A Capital Perspective on the Psychological Contracts of Career Novices

A qualitative process study exploring the capital accumulation and psychological contract evolution of undergraduate intern career novices

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to God who is the "Author and Finisher of our faith" (Hebrew 12:2). He is the One whom from time past understands His creation and indeed designed the intricate nuances of human behaviour. He is the One who knows us intimately and lovingly helps us along the way. His ancient wisdom taught us the principles of life long before we named the theories.

The Parable of the Vineyard Workers

"For the kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that is an householder, which went out early in the morning to hire labourers into his vineyard. And when he had agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent them into his vineyard. And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the marketplace, And said unto them; Go ye also into the vineyard, and whatsoever is right I will give you. And they went their way. Again he went out about the sixth and ninth hour, and did likewise. And about the eleventh hour he went out, and found others standing idle, and saith unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle? They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive. So, when even was come, the lord of the vineyard saith unto his steward, Call the labourers, and give them their hire, beginning from the last unto the first. And when they came that were hired about the eleventh hour, they received every man a penny. But when the first came, they supposed that they should have received more; and they likewise received every man a penny. And when they had received it, they murmured against the goodman of the house, saying, these last have wrought but one hour, and thou hast made them equal unto us, which have borne the burden and heat of the day. But he answered one of them, and said, Friend, I do thee no wrong: didst not thou agree with me for a penny? Take that thine is, and go thy way: I will give unto this last, even as unto thee. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil, because I am good? So the last shall be first, and the first last:" Matthew 20:1-16, The Holy Bible KJV

I also dedicate this thesis to my parents, Frederick and Margaret Coogan, whose greatest joy is to see me flourish. Their constant support is a source of peace, love, and reassurance. I would not be who I am today without them and for that I am humbly grateful.

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Summary

Psychological contract (PC) theory has garnered significant attention proving crucial in understanding contemporary employment relationships. Defined as "an individual's beliefs regarding the terms of conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement" (Rousseau 1989:123), the PC is envisioned as an exchange schema that evolves over time. However, the study of PCs often lacks consideration of time and the impact of social context, despite calls to address these gaps. This PhD aims to investigate the construction and evolution of the PC, with a career novice sample, emphasising the influence of temporal dynamics and social context.

Utilising a qualitative individual-level process methodology, data were collected from 30 undergraduate interns over 12-15 months, using Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) as a complementary theoretical framework to the PC. Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus, and field, provide a lens to examine the PC as a dynamic social exchange influenced by the broader social context. The study argues that Bourdieu's theory can enhance understanding of the PC by highlighting the interplay between individual and social factors and their evolution.

Despite being theorised as dynamic, much PC research assumes a static view, neglecting temporal processes and social influences. This PhD addresses these gaps by exploring the construction and evolution of the PC within the context of undergraduate internships. The study's findings indicate that the accumulation and depletion of various forms of capital underpin the dynamic PC exchange, and that capitals operate in a mutually influencing and reinforcing manner. The study also captures interns' perceptions of which organisational practices enhanced or hampered their accumulation of capitals.

In conclusion, this research contributes to PC theory by integrating Bourdieu's sociological concepts, offering a nuanced understanding of the PC as a temporally and socially embedded construct. The findings provide valuable insights for researchers, practitioners, educators, and interns.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Introduction to the study

The psychological contract (PC) has earned considerable attention over the past three decades and has proven itself to be a timely and effective theory in understanding the complexities of contemporary employment relationships (Rousseau, Hansen & Tomprou, 2018). The PC is "an individual's beliefs regarding the terms of conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between the focal person and another party" (Rousseau 1989:123). A PC emerges when a reciprocal resource exchange relationship develops between an employee and the employing organisation (Griep, Hansen & Kraak, 2024; Rousseau, 1989). It can be viewed as an exchange schema or mental model (Rousseau, 2001) that is constructed over time as an individual engages with social cues in their environment in light of their personal goals (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019). However, despite the PC's value and contribution, pressing issues in the study of PCs still remain (Coyle-Shapiro, Costa, Doden & Chang, 2019). Two issues in particular remain underexamined, the role of psychological processes over time (Bankins, Griep & Hansen, 2020) and the impact of social context on the PC (Kraak & Linde, 2019). Although proposed as a dynamic theory, much research on the PC assumes and presents a relatively static picture of the exchange relationship (Bankins, 2015; Rousseau et al., 2018). Considerations of social context and its influence have also been largely left unexamined (Kraak, Lakshman, & Griep, 2020) despite numerous calls for its inclusion (Bankins et al., 2020).

This PhD seeks to address these gaps in literature by investigating how the PC is initially constructed and how it evolves over time considering the social space in which this process is unfolding. To capture the dynamic and time-infused essence of the PC and its evolution over time, the study employs a qualitative individual-level process methodology from a constructivist ontological approach. Data is gathered over three phases from a sample of 30 career novices, undergraduate interns from an Irish university, over a 12-15 month period to illuminate their experience of constructing and developing a PC in the context of an organisational internship. Theoretically, the study draws upon Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977), considering the

impact of field, habitus, and capital, on the dynamic social exchange of the PC. It is my argument in this PhD that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice is a theory capable of augmenting our understanding of how the PC operates in a social organisational domain. It does this by illuminating the resources (capitals) being exchanged by individuals, with their idiosyncratic socially influenced approaches (habitus), in a particular organisational setting, an undergraduate internship (field). This approach seeks to draw together the individual and social factors at play in the construction and evolution of the PC over time.

Time, process, and context in the psychological contract

Though theorised as a dynamic construct (Rousseau, 2001; Rousseau et al., 2018), theorising of the mechanisms that underpin the time-infused processes of the PC remain underdeveloped (Hansen & Griep, 2016). An overly narrow focus on methodologies that preclude the examination of change over time has hampered theoretical advancement, which relative to the vast body of PC literature, has made little significant progress in its examination of PC dynamics since the 1990s (Rousseau et al., 2018). Calls to address this methodological issue appear to have gone mostly unheeded for decades. In 2005, Tekleab, Takeuchi, & Taylor (2005:279) bemoaned the state of PC research remarking, "our literature review [...] has caused us to note, with more than little exasperation, that much psychological contract research seems to have fallen into a methodological rut". In 2005, Conway and Briner cautioned that quantitative studies tended to assume a simple linear relationship between PC breach and employee responses. In 2008, Coyle-Shapiro and Parzefall highlighted that despite Levinson et al.'s (1960) and Argyris's (1960) seminal works being qualitative, qualitative work was being downplayed while quantitative cross-sectional studies were favoured in PC research. More recently, in 2019 Coyle-Shapiro et al. and in 2020 Bankins et al.'s reviews highlighted the gap in insight to the temporal nature and study of PCs. Again, in 2021, Zhong et al. lament that much "existing research employs a static perspective by investigating PC breach at a particular point in time" (Zhong et al., 2021:3). As a result, current literature provides limited empirical insight to the PC as a temporally infused dynamic process (Cooper & Griep, 2019; Griep &

Vantilborgh, 2018). This is a gap to which this PhD empirically, theoretically, and methodologically seeks to contribute.

In addition, PCs are not stand-alone but social concepts and operate as part of a broader career eco-system (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019). Unfortunately, PCs are rarely examined in terms of how they might evolve over time within their social context. Recognising a problematic divide in approaches to understanding individual career related phenomena, for example the PC, Van Maanen and Schein (1977) cautioned against separating the study of individual (psychological) factors and social (external to the individual) factors. They highlighted the potential danger of incomplete and biased findings. They recommend that "[p]erhaps the best direction in which to proceed is to begin constructing a framework on which an interdisciplinary study of careers" and career related phenomena can rest (Van Maanen & Schein, 1977:44). This concern was again echoed by Khapova et al. (2007), thirty years later, noting how the rapid changes to contemporary employment landscapes make this an ever more pressing issue. Building on this argument and again noting the ongoing problem, Chudzikowski and Mayrhofer (2012) advise that individual career related phenomenon, again the PC could be considered here, "should always be seen as embedded in ever-evolving societal, political and economic contexts" (2012:299) and specifically recommend the use of Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) for integrating individual level career related phenomena with social structures.

Additionally, it is not only in the broader discussion of careers literature that calls for integrating individual and social perspectives are being made, PC scholars echo the call too. The impact of dynamic social forces in PC studies is seldom examined (Bankins et al., 2020; Coyle-Shapiro, 2019; Kraak et al., 2020). Over two decades ago, Coyle-Shapiro (2002) warned of the negative implications of this lack of contextualisation of PCs and reiterated the ongoing problem in her 2019 review of PC literature. Some exceptions exist and contribute to understandings (for example, Kraak, Altman, & Laguecir, 2018; Kraak & Linde, 2019; Kraak et al., 2020) but are by far in the minority. Social context is "broadly defined as situational or environment constraints and opportunities that have the functional capacity to affect the occurrence and meaning of organisational behavior" (Johns, 2017:577). Context is fundamental to thoroughly investigating organisational phenomenon (Johns, 2017). Within this context, or the social field, social exchange relationships have always been theorised

as suffering from unequal power distribution (Blau, 1964). Indeed, Cullinane and Dundon's (2006) critical review, highlights that the underlying problem with PC literature is its neglect of structural forces which impact the management of the PC as not only economic and static but strongly relational and dynamic. Nevertheless, much contemporary PC literature does not utilise approaches that account for the influence of social forces, context, and other actors on the PC. This research undertaking seeks to address the dynamic social context of the intern PC. However, relatively little is known about how an undergraduate intern forms their PC (Knapp & Masterson, 2018). Interns posess goals for their internships and believe their organisations are obliged to help them fulfil these goals. As the first major work experience for most, internships afford an "excellent representation" of career novices (Hughes & Davis, 2024:517). The undergraduate internship then, as a very early employment experience, is a particularly fitting research context for PCs as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:60) note that early "experiences have a particular weight" in forming the habitus.

Introduction to the theoretical framework of the study

Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) helps to situate PC research in a particular social field or context. For example, though the PC is an individual, subjective, and a psychological construct in that is held within the mind and psyche of an individual, it is, also, a contract with another social entity. It does not operate in a vacuum. The social exchange of a PC happens in a social context. Indeed, the roots of the PC are founded upon social exchange theory (Blau, 1964). Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) is a sociological concept. In this PhD, capitals are resources that confer benefits. I conceptualise capitals as the contents of the PC exchange whereby individuals possess goals to accumulate specific forms of capital that are important or necessary to them personally or professionally. The contents of a PC are the expectations that either party believes the other is obliged to deliver. In essence, the contents are "about what is actually in the deal between the employee and their organisation — what is exchanged for what" (Conway & Briner, 2005:37). Contents focus on 'what' is in the PC deal rather than 'how' the deal unfolds as a process. This PhD explores aspects of both 'what' and 'how' in terms of interns' PC development. Bourdieu's (1986) original three capitals, economic, social, and cultural, are

complemented by capitals from Tomlinson's (2017) graduate capital model which delineates forms of capital pertinent to the contemporary education to employment transition. These are human, psychological, and identity capitals and will be defined in full later in this chapter. Individuals expect the organisation to facilitate the attainment of their capital goals in exchange for their employment.

Habitus, another concept presented under Bourdieu's theory of practice, is a collective and social concept to which individuals subscribe (Bourdieu, 1977). It is collective in that it is the accepted ways of thinking and being in a specific context. It is individual in that it is individuals who hold to these, understand them in their own way, and reproduce these ways of thinking and being in their daily lives. A social concept is multiplied and reproduced by the individuals (sometimes part of a collective) who reproduce it (Webber, 2024). Bourdieu's field is a social space where capital is accumulated and where individuals collectively reproduce habitus or social norms (Bourdieu, 1986). In this PhD, I conceptualise the PC schema, an individual concept, as being influenced by and interacting with the habitus, a social concept. Thus, the study draws together a psychological theory, the PC, and a sociological theory, Bourdieu's theory of practice to complement and augment understandings of the PC as a dynamic time-infused and social concept. It positions the PC, as a social exchange theory, in the social context in which that social exchange takes place. It strengthens theoretical understanding and empirical interrogation of the dynamic PC from a perspective whereby the social exchange that moves the PC forward does not happen in a vacuum but in a social context.

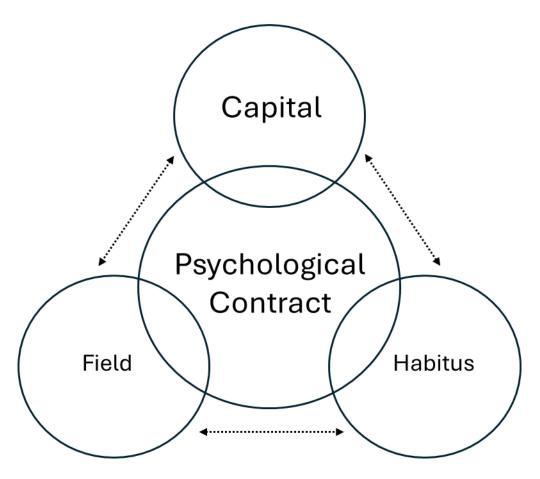


Figure 1.1 Theoretical framework

Thus, this PhD argues that current PC research could benefit from a theoretical framework capable of providing deeper and broader insight into how individuals construct and revise their PC over time in a social space. The approach taken in this PhD conceptualises the dynamic accumulation and depletion of capitals as underpinning the resource exchange within the PC. Individuals' PCs, as schemas, are fulfilled (or not) as their exchange with the organisation facilitates their attainment of their capital goals. This dynamic exchange occurs within the context of a social field, here the undergraduate internship, and under the influence of the social forces of habitus. Thus, the PC is dynamically evolving in relation to the exchange of resources over time and context. The selection of a career novice sample allows investigation of the embryonic foundations upon which the PC is constructed and from which it evolves illuminating the building blocks of the PC. While the PC may not evolve quite so rapidly amongst a more mature sample, nevertheless unpacking how active it can be demonstrates the analytical value of the approach (Rousseau, 2001; Sherman & Morley, 2015). Insight to the PCs of specific groups, in this case interns, is lacking in

literature (Bankins et al., 2020; Masterson et al., 2018). Thus, the study draws together a psychological theory, the PC, and a sociological theory, Bourdieu's theory of practice to complement and augment understandings of the PC as a dynamic time-infused and social concept.

However, an ambitious approach such as this is not without its challenges. Uniting perspectives anchored in differing literatures and disciplines raises issues regarding differing approaches, foci, terminologies and the meanings attached to them. Cognisant of these challenges, great care is taken in connecting these theories and defining terms to ensure theoretical fit (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2012) and clarity. To my knowledge, my framework is the first study to connect PC theory and the Bourdieu's theory of practice. However, using grand social theory to provide contextual insight to individuals' work-related experiences is not inappropriate or without example. For instance, exploring the school to work transition and career decisions, Hodkinson and Sparkes (1997) overcame the implicit separation of structural determinism and individual agency by employing Bourdieuian concepts to investigate career novices' decision-making. They viewed decision making as part of the habitus operating in line with the unequal distribution of resources (capitals) in the specific field of school to work transitions. They both conceptually and empirically studied individuals and their individual career decision-making experiences in light of their multi-level social fields. Thus, my marriage of theory on the individual level (the PC) with Bourdieu's grand social theory is not without prior example.

