism? b) What are the mechanisms and underlying theories that explain the influence of these social factors on absence at multiple levels? What paths can we identify to organize such influence? c) How do the factors and mechanisms at multiple levels interact to affect absence behavior? The

review will build on apparently contradictory findings to uncover convergences and divergences in the social mechanisms at different levels, proving new insights on unresolved paradoxes.

ORGANIZATION OF THE REVIEW

To meet our purposes, we examined 354 articles located through an electronic search of several databases (i.e., *Google Scholar*, *PsychInfo*, *MedLine*, *Web of Science*, *ProQuest Business*, and *Business Source Complete*) by using keywords such as "absenteeism" or "absence" and "social", "social control", "social influence", "group", "collective", and "norm*". We also performed a manual search of the reference lists of relevant articles, including an extensive pool of articles on the theme collected by one of the authors. We included articles satisfying one or more of the following criteria: The article a) focused on absenteeism in the work context; b) examined the effects of some social features of the context in which an individual was embedded on or off the job (e.g., group composition, client/patient demands, family demands, community embeddedness); c) considered the influence of one or more social constituencies of the organization or the society (e.g., work group, organization, family, community) on absenteeism; d) described social states or processes emerging from interactions between an individual and these social constituencies (e.g., cohesion, conflict, modeling); d) discussed the interpersonal experiences related to such interactions (e.g., perception of workplace support, abusive supervision), including job attitudes toward social referents. The application of such criteria resulted in the inclusion of 178 studies.

To systematize the accumulated knowledge, we propose a conceptual model that is multi-level in approach. The model is presented in Figure 1 and explained in the following section.

Insert Figure 1 Here

The Conceptual Model

The proposed model enables us to summarize the existing body of research by isolating the social factors that stem from various constituencies and organizing them in multiple levels. We identified five partially nested levels above the individual, namely the organization, the occupation, the family, the community, and the nation or society. These levels cover factors pertaining to work (i.e., organization and occupation) and non-work (i.e., family, community, nation/society) spheres.

Additionally, the model specifies six mechanisms that convey the influence of the social factors at multiple levels on individual absence behavior. The identification of these mediating mechanisms is imperative due to the complexity and scope of our main object of investigation – the social context (Johns, 2017). We refer to the mechanisms as *paths* to stress their dynamic role in carrying the influence of the social factors on individual absence. These paths emerge from the analysis of the literature, and they are mostly empirically based, although some authors speculate about likely paths of influence after the fact. As shown in Figure 1, the paths cover processes based on attendance norms, economic exchange, resources, attitudes, emotions, and ethical considerations. The *normative path* focuses explicitly on attendance norms per se, explaining how communal perceptions of the degree of absence legitimacy in a social unit can shape the unit identity as it pertains to attendance (Addae & Johns, 2002; Harvey & Nicholson, 1999; McKevitt, Morgan, Dundas, & Holland, 1997). The *economic exchange path* pertains to how employees might compare their own absences to those of their peers to opportunistically regulate their attendance in line with quasi-economic rationality (e.g., Geurts, Buunk, & Schaufeli, 1994b; ten Brummelhuis, Johns, Lyons, & ter Hoeven, 2016). Differently from the normative path, this is indicative of

transactional rather than relational interaction. The *resource-based path* shows how absenteeism can depend on the resources available to deal with various job situations, for example examining the role of workplace support as a social resource (e.g., Biron, 2013; Biron & Bamberger, 2012; Deery, Iverson, & Walsh, 2002), in line with the relational perspective on work design (Grant & Parker, 2009). In conformity with the classical withdrawal model (Johns, 1997), the *attitudinal path* concerns the influence of job attitudes on absence, showing how factors at multiple levels can escalate absenteeism by prompting job dissatisfaction and disengagement. The *emotional path* speaks to the importance of emotional reactions and regulation in influencing absenteeism (e.g., Grandey, Dickter, & Sin, 2004; Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003; Rugulies et al., 2007). Finally, the *ethical path* illustrates how factors at multiple levels can emphasize a work ethic regarding attendance (Sanders, 2004), inducing a moral obligation to attend and stressing values of responsibility and social commitment (Aronsson, Gustafsson, Dallner, 2000; Krane et al., 2014; McKevitt et al., 2007).

The specification of the multiple paths illustrates how distinct social factors at different levels may influence absenteeism via analogous mechanisms, revealing convergences among levels. It also shows how multiple paths may interact to prompt absence. In parallel, the model discloses how the same factors can affect absence differently by following distinct paths, contributing to resolving certain controversies concerning the social control of absenteeism.

In sum, we offer a multi-level framework covering the work and nonwork domains that can be used as a roadmap to understand which social factors and actors – either within or outside the organization – influence individual absence, and the means (i.e., the paths) through which this social control is exerted at the different levels. In what follows, we describe the evidence for the existence of each level, report the principal social factors

emerging from the key studies, and illustrate the operation of the paths linking such factors to individual absence (see Table 1 for a summary of the paths associated to the multi-level factors). Finally, when present, we depict any boundary conditions for the influence of such factors and any interactive processes across levels and paths.

Insert Table 1 Here

THE ORGANIZATION

This section will illustrate multiple, complementary social factors and paths underlying the social control of absenteeism at the organizational and sub-organizational level. The focus is on intra-organizational influence, as in the domain of absenteeism the social factors and processes that affect the behavior have been empirically investigated within organizational sub-units, mostly work groups. However, evidence for the impact of organizational factors on individual absenteeism is available from cross-level and multi-level research reporting variation in absence rates across teams, departments, and organizations (e.g., Markham & McKee, 1995; Martocchio, 1994; Mason & Griffin, 2003; Mathieu & Kohler, 1990). As illustrated below, organizational social factors comprise absence culture, primarily investigated via the absence behavior of members of a given social unit (e.g., the supervisory unit), the employee perceptions of such behavior, and standards in terms of number of days missed and legitimate reasons for absence. These factors also include characteristics of the social unit (e.g., work group cohesiveness), its demographic or psychological characteristics (e.g., the gender composition of the organization), the employee's perceived similarity with these characteristics, and a range of experiences generated from interpersonal interactions in the workplace (e.g., collegial and supervisory support and conflict), in line with the relational perspective on work design (Grant & Parker,

2009). Finally, organizational ethical climate is discussed as a social factor operating within the work group and organization.

Absence culture

Absence culture refers to "the set of shared understandings about absence legitimacy in a given organization and the established 'custom and practice' of employee absence behavior and its control" (Johns & Nicholson, 1982, p. 136). Hence, absence cultures set the collective understanding and expectations regarding acceptable rates, patterns, and reasons for absence, which, in turn, affect individual absence behavior (Chadwick-Jones, Nicholson, & Brown, 1982; Johns & Nicholson, 1982; Nicholson & Johns, 1985). Further definitions of absence culture point to the shared beliefs, practices, and patterns regarding absence that "occur within an employee group or organization" (Chadwick-Jones et al., 1982, p. 7) or "that are shared among members of a work group or organizational unit" (Gellatly & Luchak, 1998, p. 1086). It is clear then that the focus of the construct is the social unit, but this unit has often been interpreted and empirically investigated as the supervisory unit or formal work group in which employees are embedded rather than the organization as an entity, as suggested by two latter definitions. Since absenteeism is usually a visible behavior enacted in a social environment, the absence of colleagues is a target of team members' observation and discussion (Edwards & Whitston, 1993), leading to the creation of standards about the acceptable amount of absence in the work group and organization and the tolerated reasons for the behavior. In support of this, numerous studies have reported evidence for the direct impact of the actual number of days lost by a work group or by colleagues on individual absence (Duff, Podolsky, Biron, & Chan, 2014; Gellatly, 1995; Gellatly & Luchak, 1998; Harrison & Shaffer, 1994; Johns, 1994; Mathieu & Kohler, 1990). The observed absence behaviors can be those of formal work team members but also of referent organizational peers outside of one's team (Bamberger & Biron, 2007; Biron & Bamberger, 2012) as well as

of supervisors or managers (Kristensen et al., 2006; Løkke Nielsen, 2008; Markham & McKee, 1995; Rentsch & Steel, 2003).

The path explaining such influence is normative. The observation of others' attendance behaviors triggers the formation of absence norms within the group, where norms denote communal perceptions of the degree of absenteeism legitimacy that shape the group identity as it pertains to attendance (Addae & Johns, 2002; Harvey & Nicholson, 1999; McKevitt et al., 1997). These work group norms underpin the absence culture of an organization.

Various social influence theories explain the power of the normative path. Social information processing (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978), self-categorization (Hogg & Abrams, 1988), social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and social comparison (Festinger, 1954; Sherif, 1936) theories illuminate why and how individuals from the same social unit conform to the dominant norm, aligning their behaviors to the expected standards and values, due to various motives. For example, they may conform to fulfill the need for social approval and acceptance, boosting their self-esteem (Hogg & Abrams, 1993; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1981, 1985), or to reduce ambiguity and achieve accurate judgments of proper attendance behavior (e.g., as to the advisability of taking a day off) (Festinger, 1954; Sherif, 1936).

Early evidence of the normative control of absenteeism comes from Hill and Trist's (1955) seminal study of British steelworkers, which revealed an association between organizational tenure and absence. Newcomers gradually adjusted their absence level and pattern to that of their higher-tenured colleagues, suggesting growing understanding of, conformity to, and introjection of shared norms regulating attendance behavior. Over the years, these descriptive results have been constructively replicated using inferential methods and in various cultural contexts (Dello Russo, Miraglia, Borgogni, & Johns, 2013; Luetzen &

Sonnentag, 2017; Schmidt, 2002). It deserves emphasis that these robust effects for gradual absence convergence over time are inconsistent with less social reasons that employees in defined social units might exhibit similar absence rates, including contagious diseases, similar occupational health problems, or the creation of work overload for non-absent colleagues. Using linked Norwegian health and employment data, Dale-Olsen, Østbakken, and Schøne (2015) were able to rule out these causes, while showing that every additional average collegial absence day increased a focal employee's absence by .4 days.

Corroborating Hill and Trist's findings, a variety of evidence supports the operation of absence norms at the intra-organizational level, and such evidence is notable for the diversity of the methods used to measure norms, assuring the robustness of the effect. Verbal ratings of the level of co-worker absence (Baba & Harris, 1989), the perception of colleagues' subjective norms in favor of attendance (Harrison, 1995; Ramsay, Punnett, & Greenidge, 2008), and the perceived tolerance of absence within the group (Geurts, Buunk, & Schaufeli, 1994a; 1994b; Mayer et al., 2018; Mayer & Thiel, 2018; Rostad, Milch, & Saksvik, 2015; Saksvik, 1996) have all been found to predict individual absence directly or indirectly via the intention to attend.

The observation of coworker behavior inevitably entails social comparison, which can facilitate the acquisition of information on absence norms and attitudes but also stimulate equity considerations. In other words, employees may opportunistically observe the absence of their peers and compare it to their own absence, suggesting that the influence of group absence behavior can be exerted through quasi-economic rather than strict normative logic. Being a mildly negative deviant behavior (Johns, 1997; Johns & Miraglia, 2015; Harrison & Martocchio, 1998), absenteeism can cause higher workload, time pressure, and stress for an entire team, leading to feelings of inequity and resentment and lowering group productivity. To restore a fair equilibrium between work inputs and received outcomes, employees may

respond to colleagues' absences by taking days off themselves (Geurts et al., 1994b; Johns & Nicholson, 1982). This economic exchange path is explained by theoretical frameworks such as rational choice models (Coleman, 1990; Coleman & Fararo, 1992), social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), reciprocity norms (Gouldner, 1960), and equity theory (Adams, 1965).

Empirical support for the economic exchange path is provided by ten Brummelhuis and colleagues (2016). In both a field survey and a scenario experiment, they demonstrated that employees paid greater attention to peers' absenteeism and were more likely to imitate it in situations of low team cohesion and low interdependence, which typically encourage transactional rather than relational interactions. Dale-Olsen et al. (2015, pp. 78-79) reached a similar conclusion: "Our workers apparently act as if they follow 'tit for tat' or 'quid pro quo' strategies…following a social norm of retribution." Such negative reciprocity cycles are common in organizations (Greco, Whitson, O'Boyle, Wang, & Kim, 2019), and they complement orthodox social influence logic, which assumes that employees are most likely to model their attendance behavior on the group's absence norms under conditions of high rather than low cohesion.

Group Cohesion

Social cohesiveness within a social unit (e.g., the work group) is another social factor that can shape individual-level absence, mainly by following a normative path, although cohesiveness may also be a source of resources, especially in the case of stressful work (Marques-Quinteiro et al., 2019). Early evidence is provided by Mayo's pioneering work in the US metallurgic (Mayo, 1949) and aircraft (Mayo & Lombard, 1944) industries during World War II that reported lower absenteeism among those plants where cohesion was reinforced by a team structure and the promotion of group solidarity by supervisors (Mayo & Lombard, 1944) or via team-oriented HR practices (Mayo, 1949). Following these initial studies, both the task and social aspects of team cohesiveness have been demonstrated to

relate negatively to absence in a variety of contexts, including business organizations (Sanders, 2004; Sanders & Nauta, 2004), military settings (Steel, Shane, & Kennedy, 1990; Zaccaro, Craig, & Quinn, 1991), among firefighters (Marques-Quinteiro et al., 2019), and in exercise classes (Spink & Carron, 1992; 1994). In line with the normative path, cohesiveness activates mechanisms such as self-categorization, social identification, and role modeling which can foster agreement on and adherence to the group's attendance norms and the subsequent likelihood of endorsing team-prevalent behavior.

Research on social cohesiveness also helps us understand the functioning of the normative path more thoroughly by showing the concurrent relevance of the content of absence norms (i.e., absence considered as more or less legitimate within a social unit) and the agreement around these norms. Such consensus represents the strength of the norms and associated culture, that is, their salience, intensity, and crystallization within the social unit (Nicholson & Johns, 1985; Rentsch & Steel, 2003). More cohesive groups are expected to share higher agreement (Sanders & Hoekstra, 1998; Väänänen et al., 2008) in line with multi-level research drawing on the notion of situational strength (Meyer, Kelly, & Bowling, 2018; Mischel, 1977), which recognizes that the level of group absenteeism (i.e., normative content) is more likely to influence individual absence in the presence of uniform and consistent patterns of team behavior (i.e., high consensus). The latter signifies strong situations resulting in uniformity in perceptions and expected behavior (Diestel, Wegge, & Schmidt, 2014; Dineen, Noe, Shaw, Duffy, & Wiethoff, 2007; Liu, Mitchell, Lee, Holtom, & Hinkin, 2012). In this regard, Diestel and colleagues (2014) showed that employees satisfied with their teams were more inclined to meet the team's expectations toward attendance, reducing absence, in strong situations where shared norms toward good attendance prevailed. Further evidence comes from Xie and Johns (2000), who found the highest absence levels in groups characterized by lack of agreement on unit absence rate (i.e., low absence culture

salience; Nicholson & Johns, 1985) and low cohesiveness. These groups are unlikely to exert any social control on absence due to the difficulty of establishing consensus and clear expectations and thus also unlikely to develop and reinforce norms oriented toward attendance. Hence, elevated absenteeism is more likely in units characterized by both low-quality informal relationships (i.e., low cohesiveness) and weak consensus on intolerant absence norms (Sanders & Hoekstra, 1998) or a weak work ethic oriented toward attendance (Sanders, 2004).

Related to the issue of cohesiveness, research has shown that positive group affective tone is associated with reduced absenteeism, both cross-sectionally and dynamically (George, 1990; Mason & Griffin, 2003; Tan & Hart, 2011). Although this finding may reveal the salutary effect of positive attitudes on attendance, it also suggests how absenteeism might be employed as a mood regulation mechanism (hence, the emotional path) to cope with low positive affect in teams.

Psychological and Demographic Similarity between the Individual and the Work Group or Manager

Drawing on the concept of psychological group (Turner, 1978), as well as on social categorization (Tajfel, 1981) and social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988) theories, perceptions of psychological or demographic similarity with other members of the social unit (i.e., the work group or the manager leading it) are expected to foster the introjection of, compliance with, and modeling of social norms and behaviors, leading to positive work outcomes, including reduced withdrawal (Harrison, Johns, & Martocchio, 2000; Løkke Nielsen, 2008; Vancouver, Millsap, & Peters, 1994). However, empirical evidence on the negative link between felt similarity and absence has been mixed (Adkins, Ravlin & Meglino, 1996; Avery, Volpone, McKay, King, & Wilson, 2012; Fritzsche, Wegge, Schmauder, Kliegel & Schmidt, 2014), with meta-analytic results showing high unexplained variance in

the association between demographic dissimilarity and job withdrawal (Guillaume, Brodbeck, & Riketta, 2012). These findings call for a better understanding of the role of absence norms and their interaction with perceived similarity in inducing individual absenteeism. Thus, a couple of studies have investigated the interplay among group similarity/dissimilarity, absence norms, and absence behavior. Gellatly and Allen (2012) showed that the positive relationship between absence norms (measured via groupmate absence) and individual absence was greater under conditions of high similarity with respect to union affiliation. Similarly, David, Avery, Witt, and McKay (2015) demonstrated that racioethnic dissimilarity was associated with increased absence and lateness only in the presence of more permissive absence norms.

Finally, when considering demographic differences at the intra-organizational level, we have to acknowledge that organizations vary according to their gender composition. This will be illustrated in a subsequent section describing occupational influence on absence to facilitate an integrated discussion of gender segregation within workplaces and occupations.

Workplace Support and Conflict

Here, we examine the influence of workplace support from colleagues and supervisors on absence along with its counterpart, the experience of conflict at work. A discussion of workplace support exemplifies how the same social factor can trigger different paths and results in terms of individual absence, shedding some light on controversial findings on whether support reduces absenteeism or encourages it.

On the surface, it is reasonable to expect that experiences of workplace support reduce individual absence while hostile relationships tend to increase it, and this may function via multiple paths, specifically the resource-based, attitudinal, and economic exchange paths. In fact, workplace support is a key organizational resource, which reduces absenteeism by offsetting the negative effects of job demands, alleviating stress and exhaustion (Biron, 2013;

Biron & Bamberger, 2012; Deery et al., 2002; Ulleberg & Rundmo, 1997; Undén, 1996).

Moreover, support can strengthen motivational states (e.g., work engagement) and positive

attitudes toward the job and organization (i.e., satisfaction and commitment) (Chiaburu &

Harrison, 2008; Deery, Erwin, Iverson, & Ambrose, 1995; Di Tecco & Borgogni, 2014). This

is in line with the job demands-resources (JD-R) model (Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, &

Schaufeli, 2001; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014) and conservation of resources (COR) theory

(Hobfoll, 2002). On the contrary, conflictual experiences on the job can deplete individual

resources, forcing employees to use a variety of means, including taking sick leave, to restore

them (Sliter & Boyd, 2015; Sliter, Sliter, & Jex, 2012). Additionally, reflecting the economic

exchange mechanism and drawing on social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) and the norm of

reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), supportive workplaces tend to foster prosocial citizenship

behaviors, discouraging absenteeism. For example, Dello Russo et al. (2013) found that

positive employee perceptions of top management support attenuated the increase over time

in the absenteeism of lower-tenured employees, which may provide evidence for reciprocity.

Conversely, hostile relationships on the job tend to increase absenteeism. Workplace conflicts

are often characterized by failed fair social exchange and violations of reciprocity norms

(Adams, 1965), which in turn can determine exit behaviors and group disintegration,

triggering absenteeism.

Despite all of this logic, meta-analytic findings on the direct relationship between

workplace support and absenteeism reveal weak associations. This applies to both co-worker

support ($\rho = -.08$, Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008) and organizational support ($\rho = -.07$, Kurtessis

et al., 2017). Reconsideration of the normative path can help explain this anomaly. The

aforementioned study by Dello Russo and colleagues (2013) showed that positive perceptions

of colleagues, in terms of reciprocal support, trust, and collaboration, were associated with

increased absence over time, suggesting that employees were internalizing the more

permissive absence norm of their higher tenured colleagues. It is also possible that more sympathetic colleagues led to the emergence of more tolerant and permissive absence norms by understanding the necessity of a sick day, providing replacement in case of sickness, facilitating the disclosure of illness, and removing barriers to reporting in sick (González-Romá et al., 2005; Imants & van Zoelen, 1995). This, in turn, should boost individual sense of control, encouraging the employee to take time off when genuinely sick (Imants & van Zoelen, 1995; Rael et al., 1995). In support of this line of thinking, presenteeism (i.e., working while ill) exhibits negative meta-analytic correlations with collegial and supervisor support and positive leadership qualities (Miraglia & Johns, 2016). This is also backed by the finding that team-shared conflict with the supervisor may indirectly promote more indulgent group absence norms and reinforce identification with such norms, consequently increasing absence (Geurts et al., 1994b). This recalls the conflict model of absence (Johns, 1997) and the related idea that some absenteeism represents a form of worker resistance to supervisory conflict or incivility.

The bottom line here is that support, whatever the source, can either discourage or facilitate absence, depending on the paths that a supportive work environment activates. This illustrates how the same factors can lead to differing results by operating via distinct mechanisms. To complicate the matter, local norms can influence individual-level absenteeism differently, as explained in the next section.

From the analysis of the literature so far, it seems safe to affirm that social integration, as reflected in elevated degrees of agreement around absence norms or team cohesion, results in lower individual absence. However, it is also evident that this is contingent on the normative content of the specific absence culture (i.e., legitimacy of absence), and it may vary across work groups and contexts. Cohesive groups will exhibit low absenteeism when team members agree on strict – as opposite to indulgent – absence norms (Sanders &

Hoekstra, 1998). Still, members of highly cohesive teams may collude to support higher absence rates (Edwards & Scullion, 1982; Xie & Johns, 2000), especially under adverse working conditions (Drago & Wooden, 1992). Cohesion may also affect the source of absence standards. For instance, in circumstances of weak social cohesion or overt work group conflict, individuals may rely more strongly on their own subjective absence standards rather than on group norms. Hence, in low cohesive or conflictual groups, individuals with liberal personal attitudes toward work attendance are more likely to go absent (Väänänen et al., 2008), while those with stricter attendance standards report a low number of voluntary sick days (Miles, Schaufeli, & van den Bos, 2011).

An additional boundary consideration regards the foci of the work unit and organizational absence norms. Since absence behavior can be observed by an array of social actors, the origin of absence norms can emanate from various sources, including coworkers, teammates, social peers, direct supervisors, and top management. Hence, we can ask whether these sources converge on similar norms and, if not, which ones would be more influential. It seems that colleagues and managers have distinct roles and disparate effects on employee absence. Research clearly demonstrates that managers endorse more rigorous attendance norms than subordinates subscribe to (Johns, 1994; Mastekaasa, Dale-Olsen, Hellevik, Løset, & Østbaaken, 2019). However, supportive leadership may facilitate the introjection of organizational values, offering employees an alternative basis for identity to that of the work group. Therefore, supervisory support may reduce the pressure of work group norms, which, if lenient, would normally increase absence (Biron & Bamberger, 2012; Eder & Eisenberger, 2008). Relatedly, Dello Russo et al. (2013) and Luetzen and Sonnentag (2017) showed that newcomers' compliance with their established colleagues' norms was accelerated over time by positive perceptions of colleagues, but it was attenuated by supportive top management,

attesting to the dissimilar effect of colleagues and management on individual attendance choices.

Duff and colleagues (2014) found that manager absenteeism exerted a moderating influence on the effect of group norms on individual absenteeism. Employees complied with the team's norms most strongly when supervisors themselves exhibited low levels of absence. This somewhat counterintuitive result might reflect reactance on the part of employees when perceived overzealous attendance standards are modeled by managers.

Organizational Ethical Climate

Organizational ethical climate comprises shared employee perceptions about organizational expectations, standards, values, and beliefs around promoting ethical behavior while preventing unethical conduct (Cullen, Parboteeah, & Victor, 2003; Kaptein, 2009). Individual absenteeism exhibits fairly consistent negative associations with ethical climate analyzed at the organizational (i.e., school) level (Rosenblatt & Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2017; Rosenblatt, Shapira-Lishchinsky, & Shirom, 2010; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009) as well as at the work-unit level (Kangas, Muotka, Huhtala, Mäkikangas, & Feldt, 2017). Organizations conveying high morality are likely to increase the salience of positive ethical norms and related behavior, enhancing employee moral commitment to the organization while minimizing shirking and deviant activity such as absence. Moreover, absenteeism itself has been considered as a form of organizational misbehavior and, as such, as unethical conduct that violates organizational and societal moral norms and codes (Rosenblatt & Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2017; Rosenblatt et al., 2010; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009).

The research by Rosenblatt, Shapira-Lishchinsky, and colleagues among school teachers particularly emphasizes how caring climate, signaling an ethical climate of respect and consideration for the interests and wellbeing of organizational members (Victor &

Cullen, 1988), leads to lower absence frequency (Rosenblatt & Shapira-Lishchinsky, 2017; Rosenblatt et al., 2010; Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009) and time lost (Shapira-Lishchinsky & Rosenblatt, 2009). Notably, these studies have verified the school-level shared perception of the virtuousness of the organization; hence, they have truly focused on the organization per se. The authors invoke exchange theory (Blau, 1964), positing that teachers reciprocate unethical organizational climate with counterproductive behavior, including absenteeism; conversely, organizational practices showing lack of care for the welfare and rights of teachers or students elicit absenteeism as a reactive attempt to restore equity and justice.

An additional perspective is offered by Kangas and colleagues (2017), who suggest that an ethical organizational climate constitutes a social resource that promotes individual wellbeing. Building on the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014), they argue that lack of resources harms motivation and causes withdrawal behavior. They demonstrated that strong individual perceptions of the organization's ethical virtues, aggregated at the work-unit level, predicted fewer days of individual sickness absence. Group discussion about ethics and supervisors' ethical role modeling were the most critical ethical components in inhibiting sick leave, stressing once again the relevance of supervisory behavior and standards for employee attendance.

THE OCCUPATION

National and international workforce surveys consistently reveal marked differences in absenteeism rates across occupations. For instance, Statistics Canada (2018) reported that employees in management occupations missed 5.2 days, compared with those in sales and service (9.5 days) and health-related occupations (15.2 days). The periodic European Working Conditions Surveys show similar variations (Eurofound, 2012, 2017). Such differences in sickness absence patterns presumably reflect differences in socioeconomic

composition, working conditions, and, most important for our review, social expectations associated with specific occupational sectors. In line with our interest in the social dynamics of absenteeism, we focus on three main factors that can underlie these occupational differences—social expectations, job demands of a social nature (e.g., customer interactions), and gender composition. We also analyze the influence of labor unions on absenteeism, as unions represent distinct occupational groups and protect and promote the interests of workers in these groups, and are thus relevant social actors within the work domain.

Social Expectations Concerning Attendance

Varying social expectations regarding employee responsibility and attendance shape individual-level absenteeism via normative and ethical mechanisms. For instance, in human service organizations (e.g., care, welfare, and educational service jobs), the focal point of work is people, and work outcomes result from relationships with patients, clients, or students. These occupational features can create elevated expectations regarding worker availability, capability to meet others' needs, and assiduous presence at the workplace (Gosselin, 2018). They may stress the ethical and moral duty of employees toward their "people" and enhance the development of professional norms that stress social commitment and moral obligation to attend (Aronsson et al., 2000; Krane et al., 2014; McKevitt et al., 2007). Hence, norms discouraging absenteeism, perhaps at the amplified cost of presenteeism (Gosselin, 2018; McKevitt et al., 2007), are promoted, reducing individual-level absenteeism.

In addition, as at the organizational level of analysis, occupational norms regarding attendance may control individual absence through their interaction with a more instrumental mechanism, once again highlighting the interplay between the normative and economic exchange paths. This is well-illustrated by a study in the manufacturing sector (Della Torre, Pelagatti, & Solari, 2015) reporting differences in absence rates between blue- and white-collar employees in relation to internal pay dynamics. Specifically, blue-collar – but not

white-collar – employees developed particular norms about absence legitimacy in relation to the equity of compensation policies, establishing an absence culture that validated absenteeism as a response to inequity. Hence, the two groups reacted differently to internal pay inequity and, more significantly, they relied differentially on an economic logic to determine absence standards and behavior.

Social Job Demands

Along with social expectations, occupational sectors differ according to the degree of social job demands and related psychological costs to which employees are exposed. For example, human service organization employees have frequent interactions with clients, which may lead to excessive levels of interpersonal strain stemming from customer mistreatment (e.g., verbal aggression, threats, or even violence) and from elevated emotional demands (Zapf, Seifert, Schmutte, Mertini, & Holz, 2001). Customer aggression and incivility can lead to absenteeism directly, as a behavioral form of mood regulation (Hackett, Bycio, & Guion, 1989), and indirectly following the emotional and resource-based paths. In fact, customer mistreatment may increase emotional exhaustion with consequent depletion of personal resources (Grandey et al., 2004; Sliter & Boyd, 2015; van Dierendonck & Mevissen, 2002). To limit the effects of resource depletion, prevent further loss, and restore what has already been lost (Hobfoll, 1989), employees resort to withdrawal behaviors.

Occupation-related emotional demands have also been discussed among the relational characteristics of work design (Grant & Parker, 2009). Specifically, we can draw on the emotional and resource-based paths to explain the influence of an emotional demand such as emotional labor on individual-level absence. Emotional labor requires the self-regulation of moods and emotions when interacting with customers, patients, or students (Grandey, 2000). It may result in emotional dissonance and surface acting, the exhibition of observable emotional expressions that are consistent with those required by the occupational role. At

least in the domain of negative emotions, emotional labor and surface acting come with considerable individual effort, since suppressing and faking require extensive use of resources, generating feelings of depersonalization, a lost sense of authenticity (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002), and an increase in burnout (Indregard, Ulleberg, Knardahl, & Nielsen, 2018; Rugulies et al., 2007; Zapf et al., 2001), eventually leading to sickness absenteeism (Indregard et al., 2018; Nguyen, Groth, & Johnson, 2013; Rugulies et al., 2007). As exemplary evidence for the operation of the emotional and the resource-based paths, we rely on a study of Norwegian frontline service employees (Indregard et al., 2018), since its findings also speak to the interaction among social factors at the multiple levels of our proposed model. The research demonstrated that organizational consideration for human resources (i.e., human resource primacy), an organization-level resource, can indirectly reduce the relationship between emotional dissonance and employee absenteeism by decreasing the negative effect of client-induced emotional labor on exhaustion. In line with the resource-based path, organizational-level support can provide the individual with extra resources to enrich depleted personal resources and deal with the emotional demands, reducing strain and associated absenteeism.