Indeed, within the graduate employability literature (Donald, Baruch, & Ashleigh, 2024), management education literature (Kalfa & Taksa, 2015), and careers literature (Al Ariss, Vassilopoulou, Ozbilgin, & Game, 2013), elements of Bourdieu's theory whether it be capitals, field, or habitus are employed to investigate career novices' early experiences with employment. In careers literature, Inkson and King's (2011) conceptual PC model includes the concept of individual capitals in a social context, though not explicitly using the theory of practice. They recommend that the "contested terrain" between the expectations of PC parties to "the psychological contract [is] best illustrated by specific contested situations" (Inkson & King, 2011:47), namely the context in which the PC is operating. They call for researchers "to look outside their own particular box" of research tools (Inkson & King, 2011:53), a call this study attempts to address. This approach centres the study of PCs on understanding how the

PC forms and evolves enabling and encouraging proactive management of a viable and resilient PC in the face of societal and organisational upheaval (Kraak, Hansen, Griep, Bhattacharya, Bojovic, Diehl, Evans, Fenneman, Ishaque Memon, Fortin, Lau, Lee, Lee, Lub, Meyer, Ohana, Peters, Rousseau, Schalk, Searle, Sherman, & Tekleab, 2024). This shifts attention from breach antecedents and outcomes where most literature focuses (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) to understanding the evolution and proactive management of the PC.

Research questions, definition of terms, and conclusion

To explore the issues discussed above, this PhD asks and seeks to answer the following research question and sub questions:

Research question and sub questions

- 1. How does employing Bourdieu's theory of practice and a graduate capital lens provide deeper understanding of the dynamic psychological contract process?
 - a. How is an individual's psychological contract constructed and how does it evolve over time and space including the role of anticipated psychological contract antecedents?
 - b. How does the consideration of social context (field and habitus) contribute to the study of psychological contracts?
 - c. How does capital accumulation, depletion, and the attainment of capital goals influence the evolution of the psychological contract?
 - d. How do interns enact and accumulate different forms of capital over time within an organisational setting?
 - e. What organisational practices do interns perceive as most beneficial to their accumulation of capital?

To make clear the use of terms within this PhD, a table of definitions and descriptions is provided below.

Table 1 Definitions and descriptions of key terms

Term	Definitions and descriptions of key terms	References
Psychological	An individual's beliefs in a specific exchange	Rousseau,
Contract	relationship with another party which may	1989;
	include expectations, obligations, and promises	Rousseau et al.,
	and can be goal-oriented in nature	2018
Schema	A mental model or hierarchical cognitive	Rousseau,
	structure that filters experience and is built upon	2001; Stein,
	social cues from one's environment	1992
Internship	An undergraduate time-bounded paid entry level	Velez & Giner,
	work experience opportunity within an	2014;
	organisation. The term 'placement' is often used	Wolfgram, &
	interchangeably	Ahrens, 2022
Career novice	An individual with little to no professional career	Author's own
	or working experience	term
Capital	Resources that confer benefits	Bourdieu, 1986
Field	A social relational space where capital is	Bourdieu, 1977
	mobilised and where individuals collectively	
	reproduce habitus	
Habitus	An individual's dispositions, attitudes, and values	Bourdieu, 1977
	that are shaped by their environment and in turn	
	shape their behaviour and actions to their	
	environment	
Hysteresis	A misalignment of field, habitus, and capital	Bourdieu, 1977
	which causes tension	
Doxa	The 'rules of the game' or a 'feel for the game' in	Bourdieu, 1977
	a specific social field	
Capital	A capital interaction is a contextually focused and	Own definition
interaction	time restricted event that prompts an employee to	

	enact their capital reserves and evaluate or	
	reconstruct their PC as they participate in and	
	enact the interaction.	
Cools! Coults!		Donation
Social Capital	Social capital represents resources that are drawn	Bourdieu,
	from social connections such as mutual	1986, Putnam,
	relationships, acquaintances, class or group	2000
	membership and may be evidenced through	
	strong and weak ties (Putnam, 1999) which	
	broker trust and insider knowledge (Granovetter,	
	1985)	
Economic	Economic capital represents convertible money	Bourdieu, 1986
Capital	useful for advancing one's position and is the	
	easiest capital to convert to other forms of capital.	
Cultural	Cultural capital presents in three forms: Firstly,	Bourdieu,
Capital	incorporated cultural capital, for example,	1986;
	culturally valued dispositions and behaviours;	Tomlinson,
	Secondly, objectivised in the form of books,	2017
	documents, art, machinery and such. Thirdly,	
	institutionalised cultural capital presents itself in	
	the form of recognised formal degrees, titles or	
	qualifications.	
Human	Human capital represents knowledge and skills	Becker, 2008;
Capital	gained through education, training, and	Tomlinson
	employment that are transferable and	2017
	advantageous for the labour market.	
Identity	Identity capital represents professional work-	Cote, 2005; Du
Capital	related narratives, scripts, or perceptions that one	Gay, 1996;
	believes to be true about oneself, invests in, and	Tomlinson
	portrays to others.	2017

Psychological	Psychological capital represents resilience,	Savickas &
Capital	adaptability, and psycho-social resources	Porfelli, 2012;
	mobilised in challenging employment contexts.	Tomlinson,
		2017
Symbolic	Symbolic capital may be viewed as an additional	Bourdieu,
Capital	type of capital. Its value, however, is dependent	1986;
	upon its recognition in a context or field. The	Bourdieu &
	rules of a specific context legitimize or	Wacquant,
	delegitimize the value of certain capitals or	1992
	combinations of capital, i.e. how symbolic they	
	are in that context (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).	

This PhD contributes to research by taking a process approach to understanding the evolution and management of intern PCs. Rather than focusing on breach events, as much PC literature does (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019), it focuses on understanding the temporal and social factors that influence the construction, development, fulfilment, and breach of the PC to better understand its management. Bourdieu's theory of practice and its elements of capital, field, doxa, habitus, and graduate capitals (Tomlinson, 2017) coupled with the PC aids the researcher in making sense of the interaction of complex components that make up social exchanges in the contemporary organisation. This study does not stop at the point of offering a novel marriage of theories to understand the PC but goes a step further to argue that viewing this theoretical framework from the perspective of time and process can yield insight underexplored in literature. This research contributes to PC theory by proffering capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Tomlinson, 2017) as the resources underpinning the exchange relationship. The accumulation or depletion of these capitals underpins the dynamism inherent in the PC exchange as individuals strive to obtain, retain and protect their resources (Hobfoll, 2001) over time and space. The study employs an individual-level process methodological approach underutilised in studies of PCs to an under researched sample of career novice interns. It provides insight valuable to researchers, practitioners, educators, and interns themselves.

The chapters of this PhD are outlined as follows. After this introductory chapter, there are two chapters reviewing literature and building the theoretical framework of this study. The first focuses on a review of PC theory and the second on how Bourdieu's theory of practice complements interrogation of the PC. This is followed by the methodology chapter which discusses the research design, ontological position, and data collection and analysis steps of the study. Next, the vast sum of findings are presented in two chapters. The first chapter focuses on the temporal nature and evolution of the PC in the form of a process model and the impact that capitals exert on the PC evidenced in a capital trajectory model. The second chapter follows on from the argument that capital accumulation and depletion impact the PC to outlining, in detail, how interns enacted and accumulated each specific capital and which organisational practices interns identified as facilitating capital accumulation. Thus, the first findings chapter presents the empirical evidence supporting the theoretical framework of the study while the second findings chapter delineates how individuals actually accumulate the capital that is critical to the fulfilment of their PCs. Next, the findings are discussed in light of their respective literatures drawing out contributions to theory, empirics, and methodology. Based on the findings and discussion, recommendations are then made for researchers, practitioners, educators, and career novices. Finally, the PhD concludes with a discussion on limitations and directions for future research that have surfaced from this research undertaking. This is followed by appendices and supplemental information.

Chapter 2: The Psychological Contract

Introduction

In the context of contemporary employment relationships, the psychological contract (PC) is a focal theory for understanding the black box of unwritten, subjective expectations at play between employee and employer (Rousseau, Hansen & Tomprou, 2018). With its roots in social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) and the norms of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), the PC encapsulates obligations and expectations that exist between employee and employer (Rousseau, 1995). The PC is capable of shaping attitudes, behaviours, and the overall employment experience. As organisations navigate an increasingly dynamic and complex landscape, characterised by rapid technological advancements, evolving workplace norms, and idiosyncratic working practices (Wiechers, Lub, Coyle-Shapiro & Have, 2022; Wiechers, Lub, Coyle-Shapiro & Have, 2024), understanding the dynamics of the PC is imperative for fostering employee engagement, satisfaction, retention, and well-being (Coyle-Shapiro at al., 2019).

This chapter serves as an in-depth exploration of PC theory within the context of the contemporary organisational environment with a focus on career novices, those new to the employment experience. Within the framework of this thesis, this chapter aims to elucidate the underlying dynamic and processual mechanisms that compose the PC. The chapter begins by providing an overview of the historical evolution of PC theory, tracing its roots from early conceptualisations, such as the works of Agrys (1960), Levinson, Munden, Mandl and Solley (1962), and Blau (1964) to its contemporary understanding in the context of the modern workplace. It then delves into foundational elements, exploring the schematic building blocks of the PC and its precursor, the underexplored anticipated psychological contract (APC) (de Vos, Buyens & Schalk, 2005). Antecedents to the APC from various origins such as personal, organisational, and societal sources are discussed and highlighted for their influence on the resultant PCs they help shape. Furthermore, this review discusses individual agency (Seeck & Parzefall, 2008) and its often-neglected role in literature, challenging the deterministic narrative of unfulfillment – perceived PC breach – violation – and resulting negative employee behaviour that currently prevails. As this PhD interrogates the employment experiences of undergraduate intern students on organisational placement, particular focus is placed on understanding literature on the dynamics of early employment experiences and the formation or construction of the PC.

Emphasis is also placed on the evolutionary and dynamic nature of the PC, highlighting its ability and susceptibility to change over time in response to various internal and external influences (Rousseau et al., 2018; Bankins 2015; Wiechers et al., 2023). Studies employing dynamic, longitudinal, and non-static methodologies, in particular, are examined for their recent contributions advancing understanding of the PC as a dynamic concept. Moreover, the chapter underscores the significance of examining the antecedents, operation, and consequences of the PC from a processual, rather than static, perspective discussing what this may add to theoretical understanding of the PC and its application in organisations. Questions regarding the PC, for example, what constitutes the PC – promises, obligations, or expectations (Bankins, 2014) are assessed in light of current literature. In addition, the review highlights gaps in literature and areas in need of further research such as understanding how the PC is formed, how one breach may serve as a temporal context for another, the avenues left open by current resource approaches to the PC, the divergent findings of recent dynamically focused studies, and the need for more research employing methodologies capable of capturing change and nuance over time. In summary, this introduction sets the stage for a detailed exploration of PC theory, highlighting its relevance in understanding the dynamics of contemporary intern employment relationships.

Historical perspectives on the psychological contract

The PC appears in literature in the 1960s through the works of Agrys (1960), Levinson, Munden, Mandl and Solley (1962) and Schein (1965). During this time another separate and divergent approach to understanding organisational relationships, forming the foundations of social exchange theory, also emerged from Blau (1964) and Gouldner (1960). These streams formed early classical conceptualisations of the PC. Rousseau's 1989 and subsequent publications then catapulted the reconceptualised PC to the forefront of contemporary organisational literature (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, 2008).

Despite Argyris (1960) being the first to employ the term, psychological contract, the notion of exchange in the employment relationship was present in Barnard's (1938) theory of equilibrium which theorised that continued employee commitment was contingent upon sufficient organisational reward. Conway and Briner (2005) highlight how March and Simon (1958) extended Barnard's concept in their inducementscontributions model which posited that employees find satisfaction in perceived fairness between their contributions and the employer's inducements. Karl Menninger's work (1958) also explores a similar concept through the relational understanding that develops between patients and their therapists. Argyris' (1960) PC was characterised by an exchange of material and economic resources mutually satisfactory for employee and employers. Though the goods exchanged were predominantly tangible, the PC was understood to be implicit. Influenced by the work of Menninger (1958), who posited that exchanges were not exclusively economic or material, and their own data collection, Levinson et al. (1962) purported that the PC comprises mutual expectations and satisfaction for both employee and employer (Roehling, 1996). Expectations could be unconscious, increasing the complexity of fulfilment. In their view, anticipation of met expectations was a driving force behind the continuation of the employment relationship.

To this, Schein (1965) added and emphasised the criticality of complementary expectations shared between parties to obtain positive outcomes. Schein (1980:22) also emphasised the role of culture in communicating the organisation's side of the PC and its widespread nature pervading "at all times between every member of an organisation and the various managers and others in that organisation". Thus, divergences existed from the early days of the PC (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, 2008). For example, Agryis' (1960) PC focused on tangible resources whereas Levinson et al. (1962) and Schein's (1965) PC incorporated both tangible and intangible resources. In addition, though in agreement regarding the importance of expectations, Levinson et al.'s (1962) meaning of expectations differed from Schein's (1965) by incorporating the notion of obligation on the other party. Obligations did not necessitate explicit promises but could be based on need alone (Conway & Briner, 2005). Schein's PC focused on mutually complementary expectations with a focus on the organisation's communication of the PC.

Another body of work emerged separately during this period. Influenced by Malinowski (1922;1984), Blau (1964), Gouldner (1960), and Homans (1958) laid the foundations of social exchange theory (see Coyle-Shapiro and Conway, 2004; Cropanzano and Mitchell, 2005 for a fuller review of social exchange theory). Blau (1964) delineated social from economic exchange and specified that social exchange was distinct from the economic terms laid out in an employment contract. His social exchange concept emphasised "feelings of personal obligations, gratitude and trust" (Blau, 1964:94), a dependency between parties. This dependency was critical to the successful employment relationship. Each party must play their role with actions and reactions contingent upon one another. This norm of reciprocity increased indebtedness and perpetuated the obligation to fulfil expectations (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, 2008). Social exchange theory and the PC share commonalities. The exchange in both theories include both tangible and intangible resources and both offer expectations or obligations in response for receipt of resources. This earlier literature highlighted that the employee employer relationship is as much social as it is economic (Coyle-Shapiro & Perzefall, 2008; Cullinane & Dundon, 2006;) and laid the foundations, both in its convergence and divergence, to the foundational issues discussed in PC literature today.