In relation to the emotional path, industries and related occupations can also dictate an organization's affective tone. According to Knight, Menges, and Bruch (2018), organizations in customer-centered industries (e.g., customer service, marketing, and retail) tend to adopt HR practices and structural features that emphasize positive affective experiences and reinforce positive emotions. As a result, they are characterized by a prevalence of positive affective tone, which decreases employee stress and curtails sick days. This is an example of how factors at different levels of analysis, namely the occupational sector (contributing to organizational affective tone) and the work group (group affective tone, discussed earlier) can activate analogous paths (i.e., the emotional path) and lead to similar effects on absenteeism.

Gender Composition

A final absence-relevant factor varying across occupations is their gender composition, a specific example of the potent social contextual variable Johns (2006) termed social density. For instance, according to the Sixth European Working Conditions Survey (Eurofound, 2017), craft workers, plant and machine operators, managers, and agricultural workers are highly male-dominated, while service and sales jobs are predominantly female occupations. A U-shaped relationship has been uncovered between gender composition at the occupational level and individual-level absenteeism, suggesting that occupations subjected to gender segregation (i.e., when men work in a women-predominant occupation or vice versa) may exhibit increased absence compared to gender-balanced occupations (Alexanderson, Leijon, Åkerlind, Rydh, & Bjurulf, 1994; Eurofound, 2017; Evans & Steptoe, 2002; Hensing, Alexanderson, Åkerlind, & Bjurulf, 1995). Put differently, women in men-predominant occupations as well as men in women-prevalent ones engage in higher absence. The resource pathway helps explain these results. Employees in occupations dominated by the opposite gender may hold a minority status (Hunt & Emslie, 1998) that may expose them to poorer resources (and higher demands) in terms of social support and stronger work pressure than their colleagues in gender-balanced sectors. This can lead to impaired psychological wellbeing, such as greater anxiety and psychiatric disorders, consequently increasing absenteeism (Evans & Steptoe, 2002; Hensing et al., 1995).

Occupational gender composition can also play a moderating role in absenteeism stratification by job level, as reported in research based on the German Socio-Economic Panel Study showing that the relationship between job level and absence is stronger for women in male-dominated and men in female-dominated occupational groups than for their counterparts in other occupations (Kröger, 2017). The study postulated that employees with a minority status (e.g., women in a male-dominated occupation) exhibit less absenteeism to

show higher levels of performance than the majority group (in this case, men in a male-dominated occupation) and to achieve higher chances for promotion. The study offers additional support for the view of absenteeism as a negative, deviant behavior (Harrison & Shaffer, 1994; Johns & Miraglia, 2015; Johns & Xie, 1998) and of the strategic use of absence in line with economic exchange principles.

It is important to specify that these findings arise from the investigation of gender segregation within occupational categories, which is associated with the gender composition of the workplace (i.e., the organizational level) and to stereotypes regarding women's (and men's) role in society (i.e., the cultural/societal level). Once more, constructs at different levels of the conceptual model can interact, producing distinct effects on individual absence that can be explained through different paths. In fact, in contrast with the above-presented results at the occupational level, women in female-dominated workplaces (i.e., organizational level) appear to exhibit greater absenteeism compared to those in male-prevalent worksites (Hensing & Alexanderson, 2004; Mastekaasa, 2005). These findings may suggest the operation of norms and the existence of a distinctive, more lenient absence culture characterizing female-predominant workplaces that can arise from social expectations and stereotypes surrounding the feminine role (Melsom, 2015; Patton & Johns, 2007, 2012a, 2012b). Indeed, at the societal level, female absence may be seen as less deviant and more justifiable (Patton & Johns, 2007) due to gender stereotypes that depict women as more delicate in health, more vulnerable to stress, double-stressed from home and work, less dedicated to the job, and less committed to the organization. Thus, indulgent societal norms may shape more tolerant organizational-level norms, which exert a more proximal influence on individual absence behavior. However, recent research on this subject has been mixed and may be biased by selection effects (Mastekaasa, 2005; Melsom, 2015). That is, more frequent absentees may be attracted to workplaces with more lenient norms because of impaired long-

term health, lower work centrality, or demanding family responsibilities. Such an effect has been reported by Melsom and Mastekaasa (2018), who detected the overrepresentation of absence-prone people in female-dominated occupations. Furthermore, more direct tests of gender differences in attitudes and norms toward absence have offered less support for the idea of norm divergence predicated on gender. In particular, studies using scenario methods reveal no effects for either gender as manipulated in the scenarios or the gender of respondents (Addae, Johns, & Boies, 2013; Løset et al., 2018; Mastekaasa et al., 2019; Patton, 2011). Two studies employing explicit ratings of absence legitimacy found a weak tendency for women to see the behavior as more legitimate (Addae et al., 2013; Johns, 2011), while one study reported no gender difference (Patton, 2011). The Patton and Johns (2007) finding of a gender differential stemmed from an analysis of over 100 years of *New York Times* reportage. These more direct tests have been performed recently, and it is possible that there has been a shift to less gendered absence attitudes and norms in recent years (Løset et al., 2018), corresponding to demonstrated temporal changes in gender stereotypes in other domains (Eagly, Nater, Miller, Kaufmann, & Sczesny, 2019).

Labor Unions

Labor unions can represent a vital voice for occupational groups, obviously reflecting on organizational units as well. Overall, unions might be expected to reduce absence (Deery, Iverson, Buttigieg, & Zatzick, 2014) via a resource-based pathway. Indeed, they aim at improving working conditions by increasing employees' organizational, job, and personal resources (e.g., fairer salaries, higher support, higher participation in decision making) and reinforcing voice behavior. This could logically decrease the probability of temporary exit via absence (Freeman & Medoff, 1984). In fact, however, research is consistent in finding higher absence levels for unionized employees across countries (e.g., Allen, 1984; Mastekaasa, 2013; Tompa, Scott-Marshall, & Fang, 2011). This may be due to the politicizing effect of

unions, which can increase employees' awareness of their conditions and rights that, if not met, may result in job dissatisfaction and consequent absenteeism (Borjas 1979; Freeman & Medoff, 1984). Hence, this would reflect the activation of the attitudinal path, leading to absence. In addition, the normative path may be relevant. Unionized employees may feel more protected and less fearful of organizational sanctions concerning attendance (Balchin & Wooden, 1995), developing more tolerant absence norms and showing higher absenteeism. Finally, a selection principle may be operating: dissatisfied employees or those with elevated levels of absenteeism, due either to health problems or lower motivation, might be more likely to join unions, either because they offer greater protection or the possibility to act out their voice (Mastekaasa, 2013).

THE FAMILY

By including non-work factors, we explicitly acknowledge that individuals, groups, and organizations do not exist in a social vacuum, and attitudes, norms, and behavior are shaped through interactions with one's family as well as with the broader community and society. Factors such as familial responsibilities (e.g., parenting or caring roles) can trigger family to work interference, which in turn may affect absenteeism. In the context of the present review, the social factor of interest is work-family interaction, which is at the interface between the worker at work and the individual at home and depicts how social roles outside of the organization can influence on-the-job behaviors, including absenteeism.

It seems feasible that family-to-work conflict (i.e., when family responsibilities undermine work duties) might be associated with elevated absenteeism while work-to-family conflict (i.e., when work responsibilities interfere with family commitments) might be associated with reduced absenteeism. At least one study (Johns, 2011) has revealed such opposed signs in a simultaneous analysis. However, in general, reviews show that conflict between the work and home domains is positively associated with absenteeism, whether

conflict is measured generally or directionally (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011; Kossek & Ozeki, 1999; Nilsen, Skipstein, Østby, & Mykletun, 2017). This said, the relative strength of the directional effects is unclear. The Amstad et al. (2011) meta-analysis showed a stronger estimated effect size for family-to-work conflict, while the systematic review by Nilsen and colleagues (2017) found more robust evidence in support of work-to-family conflict. Splitting the difference, a meta-analysis by Mesmer-Magnus and Viswesvaran (2005) found equivalent effects on a composite measure of withdrawal that included absence with tardiness and turnover.

The stress deriving from demanding roles either at home or work may deplete the flow and use of individual resources, inducing employees to resort to absence as a coping mechanism, enacting an avoiding or distancing strategy (Demerouti, Bouwman, & Sanz-Vergel, 2011; Feeney, North, Head, Canner, & Marmot, 1998). The findings can thus be interpreted via the resource-based path in a way that echoes the analysis of the impact of occupational social demands on absence, as illustrated above. A spillover effect from the home to the work domain (and vice versa) would also correspond to this path. Indeed, building on COR theory (Hobfoll, 2002), home demands may consume physical and psychological resources, leading to stress and depression, which in turn deteriorate physical health and job motivation, increasing sickness absence (Erickson, Nichols, & Ritter, 2000; ten Brummelhuis, ter Hoeven, de Jong, & Peper, 2013).

However, we need not subscribe to such a negative view of the interplay between the work and home spheres, as an emerging body of empirical research uncovers a more positive, enriching, and facilitating spillover dynamic (ten Brummelhuis et al., 2013; van Steenbergen, Ellemers, & Mooijaart, 2007). The home sphere can equally enhance resource accumulation, leading to higher individual resources that can reduce stress and boost job motivation. The result is improved performance in both domains and lower sickness absenteeism (ten

Brummelhuis et al., 2013; van Steenbergen & Ellemers, 2009). The resource-gain-development perspective also backs up the spillover of resources (Wayne, Grzywacz, Carlson, & Kacmar, 2007). It emphasizes how fulfilling both work and family roles can energize people and activate resources for growth and development, such as social support, innovation, and time management (Dumas & Perry-Smith, 2018; Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer, & King, 2002; van Steenbergen et al., 2007), leading to resource gains and facilitation. In turn, performance (in both domains) and physical health are improved, the latter mitigating sickness absenteeism (van Steenbergen & Ellemers, 2009).

The emotional path is another mechanism conveying the influence of the home domain on workplace behavior, including absence. First, mood congruency (Rusting & DeHart, 2000) may explain why individuals in negative moods due to home demands might carry a pessimistic attitude and negative feelings to work, impairing motivation and eventually eliciting absenteeism (ten Brummelhuis et al., 2013). In addition, emotional contagion in highly empathic couples can trigger a crossover effect, transmitting family demands and stress from one partner to the other, thus affecting both partners' behavior at work (Hammer, Bauer, & Grandey, 2003). Concerning absenteeism, the crossover effect has been demonstrated only for female partners, but in the opposite direction to that expected, in that wives' family-to-work conflict is negatively related to their husbands' absence (Hammer et al., 2003). This confirms that work-family conflict is more relevant for women (Evans & Steptoe, 2002; Nilsen et al., 2017), but it also indicates that high levels of their family-to-work conflict may stem from husbands not being able to miss work to help with family demands.

THE COMMUNITY

The social factors influencing absenteeism include characteristics of the community in which the employee is embedded, such as its social composition, and elements emerging

from the interaction between the individual and the collective, such as community embeddedness and engagement.

Social Composition of the Community

The social composition of a community has been associated with the level of absence in its workplaces. An interaction between the normative and economic paths can explain the association. A community's social composition can produce distinct absence cultures and associated norms based on distinct instrumental logics. This is well illustrated by the work by Virtanen and colleagues, who employed Bourdieu's (1984) sociological theory to explain how the historical and cultural locality determined differences in sickness absenteeism among three Finnish municipal organizations (Virtanen, Nakari, Ahonen, Vahtera, & Pentti, 2000; Virtanen, Vahtera, Nakari, Pentti, & Kivimäki, 2004). The municipality characterized by a majority of working-class inhabitants viewed absence instrumentally as a legitimate means to safeguard and restore the worker's capital (i.e., a robust and functioning body to work). Society and employers were seen as responsible for covering absence costs. Such logic is a clear indicator of the operation of an economic mechanism. Contrarily, in the community dominated by the middle class, individuals perceived a less direct link between a well-functioning body and the job, shared a view of health as being more of a personal issue, and found it difficult to disengage from work, even when sick. This explained the lower absenteeism rate in this community. The research not only shows the emergence and power of community absence norms and their interaction with instrumental logic, but it is also a telling example of the interplay of contextual levels, showing how one source of absence culture can trump another, since (usually substantial) occupational influences were subordinated to influences emanating from the community social class composition.

Community Embeddedness and Engagement

Recalling the reasoning underlying the positive association of family-to-work conflict with absenteeism, one could expect that being engaged with and strongly connected to the community could increase absence in the workplace. Involvement with local politics, cultural events, sports, and volunteer activities could demand commitment and effort, competing with work demands and, ultimately, with good attendance. However, strong engagement and connection with the community appear to reduce, rather than increase, absenteeism. Following a resource-based logic, engaging in communitarian activities can foster interpersonal interactions and expand social resources, fulfilling the individual's self-regulatory needs for self-efficacy, self-esteem, and a sense of belonging (Siegrist, 2000). Consequently, active, rather than passive, regulatory coping is enhanced, leading to lower disengagement and better work attendance (Lance & ter Hoeven, 2010). Differently from the organization, where social support can exert varying influence on absence, the support stemming from communitarian relationships seems to play an empowering function for the individual, sustaining good attendance. Once again, this illustrates how similar constructs at different levels can result in differing absence outcomes.

Similarly, community embeddedness has been associated with reduced volitional absenteeism (Lee, Mitchell, Sablynski, Burton, & Holtom, 2004), and this can be explained through both exchange and attitudinal mechanisms. When making attendance decisions, people will consider the consequences of job loss due to prolonged or unjustified absences for their community involvement. In line with quasi-economic rationality, the fear of losing links, fit, and investment with and into the community (i.e., community embeddedness; Mitchell, Holtom, Lee, Sablynski, & Erez, 2001) may trigger attendance pressure, consequently reducing absenteeism. Additionally, strong communitarian links can decrease absence via promoting the development of high levels of commitment to the community. Scandinavian nurses who felt closely connected to the local community were more

committed and dedicated to create a pleasant work and home environment, which, in turn, fostered a positive climate and lowered sickness absence rates (Krane et al., 2014).

Framed in the reverse, some of these same community dynamics have also been shown to operate regionally. Hernandez (2015) found that US states in regions characterized by higher family disruption and residential mobility exhibited higher absenteeism, which he attributed to anomie and social disorganization. Such conditions surely limit engagement and embeddedness in the community.

THE NATION AND SOCIETY

The most basic evidence for the impact of national and societal level mechanisms on individual absence stems from research showing differences in absenteeism rates or perceived absence legitimacy across countries (e.g., Addae et al., 2013; Chaudhury, Hammer, Kremer, Muralidharan, & Rogers, 2006; Kaiser, 1998; Livanos & Zangelidis, 2013). For instance, the Sixth European Working Conditions Survey (Eurofound, 2017) revealed striking national dissimilarities in the annual number of self-reported sick days. Norway reported the highest number of days (9.4), followed by Finland (8.9) and Belgium (8.4), while the lowest numbers were found among South-Eastern European and Balkan countries, including Greece (2.2) and Hungary (2.7).

Multiple explanatory variables determine such differences. Some are obviously economic, reflecting dissimilarities in national economic development, labor market characteristics, insurance provision, and institutional and governance systems. Others suggest the operation of more social processes, revealing the influence of national values and beliefs about absence. We focus on the latter stream of research, aiming to illustrate how broader factors at the societal level, specifically national culture and significant societal events, shape absence behavior at the individual level through multiple paths.

National Cultures

National cultures, characterized by a distinctive constellation of values, beliefs, and attitudes, can foster or constrain organizational behavior, and being highly dependent on perceived legitimacy, attendance behaviors are not immune to the influence of culture. National cultures shape social expectations and norms regarding absenteeism (Addae & Johns, 2002; Addae et al., 2013; Johns & Xie, 1998) and encourage the introjection of such norms and compliance with the influence of significant others (Ramsay et al., 2008). Thus, we propose that the effect of national cultures on absence behaviors works through a normative mechanism.

Evidence of the influence of national culture on perceived absence legitimacy and appropriate motives for absence is offered by Johns and Xie (1998), who compared individualistic and collectivistic cultures, exemplified respectively by Canada and China. Although individuals in both cultures underreported their absence, similarly engaging in self-serving bias, Chinese employees had a stronger tendency to favor their work group and to agree with managers on absence norms. This is consistent with the greater emphasis placed by collectivistic cultures on attitudinal and behavioral rules, which leads to higher homogeneity of perceptions and normative compliance. Furthermore, this is a prominent example of the functioning of norms at multiple levels of analysis and, more specifically, of the cross-level synergy between the national and organizational levels. As such, national values interact with group and managerial norms to regulate individual absence behavior. Moreover, the Chinese assigned less importance to medical causes for absence and more to domestic motives as compared to Canadians. The latter finding reflects the centrality of self-control for Chinese employees as well as their tendency to favor the needs of the employer rather than their own (Lin & Lu, 2013). In line with the Confucian principles of resilience and social obligation (Fan, 2000; Fung, 1997), the Chinese culture tends to view sickness absenteeism as a sign of weakness, discouraging employees from taking sick leave (Wang,

Chen, & Fosh, 2018). In support of this, Chinese employees often prefer to continue working when sick due to the values they attribute to endurance, persistence, and reputation (i.e., presenteeism "as a way of saving face", Wang, Chen, Lu, Eisenberger, & Fosh, 2018, p. 293), understandably reducing the legitimacy of sickness absence. Kuzmits (1995) reported similar results for Vietnamese immigrants in the United States.

More recently, Addae and colleagues (2013) extended these results and empirically demonstrated that absence legitimacy is culturally constructed, corroborating inferences from previous research (Parboteeah, Addae, & Cullen, 2005; Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010) on the mediating role of absence legitimacy between national culture and individual attendance behavior. The study showed that perceptions of absence legitimacy varied across nine countries and that societal-level differences in work centrality, polychronicity, locus of control, gender role differentiation, and social support accounted for this variation.

These findings exemplify how elements at higher levels of analysis (i.e., at the societal level) can influence factors at lower levels (i.e., standards of behavior at the organizational level) to control individual absence. Moreover, concerning interactive dynamics, a study by Felfe and Yan (2009) illustrates the interplay between norms and attitudes. The authors suggest that the cultural context alters the relevance that job attitudes have in determining absenteeism, finding that affective and normative commitment were more important predictors of absenteeism in collectivistic China than in individualistic Germany.

Societal Events

Along with the ambient influence of national culture, further evidence of the effect of the broader social context on absenteeism stems from literature focusing on the consequences of national and societal events for attendance dynamics. Such events can affect individual absenteeism through, once again, a normative path but also through emotional mechanisms.

Indeed, highly salient societal events may reinforce values of responsibility and solidarity, defining stricter absence norms and leaving less tolerance for unjustified absence. Such events, thus, can affect attendance expectations along with corresponding absence norms and legitimacy. For instance, during World War II, a media crusade discouraged sick leave in US war plants by labeling absenteeism as negative, deviant, and unhelpful for the nation and calling for individual initiative and responsibility (Patton & Johns, 2012a; Tansey & Hyman, 1992). Similar strict norms emerged after the Wenchuan, China earthquake when surviving employees' absenteeism dropped significantly to meet urgent societal and organizational demands (Quin & Jiang, 2011).

Concerning the emotional path, reactions consequent to national traumas, such as terrorist attacks, natural disasters, or industrial accidents, may elicit stress, negatively affecting attendance. At least some of the variance in these reactions can be attributed to social causes in that media treatment and public discourse galvanize attention on the stressful events. For example, a 90-year series of reports on health and disease in the British Post Office revealed peaks in sickness absenteeism during the two world wars (Taylor & Burridge, 1982). More recently, those Israelis who were more emotionally disturbed by the 1995 assassination of Prime Minister Rabin exhibited elevated work absenteeism (Kushnir, Fried, & Malkinson, 2001), a finding that was subsequently replicated in a similar study in Pakistan (Malik, Shahzad, & Kiyani, 2017). Additionally, American and Canadian employees exhibited higher absence rates in the weeks following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Bowlby, 2001; Byron & Peterson, 2002). As Johns (2006) noted, absenteeism in these situations represented an acute response to an acute contextual stimulus, as job attitudes and career plans were not similarly affected by the attacks.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF ABSENTEEISM: INSIGHTS AND

FUTURE RESEARCH

Over the last three decades, increasing interest in the social nature of absenteeism has generated a prolific, albeit complicated, array of studies on the features and forces of the social context that influence attendance behavior. Our review integrated and synthesized this research by adopting a relational perspective (Grant & Parker, 2009) on the determinants of absenteeism and by developing a multi-level model. The model covers the work and nonwork domains and summarizes the social mechanisms or paths by which various factors at the multiple levels of the social context shape individual absence.

The first and foremost insight emerging from the review regards the extensive evidence for the impact of the social context on absenteeism and the need to employ a relational approach in its study. Such impact stems from several factors at different levels, both within and outside the organization. However, the review of the nonwork factors documents their relatively neglect as compared with the number of studies conducted in the work domain. Moreover, the review identified the mechanisms and underlying theories that convey the influence of the social contextual factors on individual absence. The multi-level approach, as well as the identification of multiple paths, also allowed us to recognize overlapping areas of research where possibility for integration and extension exists.

In what follows, we first highlight those social predictors that emerged from the review more clearly, strongly, and consistently at each of the identified levels. To this purpose, we relied on the criteria provided by Johns (2006) for determining the importance of contextual variables beyond mere effect sizes. One of these criteria is the pervasiveness with which a contextual variable and its theoretical mediators operate at multiple levels of analysis. This is important because it addresses how the consideration of social context can serve as an integrating function in addition to its more common role in differentiating phenomena (Johns, 2017, 2018). Also, from an applied perspective, the importance of social contextual variables might be gauged by how amenable they could be for managing

attendance at work. We consider both principles to assess relative impact. We also discuss the interplay among factors and levels, showing convergences and divergences in the social control of absenteeism. We finally conclude with directions for future research, including bridging the absenteeism and presenteeism literatures.

The Key Social Drivers of Absenteeism and Related Paths

Absence standards and associated norms. Clearly, absence standards and the associated normative path dominate the explanation of the influence of the social context on individual absenteeism, which is seen as the product of collective norms and culture regarding the legitimacy of and tolerance for the behavior. Signaling the pervasiveness of the normative narrative, absence norms stem from factors at nearly all the levels within the work and nonwork domains. Thus, within the work sphere, the formation of absence norms can be based on the observation of colleagues' and supervisors' behaviors and the introjection of their subjective standards (i.e., organizational level), identification with the organization's absence culture (i.e., organizational level), and perceived pressure created by social expectations concerning attendance at the occupational level. Furthermore, absence norms can be shaped by standards triggered by the social composition of the community (i.e., community level), national cultures, and societal events (i.e., national and societal level).

Despite the evidence for the existence and functioning of absence norms across levels, research has been especially focused on the normative control of absence within organizations and, more specifically, it has empirically targeted organizational sub-units, primarily work groups or teams. As absenteeism is visible, countable behavior, its level and pattern can be observed by a variety of social actors, such as colleagues, peer referents, direct managers, and senior management. Hence, related norms can emerge from multiple foci. The review sheds light on whether these sources share similar norms and which of these sources are prevalent in setting the norms. We determined that colleagues and managers often hold

distinct absence norms (Johns, 1994; Mastekaasa et al., 2019), and that managers can play a crucial role in affecting employee absence norms and associated absence. Indeed, supervisors' or managers' own absence behavior and support for subordinates can model the influence of group absence norms on individual absenteeism (Biron & Bamberger, 2012; Duff et al., 2014; Eder & Eisenberger, 2008) and can even offset the effect of group norms on individual absence (Biron & Bamberger, 2012; Dello Russo et al., 2013; Luetzen & Sonnentag, 2017).

The marked emphasis of empirical research on the formation of norms in organizations, and more exactly within work groups, has perhaps precluded an accurate understanding of how elements from the extra-organizational environment can interact with intra-organizational factors to mold absence norms and behavior. For instance, what are the implications for individual absenteeism when norms at the organizational level contradict those at the community or societal level? Some initial evidence on the relevance of such issues comes from studies showing that incongruency between organizational practices and cultural values leads to weaker participation, less adequate job performance, and increased withdrawal behavior, including absenteeism and turnover (Peretz & Fried, 2012). For instance, organization-driven diversity programs that contradict national cultural practices, such as in societies low in inclusion, trigger tension and resistance, damaging employee satisfaction and commitment, eventually exacerbating absenteeism and turnover (Peretz, Levi, & Fried, 2015). These findings are in line with theories (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1994, 1995) positing that national cultural values can determine the legitimacy of organizational human resources programs and practices.

The review also identifies some social factors that can play a moderating role on normative impact. Once again, these moderating factors emerge from the organizational level. Specifically, social cohesion and the social composition of the workplace in terms of

psychological or demographic characteristics facilitate the introjection of group standards and behavior related to absence, boosting the influence of absence norms. As explained earlier, ultimately, the actual effect of these absence norms on individual behavior will depend on their content (e.g., absence seen as more or less legitimate), leading to either a rise or decline in consequent absenteeism.

The specification of multiple paths allowed us to complement the prevalent normative argument, introducing new perspectives on the mechanisms underpinning the social control of absenteeism. We see that the influence of the multi-level factors listed at the beginning of this section can also be explained via alternative paths. In fact, colleagues' and supervisors' absence behavior and standards, as well as the social composition of the community, can influence individual absenteeism via economic exchange. In other words, employees may instrumentally regulate their absence in accordance with that of their colleagues (Dale-Olsen et al., 2015; Geurts et al., 1994a; 1994b; Johns & Nicholson, 1982; ten Brummelhuis et al., 2016) or community members (Virtanen et al., 2000; 2004), based on more instrumental principles underpinned by social exchange (Blau, 1964), reciprocity norms (Gouldner, 1960), and equity considerations (Adams, 1965). In addition, social expectations concerning attendance at the occupational level can activate ethical expectations, stressing moral duty and commitment toward vulnerable clients, patients, or students (Aronsson et al., 2000; Krane et al., 2014; McKevitt et al., 2007).

Relational and social demands and resources. Relational and social demands and resources represent additional key social factors that recursively emerges from the analysis of the literature and cross multiple levels within the work and nonwork spheres. These factors are worth attention for at least two reasons. First, they are in line with renewed attention to relational work design (Grant & Parker, 2009). Second, they have clear implications for

practice, as they are things that managers (and, in some cases, employees themselves) can address and control to manage absenteeism.

Social demands are exemplified by occupational demands of a social nature related to certain professions, such as frequent interactions with clients and patients (Zapf et al., 2001) or emotional labor and surface acting (Grandey, 2000). Social resources are evident at a) the organizational level, including factors such as collegial, supervisory, and organizational support or organizational ethical climate; b) the family level, where family members can provide the individual with enriching resources (ten Brummelhuis et al., 2013; van Steenbergen et al., 2017); c) the community level, where community embeddedness and engagement can foster interpersonal interactions and expand social networks, and labor unions can improve working conditions and promote voice.

The influence of social and relational demands and resources on individual absenteeism operates mostly through the resource and attitude paths, consistent with job design theories such as the JD-R model (Demerouti et al., 2001; Bakker & Demerouti, 2014) and COR theory (Hobfoll, 2002). Excessive demands and scarce resources can cause absenteeism by inducing the individual to use sick leave to prevent resource depletion and restore lost resources (Sliter & Boyd, 2013; Sliter et al., 2012), by causing stress and impaired health and wellbeing (Biron, 2013; Biron & Bamberger, 2012, Deery et al., 2002), and by harming job attitudes and motivation (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2005; Deery et al., 1995; Di Tecco & Borgogni, 2014), resulting in withdrawal behavior.

Social demands and resources are susceptible to managerial and, to a certain extent, individual control. The organizational factors include work design characteristics on which the management can exercise a certain degree of control, for example by increasing the support provided or intervening in the volume of social demands embedded in the job. Furthermore, individuals can become involved in more numerous activities and initiatives

with their community, and organizations can encourage this involvement by, for example, offering time off for employees to partake in volunteering experiences (Deloitte Development LLC, 2017). Additionally, employees can also engage in job crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001), altering the relational boundaries of their jobs by modifying the quantity and quality of their interactions in the workplace (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) and by increasing job-related social resources (Tims & Bakker, 2010).

Finally, social job demands at the occupational level as well as family dynamics can affect absenteeism not only through resource-based and attitudinal processes but also via an emotional path. As illustrated, phenomena such as emotional exhaustion or emotional labor associated with certain occupations (e.g., care, welfare, and educational service jobs) and emotional contagion between partners (Hammer et al., 2003; ten Brummelhis et al., 2013) can result in increased absence from work (Grandey et al., 2004; Sliter & Boyd, 2015; Rugulies et al., 2007). The review helps us recognize the importance of absence-related emotional mechanisms (Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003) that have often been neglected in absenteeism research.

Interactive Processes

The multi-level model illustrates how factors at multiple levels and related paths can interact to influence individual absenteeism. So far, we have discussed how distinct variables at different levels converge on the same mediating path to determine absenteeism. Indeed, various key factors across levels can equally activate the normative path or resource-based and attitudinal processes. Similarly, analogous factors at different levels, such as positive affective tone at the organizational and occupational levels, can reduce strain and absenteeism via the same emotional path (Knight et al., 2018; Mason & Griffin, 2003).