Contemporary perspectives on the psychological contract

PC theory took centre stage more recently through Rousseau's (1989) reconceptualisation of the PC. This renaissance of the PC was driven by a climate of economic restructuring and the effects of globalisation (Cullinane & Dundon, 2006) on organisational life and people management, not unlike the current post covid climate. Rousseau (1989:123) defines the PC as a cognitive schema representing "an individual's beliefs regarding the terms and conditions of a reciprocal exchange agreement between that focal person and another party" and "the belief that a promise has been made and a consideration offered in exchange for it, binding the parties to some set of reciprocal obligations". This represents a schema theory perspective on PCs (Rousseau, 2001). Rousseau's obligations were based on implicit or explicit promises whereas some early PC work focused more on expectations and needs (discussed above) in the employment relationship (Conway & Briner, 2005; Coyle-

Shapiro, 2008) rather than specific promises. She accentuated the role of the organisation in creating obligations whereas previous work included a broader set of influences (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019). Rousseau also shifted the focus from understanding both parties in the exchange to understanding the individual's perceptions or schemata of what both parties are obliged to do or provide. Thus, the PC was 'in the eye of the beholder' (Rousseau, 1989). She is said to have stressed the "psychological' in psychological contracts" (Coyle-Shapiro, 2008:9). However, Rousseau's more recent work has broadened to include notions of obligations, expectations (Rousseau et al., 2018), and personal goals (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) in relation to the PC.

From this renaissance, a vast helpful body of work has emerged over the past three decades focusing mainly on PC breach, violation, and fulfilment. Literature has highlighted categorisations of contract types, definitions and boundaries of promises, and who exactly the PC is between - individuals or groups, for example, employee and organisation or employee and organisational representative or groups of individuals (Rousseau et al., 2018). As the PC is a highly individualistic and complex dynamic phenomenon, researchers have sought to categorise or create typologies to aid in its interrogation and understanding (Sherman & Morley, 2015). Inspired by the work of Macneil (1985), Rousseau's (2000) relational, transactional, and later balanced types of PCs are by far the most adopted. A relational PC is usually "long-term or openended based upon mutual trust and loyalty" (Rousseau, 2000:4) and is socio-emotional in its essence (Restubog, Hornsey, Bordia, & Esposo, 2008). It denotes trust, loyalty, commitment and security (Cavanaugh and Noe, 1999; Morrison & Robinson, 1997). A transactional PC is usually short-term, focused, and monetary in nature concentrating on economic exchange. Due to their limited duration, transactional contracts are thought to result in lower organisational commitment and higher turnover (Dabos & Rousseau, 2004). Balanced PCs are described as "dynamic and open-ended employment arrangements conditioned on economic success of firm and worker opportunities to develop career advantages" (Rousseau, 2000:4). While some have thought of transactional and relational PCs as opposites on a continuum, they incorporate differing contents and in reality, individuals may value aspects from both as research has found (Conway & Briner, 2006). In this PhD, I conceptualise the contents of the PC as capitals, resources which confer benefits, (Bourdieu, 1979;

Tomlinson, 2017) which were introduced briefly in the preceding chapter and will be explored more fully in the next theory and literature chapter.

Despite a significant body of literature, research has largely overlooked how the PC is formed (Holland and Scullion, 2019; Sherman & Morley, 2015) and what its preliminary content might be (Coyle-Shapiro, 2008). Thus, understanding of its processes and content is relatively underdeveloped. This stage of PC formation is one of the areas of PC theory that this PhD seeks to address. It does this by investigating PC schemata and the antecedents which influence these schemata through a Bourdieusian lens. Sherman & Morley (2015) highlight several reasons why it is vital to understand how the PC is formed. First, understanding how the PC forms will facilitate strategically managing it and possibly help predict behaviour over time, a powerful tool. Second, individual and organisational outcomes associated with the PC, for example, organisational citizenship (Turnley, Bolino, Lester & Bloodgate, 2004), breach and violation (Bal, Chiaburu, & Diaz, 2011), and more recently employee wellbeing including physical, mental, and emotional health (Shapiro et al., 2019) are crucial to individual and organisational success. Third, by engaging with employees during the PC formation process, the likelihood of avoiding breach and violation with their negative outcomes is significantly increased. Though the vast body of PC literature undoubtedly emphasises the consequences of contract breach, other lines of inquiry exist and are essential to further developing the concept and utility of the PC, namely, how the PC forms and changes over time, what its contents might be (Coyle-Shapiro, 2008), and how social context can influence the construction and operation of the PC (Kraak & Linde, 2019).

The psychological contract as a schema

When individuals believe an obligation exists between them and another party, these expectations regulate the employment exchange influencing what is noticed, what is deemed important, and how new information is interpreted, and as such is a powerful force worth understanding (Rousseau, 2001). As discussed, the PC has been conceptualised as embedded in or built upon schemata (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Rousseau, 2001; Rousseau et al., 2018; Sherman & Morley, 2015). However, relatively little is known about how the PC forms and functions as a schema (Coogan, Crowley-Henry, & Cushen, 2022; Rousseau, 2001; Sherman & Morley, 2015).

A schema is a mental model or cognitive structure that an individual constructs to organise and make practicable conceptually related information (Stein, 1992). These schematic constructs act as filters or guides through which new information is processed and evaluated (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). They guide the individual in their perceptions and understanding of new information, events, and relationships. Thus, one's schemata directly influence how an individual, an interaction, or any new stimulus is received, perceived, understood, and responded to. Fiske & Taylor (1984) describe the PC as an employee-employer schema. It is a belief structure, informed by experience and influences, that in turn informs one of what to expect and what is expected in employment (Rousseau, 2001). In this PhD, I argue that one's employment schema is influenced by one's social field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977). New information or experience that aligns with beliefs may be assimilated into an existing schema, further strengthening it, and resulting in little change to belief or expectation, or the new stimulus may contradict or cause surprise to the schema holder demanding some form of revision (Sherman & Morley, 2015). Responses may vary depending on the quality of information, evaluation of the importance of the information source, the robustness of the current schema which may be based on whether one is a novice or veteran in that context, and the effort and perceived worth involved in revising the schema (Rousseau, 2001; Sherman & Morley, 2015).

Literature alludes to the significant influence of schemata, making schemata construction and their resulting PCs a subjective, complex, and interpretive exercise (Rousseau, 2001). These building blocks or content dimensions compose the terms that subsequently govern the exchange relationship and, as such, understanding them is essential to successfully analysing and managing the PC. Relatively little empirical work has been done on PC content at organisational entry (De Vos & Buyens, 2005; Sherman & Morley, 2015). Existing studies have mostly consisted of samples with previous work experience (Coyle-Shapiro, Pereira Costa, Doden & Chang, 2019; Eilam-Shamir & Yaakobi, 2014). Interns possess less familiarity with the employment context and reduced social network support to navigate the employment relationship (Guan, Zhou, Zheng, Wen, Fu, Hu, Fu, Han, & Wang, 2022).

The anticipated psychological contract

The APC, composed of schemata, forms during the period prior to formal employment and is a time when the employee forms expectations about the

reciprocal nature of the employment relationship (Feldman, 1976; De Vos et al., **2009).** "The APC is an imperfect schema about future employment that enumerates the promises employees want to make to their future employer and the inducements they expect in return...It develops independently from the specific context of an employment relationship" (De Vos et al., 2009:290). These schemata, whether based on promises or expectations, function as imperfect and possibly dysfunctional cognitive lenses through which newcomers interpret experiences and information (Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011). Given that this APC is in the embryonic stage, it is inevitable that "critical events" (Schalk & Roe, 2007:170) or reality shocks such as disruptions, affective events (Rousseau, et al., 2018), and relational exchanges (Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011) in the form of breach, violation, or fulfilment will occur and demand a response from the individual. It is in this instance, that the individual must exercise agency and respond. "Employees use schemata in very goal-oriented ways, and they search for information to 'fix' an incomplete schema" (Sherman & Morley, 2015:172). Indeed, Weichers et al., 2022 found that individuals interpreted both past and present organisational events in light of their goals and that these goals influenced their perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach. Goals are not only personal but may also be related to work assigned tasks (Locke & Latham, 1990). This PhD conceptualises individuals' goals in light of their capital interests and terms these 'capital goals', I elaborate more on this in chapter 3 which presents the theoretical framework of this study.

The PC is enacted when employment begins. We know that by the time an individual enters the organisation, they "have already formulated a gamut of expectations about their future employment relationship" (Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011:348) that forms a "rudimentary psychological contract" (Sherman & Morley, 2015:164) based on imperfect and incomplete schemata (Anderson & Thomas, 1996). People use their existing schemata to fill in the blanks where information is lacking (Crocker et al., 1984). "Schemas vary in their complexity, that is, the number of cognitive beliefs that comprise them, the levels of abstraction characteristic of these beliefs, and the linkages among them" (Rousseau, 2001:514). A veteran worker will have years of organisational experience to inform their schemata, building layer upon layer of complexity and solidity that filters how they interpret the new employment relationship (Louis, 1980). Neophytes (Carr et al., 2006) or novices (Rousseau, 1995),

on the other hand, possess less or no work experience and hold simpler, more malleable, schemata built upon available information. Therefore, in the context of reduced availability of information, interactions experienced and information acquired at organisational entry hold significant sway on newcomers (Bauer & Green, 1998) and their PCs. I note that the former is true to organisational newcomers at any stage of career, but that the effects of initial experiences is amplified in novices as they do not possess experientially informed PC schemata to counterbalance and make sense of conflicting information (Rousseau, 2001). Thus, this makes them an ideal sample for interrogating the construction and evolution of the PC. Though APCs do evolve as one gains experience, they are important influences that shape the PC (Conway & Briner, 2006).

Individuals employ schemata to use or ignore information, filtering it based on its perceived alignment with goal attainment (Stein, 1992; Lord, 2000). In this way, the individual purposefully responds to surprising or challenging interactions by either agentially revising and reconstructing the PC through discerning patterns and creating meaning (Welch Larson, 1994) or choosing to resist the influence of the interaction. In this PhD, I conceptualise disrupting interactions as a period of hysteresis as per Bourdieu's (1979) description of the individual's ways of thinking and being not aligning well with their immediate social situation and this situation demanding remedying. Hysteresis does not denote hysterics or extreme reaction. Hysteresis occurs when an individual's ways of thinking and being and their resources do not align well with their immediate social situation, resulting in tension that needs to be remedied. This demands work. Individuals must be motivated by some form of goal attainment or value to exert the cognitive effort required to assimilate discrepant information (Bankins, 2015), reconstruct the existing APC, and anticipate future interactions (Rousseau, 2001; Rousseau et al., 2018). This 'work' of assimilating discrepant information and experience is similar to Rousseau et al.'s, (2018) dynamic phase model repair phase. Though organisational newcomers at any stage of life or career may need to revise and reconstruct their PCs, one group are particularly susceptible to the consequences of changing PCs, and that is young people entering work for the first time, or those with underdeveloped schemata due to little previous or similar work experience. This is the population under consideration in this research undertaking. These pre-work or limited-work experience interns are situated at the

career stage of growth and exploration or trialling (Super, 1959), which is signified by exploring and revising new conceptualisations of work and the self. They are career novices.

Little research exists that explores the undergraduate student or intern PC (Knapp & Masterson, 2018). Despite calls spanning a number of decades (Blancero & Kreiner, 2000; De Hauw & De Vos, 2010; de Vos, 2009; Eilam-Shamir & Yakobi, 2014; Rousseau, 2001; Sherman & Morley, 2015; Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011) there remains a limited body of literature addressing pre organisational entry APCs and the PCs of career novices. Some recent examples of related studies follow. Knapp & Masterson, (2018) found that undergraduate students possessed complex multi-party PCs, and that final year students' PCs (these students had not experienced an internship as part of their degrees) were more pragmatic and transactional than first year students' PCs showing a possible change to student PCs as they mature in their educational journey. They also found that student PCs did not align well with the transactional/relational PC dimensions and call for more research into the content of student PCs, a call this PhD seeks to address by proffering capitals as the content of individuals' PCs.

Kramer's (2022) study of the PCs of students in government funded education found that students expected support beyond financial aid and held PCs with multiple parties related to their education. When these expectations were not met, their academic performance was impeded. Bordia et al. (2010) explored the graduate student and supervisor PC finding that student well-being and satisfaction suffered when their expectations were not fulfilled. The PhD student and departmental research collaboration relationship was investigated by Wade-Benzoni et al. (2006) who found that PC type (relational etc.) and social context influenced outcomes. However, the research presented above does not capture the undergraduate experience of entering employment. It either focuses on students not yet working or graduate students who likely possess significant previous work experience. This PhD focuses on a novel sample of undergraduate interns straddling the social fields of both higher education and employment relationships.

Bankins' (2015) mixed methods process perspective on graduate newcomers and their adaptive remediation responses to PC violation shows the importance of dynamism

and individual agency in the PC but focuses on PC breach and recovery rather than on the construction of the PC. De Vos, De Stobbeleir, and Meganck's (2009:289) study on the antecedents of graduates' APCs contends that pre-employment beliefs affect the PC after organisational entry arguing that "it is not only important to get insight into the psychological contract of current employees and newcomers in the organisation, but also important to have insight into the psychological contract beliefs that pre-date the employment relationship, i.e., the anticipatory psychological contract." Their quantitative and cross-sectional study reveals that individuals possess pre-experience mental models of what they expect from employment. "[T]he psychological contract represents a dynamic process that unfolds gradually from the pre-employment stage onwards and throughout the different stages of employment" (De Vos, et al. 2009:289). They also found strong relationships between motives for work and resulting APCs. However, their cross-sectional study did not follow participants into their work experience to empirically prove this. It stopped at investigating pre-employment beliefs.

De Vos et al. (2005) found that work values and locus of control influence newcomers' PCs. Career novices seek information aligned with their values or goals, supporting Fiske and Neuborg's (1990) findings on schema development. This demonstrates that motivations, or capital goals in this PhD, drive information seeking, which impacts how individuals evaluate organisational interactions. De Vos, Buyens and motk's (2003) study revealed how newcomers' perceptions of promises changed after one year based on organisation delivery. Tomprou and Nilolaou's (2011) conceptual Model of Psychological Contract Creation defines PC creation as "the sensemaking process including an amalgam of promises exchanged by the newcomer and the organisational insiders as experienced by the focal individual during her first days at work" (Tomprou and Nikolaou, 2011:343). A key difference between this and my study is that Tomprou & Nikolaou's study empirically focused on PC creation at the time of organisational entry and the following weeks. My study explores the impact of pre organisational entry APCs as part of the overall process of PC evolution. Tomprou & Nikolaou propose that pre-entry expectations will influence APCs, that career novices will have less realistic expectations, and that in the absence of information newcomers will look to others in the organisation to fill information gaps. They purport that the more salient a promise or experience is to a pre-entry

expectation, the more intense the emotional response will be whether positive or negative, though they do not empirically investigate this. This aligns with my proposition which purports that individuals will evaluate capital interactions and PCs in line with their own capital goals.