More interestingly, the model sheds light on contradictory findings concerning the social control of absence, as it portrays how the same factors at a single level (e.g., workplace

support) or comparable factors across contexts (e.g., workplace, familial, and communal support) can affect absence differently by following separate paths. We can take social support as an example since it has been operationalized at multiple levels from collegial and supervisory to family and communal, and it reveals inconsistent results, either encouraging or discouraging individual absence. These contradictory findings can be explained via the various paths that social support can activate to influence absenteeism. In organizations, support may contribute to lower absence by offsetting strain and promoting health, fostering more positive job attitudes, and activating a reciprocity norm; hence, the negative link between workplace support and absenteeism seems to be mediated by resource-based, attitudinal, and economic exchange mechanisms, respectively. The same negative relationship between social support and absenteeism has been reported within the extra-work sphere, and it can be ascribed to the resource-based path. Supportive family or community members can offer social resources that empower the individual, encouraging good attendance (Lance & ter Hoeven, 2010). On the other hand, research has explained the positive association between support and absenteeism via a normative path. Supportive colleagues may promote adherence to more tolerant absence norms (Dello Russo et al., 2013; Luetzen & Sonnentag, 2017; Schmidt, 2002), as corroborated by the presenteeism literature showing that supportive workplaces tend to reduce the tendency of going to work while sick (Miraglia & Johns, 2016).

Another telling example of how analogous factors at different levels can affect absenteeism differently by prompting distinct mechanisms are the effect for gender segregation. As illustrated earlier, occupational gender segregation shows a U-shaped relationship with individual-level absenteeism (i.e., absenteeism is higher for employees in occupations that are highly gender segregated), which can be explained by the resource pathway (Alexanderson et al., 1994; Eurofound, 2017; Evans & Steptoe, 2002; Hensing et al.,

1995). However, when analyzed at the organizational level, female-predominant workplaces reveal higher levels of absence (Hensing & Alexanderson, 2004; Mastekaasa, 2005), and this has been attributed to normative mechanisms (Melsom, 2015; Patton & Johns, 2007, 2012a).

Future Research Directions

The proposed framework offers a new lens to read existing research, but it can also serve as a guide to position future inquiry. First, the model suggests more extensive use of cross- and multi-level research as well as configural designs to test some of its implications. Cross- and multi-level modeling would allow us to explore the simultaneous effects of individual and collective variables on absenteeism and to facilitate the understanding of the mechanisms through which the distal context (e.g., community and national levels) influences employee absenteeism (Johns, 2017, 2018). Such mechanisms may lie at the *meso* level and may be explored by adopting measures more closely related to individual-level absence behaviors, such as absence legitimacy. In addition, configural designs can help us to embrace the complexity of contextual impact (Johns, 2017) by investigating how bundles of multi-level variables affect individual absenteeism.

The model could be dissected to focus on particular levels and social factors and to include specific constructs to test the mediating mechanisms (i.e., the paths identified in the review). By drawing on the model, future studies can empirically verify the operation of social factors at different levels via the same path by specifying the related mediating variables. For instance, we established that a normative narrative dominates the explanation of the social control of absenteeism. Nevertheless, we also noted that some questions still remain, particularly in relation to the interplay of absence standards deriving from different parties within and outside the organization. Thus, future studies can verify the interaction among absence standards at multiple levels (e.g., organization, society) in influencing individual-level absenteeism according to the normative logic. In parallel, future studies

could empirically test how social factors at the same level can shape absenteeism via multiple paths. For instance, research could provide empirical support for the relative impact of social support on absence through resource-based, attitudinal, economic exchange, and normative processes.

Additionally, greater attention can be paid to possible spillover dynamics occurring across levels and domains. We have documented how spillover from the family to the organization – and thus from the nonwork to the work sphere –can affect individual absenteeism (Erikson et al., 2000; ten Brummelhuis et al., 2013; van Steenbergen & Ellemers, 2009). Similarly, a Norwegian study matching employer-employee data over a nine-year period revealed that a change in an employee's family physician can influence the employee's absence level and also that of his or her co-workers (Godøy & Dale-Olsen, 2018). Bearing our multi-level model in mind, this shows how a factor at the community level within the nonwork domain, the physician's propensity to certify sick leave, can influence organizational absenteeism by triggering social emulation among peers.

Future research should also take into consideration the interplay among mechanisms. We believe that it is crucial to understand the interaction between the normative and economic exchange paths. Both are based on social comparison and social information theories (Festinger, 1954; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978; Sherif, 1936), and both posit that employees compare themselves with their significant group to obtain information about appropriate attendance behavior. However, according to economic logic, this information is used to estimate the costs and benefits of absenteeism, while according to the normative framework, information sharing leads to the emergence of, identification with, and modeling of shared norms. Future studies can investigate the individual and collective features, conditions, and cultures that favor the emergence of one logic over the other. For example, employee characteristics, such as traits or motives, group aspects (e.g., cohesion, climate),

job design features (e.g., autonomy vs. interdependence), broader cultural dimensions (e.g., individualism vs. collectivism) or societal characteristics (e.g., societal-level inequality, Leana & Meuris, 2015) might trigger the two processes differently. Moreover, further research can focus on those instances in which absence norms and cost-benefit reasoning can interact (Van Yperen, Hagedoorn, & Geurts, 1996).

In a related vein, considering that the strength and direction of change in absenteeism can vary across groups (Mason & Griffin, 2003), showing that norms can change and adapt over time, a further research question pertains to why some groups exhibit an increase and others a decrease in absence norms and behavior and how these norms change over time. Research has shown the role of tenure and organizational socialization (Dello Russo et al., 2013; Luetzen & Sonnentag, 2017; Schmidt, 2002) in shaping individual trajectories of absenteeism. However, we still do not know, for example, how strict absence norms could become more lenient when, for instance, psychological contract breaches occur and the contract terms are shared within a social unit (Morrison & Robinson, 1997; Rousseau, 1995). Once more, these and related questions will shed light on the interaction between the normative and economic exchange paths.

Upcoming research on the social control of absenteeism cannot ignore changes in the economic and societal landscape. Future studies need to focus not only on contextual variables but also on changes in these variables (Johns, 2017). For example, swift economic changes, such as the advent of financial and employment crises, affect individual work behavior, including absenteeism (Johns, 1997). It would be interesting to verify whether and how these economic events modify the interaction between economic indicators and cultural values and their joint effect on employee absence. Change can also be intended as change of context, as in the case of research on migration. As Addae and Johns (2002) noted, despite the awareness of the influence of national culture on absenteeism, there are no studies of if or

how absence levels and the perceived legitimacy of absenteeism adjust when an individual moves from one country to another. Finally, to accommodate new market and employee needs and in response to globalization trends, organizations have been introducing substantial changes in work design, such as flextime and remote work. These changes inevitably affect workplace relationships. Of particular interest would be studies that outline how such modifications are expected to alter the meaning of absenteeism – which cannot be defined any longer as the failure to be present at a certain time in a certain place – and to favor the emergence of new ways of understanding, measuring, and managing work attendance (Harrison et al., 2000).

In a similar way, we call for the investigation of further levels that pertain to distributed work and virtual interaction. In the era of global connectivity and social media, it would be worth exploring how individuals choose the relevant referents with whom they identify and conform to beyond the organizational and community boundaries. This line of research would apply mainly to international or knowledge workers.

Finally, a sure omission has been the failure to develop an evidence-based agenda for a social dynamics approach to the management of organizational attendance, as advocated many years ago by Harrison et al. (2000). Although research does show that deliberate social feedback can affect attendance decisions (Gaudine & Saks, 2001; Gaudine, Saks, Dawe, & Beaton, 2013), we have essentially zero information on the impact of controversial practices such as Amazon's group-based attendance bonus. The company introduced a policy that gives employees a bonus if they use little sick leave, but only if their teammates also exhibit exemplary attendance, which anecdotally puts great pressure on individual absentees (Kessler, 2017). It is interesting to note that the policy has been introduced in Germany, which offers generous sick leave policies and values the importance of time off from work and work-life balance (Eurofound, 2019; OECD, 2017). Further research on the topic can

highlight the interplay between contrasting practices and policies at different levels (i.e., organization level versus national and societal level), helping to understand their implications for individual absenteeism.

Another example of collective absence management is seen in the practice of sharing sick leave among colleagues. Recently, US teachers were reported to donate and exchange sick (and parental) leave between their colleagues (Durana, 2018). On one side, this practice shows a high level of collegial support within the occupation. On the other side, it signals national and occupational-level absenteeism practices and policies that insufficiently provide for employee sickness and family care. Consequently, these teachers have relied on collective practices to manage individual members' absence, based on social support, to compensate for inadequate national and occupational systems. The example shows how organizational factors can adapt to and counterbalance elements at higher levels of analysis.

By constraining employees from taking sick leave, both bonuses based on group attendance and collegial absence-sharing practices have evident implications for presenteeism. When pressured by organizational policies and team members, sick employees can be inclined to substitute absence with presence (Caverley, Cunningham, & MacGregor, 2007), jeopardizing their own health and wellbeing as well as that of their colleagues and the entire organization. Presenteeism can have serious consequences when people turn up at work with contagious diseases (Pichler & Ziebarth, 2017), as the COVID-19 outbreak has taught us.

Along with the clarification of the social determinants and dynamics of absenteeism systematized in this review, we share the call for further primary studies exploring the social context of presenteeism (Ruhle et al., 2019). By complementing the literature on absenteeism, such studies can investigate the social factors that contribute to the development of working when sick. Initial evidence on the social underpinnings of presenteeism has

emerged at multiple levels of analysis, ranging from the broader cultural context and national values (Lohaus & Habermann, 2019) to family-work interaction and the specific occupational context (McGregor, Sharma, Magee, Caputi & Iverson, 2018; Miraglia & Johns, 2016) and to organizational elements, such as presenteeism climate (Ferreira et al., 2019; Mach et al., 2018) and group health climate (Schulz, Zacher, & Lippke, 2017). At the organizational level, leadership factors such as leaders' attitudes toward working while ill, their own actual behavior (Dietz, Zacher, Scheel, Otto & Rigotti, 2020), their positive leadership styles (Lohaus & Habermann, 2019; Miraglia & Johns, 2016), and relationships with followers (Ferreira et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2018), have been considered. A recent multi-level longitudinal study demonstrated that leader presenteeism has a positive influence on employee presenteeism over time, indirectly increasing consequent employee sick leaves (Dietz et al., 2020). These results not only ascertain the supervisory role modelling of attendance behaviors, speaking to normative influence within organizations, but also shed initial light on the linkage between absenteeism and presenteeism.

What is most needed in this domain are studies that explicitly consider the simultaneous impact of social factors on both absenteeism and presenteeism. For example, Ruhle and Süβ (2019) used qualitative research to construct a typology of attendance cultures based on the perceived legitimacy of both absenteeism and presenteeism. One is health-focused (absence is legitimate), one is "presentistic" (presenteeism is legitimate), and one favors individual decision (both behaviors are legitimate).

A joint investigation of the social and relational determinants of absenteeism and presenteeism will enhance our theoretical and empirical understanding of attendance dynamics. Furthermore, it will better enable us to gauge the practical and managerial implications of the social control of attendance behavior and its related consequences at multiple levels of the work and non-work hierarchy. There is great scope for innovation in

this domain, and we echo Grant and Parker's (2009) call to embrace more critical perspectives and research to show the promises and perils of relying on relational and social dynamics as powerful methods of managing absenteeism.

CONCLUSION

By reviewing an interdisciplinary body of literature on the social and relational causation of absenteeism, we offered a comprehensive account of the impact of the social context on individual absence, expanding on the traditional individual-centric perspective on absenteeism etiology. We proposed a multi-level model that identifies the social factors influencing absence and pertaining to work (i.e., organization and occupation) and non-work (i.e., family, community, nation/society) levels. Moreover, the model tracked the mechanisms (i.e., the *paths*) and related theories that explain the influence of these social factors on individual-level absenteeism. Six paths emerged from the analysis of the literature and involved normative influence, economic exchange, resources, attitudes, emotions, and ethics. We concluded by showing that absence standards and associated norms as well as relational and social demands and resources were the social factors which more clearly, robustly, and consistently affected individual absence across levels. We also uncovered interactions among the factors at multiple levels and paths in determining individual-level absenteeism, contributing to solving inconsistencies and paradoxical findings in the field. The review provides numerous avenues for future research and offers insights to organizations on attendance management, including the urgency to manage absenteeism with presenteeism in mind.

References

Adams, J. S. (1965). Inequity in social exchange. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 2*, 267–299.

Addae, H. M., & Johns, G. (2002). National culture and perceptions of absence legitimacy. In M. Koslowsky & M. Krausz (Eds.), *Voluntary employee withdrawal and inattendance: A current perspective* (pp. 21–51). New York: Kluwer/Plenum.

Addae, H. M., Johns, G., & Boies, K. (2013). The legitimacy of absenteeism from work: A nine nation exploratory study. *Cross Cultural Management, 20*, 402–428.

Adkins, C. L., Ravlin, E. C., & Meglino, B. M. (1996). Value congruence between co-workers and its relationship to work outcomes. *Group & Organization Management, 21*, 439–460.

Alexanderson, K., Leijon, M., Åkerlind, I., Rydh, H., & Bjurulf, P. (1994). Epidemiology of sickness absence in a Swedish county in 1985, 1986 and 1987. A three year longitudinal study with focus on gender, age and occupation. *Scandinavian Journal of Social Medicine, 22*, 27–34.

Allen, S. G. (1984). Trade unions, absenteeism, and exit-voice. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 37*, 331–345.

Amstad, F. T., Meier, L. L., Fasel, U., Elfering, A., & Semmer, N. K. (2011). A meta-analysis of work-family conflict and various outcomes with a special emphasis on cross-domain versus matching-domain relations. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16,* 151–169.

Aronsson, G., Gustafsson, K., & Dallner, M. (2000). Sick but yet at work. An empirical study of sickness presenteeism. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health, 54*, 502–509.

Avery, D. R., Volpone, S. D., McKay, P. F., King, E. B., & Wilson, D. C. (2012). Is relational demography relative? How employment status influences effects of supervisor-subordinate demographic similarity. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 27,* 83–98.

Baba, V. V., & Harris, M. J. (1989). Stress and absence: A cross-cultural perspective. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, Suppl. 1*, 317–337.

Bakker, A. B., & Demerouti, E. (2014). Job demands–resources theory. In P. Y. Chen & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Work and wellbeing: A complete reference guide* (vol. III, pp. 37–64). Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Balchin, J., & Wooden, M. (1995). Absence penalties and work attendance. *Australian Economic Review, 112*, 43–58.

Bamberger, P., & Biron, M. (2007). Group norms and excessive absenteeism: The role of peer referent others. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 103*, 179–196.

Barker, J.R. (1993). Tightening the iron cage: Concertive control in self-managing teams. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 38*, 408-437.

Berry, C. M., Lelchook, A. M., & Clark, M. A. (2012). A meta-analysis of the interrelationships between employee lateness, absenteeism, and turnover: Implications for models of withdrawal behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33*, 678–699.

Biron, M. (2013). Effective and ineffective support: How different sources of support buffer the short–and long–term effects of a working day. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 22*, 150–164.

Biron, M., & Bamberger, P. (2012). Aversive workplace conditions and absenteeism: Taking referent group norms and supervisor support into account. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 97*, 901–912.

Blau, P. M. (1964). *Exchange and power in social life*. New York: Wiley.

Borjas, G. J. (1979). Job satisfaction, wages and unions. *Journal of Human Resources, 4*, 21–40.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction. A social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bowlby, G. (2001). The labour market in the week of September 11. *Perspectives on Labour and Income, 2*, 1–5.

Brotheridge, M. C., & Lee, R. T. (2002). Testing a conservation of resources model of the dynamics of emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 7*, 57–67.

Bycio, P. (1992). Job performance and absenteeism: A review and meta-analysis. *Human Relations, 45*, 193-220.

Byron, K., & Peterson, S. (2002). The impact of a large-scale traumatic event on individual and organizational outcomes: Exploring employee and company reactions to September 11, 2001. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 23*, 895–910.

Caverley, N., Cunningham, J. B., & MacGregor, J. N. (2007). Sickness presenteeism, sickness absenteeism, and health following restructuring in a public service organization. *Journal of Management Studies*, *44*, 304–319.

Chadwick-Jones, J. K., Nicholson, N., & Brown, C. (1982). *Social psychology of absenteeism*. New York: Praeger.

Chaudhury, N., Hammer, J., Kremer, M., Muralidharan, K., & Rogers, F. H. (2006). Missing in action: Teacher and health worker absence in developing countries. *Journal of Economic Perspectives, 20*, 91−116.

Chiaburu, D. S., & Harrison, D. A. (2008). Do peers make the place? Conceptual synthesis and meta-analysis of coworker effects on perceptions, attitudes, OCBs, and performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 93*, 1082–1103.

Clay, J.M. & Stephens, E.C. (1994). An analysis of absenteeism arbitration cases: Factors used by arbitrators in making decisions. *International Journal of Conflict Management, 5*, 130-142.

Coleman, J. S. (1990). *The foundations of social theory*. Cambridge: Belknap.

Coleman, J. S., & Fararo, T. J. (1992). *Rational choice theory: Advocacy and critique*. London: Sage.

Cullen, J.B., Parboteeah, K.P. & Victor, B. (2003). The effects of ethical climates on organizational commitment: A two-study analysis. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *46*, 127–141.

Dale-Olsen, H., Østbakken, K. M., & Schøne, P. (2015). Imitation, contagion, or exertion? Using a tax reform to reveal how colleagues' sick leaves influence worker behaviour. *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, *117,* 57–83.

David, E. M., Avery, D. R., Witt, L. A., & McKay, P. F. (2015). A time-lagged investigation of the impact of coworker behavior on the effects of demographic dissimilarity. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 36*, 582–606.

Deery, S. J., Erwin, P. J., Iverson, R. D., & Ambrose, M. L. (1995). The determinants of absenteeism: evidence from Australian blue–collar employees. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *6*, 825–848.

Deery, S. J., Iverson, R. D., Buttigieg, D. M., & Zatzick, C. D. (2014). Can union voice make a difference? The effect of union citizenship behavior on employee absence. *Human Resource Management, 53*, 211–228.

Deery, S. J., Iverson, R., & Walsh, J. (2002). Work relationships in telephone call centres: Understanding emotional exhaustion and employee withdrawal. *Journal of Management Studies, 39*, 471–496.

Della Torre, E., Pelagatti, M., & Solari, L. (2015). Internal and external equity in compensation systems, organizational absenteeism and the role of explained inequalities. *Human Relations, 68*, 409–440.

Dello Russo, S., Miraglia, M., Borgogni, L., & Johns, G. (2013). How time and perceptions of social context shape employee absenteeism trajectories. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *83*, 209–2017.

Deloitte Development LLC (2017). *2017 Deloitte Volunteerism Survey. Survey Report*. Retrieved from https://www2.deloitte.com/us/en/pages/about-deloitte/articles/citizenship-deloitte-volunteer-impact-research.html

Demerouti, E., Bakker, A.B., Nachreiner, F., & Schaufeli, W.B. (2001). The job demands–resources model of burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 86*, 499–512.

Demerouti, E., Bouwman, K., & Sanz-Vergel, A. I. (2011). Job resources buffer the impact of work-family conflict on absenteeism in female employees. *Journal of Personnel Psychology, 10*, 166–176.

Diestel, S., Wegge, J., & Schmidt, K.-H. (2014). The impact of social context on the relationship between individual job satisfaction and absenteeism: The roles of different foci of job satisfaction and work-unit absenteeism. *Academy of Management Journal, 57*, 353–382.

Dietz, C., Zacher, H., Scheel, T., Otto, K. & Rigotti, T. (2020). Leaders as role models: Effects of leader presenteeism on employee presenteeism and sick leave. *Work & Stress*. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/02678373.2020.1728420

Dineen, B. R., Noe, R. A., Shaw, J. D., Duffy, M. K., & Wiethoff, C. (2007). Level and dispersion of satisfaction in teams: Using foci and social context to explain the satisfaction–absenteeism relationship. *Academy of Management Journal, 50*, 623–643.

Di Tecco, C., & Borgogni, L. (2014). Self efficacy, perceptions of social context, job satisfaction and their relationship with absence from work. An integrated model founded on social cognitive theory. *La Medicina del Lavoro, 105*, 282–295.

Drago, R., & Wooden, M. (1992). The determinants of labor absence: Economic factors and Workgroup norms across countries. *Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 45*, 764–778.

Duff, A. J., Podolsky, M., Biron, M., & Chan, C. C. A. (2014). The interactive effect of team and manager absence on employee absence: A multilevel field study. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *88*, 61–79.

Dumas, T. L., & Perry-Smith, J. E. (2018). The paradox of family structure and plans after work: Why single childless employees may be the least absorbed at work. *Academy of Management Journal, 61*, 1231–1252.

Durana, A. (2018, August 17). Teachers donating sick days is a symptom of a wretched system. *CNN*. Retrieved from https://edition.cnn.com/2018/08/17/opinions/teachers-sick-days-broken-system-durana/index.html

Eagly, A. H., Nater, C., Miller, D. I., Kaufmann, M., & Sczesny, S. (2019). Gender stereotypes have changed: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of U.S. public opinion polls from 1946 to 2018. *American Psychologist*. Advance online publication. DOI:org/10.1037/amp0000494

Eder, P., & Eisenberger, R. (2008). Perceived organizational support: Reducing the negative influence of coworker withdrawal behavior. *Journal of Management, 34*, 55–68.

Edwards, P., & Scullion, H. (1982). *The social organization of industrial conflict: Control and resistance in the workplace*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Edwards, P., & Whitston, C. (1993). *Attending to work: The management of attendance and shopfloor order*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Erickson, R. J., Nichols, L., & Ritter, C. (2000). Family influences on absenteeism: Testing an expanded process model. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *57*, 246–272.

Eurofound. (2010). *Absence from work*. Dublin: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions.

Eurofound (2012). *Fifth European Working Conditions Survey*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Eurofound (2017). *Sixth European Working Conditions Survey – Overview report* (2017 update). Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Eurofound (2019, November 18). Living and working in Germany. Retrieved from https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/country/germany#bibliography

Evans, O., & Steptoe, A. (2002). The contributions of gender-role orientation, work factors and home stress to psychological well-being and sickness absence in male and female dominated occupational groups. *Social Science & Medicine, 54*, 481–492.

Fan, Y. (2000). A classification of Chinese culture. *Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 7*(2), 3–10.

Feeney, A., North, F., Head, J., Canner, R., & Marmot, M. (1998). Socioeconomic and sex differentials in reason for sickness absence from the Whitehall II study. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine, 55*, 91–98.

Felfe, J., & Yan, W. H. (2009). The impact of workgroup commitment on organizational citizenship behaviour, absenteeism and turnover intention: the case of Germany and China. *Asia Pacific Business Review, 15*, 433–450.

Ferreira, A. I., Mach, M., Martinez, L. F., Brewster, C., Dagher, G. K., Perez-Nebra, A. R., & Lisovskaya, A. (2019). Working sick and out of sorts: A cross-cultural approach on presenteeism climate, organizational justice and work–family conflict. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *30*, 2754–2776.

Festinger, L. (1954). A theory of social comparison processes. *Human Relations*, *7*, 117–140.

Freeman, R. B., & Medoff, J. L. (1984). *What do unions do?* New York: Basic Books.

Fritzsche, L., Wegge, J., Schmauder, M., Kliegel, M., & Schmidt, K. H. (2014). Good ergonomics and team diversity reduce absenteeism and errors in car manufacturing. *Ergonomics, 57*, 148–161.

Fung, Y.-L. (1997). *A short history of Chinese philosophy*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Gaudine, A. P., & Saks, A. M. (2001). Effects of an absenteeism feedback intervention on employee absence behavior. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *22*, 15–29.

Gaudine, A. P., Saks, A. M., Dawe, D., & Beaton, M. (2013). Effects of absenteeism feedback and goal-setting interventions on nurses' fairness perceptions, discomfort feelings and absenteeism. *Journal of Nursing Management*, *21*, 591–602.

Gellatly, I. R. (1995). Individual and group determinants of employee absenteeism: Test of a causal model. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 16*, 469–485.

Gellatly, I. R., & Allen, N. J. (2012). Group mate absence, dissimilarity, and individual absence: Another look at "monkey see, monkey do". *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology*, *21,* 106–124.

Gellatly, I. R., & Luchak, A. (1998). Personal and organizational determinants of perceived absence norms. *Human Relations, 51,* 1085–1102.

George, J. M. (1990). Personality, affect, and behavior in groups. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 75*, 107–116.

Geurts, S. A., Buunk, B. P., & Schaufeli, W. B. (1994a). Health complaints, social comparisons, and absenteeism. *Work & Stress, 8*, 220–234.

Geurts, S. A., Buunk, B. P., & Schaufeli, W. B. (1994b). Social comparison, inequity, and absenteeism among bus drivers. *European Work and Organizational Psychologist*, *3*, 191–203.

Godøy, A., & Dale-Olsen, H. (2018). Spillovers from gatekeeping–Peer effects in absenteeism. *Journal of Public Economics, 167*, 190-204.

González-Romá, V., Väänänen, A., Ripoll, P., Caballer, A., Peiró, J. M., & Kivimäki, M. (2005). Psychological climate, sickness absence and gender. *Psicothema, 17*, 169–174.

Goodman, P.S., & Garber, S. (1988). Absenteeism and accidents in a dangerous environment: Empirical analysis of underground coal mines. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 73*, 81-86.

Gosselin, E. (2018). The dynamic of assiduity at work: Presenteeism and absenteeism. In C. L. Cooper & L. Lu (Eds.), *Presenteeism at work* (pp. 123–144). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Gouldner, A. W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review, 25*, 161–178.

Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 1*, 95–110

Grandey, A. A., Dickter, D. N., & Sin, H. (2004). The customer is not always right: Customer aggression and emotion regulation of service employees. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 25*, 397–418.

Grant, A. M., & Parker, S. K. (2009). Redesigning work design theories: the rise of relational and proactive perspectives. *Academy of Management Annals, 3*, 317–375.

Greco, L. M., Whitson, J. A., O'Boyle, E. H., Wang, C. S., & Kim, J. (2019). An eye for an eye? A meta-analysis of negative reciprocity in organizations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 104*, 1117–1143.

Grinza, E., & Rycx, F. (2020). The impact of sickness absenteeism on firm productivity: New evidence from Belgian matched employer–employee panel data. *Industrial Relations, 59*, 150-194.

Guillaume, Y. R. F., Brodbeck, F. C., & Riketta, M. (2012). Surface- and deep-level dissimilarity effects on social integration and individual effectiveness related outcomes in work groups: A meta-analytic integration. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 85*, 80–115

Hackett, R. D., Bycio, P., & Guion, R. M. (1989). Absenteeism among hospital nurses: An idiographic-longitudinal analysis. *Academy of Management Journal, 32*, 424–453.

Hammer, L. B., Bauer, T. N., & Grandey, A. A. (2003). Work-family conflict and work-related withdrawal behaviors. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 17*, 419-436.

Harrison, D. A. (1995). Volunteer motivation and attendance decisions: Competitive theory testing in multiple samples from a homeless shelter. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 80*, 371–385.

Harrison, D. A., & Martocchio, J. J. (1998). Time for absenteeism: A 20-year review of origins, offshoots, and outcomes. *Journal of Management, 24*, 305–350.

Harrison, D. A., & Shaffer, M. A. (1994). Comparative examinations of self-reports and perceived absenteeism norms: Wading through Lake Wobegon. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *79*, 240–251.

Harrison, D.A., Johns, G., & Martocchio, J.J. (2000). Changes in technology, teamwork, and diversity: New directions for a new century of absenteeism research. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management, 18*, 43-91.

Harrison, D. A., Newman, D. A., & Roth, P. L. (2006). How important are job attitudes? Meta-analytic comparisons of integrative behavioral outcomes and time sequences. *Academy of Management Journal*, *49*, 305–325.

Harvey, J., & Nicholson, N. (1999). Minor illness as a legitimate reason for absence. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 20*, 979–993.

Hensing, G., & Alexanderson, K. (2004). The association between sex segregation, working conditions, and sickness absence among employed women. *Occupational and Environmental Medicine, 61*, e7. DOI:10.1136/oem.2002.005504

Hensing, G., Alxanderson, K., Åkerlind, I., & Bjerulf, P. (1995). Sick-leave due to minor psychiatric morbidity: Role of sex integration. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 30*, 39–43.

Hernandez, J. I. (2015). Regional variation in work absence cultures in the United States. Doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/2142/78468

Hill, J. M. M., & Trist, E. L. (1955). Changes in accidents and other absences with length of service: A further study of their incidence and relation to each other in an iron and steel works. *Human Relations, 8*, 121–152.

Hobfoll, S. E. (1989). Conservation of resources: A new attempt at conceptualizing stress. *American Psychologist, 44*, 513–524.

Hobfoll, S. E. (2002). Social and psychological resources and adaptation. *Review of General Psychology, 6*, 307–324.

Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture and organizations. *International Studies of Management & Organization, 10* (4), 15–41.

Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge.

Hogg, M. A., & Abrams, D. (1993). Towards a single-process uncertainty reduction model of social motivation in groups. In M. A. Hogg & D. Abrams (Eds.), *Group motivation: Social psychological perspectives* (pp. 173–190). London: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Hunt, K., & Emslie, C. (1998). Men's work, women's work? Occupational sex ratios and health. In K. Orth-Gomér, M. A. Chesney, & N. K. Wenger (Eds.), *Women, Stress, and Heart Disease* (pp. 87–109). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Imants, J., & van Zoelen, A. V. (1995). Teachers' sickness absence in primary schools, school climate and teachers' sense of efficacy. *School Organization, 15*, 77−86.

Indregard, A. M. R., Ulleberg, P., Knardahl, S., & Nielsen, M. B. (2018). Emotional dissonance and sickness absence among employees working with customers and clients: a moderated mediation model via exhaustion and human resource primacy. *Frontiers in Psychology, 9*, 436. DOI:10.3389/fpsyg.2018.00436

Jo, J. & Ellingson, J. E. (2019). Social relationships and turnover: A multidisciplinary review and integration. *Group & Organization Management, 44*, 247 –287.