As discussed at the beginning of this section, literature on the foundations of the (A)PC is scarce in comparison to the plethora of insight available on PC breach. However, what one can ascertain from the studies that exist is that pre-employment expectations do influence the PC, that imperfect schemata will most likely require revision, and that this requires mental work. To my knowledge, there are no qualitative empirical process studies of the antecedents and resulting (A)PCs of undergraduate interns using data collected over time. That is one of the empirical, conceptual, and methodological gaps that this PhD addresses in addition to my study's focus on the evolution of the PC over time. The following paragraphs discuss schematic antecedents of APCs and PCs as individual (micro), organisational (meso), and societal (macro) sources.

Antecedents of and influences on the (anticipated) psychological contract

This section reviews literature addressing the question of what influences the construction of the PC. It examines individual, organisational, and societal sources of influence on the PC before and during the employment relationship. In my study, I conceptualise an individual's habitus and field as influencing factors on the antecedents to their (A)PCs. Individual antecedents to the PC can arise from any individual level characteristic that may influence the PC (Conway & Briner, 2005), for example, work values (De Vos et al., 2005), individual efforts to conserve resources (Bankins & Griep, 2022), personality (Raja et al., 2004), previous work experience (Holland & Scullion, 2021), career strategy, emotions, individual career management (De Vos et al., 2009), and work ideologies (Tomprou & Nokolaou, 2011) to name a few. Examining the literature on individual antecedents to PC breach specifically, Coyle-Shapiro et al.'s review (2019:148) highlights an "individual's experience, cognitive style, and personality on the susceptibility of that individual to experiencing breach". They highlight three trends in PC literature. First, experiencing PC breach in one employment context results in an individual experiencing breach in another employment context (Robinson & Morrison, 2000). Second, shared cognitive style or a shared frame of reference between employees and their supervisors reduced

PC breach (Suazo et al, 2008). Employing a capital lens to clarify the terms of the exchange, as recommended in my study, provides an example of a shared frame of reference. Third, individuals with strong neurotic tendencies appear more likely to perceive PC breach (Raja et al., 2004). Ideological currency has recently come to the fore in PC dialogue. Its roots are in Blau's social exchange theory (1964) whereby ideologically infused rewards were considered effective inducements. These "cherished ideals" were "intrinsically rewarding" (Blau, 1964:239). Ideological currency can be defined as "credible commitment to pursuing a valued cause or principle (not limited to self-interest) that are implicitly exchanged at the nexus of the individual-organisation relationship" (Thompson and Bunderson, 2003:574). Krause and Moore (2017), Vantilborgh et al. (2014), El Bedoui et al. (2011), and Bingham (2005)'s studies found evidence that ideological currencies influenced the PCs of individual employees.

Organisational sources of information are also important antecedents that inform the APC, but are somewhat unexplored (Cullinane & Dundon, 2006; Sherman & Morley, 2015). Herriot's (1992) work did implicitly highlight the role of the organisation in discussing that it is both internal and external factors that influence the contract. Multiple organisational actors may influence the PC resulting in multiparty PCs (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019; Rousseau et al. (2018)). This is especially prevalent in today's career landscape whereby individuals may be required to interact with multiple stakeholders to manage their own career. Indeed, a question remains as to who or what represents the organisation. The employer side of the contract may be embodied by multiple agents (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019). Individuals may manage multiple proximal and distal relationships with different agents simultaneously (Coyle-Shapiro & Shore, 2008; Kramer, 2022).

Literature discusses the differing roles of sensegivers, contract makers, and facilitators in the creation of PCs (Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011). Sensegivers may be those from whom an organisational newcomer learns the ropes and exercises multiple exchanges with, one who could be considered an organisational insider. Contract makers are organisational representatives with the power to make and potentially fulfil promises (Rousseau, 1995) for example, human resource professionals and managers (Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011). Organisational information in the form of human resource processes and organisational communication are also key sources of information

(Sherman & Morley, 2015). Research suggests that interactions experienced with one's closest organisational entities or representatives are the most common information sources (Gundry & Rousseau, 1994), that newcomers are likely to adopt schemata similar to organisational entities (Thomas & Anderson, 1998), and that supervisors are the main source of PC information for newcomers (Conway & Briner, 2005). In other words, the perceived quality of relationship with one's closest organisational representative may influence evaluations of the PC. Organisational communication in the form of the online job advertisements and employer branding or human resource processes such as formal inductions or organisational policies are also significant during socialisation (De Vos et al., 2009).

Societal, or macro, influences on the PC provide a potentially powerful tool in understanding how individuals, as members of society, construct their value judgments and expectations of working life and organisations. Cullinane and Dundon's (2006:121) critical review points out how PC literature has "invariably missed out" on this crucial avenue of research. Employing Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus enable this PhD study to consider societal influences on the PC. These may include norms, generally accepted ideologies, socio-political messages, or socio-economic perspectives related to certain professions or types of organisations that often exist within an individual's schemata prior to exchange with an organisation (Rousseau, 2001). For example, society may regard certain types of work as dirty work or others as more prestigious. These assumptions are usually unquestioned and form stable schemata until an experience or new source of information says otherwise causing a misalignment of expectations and the reality of experience (hysteresis) (Bourdieu, 1989).

Some sources of information may be individual in that they belong to the history of the person but are organisational in that they represent an organisational experience such as breach (expectations unfulfilled) or fulfilment (expectations fulfilled) of the contract (Herriot, 1989). Exact sources are not always clear cut and may work together to form antecedents of the (A)PC. Together, these sources provide the material for the building blocks of (A)PC. Most literature focuses on how these expectations are mutually met or not, rather than on how they are formed, and usually conceptualises expectations in the form of promises made between parties with success measured by breach or fulfilment. However, Bankins' (2014) multidisciplinary review of literature

on 'promises' demonstrates that the typical notion of a promise narrows our understanding of the actual broader set of beliefs at play in the PC. This will be discussed next.

What exactly constitutes the Psychological Contract: Promises, Obligations, or Expectations?

Authors have employed differing definitions and constructs of what the PC is, what it constitutes, and what it actually does (Montes & Zweig, 2009). Some authors focus on explicit others on implicit promises Some authors emphasize obligations while others include employee expectations. Some focus on norms of mutual reciprocity (Bankins, 2014). Some definitions vary slightly, while others are conceptually distinct, measure different things, and yield very different results. This makes comparing PC studies a challenge. For example, Conway and Briner (2002:297) define the breach of a promise as "the breaking of a promise made to the employee by the organisation". De Vos, Buyens and Schalk (2003:539) say PCs "are comprised of beliefs about the inducements they have been promised by their employer and the contributions they have promised to make in return". De Vos, Buyens and Schalk (2005:42) say the PC "is conceived as a type of schema...it guides the interpretation and recollection of promises exchanged". Ng and Feldman (2008:269) say that the PC is what is "owed" between employee and employer. Ho, Rousseau and Levesque (2006) focus on obligations. This PhD aligns with Rousseau et al.'s, (2018:1083) explanation that "promises and expectations can both create obligations, which in turn regulate and direct behavior" and that "PCs exist where no promises have been made". Thus, the terms composing one's PC and informing one's capital goals, as conceptualised in my study, can be based upon both promises and expectations that create perceived obligations (see Bankins, 2014 for a full review and interdisciplinary discussion on the concept of promises and the PC).

Merriam Webster's dictionary (n.d.) defines a promise as "a declaration that one will do or refrain from doing something specified". An expectation is "the act or state of expecting or anticipation" of something. An obligation is "something (such as a formal contract, a promise, or the demands of conscience or custom) that obligates one to a course of action". By far the most prevalent approach in PC literature is that of following Rousseau's earliest focus on explicit and implicit promises as the basis for the exchange agreement. However, Rousseau's work does allow for and indeed more

recently encourages use of a broader definition of the PC and its parameters. For example, Rousseau, et al. (2018) highlight that it is not only unfulfilled promises that cause breach or violation. Affective events, sometimes less abrupt or extreme, may act as triggers and cause disruption. These affective events, or interactions, and their influence on the PC are considered in this PhD. For example, a newcomer may not experience PC breach in the form of an explicit or even implicit unfulfilled promise but may have unfulfilled normative expectations (Montes & Zweig, 2009).

Indeed, Rousseau, et al. (2018) link Higgins' (1992) work on probabilistic and normative expectancies to APC expectations that form even in the absence of promises. Probabilistic expectations refer to beliefs about what might happen in the future and normative to what should happen based on normal societal standards. These relate to the previous discussion on the varying sources of schematic antecedents. Thus, even without explicit promises to be broken or fulfilled, individuals possess normative expectations based on their pre-existing schemata and beliefs (which I conceptualise as influenced by field and habitus). Indeed, Rousseau, et al. (2018:1083) argue "that these expectations give rise to perceived obligations."

Bankins' (2014:561) highlights that it is "important to recognise that other beliefs, such as those about obligations, can have the same 'normative force' as a promise and, although not being based in a belief that a promise has been made, are still relevant to understanding employee's psychological contracts." In this instance, in the absence of a promise, the employee's beliefs act as a normative force expecting that the employer ought to deliver the desired inducement and will respond negatively if not satisfied, i.e. PC breach and possibly feelings of violation. While normative expectations have been widely discussed in psychology, they have not been considered in depth in PC literature (Reohling, 2008; Rousseau, et al., 2018).

This PhD explores how expectations (and promises) evolve in relation to capital accumulation and how these influence the intern PC. Implicit promises can be construed through the observation of others' experiences and rewards (Rousseau, 2002). If one employee observes another employee being repeatedly rewarded for a specific behaviour or accomplishment, they may assume that they should be rewarded in a similar manner. Individuals "gather accurate information regarding another's intentions from an array of indirect as well as non-verbal sources (e.g. observation,

history and interactions over time)" (Rousseau, 2002:531). Implicit promise obligations can arise from these "interpretations of critical incidents" in addition to "structural signals such as human resource practices" (Rousseau, 2002:532). Indeed, much of organisational life and learning is based on observation of the norms of organisational interactions (Davis, 2022). Bankins' (2014:562) review of the promise construct concludes with "Rather than focusing on one belief type, it may be possible to identify when some beliefs are more important than others at different stages of employment, and contracting, stages." The temporally phased design of my study collects data at different time periods to illuminate the evolving content and expectations of intern PCs. I include individual expectations, in addition to explicit and implicit promises, as legitimate sources of PC obligations in line with Rousseau and colleagues' (2018) argument above and that of classical PC literature as per Levinson et al. (1962).

Antecedents and consequences of psychological contract breach and the role of context

Antecedents of psychological contract breach

The conversation will now turn to what is undoubtedly the most discussed issue in PC research, PC breach and violation. "[P]sychological contract breach is apparently the norm rather than the exception within organisations" (Coyle-Shapiro, Costa, Doden & Chang, 2019:147). Breach refers to unfulfilled promises, obligations, or expectations, usually with negative effects upon motivation and organisational commitment. Morrison and Robinson (1997:230) define breach as "the cognition that one's organisation has failed to meet one or more obligations within one's psychological contract in a manner commensurate with one's contributions". This emphasises the exchange element of the PC whereby evaluations of the PC are based on an equitable exchange in line with one's expectations. Lee et al. (2011: 204) define fulfilment as "the extent to which one party to the contract deems the other has met its obligations". Rousseau (1989:129) defines violation as "an intense reaction of outrage, shock, resentment, and anger", resulting from breach. Breach and violation are distinct constructs (Morrison & Robinson, 1997). Breach refers to an individual's evaluation and judgment of a situation whereas violation embodies the extreme emotional reaction as a consequence of those judgments and evaluations (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019). It is important to note that though the vast majority of research focuses on

employee perceptions of the PC, the contract can also be broken or fulfilled in the eyes of the employer (Coyle-Shapiro & Kessler, 2002) or both employee and employer simultaneously (Dabos & Roussuea, 2004).

The dominant focus of literature is PC breach with most research examining organisational antecedents to breach (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019). Breach and violation are "critical events" in the life cycle of a PC (Schalk & Roe, 2007:170). Recent PC literature has called for greater examination of the context, including social context, in which PC breach processes occur and are embedded (Alcover, Rico, Turnley, & Bolino, 2017; Kraak & Linde, 2019). Social workplace contexts may include coworkers, managers, the human resource department, recruiters (Alcover et al., 2017), or specific type of industries (Kraak et al., 2020). Researchers are being urged to consider contemporary workplace characteristics (Bankins et al., 2020; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019; Kraak et al., 2020). For example, Kraak et al.'s, (2020) qualitative study categorises pilots into distinct categories of dreamers and realists based on their motivations for undertaking their career. They conclude that these distinct motivations influenced how they perceived and responded to organisational obligations both met and unmet. They highlight the criticality of contextualising breach research to properly understand both antecedents and outcomes of breach in specific contexts, an approach this PhD adopts.

Tekleab et al.'s (2020) three field studies examined PCs in a team context and discuss the importance of not just individual but shared PC fulfilment in the team context. Yeung and Shen (2019) conduct two studies to show the impact of diversity and inclusivity on PCs. Their research shows that a strong commitment to diversity during recruitment creates a perceived promise or obligation to continue in that vein. When that commitment is not upheld post recruitment, breach is perceived. They noted that racial majority employees reacted more strongly to this perceived breach than racial minority employees due to minority workers experiencing this breach more frequently. These findings align with Zhong, Wayne and Michel's (2021) study of contrast effects on PC breaches whereby previous similar breaches actually reduced employee reactions to further breaches of the same kind as if they were 'used to it'.

Lambert et al. (2019) focused on the reciprocal context and nature of the PC examining not just employer inducements but employee contributions and the sense of worth and

value that employees place on feeling that they have made a contribution to the employment context. Recent calls have highlighted the importance of furthering insight to the PC in the context of organisational change (Tomprou & Hansen, 2018). Uncertainty caused by downsizing and restructuring can alter employee perceptions of job security and the strength of employer promises (Zhao et al., 2007). For example, Costa and Nesves (2017), Shoss et al., (2016) and Picolli and de Witte (2015) conducted studies which revealed perceived contract breach as a result of perceived job insecurity. Examining digital interfaces (Sherman & Morley, 2020), an older workforce (Kraak, Lunardo, Herrbach, & Durrieu, 2017), and minority or vulnerable workers (Tomprou & Bankins, 2019) as contextual factors to the PC are also more recent directions in literature. A promising nascent stream of literature is emerging which encourages a sustainable approach to PCs focusing on breach avoidance and recovery or restoration (Griep, Bankins, Kraak, Sherman, & Hansen, 2024). A sustainable PC is "an adaptive cognitive schema representing one's perceptions of obligations regarding a high-quality exchange relationship that is characterised by attentive, responsible, and responsive parties as well as mutually beneficial economic, social, human, and environmental goals." (Kraak et al., 2024:10). The sustainable PC fosters resilience and longer-term viability considering the current context of global and organisational upheaval. However, this sustainable approach to the PC is nascent with relatively few empirical studies available. In contrast to the vast body of PC literature, studies that investigate the impact of context are in the minority despite ongoing calls for its consideration (Coyle-Shapiro (2002; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019; Kraak et al., 2018; Kraak & Linde, 2019; Kraak et al., 2020) Social exchange relationships have always been theorised as social as well as economic exchanges impacted by powerful forces embedded in their social context (Blau, 1964). Thus, this PhD argues that the intern PC exchange relationship should be investigated in its social field (Bourdieu, 1979).