Johns, G. (1994). Absenteeism estimates by employees and managers: Divergent perspectives and self-serving perceptions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 229–239.

Johns, G. (1997). Contemporary research on absence from work: Correlates, causes and consequences. *International Review of Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, *12*, 115–173.

Johns, G. (2006). The essential impact of context on organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Review*, *31*, 386–408.

Johns, G. (2008). Absenteeism and presenteeism: Not at work or not working well. In C. L. Cooper & J. Barling (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational behavior* (vol. 1, pp. 160–177). London: Sage

Johns, G. (2011). Attendance dynamics at work: The antecedents and correlates of presenteeism, absenteeism, and productivity loss. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *16*, 483–500.

Johns, G. (2017). Reflections on the 2016 Decade Award: Incorporating context in organizational research. *Academy of Management Review*, *42*, 577–595.

Johns, G. (2018). Advances in the treatment of context in organizational research. *Annual Review of Organizational Psychology and Organizational Behavior, 5*, 21–46.

Johns, G., & Miraglia, M. (2015). The reliability, validity, and accuracy of self-reported absenteeism from work: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 20*, 1–14.

Johns, G., & Nicholson, N. (1982). The meanings of absence: New strategies for theory and research. *Research in Organizational Behavior*, *4,* 127–172.

Johns, G., & Xie, J. L. (1998). Perceptions of absence from work: People's Republic of China versus Canada. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *83*, 515–530.

Johnson, J. L., & O´Leary-Kelly, A. M. (2003). The effects of psychological contract breach and organizational cynicism: Not all social exchange violations are created equal. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *24*, 627–647.

Kaiser, C. P. (1998). What do we know about employee absence behavior? An interdisciplinary interpretation. *Journal of Socio-Economics, 27*, 79–96.

Kaptein, M. (1998). *Ethics management: Auditing and developing the ethical content of organizations*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kangas, M., Muotka, J., Huhtala, M., Mäkikangas, A., & Feldt, T. (2017). Is the ethical culture of the organization associated with sickness absence? A multilevel analysis in a public sector organization. *Journal of Business Ethics, 140*, 131–145.

Kessler, S. (2017, April 19). Amazon is using peer pressure to keep German warehouse workers from calling in sick. *Quartz*. Retrieved from https://qz.com/962717/amazon-pays-german-warehouse-workers-bonuses-partly-based-on-when-their-coworkers-call-in-sick/

Knight, A., Menges, J., & Bruch, H. (2018). Organizational affective tone: A meso perspective on the origins and effects of consistent affect in organizations. *Academy of Management Journal, 61*, 191–219.

Kossek, E. E., & Ozeki, C. (1999). Bridging the work-family policy and productivity gap: A literature review. *Community, Work & Family, 2*, 7–32.

Krane, L., Larsen, E. L., Nielsen, C. V., Stapelfeldt, C. M., Johnsen, R., & Risør, M. B. (2014). Attitudes towards sickness absence and sickness presenteeism in health and care sectors in Norway and Denmark: A qualitative study. *BMC Public Health*, *14*, 880. DOI:10.1186/1471-2458-14-880

Kristensen, K., Juhl, H. J., Eskildsen, J., Nielsen, J., Frederiksen, N., & Bisgaard, C. (2006). Determinants of absenteeism in a large Danish bank. *International Journal of Human Resource Management, 17*, 1645–1658.

Kröger, H. (2017). The stratifying role of job level for sickness absence and the moderating role of gender and occupational gender composition. *Social Science & Medicine, 186*, 1–9.

Kurtessis, J. N., Eisenberger, R., Ford, M. T., Buffardi, L. C., Stewart, K. A. & Adis, C. S. (2017). Perceived organizational support: A meta-analytic evaluation of organizational support theory. *Journal of Management, 43*, 1854–1884.

Kushnir, T., Fried, Y., & Malkinson, R. (2001). Work absence as a function of a national traumatic event: The case of Prime Minister Rabin's assassination. *Work & Stress, 15*, 265–273.

Kuzmits, F. E. (1995). Differences in incidences of absenteeism and discipline between Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese employees. *The International Journal of Organizational Analysis, 3*, 303–313.

Lance, B., & ter Hoeven, C. L. (2010). Self-rated health and sickness-related absence: The modifying role of civic participation. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*, 570–574.

Leana, C. R., & Meuris, J. (2015). Living to work and working to live: Income as a driver of organizational behavior. *Academy of Management Annals*, *9*, 55–95.

Lee, T. W., Mitchell, T. R., Sablynski, C. J., Burton, J. P., & Holtom, B. C. (2004). The effects of job embeddedness on organizational citizenship, job performance, volitional absences, and voluntary turnover. *Academy of Management Journal, 47*, 711–722.

Lin, H. Y, & Lu, L. (2013). Presenteeism in workplace: Constructing a cross-cultural framework. *Journal of Human Resource Management (Taiwan), 12*, 29–55.

Liu, D., Mitchell, T. R., Lee, T. W., Holtom, B. C., & Hinkin, T. R. (2012). When employees are out of step with coworkers: How job satisfaction trajectory and dispersion influence individual- and unit-level voluntary turnover. *Academy of Management Journal, 55*, 1360–1380.

Livanos, I., & Zangelidis, A. (2013). Unemployment, labor market flexibility, and absenteeism: A pan-European study. *Industrial Relations, 52*, 492–516.

Lohaus, D., & Habermann, W. (2019). Presenteeism: A review and research directions. *Human Resource Management Review*, *29*, 43–58.

Løkke Nielsen, A.-K. (2008). Determinants of absenteeism in public organizations: a unit-level analysis of work absence in a large Danish municipality. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management, 19*, 1330–1348.

Løset, G. K., Dale-Olsen, H., Hellevik, T., Mastekaasa, A., von Soest, T., & Østbakken, K. M. (2018). Gender equality in sickness absence tolerance: Attitudes and norms of sickness absence are not different for men and women. *PloS One, 13*(8), e0200788. DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0200788

Luetzen, I., & Sonnentag, S. (2017). *How newcomers adapt to organizational absence cultures: Using LGM to analyze absenteeism growth trajectories*. Paper presented at the European Association of Work and Organizational Psychology (EAWOP) congress, Dublin.

Mach, M., Ferreira, A. I., Martinez, L. F., Lisowskaia, A., Dagher, G. K., & Perez-Nebra, A. R. (2018). Working conditions in hospitals revisited: A moderated-mediated model of job context and presenteeism. *PloS One, 13*(10), e0205973. DOI:10.1371/journal.pone.0205973

Malik, O. F., Shahzad, A., & Kiyani, T. M. (2017). The impact of terrorism-induced fear on job attitudes and absenteeism following a national traumatic event: Evidence from Pakistan. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, *11*, a595. DOI:10.4119/UNIBI/ijcv.595b

Marcus, P. M., & Smith, C. B. (1985). Absenteeism in an organizational context. *Work and Occupations*, *12*, 251–268.

Markham, S. E., & McKee, G. H. (1995). Group absence behavior and standards: A multilevel analysis. *Academy of Management Journal, 38*, 1174–1190.

Marques-Quinteiro, P., Dos Santos, C. M., Costa, P., Graça, A. M., Marôco, J. & Ramón, R. (2019). Team adaptability and task cohesion as resources to the non-linear dynamics of workload and sickness absenteeism in firefighter teams. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*. Advance online publication. DOI:10.1080/1359432X.2019.1691646

Martocchio, J. J. (1994). The effects of absence culture on individual absence. *Human Relations, 47*, 243–262.

Martocchio, J. J., & Harrison, D. A. (1993). To be there or not to be there? Questions, theories, and methods in absenteeism research. *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management*, *11*, 259–328.

Mason, C. M., & Griffin, M. A. (2003). Group absenteeism and positive affective tone: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 24*, 667–687.

Mastekaasa, A. (2005). Sickness absence in female- and male-dominated occupations and workplaces. *Social Science &Medicine, 60*, 2261–2272.

Mastekaasa, A. (2013). Unionization and certified sickness absence: Norwegian evidence. *ILR Review, 66*, 117–141.

Mastekaasa, A., Dale-Olsen, H., Hellevik, T., Løset, G. K. & Østbaaken, K. M. (2019). Gender difference in sickness absence: Do managers evaluate men and women differently with regard to the appropriateness of sickness absence? *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*. Advance online publication DOI:10.1177/1403494819890783

Mathieu, J. E., & Kohler, S. S. (1990). A cross-level examination of group absence influences on individual absence. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 75*, 217–220.

Mayer, J., Giel, K. E., Malcolm, D., Schneider, S., Diehl, K., Zipfel, S., & Thiel, A. (2018). Compete or rest? Willingness to compete hurt among adolescent elite athletes. *Psychology of Sport and Exercise, 35*, 143–150.

Mayer, J., & Thiel, A. (2018). Presenteeism in the elite sports workplace: The willingness to compete hurt among German elite handball and track and field athletes. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 53*, 49–68.

Mayo, E. (1949). *The social problems of an industrial civilization*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Mayo, E., & Lombard, G. F. (1944). *Teamwork and labor turnover in the aircraft industry of Southern California*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

McGregor, A., Sharma, R., Magee, C., Caputi, P., & Iverson, D. (2018). Explaining variations in the findings of presenteeism research: A meta-analytic investigation into the moderating effects of construct operationalizations and chronic health. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 23*, 584–601.

McKevitt, C., Morgan, M., Dundas, R., & Holland, W. W. (1997). Sickness absence and "working through" illness: A comparison of two professional groups. *Journal of Public Health*, *19*, 295–300.

Melsom, A. M. (2015). The gender of managers and sickness absence. *Sage Open*, 5. DOI: 10.1177/2158244015574208

Melsom, A. M., & Mastekaasa, A. (2018). Gender, occupational gender segregation and sickness absence: Longitudinal evidence. *Acta Sociologica, 61*, 227–245.

Mesmer-Magnus, J. R., & Viswesvaran, C. (2005). Convergence between measures of work-to-family and family-to-work conflict: A meta-analytic examination. *Journal of Vocational Behavior, 67*, 215–232.

Meyer, R. D., Kelly, E. D., & Bowling, N. A. (2018). Situational Strength Theory. In J. F. Rauthmann, R. A. Sherman, & D. C. Funder (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of psychological situations*. DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190263348.013.7

Miles, P., Schaufeli, W. B., & van den Bos, K. (2011). When weak groups are strong: How low cohesion groups allow individuals to act according to their personal absence tolerance norms. *Social Justice Research, 24*, 207–230.

Miller, R.T., Murnane, R.J., & Willett, J.B. (2008). Do teacher absences impact student achievement? Longitudinal evidence from one urban school district. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 30*, 181-200.

Miraglia, M., & Johns, G. (2016). Going to work ill: A meta-analysis of the correlates of presenteeism and a dual-path model. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, *21*, 261-283.

Mischel, W. (1977). The interaction of person and situation. In D. Magnusson & N. Endler (Eds.), *Personality at the crossroads: Current issues in interactional psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Mitchell, T. R., Holtom, B. C., Lee, T. W., Sablynski, C. J., & Erez, M. (2001). Why people stay: Using job embeddedness to predict voluntary turnover. *Academy of Management Journal, 44*, 1102–1121.

Morrison, E. W., & Robinson, S. L. (1997). When employees feel betrayed: A model of how psychological contract violation develops. *Academy of Management Review, 22*, 226–256.

Nguyen, H., Groth, M., & Johnson, A. (2013). When the going gets tough, the tough keep working: Impact of emotional labor on absenteeism. *Journal of Management, 42*, 615–643.

Nicholson, N., & Johns, G. (1985). The absence culture and the psychological contract - who's in control of absence? *Academy of Management Review*, *10*, 397–407.

Nicholson, S., Pauly, M.V., Polsky, D., Sharda, C., Szrek, H., & Berger, M.L. (2006). Measuring the effects of work loss on productivity with team production. *Health Economics, 15*, 111-123.

Nilsen, W., Skipstein, A., Østby, K. A., & Mykletun, A. (2017). Examination of the double burden hypothesis—a systematic review of work–family conflict and sickness absence. *European Journal of Public Health, 27*, 465–471.

OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) (2017). OECD Better Life index. Work-life balance in detail by country. Retrieved from: http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/topics/work-life-balance/

Parboteeah, K. P., Addae, H. M., & Cullen, J. B. (2005). National culture and absenteeism: An empirical test. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis, 13*, 343–361.

Patton, E. (2011). The devil is in the details: Judgments of responsibility and absenteeism from work. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 84*, 759–779.

Patton, E., & Johns, G. (2007). Women's absenteeism in the popular press: Evidence for a gender-specific absence culture. *Human Relations*, *60*, 1579–1612.

Patton, E., & Johns, G. (2012a). Context and the social representation of absenteeism: Absence in the popular press and in academic research. *Human Relations, 65*, 217–240.

Patton, E., & Johns, G. (2012b). Sex or gender? The enigma of women's elevated absenteeism. In S. Fox & T. R. Lituchy (Eds.), *Gender and the dysfunctional workplace* (pp. 149–163). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar.

Peretz, H., & Fried, Y. (2012). A cross culture examination of performance appraisal and organizational performance. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *97*, 448–459.

Peretz, H., Levi, A., & Fried, Y. (2015). Organizational diversity programs across cultures: Effects on absenteeism, turnover, performance and innovation. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, *26*, 875–903.

Pichler, S., & Ziebarth, N.R. (2017). The pros and cons of sick pay schemes: Testing for contagious presenteeism and noncontagious absenteeism behavior. *Journal of Public Economics, 156*, 14-33.

Qin, X., & Jiang, Y. (2011). The impact of natural disaster on absenteeism, job satisfaction, and job performance of survival employees: An empirical study of the survivors in Wenchuan earthquake. *Frontiers of Business Research in China, 5*, 219–242.

Rael, E. G., Stansfeld, S. A., Shipley, M., Head, J., Feeney, A., & Marmot, M. (1995). Sickness absence in the Whitehall II study, London: the role of social support and material problems. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health, 49*, 474–481.

Ramsay, J., Punnett, B. J., & Greenidge, D. (2008). A social psychological account of absenteeism in Barbados. *Human Resource Management Journal, 18*, 97–117.

Rentsch, J. R., & Steel, R. P. (2003). What does unit-level absence mean? Issues for future unit-level absence research. *Human Resource Management Review, 13*, 185–202.

Rosenblatt, Z., & Shapira-Lishchinsky, O. (2017). Temporal withdrawal behaviors in an educational policy context. *International Journal of Educational Management*, *31*, 895–907.

Rosenblatt, Z., Shapira-Lishchinsky, O., & Shirom, A. (2010). Absenteeism in Israeli schoolteachers: An organizational ethics perspective. *Human Resource Management Review*, *20*, 247–259.

Rostad, I. S., Milch, V., & Saksvik, P. Ø. (2015). Psychosocial workplace factors associated with sickness presenteeism, sickness absenteeism, and long-term health in a Norwegian industrial company. *Scandinavian Psychologist*, *2*. Retrieved from https://psykologisk.no/sp/2015/06/e11/

Rousseau, D. M. (1989). Psychological and implied contracts in organizations. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal, 2*, 121–139.