Consequences of psychological contract breach

As discussed, PC breach and its effects are a central theme in the PC literature delivering a multitude of negative outcomes (Bal et al., 2008; Conway & Briner, 2009; Zhao et al., 2007) influencing groups and individuals both internal and external to the organisation (Jiang et al., 2017). Two meta-analyses (Bal et al., 2008; Zhao et al., 2007) confirm the relationships between breach, attitudes, and effectiveness. Zhao et

al.'s (2007) meta-analysis explores the impact of breach events on work outcomes and found that breach triggers a change in attitudes and that emotional reactions to a breach event mediate the relationships between the breach event and the work outcome. Bal et al.'s (2008) meta-analysis confirms the role that age plays in PC breach perceptions and reactions, mediating the relationship between attitudes and responses to breach events. PC breach consequences are often categorised as either attitudinal or behavioural. Coyle-Shapiro et al.'s (2019) review of PC literature highlights attitudinal effects on organisations such as reduced organisational identification (Zagenczyk et al., 2013), job satisfaction (Conway et al., 2011), affective organisational commitment (Restobug et al., 2006), organisational trust (Robinson& Morrison, 2000), increased turnover intentions (Orvis et al., 2008) and organisational cynicism (Johnson & O'Leary-Kelly, 2003). Behavioural consequences of PC breach include reductions in performance (Costa & Neves, 2017), employee voice (Ng et al., 2014), and organisational citizenship behaviour (Restoubug et al., 2010). It also causes increases turnover intention (Karagonlar et al., 2016), deviance (Bordia et al., 2008), and absenteeism (Deery et al., 2016). Coyle-Shapiro et al.'s (2019) review also draws attention to the negative effects of PC breach upon both internal and external third parties to the organisation such as family, friends, colleagues, clients, and unions.

PC breach also imposes significant effects on the individual experiencing the breach. However, there is a paucity of research on the individual health effects of breach events. Health is "a complete state of physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease" (World Health Organisation, 1948:1). Given the extensive negative attitudinal and behavioral consequences of PC breaches, the stressful emotions associated with these outcomes could inflict additional harm on the individuals experiencing it. Though literature is nascent in this area, it does reveal the negative impacts that PC breach events can have on an individual's physical (Robbins et al. 2012) and mental (Garcia et al. 2017) health, resulting in burnout (Jiang et al. 2017) and negative emotional well-being (Cassar & Buttigieg, 2015). Karagonlar et al. (2016) found that PC fulfilment was negatively associated with headaches, fatigue, and sleep issues in employees while Garcia et al. (2017) found PC breach to be positively associated with employees' struggles with insomnia. This effect was traced even to the spouses of these employees. Garcia et al. (2017) found that PC breach was distress was a result of PC breach. Rosen & Levy (2013) found that PC breach was

positively related to anxiety, tension, and psychological distress. Jiang et al. (2017) and Jamil et al. (2013) observed that PC breach was positively associated with burnout. Emotional exhaustion, an element of burnout, has also been revealed as a consequence of PC breach (Costa & Neves, 2017). Overall, literature demonstrates that the effects of PC breach bear negative consequences for individuals' physical health, mental health, energy levels, and emotional well-being (Robbins et al. 2012). Limited research also shows the positive associations of PC fulfilment on positive physical health. With such proven disastrous outcomes, further understanding of the PC and how to avoid breaching it is essential not only for organisations but also for individuals and their health (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019). This PhD explores interns' experience of the evolving PC exchange relationship and its outcomes on their capitals. Understanding psychological capital and identity capital reserves in relation to breach and fulfilment could provide new perspectives on the impact of PC breach and fulfilment on individuals' well-being. These concepts will be further explored in chapter three.

Agency and its role in the psychological contract

While the results of PC breach are predominantly negative for both individual employee and organisation, that is not to say that a perceived breach of the PC must result in violation and negative deterministic consequences. "[A]lthough potentially damaging to reputations, careers, and relationships, violations also appear to be both frequent and survivable" (Rousseau, 1995:111). Though not a focus of PC literature to date, individuals do possess agency to manage breaches and constructively act "as active exchange participants" (Bankins, 2015:1071). In relation to the PC, I adopt Seeck & Parzefall's (2008:475) use of individual agency as "the capacity of human beings to make choices and to impose these choices on the world" which was drawn from Sewell's (1992) conceptions of agency. This agency is not necessarily in conflict with notions of structure but is instead a constituent of organisational structure. Indeed, organisational agents are empowered to some degree by the structures within which they work and are "capable of exerting some degree of control over the social relations in which [they are] enmeshed, which in turn implies the ability to transform those social relations to some degree" (Sewell, 1992:20). By virtue of being in the organisation, agency can stem "from the actor's knowledge of the schemas, which means the ability to apply them to new contexts" (Sewell, 1992:20). This application

of human agency can be creative and diverse and is a "socially shaped form of embodiment" that is culturally and historically influenced, though not completely determined (Shilling, 1997:737). Individuals can and do strategically accumulate capitals to forward their capital goals within the structure of the organisation. Indeed, Bourdieu's theory of practice is a theory capable of encapsulating the mutually complementing and sometimes conflicting forces of individual agency and organisational power through its element of field, habitus and capital. The individual agentially navigates their social context working within the bounds of habitus and field, or structural norms, both responding to and creating opportunities for self - actualisation and capital mobilisation in the PC exchange employment relationship. This is further developed in chapter three.

It is surprising that in the context of contemporary employment relationships where digitisation (Coetzee & Deas, 2021), 'i-deals', and flexible working practices (Rousseau, 2005) are increasingly negotiated, and autonomy of some degree is expected (Bankins et al., 2020), that PC literature has predominantly overlooked the role of employee agency. Much PC literature handles organisational shortcomings as causes and negative employee attitudes and behaviours as dependent variables. This approach falls short of capturing the nuances of context and individual influences (Seeck & Parzefall, 2008). As working life is "increasingly a site for self-actualisation ... psychological contract researchers have to consider the employee as an active party to the contract and the employment relationship" (Seeck & Parzefall, 2008:477) rather than a passive reciprocator of organisational actions and decisions (Bankins, 2015). Employees can and do exercise power, to varying degrees dependent on contextual factors. This is not to say that the balance of power is equal in the organisational field.

Indeed, some studies do support the view that individuals are not destined to passively reciprocate negative behaviour in response to a perceived breach on the part of the organisation (Bankins, 2015; Parzefall & Coyle-Shapiro, 2011). Individual responses to breach are a much more complex process than much cross-sectional quantitative studies suggest. Bankins' (2015:1072) mixed methods process study "centrally positions employees as active and purposeful agents in the exchange process who deliberately shape, manage, and change their psychological contracts", a perspective that this PhD shares and one less prominent in PC literature (Seeck & Parzefall, 2008). Bankin's (2015) study revealed that employees do actively engage in repeated cycles

of sensemaking post breach and violation to cope with the effects of breach events on their PCs and that they participate in adaptive remediation processes to adjust and repair their PCs. Indeed, Rousseau et al.'s, (2018) Dynamic Phase Model incorporates self-regulation theory to show how individuals actively repair damaged PCs. Tomprou et al.'s (2015) Post Violation Model also positions individuals as active self-regulators of their own PCs rather than passive recipients or reciprocators of negative actions with varying outcomes such as a reactivation of the previous PC, the creation of a new one, or complete dissolution and disengagement. It is, however, widely acknowledged that more research exploring the agentic processes involved in individuals' PCs is needed; a gap this PhD addresses (Bankins, 2015).

The dynamic psychological contract

Though hailed as a dynamic theory, much PC research provides only snap shots rather than dynamic illustrations of the employment relationship. "A major shortcoming in PC research is a lack of attention to psychological processes over time" (Rousseau et al., 2018:1081). Theorising of the mechanisms that underpin the time infused processes of the PC remain underdeveloped (Hansen & Griep, 2016). This, I argue, is a key blind spot of existing PC literature to which this PhD empirically, theoretically, and methodologically contributes. Theoretical advancement has been hampered by an overly narrow focus on methodologies that preclude the examination of change over time and has not made significant progress in its examination of PC dynamics since the 1990s (Rousseau et al., 2018). Indeed, calls for more methodologically creative approaches appear to have gone mostly unheeded for decades. Taylor and Tekleab (2004:279) bemoaned the state of research in their 2004 review of psychological contract research, "our literature review [...] has caused us to note, with more than little exasperation, that much psychological contract research seems to have fallen into a methodological rut". Coyle-Shapiro and Parzefall (2008) highlight that despite Levinson et al.'s (1960) and Argyris's (1960) seminal works being qualitative, qualitative work is now downplayed while quantitative cross-sectional studies are favoured in PC research. In 2005, Conway & Briner noted, with caution, that quantitative studies tended to paint a picture of a simple linear relationship between PC breach and employee responses. More recently, in 2021, Zhong et al. again lament that much "existing research employs a static perspective by investigating PC breach at a particular point in time" (Zhong et al., 2021:3).

Recently, research on the PC is shifting focus to its dynamic aspects (Bankins, Griep, & Hansen, 2020; Griep & Vantilborgh, 2018; Griep, Hansen, & Kraak, 2024; Griep, Kraak, Hansen, & Beekman, 2024; Solinger, 2018; Wiechers et al., 2023). Researchers are now exploring the role of resources (Bordia et al., 2017, Deng, Coyle-Shapiro, & Yang, 2018), goal-oriented (Bankins, 2015; Baruch & Rousseau, 2019; Rousseau, 2018), dynamic (Schaft et al. 2020; Yang et al. 2020), and contextual paradigms (Kraak et al., 2020). Results have yielded insights to the power of the PC over thoughts, feelings, and behaviour at work (Bankins et al., 2020).

Rousseau et al. (2018) advance theory with their conceptually based Dynamic Phase Model. Considering the central role of contextual factors (Johns 2006), Rousseau et al. (2018) purport that the employment relationship is governed by differing variables at different phases of the relationship. Initially, individuals' PCs form in the creation phase as their schemata develop and evolve into a maintenance phase through implicit and explicit information sources. Implicit sources include observing colleagues' experiences, while explicit sources encompass organisational communication and collective agreements. The PC subconsciously guides perceptions and resulting actions during the maintenance phase, until a disruption occurs, which then activates a new phase. A disruption may be a discrete event, or a series or build-up of events misaligned with perceived PC obligations (Schal & Roe, 2007) which generate[s] a significant affective response in the individual. When this event facilitates personal goal attainment, a positive affect is experienced and the individual moves into the renegotiation phase where exchange terms need renegotiation between parties. When the affective event is negative hindering goal attainment and causing frustration, the individual moves into the repair phase whereby terms of the PC need to be repaired. In this PhD and in Bourdieusian terms, this phenomenon, whether positive or negative in nature could be related to hysteresis, where expectations and reality are not in sync necessitating an agentic goal-oriented response. In Rousseau et al.'s (2018) model, if the disruptive situation can be remedied and new terms can be settled upon, the individual, possibly after multiple attempts, moves back to the maintenance phase where the PC operates subconsciously requiring reduced personal energy and resources.

One could relate this phase of Rousseau et al's (2018) Dynamic Phase Model of PC processes to Tomprou et al.'s (2015) Post Violation Model of PC Processes. Tomprou

et al. (2015) illustrate that agentic efforts to restore or react to PC violation may modify schemata related to one's PC resulting in reactivation (the same schema is reactivated or preserved), thriving (schemata are improved), or impairment/dissolution (schematic perceptions are worsened) of the PC. Bankins et al.'s (2015) adaptive remediation contract change process model also illustrates how individuals actively implemented coping strategies using sensemaking to change either themselves or their environment after PC breach. They illustrated that PC development and change is "a complex and non-linear phenomenon" that is not only deterministic but activates individual agency (Bankins et al. 2015:1992). Their study, however, did not focus on initial building blocks and development of the PC as this PhD does but rather on reactions to breach. This PhD seeks to provide the conceptual framework to better analyse and understand this crucial, yet under explored, feature of the PC.

Schaft et al.'s (2020) qualitative and in-depth study on social interactions and PC dynamism utilised Rousseau et al.'s (2018) Dynamic Phase Model to illustrate how differing social interactions create distinct effects depending on which phase of the PC relationship they are in. This highlights the value of investigating PCs over time, as my study does, as findings gleaned at one stage of the PC process may not be applicable at another stage. Their study shows experiences in Rousseau et al.'s (2018) maintenance phase to be highly social and collaborative founded upon shared notions of the employment relationship while those undergoing disruption were much more inwardly and individually focused. Yang et al.'s, (2020) longitudinal control and dynamic systems theory research draws out daily and weekly micro-level fluctuations in individuals' PCs. Their study shows the intricacies and nuance of the PC over short time frames. These studies evidence that the PC is a dynamic construct that is capable of operating in different ways at different stages of the employment relationship and experiences cyclical adjustments.

Researchers also now argue that PC breaches and their effects should also be examined as processes themselves. Previous research described a discrete event that resulted in breach, a discrete response. Thus, specific events were identified as antecedents to a resultant breach. While this is true in some cases, it does not tell the whole story. Accumulations of smaller events may build up to create perceived breaches and feelings of violation (Coyle-Shapiro, 2022; Wiechers et al., 2018; Wiechers et al., 2022). Also, the result of those breaches may not manifest in one breach outcome but

in a process of breach outcomes (Wiechers et al., 2022). Taking a neuroscientific approach, Wiechers et al. (2018) explored intra-individual processes of PC breach cognition. Their research showed how triggers or disturbances initiated psychological mechanisms causing mental shifts from unconscious to conscious processing. Sources of these triggers can originate from direct (organisational communication) sources, indirect (social) sources, or slow responses (organisational sluggishness to fulfil obligations). An individual's employment context and characteristics bear influence on this process. This aligns with the literature on career shock events whereby an individual becomes more aware of their surroundings after a shock event is experienced (Akkermanns, 2019). Lee, Liu, Rousseau, Hui, and Chen's (2011) study provides evidence that the PC does function in a dynamic manner. In line with Turnley, Bolino, Lester, & Bloodgood (2003), Conway and Coyle-Shapiro's (2012) study revealed that individual performance and the fulfilment of one's PC can influence each other over time. Solinger, Hofmans, Bal, & Jansen's, (2015) study showed evidence of differing breach response trajectories over time. These findings are in contrast to the strict typecast antecedent-breach-outcome variables that pervade much of the PC literature. These findings draw attention to the less rigid realities of the contemporary employment relationship.

As the discussions above illustrate, multiple PC breaches at work are the norm. The direct and discrete breach outcome relationship, whereby a perceived PC breach may result in negative consequences, is well established. However, to date it is still relatively "unclear how a past PC breach serves as a temporal context factor in shaping the impact of a present PC breach on employee outcomes" (Zhong Wayne, & Michel, 2021:1). Conway and Coyle-Shapiro's (2006) study on the ongoing relationship between employee performance and perceived employer obligation fulfilment found that "the outputs of one exchange transaction provide the input to the next exchange transaction" and called for methodological creativity to capture the "ongoingness" of the PC operating in the employment relationship (Coyle-Shapiro & Parzefall, (2008:22). This PhD seeks to explore this 'ongoing' nature of the PC by employing a qualitative phased process study and illuminating how one capital interaction and its outcome may shape the next capital interaction and its outcome and so on.

Zhong et al. (2021) conducted three studies to develop and test the effects of past PC breaches on present responses to PC breaches. Using contrast effect theory (CET)

(Markman & McMullen, 2003) and conservation of resources theory (COR) (Hobfoll, 1989) to explain responses to PC breach, Zhong et al., (2021) posited that when an individual compares a present breach with a high (strong) PC breach from the past, they will react with less negative affect than when a present breach is compared with a low (less impactful) PC breach from the past. Their results supported the temporal contrast effect of past breaches on present breach responses. In short, experiencing a highly negative PC event or breach in the past decreased the severity of PC breach responses in the present. These findings contrast with longitudinal trajectory studies on accumulations of PC breaches and their effects on individual employee outcomes meaning more research is needed on the PC as a dynamic concept. My study further explores this tension in chapter five through the capital trajectory model (Figure 5.)

Recent trajectory studies have also called attention to the dynamic nature of the PC. However, contrary to CET, these trajectory studies (Conway, Guest, & Trenberth, 2011; Griep & Vantilborgh, 2018; Jong, Rigotti & Mulder, 2017; Ng, Feldman, & Lam, 2010; Zhu, Tatachari & Chattopadhyay, 2017) found that the more breaches that occur, the more negative the individual response evidenced through adverse employee attitudes or behaviours. Though not strictly a trajectory study, Wiechers, Lub, Coyle-Shapiro, and ten Have (2023), also found that multiple and repeated triggers compound to force individuals to a tipping point or breach threshold (Jones & Griep, 2018) where they perceive that breach has occurred. Overall, trajectory studies purport that past negative breach events, particularly those experienced temporally closer to the present breach, accumulate to create more intense anticipations of and responses to breach events. According to Zhong et al.'s (2021) CET approach, past breaches, whether temporally close or from the distant past, may have similar effects on present breach perceptions depending on whether they were high or low breach events with past high breach resulting in a less negative affect response in the present.

Wiechers et al.'s (2022) qualitative study explores the intra-individual processes that underpin PC breach relationships. They found that triggers or seemingly small everyday events (Conway & Briner, 2002) that occur on a regular basis are assessed as interconnected by the individual perceiver. These amassed to push individuals past their breach threshold (Jones & Griep, 2018) with the perception that a breach event had occurred. In this way, triggers were sticky and tended to linger in the background until another similar trigger occurred. Triggers caused individuals to switch from auto

processing of their PCs to orienting conscious attention on the exchange agreement. This in turn resulted in individuals becoming more sensitive and attenuated towards how the PC is or is not being fulfilled, potentially creating space for more perceived breaches that may have otherwise gone unnoticed. They also found that individuals appraised triggers considering their personal goals and that triggers hindering these goals incited negative emotions. These experiences were not only anchored in the past but in line with Bankins (2019), Sandberg and Tsoukas (2015), and Stigliani and Ravasi's (2012) predictions, initiated sensemaking of anticipated and future potential triggers in the employment relationship. Wiechers et al. (2023:1) extend this work by further exploring the events or triggers which lead up to a perceived breach revealing that "Triggers seem to be the drivers underpinning this dynamism" in the PC. Wiechers et al. (2022) and Wiechers et al. (2023) claim their findings contribute to exposing the micro-processes embedded within the black box of PC disruptions thereby extending PC theory and further empirically examining Rousseau et al.'s (2018) Dynamic Phase Model.

These diverse approaches to studying the dynamic PC herald the essential role that temporality, processes, and cumulative effects play in PC research and the necessity of employing research design methods that capture these effects and nuances. They diverge in their methodological approaches to investigation and their theoretical explanations of how temporality and cumulative breaches influence individual reactions. Trajectory studies focus more on "temporal change from past to present" (Zhong et al., 2021:22), with higher factor loading often assigned to more recent breaches, while CET focuses more on the enduring effects that a past experience may have on present breach regardless of the amount of time passed. These burgeoning approaches to the empirical study of PCs as dynamic, time-infused processes highlight the need for more attention to help explain divergent results and what they may mean for managing the PC.

Summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has sought to provide a review of PC literature. By tracing its historical roots and contemporary conceptualisations, this chapter has laid the groundwork for the theoretical and analytical framework of this study. The PC is a multifaceted, complex, and dynamic construct, encompassing the implicit beliefs,

perceptions, and reciprocal obligations that define the employment exchange relationship. The importance of the schematic building blocks of the PC (Rousseau, 2001; Sherman & Morley, 2015) and the need for more investigation into how PCs are formed and evolve over time has become evident. This chapter has emphasized the interplay between individual agency and organisational power in shaping employees' perceptions, expectations, and behaviours, challenging deterministic consequences often assumed in literature. Furthermore, this chapter has underscored the importance of examining the dynamic nature of the PC in its social context.

In conclusion, this review uses literature to support the argument of this PhD, that to interrogate the formation, content, and evolution of the PC, one must view it as an evolving and dynamic concept firmly rooted in a social context. This means static studies and perspectives, where much of the literature leans, garner limited insight (Rousseau et al., 2018; Weichers et al., 2023). To understand and manage the evolving nature of the PC, this PhD argues that one must investigate its embryonic roots and construction to understand how it evolves over time. Indeed, Holland and Scullion's (2021:2714) study of PCs highlights the need to "look back in order to move forward" and use a dynamic process approach. Thus, this chapter has sought to provide a firm foundation from PC literature to aid construction of the theoretical and analytical framework of this study which is discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: A Capital Perspective on the Psychological Contract

Introduction

Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Blau, 1964) and the Norm of Reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), upon which the PC is founded, posit that the employee and employer engage in reciprocating essential and mutually beneficial resources. However, to date, how individuals evaluate the hierarchy of those resources and how they operate in the PC remains ambiguous and thus problematic for management. "The overreliance on social exchange theory and the norm of reciprocity has kept alternative explanations [of the psychological contract]... on the sidelines" (Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019:159). Indeed, in contemporary employment "individuals and organisations are engaged in the negotiation of 'capital'" (Inkson & King, 2011:43). This chapter aims to offer an analytical route into the nature of resources by proffering capitals, as per Bourdieu (1979) and complemented by Tomlinson's (2017) graduate capitals, as explanatory mechanisms in the PC resource exchange relationship. Bourdieu describes capitals as assets that can be put to productive use, resources that, if possessed, enable one to appropriate gains in a social space.

I explain the scholarly value of conceptualising the content of the PC as capitals and capital goals which individuals strive to accumulate through their employment exchange relationship. These capitals are situated within a social field and influenced by habitus as explicated by Bourdieu's theory of practice (1979). In line with an emerging stream of resource focused PC literature (Achnak et al., 2018; Bankins, Griep & Hansen, 2022; Deng et al., 2018; Kiazad, Seibert and Kraimer, 2014; Priesemuth & Taylor, 2016), I employ a capital or resourcebased perspective on how the PC operates. This means individuals strive to accumulate capital through the employment exchange and evaluate the fulfilment of their PC based on the organisations' support of the individual's attainment of capital goals. Individuals' accumulation and depletion of capital over time through organisational interactions embodies the inherent dynamism of the PC. The following sections discuss Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) beginning with the concepts of field and habitus, then agency, then capitals as per Bourdieu and graduate capitals (Tomlinson, 2017). It then turns to discussing how the concept of capitals can augment current understandings of a resource perspective of the PC, avenues that COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989) has left open. Finally, literature addressing the field specific forces of internships is addressed. This is all discussed in light of the intern

PC. This chapter is not a comprehensive review of the plethora of literature related to Bourdieu's theory but an in-depth discussion and argument for its use in the study of PCs. As such, the PC-capital relationship serves as a theoretical basis for this PhD study.

Bourdieu's theory of practice and the psychological contract

It is my argument that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1977) is a theory capable of augmenting our understanding of how the PC operates in a social organisational domain. It does this by illuminating the resources (capitals) underpinning the exchange relationship which individuals, with their idiosyncratic approaches (habitus, which influences the PC schema), in a particular organisational setting, an internship (field) strive to accumulate. In line with Bourdieu's argument that capital can only be realised, viewed and become symbolic in relation to a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), this PhD positions the intern, with their mutually influencing and evolving PC and capitals, within the specific contextual field of organisational internships. Thus, before delving into the nuances and particulars of each capital, this section begins with investigating the forces at play in the social field of internships.

Field: Mapping the social space of psychological contracts

Bourdieu (1979) conceptualises individuals, groups or institutions as acting in a social space (field), producing social practices (mobilising capital) while being bound, empowered, and governed by the social norms or logics of that specific space (habitus, doxa), in this instance, the organisational internship. Fields exist and orbit around the exchange of specific sets of capitals which 'are both the process within, and product, of a field' (Thompson, 2008:69). Bourdieu (2005) argued that the object of social investigation must be located in both a historical and relational field defined as 'a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:97). In this PhD, I conceptualise the internship context as a social field. This is not to say that the PC is a social field. The PC is a psychological construct and set of expectations held within one's inner self and as such is not a site of social reproduction. It is, however, a contract with another social entity. Thus, it does not operate within a vacuum. The social exchange of a PC practically operates within a given social context such as an organisational employment relationship, in this study an internship.

For a social space to be recognised as a field, its agents must be interpersonally related and share some common goal that orients them to each other (Martin, 2003). The concept of field is appropriate when agents "frame their action vis-à-vis one another" (Fligstein, 2001:108) as

parties to the PC exchange would. As Bourdieu warns, not every interaction or influence in a relationship is worthy of constituting a social field. However, the internship exchange relationship does fit the criteria for a social field. It is a prerequisite that "a set of agents and institutions function as a field" only if they "produce effects upon one another" (Bourdieu, 1996:132) as does the mutual exchange expected in the employment relationship. They must be "linked by objective relations such that the structure of these (material and symbolic) relations has effects within each of them" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:100-101). **Thus, I conceptualise the internship context as a social field as per Bourdieu, in which the PC operates.** I note that the field itself is not the focus in this study, rather I offer a framework that enables the researcher to illuminate field specific factors that may impact capital accumulation or depletion and evaluations of the PC employment exchange.

In this way, it is possible to explore and interrogate the social forces and structures that drive the operation of the individually held PC in the employment relationship considering the impact of field, habitus, and capital on the PC. With the marriage of the PC and Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977), one can amplify examination of the demands and opportunities of this social space whereby interns may be governed, empowered, or bound by field specific social norms or logics as they navigate their social field (Bourdieu, 1996). While operating in this diverse social space, interns are accumulating capitals, which may or may not be recognised as symbolic in that context at that time (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2010). Indeed, resource related theories postulate that the degree of impact an event, stimulus, or experience has is dependent upon the context in which it happens (Halbesleben et al., 2014). That is, a particular workplace event may result in salient capital accumulation or depletion (or not) based on the context or field where it occurs. The field becomes "a space of possibilities" (Bourdieu, 1993:64) whereby capital can be mobilised. This generates the possibility for "access, aspirations, and expectations" (Husu, 2013:267). At the same time, the possibility for access to all of this is mediated by the habitus which provides a "sense of social direction which orients agents" (Bourdieu, 1993:64). Within this social field, I consider the influence of habitus and doxa, expected norms and rules of the field. This multifaceted conceptualisation of the PC and capital interaction in a field allows for insights to both the workings of individual agency and structural context, not as separate lines of inquiry but as mutually co-influencing forces shaping the PC employment relationship evolving over time.

As an arena of social activity within which an intern and their PC is operating, the field, possesses an accepted pattern of practices set within a wider social space where practices are expected to be competently executed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). When an intern enters this new social space, they will be expected to and will want to mobilise their capital to compete and operate in relation to their hierarchical position. This employment relationship

field can be seen as a battlefield or a playground in which interns armed with varying degrees of field-relevant capital navigate and advance their positions (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2010). When organisations create the conditions (social fields) within which individuals can accumulate capitals, I argue that these individuals' PCs (employment schemata) will be fulfilled as they will perceive that the organisation has met their obligation by honouring their side of the social exchange.

Fields are not static or rigid entities just as employment relationships are not static and, as such, the concept can function as a flexible analytical tool to illuminate a host of varying situations (Martin, 2003). The field of practice provides the site within which capital is accumulated and mobilised (Hinchcliffe & Jolly, 2011). Capitals are not fixed entities. They are fluctuating and changing in symbolic value as the field of practice may legitimise that capital at a particular time or not (Hinchcliffe & Jolly, 2011). "Specific fields will often have their own forms of social control, their own structures or opportunity and their specific types of resource." (Crossley, 2002:180). The context of each organisational employment relationship will have particular management practices and styles, organisational governance structures, organisational culture, and differing possibilities for individual rewards and career advancement. Indeed, PCs are often framed in terms of a managerialist agenda were individuals, particularly career novices, may possess less power to exert on the exchange.

Strategic mobilisation of capital within the field of the organisational employment relationship contributes to reproduction of the field, thus making the field an evolutionary dynamic phenomenon also shaped by the social practice of the interns. These fields are "the product and the stake of cognitive and political symbolic struggles over knowledge and recognition" (Bourdieu, 2008:187). This makes the internship field an arena of struggle where employees strive to accumulate and maintain their capital. Bourdieu highlights that agents, here interns, may also move between and within fields (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986). For example, the intern may be simultaneously straddling the field of higher education and the field of organisational employee, with their conflicting priorities and demands, or may be in a phased progression of letting one go and embracing the other.