Ruderman, M. N., Ohlott, P. J., Panzer, K., & King, S. N. (2002). Benefits of multiple roles for managerial women. *Academy of Management Journal, 45*, 369–386.

Rugulies, R., Christensen, K. B., Borritz, M., Villadsen, E., Bultmann, U., & Kristensen, T. S. (2007). The contribution of the psychosocial work environment to sickness absence in human service workers: Results of a 3-year follow-up study. *Work & Stress*, 21, 293–312.

Ruhle, S. A., & Süß, S. (2019). Presenteeism and absenteeism at work—an analysis of archetypes of sickness attendance cultures. *Journal of Business and Psychology*. Advance Online Publication. DOI:10.1007/s10869-019-09615-0

Ruhle, S. A., Breitsohl, H., Aboagye, E., Baba, V., Biron, C., Correia Leal, C., … Yang, T. (2019). "To work, or not to work, that is the question" – Recent trends and avenues for research on presenteeism. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*. Advance Online Publication. DOI:10.1080/1359432X.2019.1704734

Rusting, C. L., & DeHart, T. (2000). Retrieving positive memories to regulate negative mood: Consequences for mood-congruent memory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*, 737-752.

Saksvik, P. Ø. (1996). Attendance pressure during organizational change. International *Journal of Stress Management, 3*, 47–59.

Salancik, G. R., & Pfeffer, J. (1978). A social information processing approach to job attitudes and task design. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *23*, 224–253.

Sanders, K. (2004). Playing truant within organizations: Informal relationships, work ethics and absenteeism. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *19*, 135–155.

Sanders, K., & Hoekstra, S. K. (1998). Informal relations and absenteeism within an organisation. *Computational and Mathematical Organizational Theory, 4*, 149–163.

Sanders, K., & Nauta, A. (2004). Social cohesiveness and absenteeism: The relationship between characteristics of employees and short-term absenteeism within an organization. *Small Group Research, 35*, 724–741.

Schmidt, K. -H. (2002). Organisationales und individuelles abwesenheitsverhalten: Ein cross-level studie. *Zeitschrift für Arbeits-und Organisationpsychologie, 46*, 69–77.

Schulz, H., Zacher, H., & Lippke, S. (2017). The importance of team health climate for health-related outcomes of white-collar workers. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8*, 74. DOI:10.3389/fpsyg.2017.00074

Shapira-Lishchinsky, O., & Rosenblatt, Z. (2009). Perceptions of organizational ethics as predictors of work absence: A test of alternative absence measures. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *88*, 717–734.

Sherif, M. (1936). *The psychology of social norms*. Oxford, UK: Harper.

SHRM. (2014). *Total financial impact of employee absences in the U.S.* Alexandria, VA: Society for Human Resource Management.

Siegrist, J. (2000). Place, social exchange and health: proposed sociological framework. *Social Science & Medicine, 51*, 1283–1293.

Sliter, M. T., & Boyd, E. M. (2015). But we're here to help! Positive buffers of the relationship between outsider incivility and employee outcomes. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, *24*, 225–238.

Sliter, M. T., Sliter, K. A., & Jex, S. (2012). The employee as a punching bag: The effect of multiple sources of incivility on employee withdrawal behavior and sales performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 33*, 121–139.

Spink, K. S., & Carron, A. V. (1992). Group cohesion and adherence in exercise classes. *Journal of Sport & Exercise Psychology, 14*, 78–86.

Spink, K. S., & Carron, A. V. (1994). Group cohesion effects in exercise classes. *Small Group Research, 25*, 26–42.

Steel, R. P., Shane, G. S., & Kennedy, K. A. (1990). Effects of social-system factors on absenteeism, turnover, and job performance. *Journal of Business and Psychology, 4*, 423–430.

Strömberg, C., Aboagye, E., Hagberg, J., Bergström, G., & Lohela-Karlsson, M. (2017). Estimating the effect and economic impact of absenteeism, presenteeism, and work environment–related problems on reductions in productivity from a managerial perspective. *Value in Health, 20*, 1058-1064.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tan, J., & Hart, P. M. (2011). Voluntary and involuntary absence: The influence of leadership, work environment, affect and group size. *Insight SRC*. Retrieved from http://www.insightsrc.com.au/content.php

Tansey, R. R., & Hyman, M. R. (1992). Public relations, advocacy ads, and the campaign against absenteeism during World War II. *Business & Professional Ethics Journal, 11*, 129–164.

Taras, V., Kirkman, B. L., & Steel, P. (2010). Examining the impact of *Culture's Consequences*: A three-decade, multilevel, meta-analytic review of Hofstede's cultural value dimensions. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 95*, 405–439.

Taylor, P. J., & Burridge, J. (1982). Trends in death, disablement, and sickness absence in the British Post Office since 1891. *British Journal of Industrial Medicine, 39*, 1–10.

ten Brummelhuis, L. L., Johns, G., Lyons, B. J., & ter Hoeven, C. L. (2016). Why and when do employees imitate the absenteeism of co-workers? *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *134*, 16–30.

ten Brummelhuis, L. L., ter Hoeven, C. L., de Jong, M. D. T., & Peper, B. (2013). Exploring the linkage between the home domain and absence from work: Health, motivation, or both? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *34*, 273–290.

Tims, M., & Bakker, A. B. (2010). Job crafting: Towards a new model of individual job redesign. *SA Journal of Industrial Psychology, 36*(2), 841 DOI:10.4102/sajip.v36i2.841

Tompa, E., Scott-Marshall, H., & Fang, M. (2011). Social protection and the employment contract: The impact on work absence. *Work, 37*, 251–260.

Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

Triandis, H. C. (1995). Individualism & collectivism. In R. E. Nisbett (Ed.), *New directions in social psychology*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Turner, J. C. (1978). Social categorization and social discrimination in the minimal group paradigm. In H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 101-140). London: Academic Press.

Turner, J. C. (1981). Toward a cognitive redefinition of the social group. *Cahiers de Psychologie Cognitive/Current Psychology of Cognition*, *1*, 93–118.

Turner, J. C. (1985). Social categorization and the self-concept: A social-cognitive theory of group behavior. In E. J. Lawler (Ed.), *Advances in group processes: Theory and research* (vol. 2, pp. 77–121). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Ulleberg, P., & Rundmo, T. (1997). Job stress, social support, job satisfaction and absenteeism among offshore oil personnel. *Work & Stress*, *11*, 215–228.

Undén, A. L. (1996). Social support at work and its relationship to absenteeism. *Work & Stress*, *10*, 46–61.

Unruh, L., Joseph, L., & Strickland, M. (2007). Nurse absenteeism and workload: Negative effect on restraint use, incident reports and mortality. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 60*, 673-681.

Väänänen, A., Tordera, N., Kivimäki, M., Kouvonen, A., Pentti, J., Linna, A., & Vahtera, J. (2008). The role of work group in individual sickness absence behavior. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 49*, 452–467.

van Dierendonck, D., & Mevissen, N. (2002). Aggressive behavior of passengers, conflict management behavior, and burnout among trolley car drivers. *International Journal of Stress Management, 9*, 345–355.

van Steenbergen, E. F., & Ellemers, N. (2009). Is managing the work–family interface worthwhile? Benefits for employee health and performance. *Journal of Organizational Behavior, 30*, 617–642.

Van Steenbergen, E. F., Ellemers, N., & Mooijaart, A. (2007). How work and family can facilitate each other: Distinct types of work–family facilitation and outcomes for women and men. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 12*, 279−300.

Van Yperen, N. W., Hagedoorn, M., & Geurts, S. (1996). Intent to leave and absenteeism as reactions to perceived inequity: The role of psychological and social constraints. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, *69*, 367–372.

Vancouver, J. B., Millsap, R. E., & Peters, P. A. (1994). Multilevel analysis of organizational goal congruence. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 666–679.

Victor, B., & Cullen, J. B. (1988). The organizational bases of ethical work climates. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *13*, 101–125.

Virtanen, P., Nakari, R., Ahonen, H., Vahtera, J., & Pentti, J. (2000). Locality and habitus: The origins of sickness absence practices. *Social Science & Medicine*, *50*, 27–39.

Virtanen, P., Vahtera, J., Nakari, R., Pentti, J., & Kivimäki, M. (2004). Economy and job contract as contexts of sickness absence practices: Revisiting locality and habitus. *Social Science & Medicine*, *58*, 1219–1229.

Viswesvaran, C. (2002). Absenteeism and measures of job performance: A meta-analysis. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 10*, 12–17.

Wang, Y., Chen, C.-C., & Fosh, P. (2018). Presenteeism in the Chinese work context. In C. L. Cooper & L. Lu (Eds.), *Presenteeism at work* (pp. 123–144). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Wang, Y., Chen, C. C., Lu, L., Eisenberger, R., & Fosh, P. (2018). Effects of leader–member exchange and workload on presenteeism. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 33*, 511–523.

Wayne, J. H., Grzywacz, J. G., Carlson, D. S., & Kacmar, K. M. (2007). Work–family facilitation: A theoretical explanation and model of primary antecedents and consequences. *Human Resource Management Review*, *17*, 63–76.

Wrzesniewski, A., & Dutton, J. E. (2001). Crafting a job: Revisioning employees as active crafters of their work. *Academy of Management Review, 26*, 179–201.

Xie, J. L., & Johns, G. (2000). Interactive effects of absence culture salience and group cohesiveness: A multi-level and cross-level analysis of work absenteeism in the Chinese context. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 73*, 31–52.

Zaccaro, S. J., Craig, B., & Quinn, J. (1991). Prior absenteeism, supervisory style, job satisfaction, and personal characteristics: An investigation of some mediated and moderated linkages to work absenteeism. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 50*, 24–44.

Zapf, D., Seifert, C., Schmutte, B., Mertini, H., & Holz, M. (2001). Emotion work and job stressors and their effects on burnout. *Psychology & Health, 16*, 527–545.

Zimmerman, R., Swider, B., Woo, S., & Allen, D. (2016). Who withdraws? Psychological individual differences and employee withdrawal behaviors. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *101*, 498–519.

Figure 1. Work and non-work social factors and associated causal paths for individual absenteeism
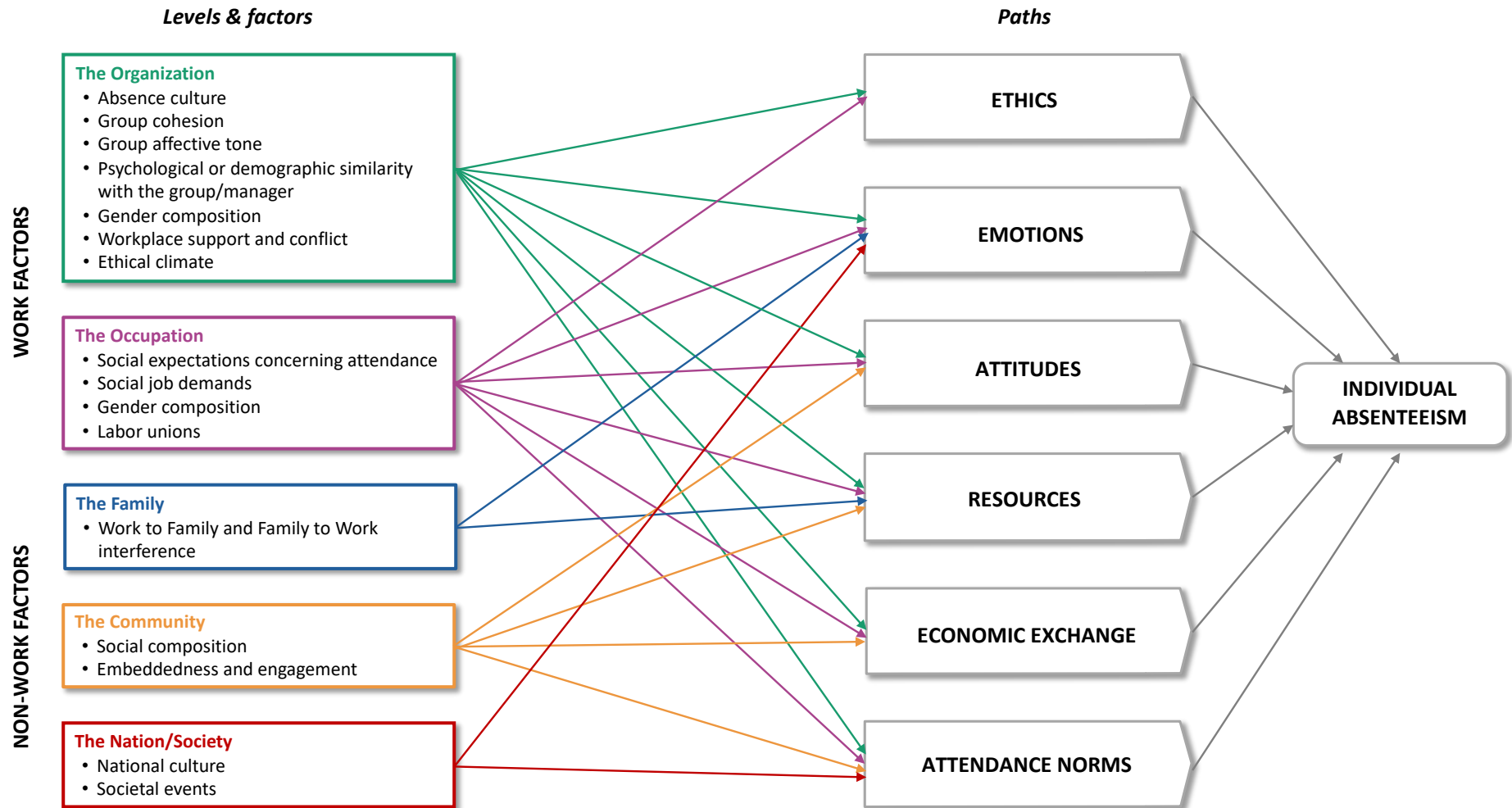
Table 1. A summary of the social factors at the multiple levels with the associated paths of influence

Factor	Path
The Organization	
Absence culture	Attendance norms
	Economic exchange
Group cohesion	Attendance norms
	Resources
Group affective tone	Emotions
	Attitudes
Psychological or demographic similarity between the individual and the work group or manager	Attendance norms
Gender composition	Attendance norms
Workplace support/conflict	Resources
	Attitudes
	Economic exchange
	Attendance norms
Ethical climate	Ethical
	Economic exchange
	Resources
The Occupation	
Social expectations concerning attendance	Ethics
	Attendance norms
	Economic exchange
Social job demands	Resources
	Emotions
Gender composition	Resources
	Economic exchange
Labor unions	Resources
	Attitudes
	Attendance norms
The Family	
Work to Family and Family to Work interference	Resources
	Emotions

The Community	
Social composition	Economic exchange
	Attendance norms
Community embeddedness and engagement	Resources
	Economic exchange
	Attitudes
	Attendance norms
The Nation/Society	
National cultures	Attendance norms
Societal events	Attendance norms
	Emotions