Habitus: Moulding and mediating field and capital interactions in the intern employment relationship

Bourdieu (2005:43) explains habitus as "a system of dispositions, that is of manners of being, seeing, acting, thinking, or a system of long-lasting (rather than permanent) schemes" that preformats an agent's behaviour (Krais, 1998). It orients an individual to their social world (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Habitus regulates the way an individual may think, feel and act in the field. It bears influence on capital goal formation and which capital accumulation

opportunities an intern may consider valuable. It functions as a "mediating device between structure and agency" (Davey, 2009:276). While relatively stable, it is also evolving in relation to the field. Bourdieu (2004:63) highlights its "permanent capacity for invention". The field provides structure for the habitus and the habitus gives meaning to the field; it recognises it as a space worthy of investing one's capital in (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Davey (2009:278) suggests seeing habitus as a "never-ending process of construction" whereby individuals work to align their life history and reserves of capital with the field. In line with capital accumulation efforts, Bourdieu highlights that actions, even unconscious ones, are "oriented towards the maximisation of material and symbolic profit" (Bourdieu., 1992:209) This is where the habitus comes in. It is the unconscious force guiding the actions of individuals to align with the appropriate obligations and opportunities inscribed in their field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

Understanding habitus in the context of a field, illuminates how individuals, here interns, accumulate their capital (Al Ariss et al., 2013) and how agency intersects and interacts with that accumulation. Habitus contains the powerhouse that influences how organisational stimuli or interactions are perceived and evaluated thereby shaping perceptions of PC fulfilment. As discussed in chapter 2, agency, an intern's power to enact change in their social world, influences how capital interactions are taken advantage of or not (Al Ariss et al., 2013; Tatli & Ozbilgin, 2009). Bourdieu describes individual agency and its role through exploration of actions, strategies, and resources operating within organisational contexts (Chudzkowski & Mayrhofer, 2011). Interns' agency enables them to enact their habitus and accumulate capital to navigate the internship field, yet their experiences are also constrained and influenced by structural factors such as organisational hierarchies, power dynamics, and institutional norms. Agency is not boundless free will in a vacuum but is the capacity to act within the constraints and opportunities that one's habitus and the field present. It is regulated improvisation and exercised through strategic action, informed by the habitus and directed towards navigating and transforming the field.

To relate this to the PC, habitus is a regulator to how actions, opportunities, and workplace interactions are enacted and evaluated in the employment relationship. Habitus shapes experiences and practices that govern the employment exchange relationship. In this sense, acknowledging habitus is a powerful force in understanding how and why individuals may perceive PC breach or fulfilment. The "habitus structures new experiences in accordance with the structures produced by past experiences" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:60) and as such bears influence on the building blocks of the PC. Habitus operates firstly as a perceptual lens that classifies and structures experience and secondly as a generative structure of activity (Lizardo, 2004). Thus, it holds explanatory power not only to

psychological evaluations of workplace interactions, but also to individual response behaviours in light of perceived PC breach or fulfillment. It can help explain outcomes of PC breach or fulfillment through understanding the individual's reasoning process, with its psychological and social influences, behind the response.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus shares important similarities with the concept of schemata or framing. Indeed, Bourdieu describes habitus as transposable cognitive "schemata or structures of perception, conception and actions" (Bourdieu, 2002:27). Though not entirely synonymous, the terms schemata, frames or scripts are often used interchangeably to refer to a "mental representation of a concept, event, or activity" (Whitney, 2001:13522). These interpretive schemata empower agents "to locate, perceive, identify and label occurrences within their life space and the world at large" and "function to organize experience and guide action" (Snow et al., 1986:464). Both habitus and schemata focus attention on the constructive role of agents (Husu, 2013). As discussed in Chapter 2 in the Psychological Contract chapter, the PC has been conceptualised as embedded in or built upon social schemata (Rousseau, 2001; Rousseau et al., 2018; Sherman & Morley, 2015). Fiske and Taylor (1984) describe the PC as an employee-employer schema. In the context of the PC, Rousseau (2001) describes an employment schema as a belief structure, informed by experience and influences, that in turn informs one of what to expect and what is expected in employment. In this study, I conceptualise the PC, as an employment schema, as being influenced by and linked to an individual's habitus. I am not claiming that schemata and habitus are the same. They have conceptual similarities but also distinctions. In order to understand how the PC as a schema may function in connection with the habitus, I will further discuss their relation, similarities, and differences.

Habitus and schemata are both internalised concepts. They are both implicit and pre-reflective in nature meaning they operate in the sub-conscious guiding actions and perceptions. They are also both shaped by social life experience. However, they diverge in their dimensional space. Habitus operates on both a collective and individual level. Habitus is structured by social class and position and reflects the influence of broader social structures such as cultural norms and historical context. It is the embodiment and internalisation of objective structures such as resources, institutions and social relations. The cognitive structure of the habitus tends to represent the individual's social position within a social space and is a set of embodied dispositions. Habitus is composed of dispositions that reflect the "internalization of an objectively selected system of signs, indices, sanctions, which are nothing but the materialization, within objects, word or conducts, of a particular kind of objective structure" (Bourdieu, 1993:133). Bourdieu (1977:72) sees habitus as "an endless capacity to engender

products". These products may be actions, thoughts, or expressions governed by the social and historical context of their production.

Schemata, on the other hand, are individual and held exclusively within the mental representations of the individual. Schemata are not shared among social groups and do not operate as social or collective forces. They do, however, function in a manner similar to the habitus. Similar to the habitus, schemata function as "knowledge structures that summarize past experiences and provide a framework for the acquisition, interpretation, and retrieval of new information" (Whitney, 2001:13526-13527). Schemata direct an agent's attention toward schema relevant information. They overlook schema irrelevant information sources. Schemata are the intermediary between an event stimulus and an individual psychological response (Whitney, 2001). All of this is mediated by the habitus as it provides a "sense of social direction which orients agents" (Bourdieu, 1993:64). This orientation guides the individual's perceptions and actions in the context of their PC employment relationship field. The undergraduate internship, as a very early employment experience, is a particularly fitting research focus as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:60) note that early "experiences have a particular weight" in forming the habitus.

Considering the role of habitus and viewing the individual's PC in light of a social field (Bourdieu, 1969), allows the researcher to situate and fasten the PC more closely to the social structures that position individuals within organisations. The habitus and field within which the intern operates may constrain or empower the intern's ability to accumulate capital. Indeed, I suggest that an intern's access to accumulate capital within the employment relationship field, influenced by habitus, may impact the extent to which they perceive the PC has been fulfilled. Thus, I suggest that viewing the PC in light of field (social space), capital (resources), and habitus (the thinking tool) may offer more fruitful descriptions of the factors at play in the contemporary employment relationship.

Habitus and field operate in a circular mutually influential and dependent relationship (Crossley, 2001). When demands of the field shift or are unexpected, as one in a new employment relationship may experience, hysteresis, or the misalignment of habitus, capital, and field occurs (Bourdieu, 1977). Hysteresis is uncomfortable. The success of the individual in hysteresis depends on their ability to realign habitus and capital with the shifting demands of the field. Indeed, Bourdieu also recognises hysteresis in times of upheaval, "when a field undergoes a major crisis, its regularities (even its rules) are profoundly changed" (Bourdieu, 2000:160). *Hysteresis* causes "a counter-adaptive 'lag' in the habitus that retards adaptation to a changed social context" (Kerr & Robinson, 2009:833). This description of hysteresis aptly captures the catastrophic

changes caused by the Covid-19 crisis and subsequent work life repercussions such as changing employment models, remote working, and increasing online communication (Fowler, 2020). However, hysteresis need not be caused by a shift of global magnitude, the demands of moving from education to working life are sufficient to cause the tension often experienced by the misalignment of field, habitus, and capital (Davey, 2009). To understand the strategic moves and individual experience of an intern in the field, one must gain insight to the habitus and the state of play in the employment relationship field. Next, I will briefly discuss doxa.

Doxa: Making sense of the unwritten rules of the field of employment relationships

While habitus illuminates the social norms emanating from one's experience of social history, doxa focuses on the beliefs that arise from the habitus which in turn reinforce the habitus. Fields are also governed by unique sets of beliefs that can influence the employment exchange relationship. These are doxa. Doxa are the fundamental set of beliefs that govern a particular field and differentiate it from another giving it uniqueness and autonomy. They are the rules of the game or the logic of practice that a career novice must comprehend. Doxa serves as an "interpretive tool to highlight the underlying rules and principles" (Kalfa & Taksa, 2015:582) that may be taken for granted within the working relationship. Bourdieu (1998) explains that doxa is what agents in the field believe to be inherently true about the field. Conversely, the career novice may be surprised or caught off guard by these unwritten rules in organisational life and the business context.

Doxa highlights how unwritten and subjective expectations that are considered norms in that field may influence the construction of an individual's employment expectations and ultimately their PC. For example, a career novice starting in a leading tech firm may expect certain capital accumulation opportunities based on what is considered normal practice in that context or field. These expectations may contribute to the construction of the (A)PC and the evaluation of the PC exchange. This notion of field, habitus, and doxa creates the space to recognise social processes and multiple agents interacting while dealing with the forces of power struggles and differing interests (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014). Thus, the field illuminates factors which may influence perceptions of what is deemed valuable in the PC exchange. Habitus and doxa may contribute to the forming of expectations based on perceived norms of that

field. I now turn to detailing the role of capitals within the social field of internships highlighting the analytical value of conceptualising the content of the PC as capitals.

The analytical value of capitals in the intern psychological contract

Bourdieu highlights the importance of resource availability for individuals to produce successful action (Bourdieu, 1992). Bourdieu describes capitals as assets that can be put to productive use, resources that, if possessed, enable one to appropriate gains in a social space (Bourdieu, 2005). Thus, capitals are embodied assets that individuals choose to exercise in a social space, which in this case is the undergraduate organisational internship. How much capital an individual accumulates results in "various degrees of strength and therefore diverse possibilities" within a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:102). Thus, the opportunity for an individual, here an intern, to accumulate valuable capital broadens their opportunity to advance in their role, organisation, and career (Tomlinson, 2017). Opportunities to accumulate capital may increase an intern's positive evaluation of their PC as they perceive the organisation is upholding their end of the exchange to help them reach their capital goals. The prospect of capital accumulation "strengthen[s] not only an individual's profile but their wider relationship to working life, their opportunity structures and others who facilitate access." (Tomlinson et al., 2021:1195). These opportunities or lack of them bear significant influence on one's evaluation of the employment relationship and whether the employer is perceived to be adequately fulfilling their obligations (Inkson & King, 2011).

Bourdieu offers three forms of capital to do so, namely, social, economic, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). More recent scholarship identifies additional capitals to examine individuals' goals at work (Hall, Allan, Tomlinson, Kelly, & Lindorff, 2020; Tomlinson, 2017). These were also included in the introduction chapter for descriptive purposes. 'Graduate Capitals' (Tomlinson, 2017) are capitals particularly pertinent to the experience of being new to the employment relationship. This PhD employs Tomlinson's (2017) compilation of capitals as per his graduate capital model in addition to Bourdieu's original three capitals. The graduate capital model has been empirically validated through the graduate capital scale (Tomlinson, Mc Cafferty, Port, Maguire, Zabelski, Butnaru, Charles & Kirby, 2022) and utilized in a number of

empirical studies (Donald, Baruch & Ashleigh, 2024; Smith & Smith, 2024). Two other empirically tested graduate capital models exist, Clarke's (2018) model and Donald, Baruch & Ashleigh's (2019) model. Tomlinson's model was chosen for my study as the most established of the three and because its empirical testing was conducted in countries most similar to the Irish education context, namely, the United Kingdom and Australia.

As the sample at hand in this study is undergraduate interns, I use these additional capitals from the graduate capital model (Tomlinson, 2017) to elucidate the role capitals play as the underlying mechanisms driving the PC resource exchange relationship. Though undergraduate interns and graduates are not the same, graduate capitals are the closest conceptually and empirically tested construct available to interrogate and explain the intern experience of capital accumulation. Indeed, both groups are either completely or relatively new to the employment experience and their PCs are in the early stages of construction. As such, graduate capitals serve as a helpful and context appropriate extension to Bourdieu's original three capitals. They enable further delineation and more detailed examination of the broad nature of capitals through human, identity, and psychological capitals. These capitals will be described in the next section of this chapter. Thus, six capitals are used in this study namely 'human', 'identity' and 'psychological' capital plus Bourdieu's original three, 'cultural', 'social', and 'economic' capital.

Human capital

Human capital is an individual's embedded reserve of knowledge, skills, and expertise (Becker, 1964) derived from their investment in related experiences, education, and training. Thus, the more education and skills one invests in, the higher the likelihood they will be productive. The value of human capital resides in a corpus of transferable skills, knowledge, and attitudes (Baartman & De Bruijn, 2011) that an intern can convert into desirable attributes in a specific workplace. This capital can manifest in hard or soft forms. Hard forms include specific knowledge and know how that add credibility to an intern's credentials while soft forms are sometimes less immediately obvious and may manifest in behaviour or meta-knowledge, the ability to reflect on oneself and apply personal skills to specific employment situations.

Human capital is sometimes referred to as career building skills (Tomlinson, 2017) and is closely linked to labour market outcomes (Tomlinson et al., 2021). Human capital shapes an individual's ability to complete work tasks effectively. It enables interns to communicate their professional knowledge in a way that organisations will appreciate and readily receive. The collective force of an organisation's human capital, made up of individual employee's capital reserves, is a valuable source of competitive advantage with rarer and less imitable skills and knowledge the most valuable (Crook, Todd, Combs, Woehr & Ketchen, 2011). Thus, organisations strive to attract talent with strong human capital. In turn, career novices compete to gain human capital to improve employability. Human capital shapes an individual's ability to complete work tasks effectively.

However, human capital theory (Becker, 1964) has more recently been criticized for its linear simplistic assumptions that dominate much of the graduate employability discourse (Jackson, 2016; Tomlinson, 2017). This discourse assumes that possession of human capital is easily transportable across contexts and will result in stronger employability outcomes. Indeed, human capital alone does not predict career success, and an exclusively human capital approach may be responsible for reproducing cultural inequalities (Tomlinson & Jackson, 2021). Consequently, researchers exploring the employment experiences of career novices now argue that other capitals should be incorporated (Donald et al., 2020) recognising that the employment experience is complex and dynamic (Donald et al., 2024). Thus, this PhD takes a multifaceted perspective to the capital composition of the PC including other forms beyond human capital.

In relation to the PC, as an underlying exchange mechanism, human capital guides the individual to understand and execute workplace tasks and exchanges in a contextually advantageous manner. Thus, opportunities to accumulate human capital can proffer benefits over the longer term and may be perceived as PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to accumulate human capital, for example, loss of training opportunities or lack of interesting work, may be perceived as PC breach.

Psychological capital

Psychological capital is formed upon the foundations of positive psychology, positive organisational research, and positive organisational behavior. The concept of

psychological capital as a strategic individual resource affecting organisational outcomes has been growing in popularity (Newman, Ucbasaran, & Hirst, 2014). Defined as an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development, it is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans & Youssef, 2007; Luthans; Newman et al., 2014). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task (Bandura, 2000). This element of psychological capital possesses overlapping and complementary qualities with identity capital which is discussed following this capital. However, identity capital is an individual's capacity to reflexively construct and articulate a desirable narrative of the self. For most, a desirable narrative of the self would include the belief that one is sufficient for the task at hand. Though overlapping and complementary concepts, self-efficacy as a component of psychological capital focuses on belief in one's ability to do something while professional identity capital focuses on how the individual perceives themselves professionally and communicates that self to others. Thus, they are conceptually and empirically distinct.

Self-efficacy regulates an intern's capacity for goal achievement. Studies consistently relate it to advantageous self-regulatory outcomes (Bandura, 1997). Interns high in self-efficacy are more likely to speak up, engage in their work, and seek information and support when needed. Overall, research shows that individuals high in selfefficacy are more proactive at work (Anderson, 1977; Parker, 1993). Individuals with self-efficacy are more likely to hold favourable opinions of the employment relationship during times of change (Callan, Terry, & Schweitzer, 1994). Even during potentially difficult situations, self-efficacy (a component of psychological capital) causes an individual to not only view events more positively but to be more willing to engage in repair and resolution attempts (Avey, Wernsing, & Luthans, 2008; Callan et al., 1994). Thus, possessing sufficient psychological capital is critical to the repair of unavoidable PC breaches and violation. It supports the maintenance of the PC. An individual with high self-efficacy would possess greater belief in their capacity to successfully manage outcomes of challenging events (Bandura, 2000), which may encourage active engagement rather than passive avoidance of workplace events. In relation to the PC, opportunities that confirm and develop self-efficacy may be perceived as PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to develop

self-efficacy, for example not being trusted with a task or being micromanaged, may be perceived as PC breach.

Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). As an underlying psychological capital mechanism, an optimistic individual will pursue goals and expect positive results undeterred by visible challenges (Seligman, 1998). In relation to the PC, opportunities to pursue meaningful and challenging goals at work may be perceived as PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to prove one's capabilities, for example not being promoted or restrictions to risk taking, may be perceived as PC breach. Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope, the third construct in psychological capital. Research demonstrates that psychological capital is a malleable construct that can be shaped by external influences and as such is open to interventions (Newman et al., 2014). Higher levels of psychological capital have been linked to positive performance via supervisor support (Liu, 2013), organisational climate (Luthans et al., 2008), and work engagement via the 'Buddy' system (Davis & Hurrell, 2012). As an underlying psychological capital mechanism, hope ignites energy to creatively carve pathways towards a goal (Luthans, Norman, Avolio, & Avey, 2008). Thus, possessing psychological capital, in the form of hope enhances one's ability to move toward goal fulfilment and ultimately PC fulfilment. In relation to the PC, opportunities to exercise hope and creative problem-solving may be perceived as PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to exercise hope may be perceived as PC breach.

Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. It encompasses adaptability and is required for navigating the rapidly shifting demands of the contemporary workplace (Coetzee, 2017). From a career novice point of view, resilience and psychological capital are an "individual's ability to adapt to continued challenges in their working life, including novel situations and potential setbacks." (Tomlinson et al., 2021:1198). Key components of psychological capital found in successful career novices are the resilience and persistence needed to endure and recover from work intensity, risk, novel scenarios, and job rejections (Pham et al., 2019). Brown et al. (2012) highlight opportunities to learn from others, practice reflexivity, perform challenging work, and participate in novel experiences as avenues

for developing the adaptability necessary to construct a strong locus of control (Seligman, 1998), a key foundation of psychological capital. As an underlying mechanism, resilience is a resource that enables an individual to bounce back and revise their strategy when faced with significant change or challenge (Luthans, Vogelgesang, & Lester, 2006). In relation to the PC, being trusted with a challenging task which requires grit and determination may lead to perceived PC fulfilment via capital accumulation. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to exercise resilience may be perceived as PC breach. Also, being overly taxed may have the opposite effect whereby individuals feel they have not been supported, and their capitals are depleted.

Identity capital

Identity capital is an individual's capacity to reflexively construct and articulate a desirable narrative of the self. This extends to an intern's ability to capitalise on personal and academic experience and package that experience in a manner attractive to an employer (Tomlinson, 2017). Elaborating on Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, Cote (1996) used the term identity capital to describe how and to what extent an individual "invests in who they are" (1996: 425). He further explained, "the process of identity capital acquisition describes how the individual invests in a certain identity (or identities) and engages in a series of exchanges with others in a variety of contexts (only some of which are economic)" (Cote, 2005: 225). It represents valuable professional work-related narratives, scripts, or perceptions that one believes to be true about oneself, invests in, and exchanges with others. These exchanges with other entities are guided and governed by the individual's reserve of capital and the narrative that they believe to be true.

In the congested contemporary labour market, "the question becomes not simply about encouraging the acquisition of skills but rather in helping students transition from the identity of a student towards that of a graduate worker" (Artess et al., 2017:40). Students transitioning from education to work must *become* professionals by connecting with their desired profession (Jackson, 2016). Professional identity encompasses how and to what extent an individual, the intern, envisions themselves as a professional (Tomlinson, 2017). This requires a strong relationship to the work and role (Ibarra, 1999). A multitude of experiences contribute to the "sense of being a professional" (Patterson, 2002:6). An individual with sufficient identity capital possesses "a self that has been developed with the commitment to perform

competently and legitimately in the context of a profession" (Tan et al., 2017:1505). Thus, the opportunity to accumulate identity capital, and other capitals that feed into identity capital, plays a crucial role in one's perceptions of PC fulfillment.

Holmes' (2013) work demonstrates that emergent identities of fresh graduates require affirmation by significant organisational actors. These identities are embryonic and in the early stages of forming and, as such, are fragile. We learn from Holmes (2006:9) that an intern's identity should be taken "non-essentially, as relational, the emergent outcome of situated social processes...identity is thus socially constructed and negotiated, always subject to possible contestation and so fragile". Identities may be spoiled or encouraged through interactions in an internship. Subjective constructions of what a valued employee looks like are projected and derived from broader organisational discourses (Du Guy, 1996). Employers often "operate with a loose, tacit notion of graduate identity which varies according to their own requirements, determined by size and sector" (Hinchcliffe & Jolly, 2011: 565). Thus, it is inevitable that tensions may occur in the employment relationship between an intern's perceived identity, the identity an educational institution encourages, and the identity an organisation may require and reward (Hinchcliffe & Jolly, 2011). These tensions make it ever more important to understand and appropriately manage the identity capital accumulation opportunities of interns.

Jackson (2016) advances the concept of pre-professional identity, recognising it as an essential component of professional development which is stimulated within broader landscapes of practice. The organisational internship functions as a key landscape of practice for developing professional identity capital. "The extent to which graduates can build identities, and related identity capital, therefore has a strong bearing on their progression during early stages of the labour market." (Tomlinson, 2017:346). Jackson (2017), Creamer and Laughlin (2005), and Pizzolato (2005) have drawn on Magolda's (1998) self-authorship framework to delineate the phases students transition through when going from education to work. The first phase of student professional identity development is characterized by *conformity* evidenced through observing, following, and framing one's behaviour in accordance with professional norms and expectations. This is followed by the *questioning* phase when the student no longer unquestioningly accepts the status quo and begins critically evaluating how and why things are done a certain way. The third and final stage is being *immersed* in one's profession. At this

time, the individual begins to make meaningful and personal contributions to their professional community through creativity and collaboration. "Our expectation that students transition smoothly from university to the workplace and seamlessly develop professional identity is perhaps unrealistic." (Jackson, 2019:248).

A strong reserve of identity capital enables career novices not only to see themselves as worthy of a specific job or role but to project that confidence and fit to a potential employer through their Curriculum Vitae (CV), as a narrative of the self, and through interviews. Morgan and Miller (1993) conceptualise the CV as an autobiographical practice. This practice captures one's lived experience and signals it as valuable to an employer. As personal marketability is now essential to employability in a rapidly changing and demanding employment context, having opportunity to develop one's marketable professional self (identity capital) is an important resource in the employment exchange relationship. Thus, opportunities to accumulate identity capital will impact the PC. Developed conceptualisations of one's future professional self (Papifilippou & Bathmaker, 2018) and "place in the labour market can operate as a resource that adds value (or otherwise) to [an intern's] overall approach and strategy" (Tomlinson et al., 2021:1197). Identity capital enables an intern to form goals and strategise toward their desired future professional self (Tomlinson et al., 2021). As interns expect to develop themselves professionally during an internship, in a manner useful for future work endeavors (Rogers, Miller, Flinchbaugh, Gidarie, & Barker, 2021), failure to develop professional identity capital during an internship may result in a lack of satisfaction with the employment relationship and the PC (Ayala & García, 2021). In relation to the PC, opportunities to accumulate identity capital and positive narratives received from organisational actors that confirm desired identities may influence PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to accumulate identity capital or negative narratives that deconstruct desired identities, may be perceived as PC breach.

Cultural capital

Cultural capital, as explicated by Bourdieu (1986), presents in three forms. The first is incorporated cultural capital, for example, culturally valued dispositions and competencies. In contemporary employment, the cultural context could be national, sectoral, organisational, or team-based and provides socialisation opportunities for cultural preferences to be internalised. It is incorporated as the resources are embodied,

and as such are durable. This process requires inculcation and essentially requires time and investment (Al Ariss & Syed, 2011), making its examination most appropriately conducted over time, as is done in this PhD. Secondly, objectivised cultural capital represents books, documents, art, machinery, and such. Thirdly, institutionalised cultural capital presents itself in the form of recognised formal degrees, titles, or qualifications. These are the recognised stamps of approval "which certify the value of the embodied cultural capital" (Lamont & Lareau, 1988:156).

Cultural capital in the context of the workplace is essentially "culturally valued knowledge, dispositions, and behaviours that are aligned to the workplace" (Tomlinson, 2017:343) that interns seek to flourish in. It is a type of "cultural fit to potential employers" (Tomlinson et al., 2021:1197). Research demonstrates that this cultural fit manifests in appropriate dispositions and shared organisational values identified by both employee and employer and influences the socialisation experience (Pham, Tomlinson & Thompson, 2019; Wright & Mulvey, 2021) of career novices. Cultural capital is increasingly important for intern career novices to accumulate as the prestige of formal degrees weakens in value (Tomlinson, 2008). The currency of prestige must be demonstrated in ways beyond formal certifications as the rules of the game change and workforce demands shift (Tomlinson, 2017).

This relates to Bourdieu's notion of distinction, an individual's quiver of cultural arrows which denote distinction in the areas of organisational culturally relevant knowledge, tastes, and achievements (Bourdieu, 1986) and makes an intern stand apart from the rest. The individual may need to present the right "personality package" to the organisation (Tomlinson, 2017:344) in terms of disposition and relevant experiences and exposure. This makes the opportunity to accumulate cultural capital imperative for interns and could bear influence on one's evaluations of the PC. The accumulation of these components of cultural capital has been empirically shown to increase individual job performance and to be a flexible resource, not based solely on one's cultural background, but also on one's agentic and intentional cultural choices (Santos, Reis, Neto, & Verwaal, 2018).

However, research also shows that socio-economic background influences understandings of labour market field rules and the confidence to negotiate employment relationships and opportunities (Bathmaker, Ingram & Waller, 2013). For

example, an individual's professional and wider cultural make-up has been shown to subjectively impact recruitment experiences (Hinchcliffe & Jolly, 2011; Morley, 2007). Opportunities to develop cultural capital through employer engagement have been shown to increase personal confidence, create stronger motivation and future vision (Jones et al., 2016). Bourdieu highlights the dependency of cultural capital upon economic capital as it is "established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition" (Bourdieu, 1986: 246). For example, one can only accumulate cultural capital for as long as one, or one's family, can afford to pay for the opportunity, for example, by travelling or joining elite clubs. Cultural capital enables the individual to know how to act or how to think and what messages to convey, or not, in the employment context based on previous exposure to similar events and acts accordingly. In relation to the PC, opportunities to accumulate this capital may be perceived as PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunities to accumulate cultural capital may be perceived as PC breach.

Social capital

Social capital, as framed by Bourdieu, is the sum of resources accrued by an individual or group through custody of "more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 119). Granovetter (1985) describes social capital in terms of strong or weak ties that represent power to broker information and access of varying exclusivity. An intern's social ties and networks yield varying access to knowledge, information, power, reciprocity, extended networks, and resources to further their personal and career interests (Tasheva & Hillman, 2019). Putnam (1999) categorizes the social ties an individual uses as bonding (connections within groups) or bridging (connections with new groups). Literature demonstrates that strong social capital increases individual, team, and organisational effectiveness (Tasheva & Hillman, 2019).

Social capital also empowers accumulation of other forms of capital (Al Ariss & Syed, 2010) and facilitates a "sense of place within a given employment field" (Tomlinson et al., 2021:1197). For example, human capital in the form of skills and knowledge is more valuable for an employee when connected with the right employer highlighting the interdependency of capitals (Bourdieu, 1986; Al Ariss & Syed, 2010). Social capital involves having access to the needed social ties, relationships, networks, individuals, and insider insight in order to navigate the competitive work landscape

and achieve a developmental and beneficial outcome. "Social relations can generate material benefits" (Wang & O' Connell, 2020:388). This is how social capital functions. It positions valuable resources within reach of the intern. Ties derived from social networks empower an individual to advance their goals (Batistic & Tymon, 2017).

In the Irish context, Wang & O' Connell (2020) found that career novice international students with higher levels of social capital, particularly bridging ties, were more likely to find work in their chosen geographical location. Within the transition from education to employment, it is particularly important that a career novice can discern and exploit potential bridging ties thus strengthening weak ties to strong ones (Tomlinson, 2017). It is increasingly imperative for career novices to engage with employers in meaningful and gainful interactions to accumulate knowledge and increase professional visibility (Tomlinson, 2017). An individual's labour market performance is linked not only to their active investments in their career, but also to the social context in which that career is embedded (Granovetter, 1973). In relation to the PC, opportunities to develop strong bridging and bonding ties to accumulate social capital may be perceived as PC fulfilment, particularly for career novices, as these ties improve career prospects and attainment of goals. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunities to accumulate valuable ties may be perceived as PC breach.

Economic capital

Economic capital represents all forms of material resources that are "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu 1986: 242). These resources may range from financial resources to landownership to other economic possessions that can be used to advance an individual's position in social or organisational life through distinction. Economic capital creates distance from material need shifting attention from what is lacking to status and symbolic or valuable assets (Bourdieu, 1986). Highly resourced individuals or collectives have more options at their disposal. As such, economic capital is often thought to be the foundation of all other capital forms or that other forms of capital are merely disguised economic capital. For example, to accumulate cultural capital, one may need money to pay for elite schooling, or to accumulate social capital, one may need money to pay for memberships in certain clubs. In turn, possession of the acquired capitals would then enable the individual to gain opportunities to accumulate

further economic capital through employment or investment. Thus, an intern's socioeconomic background may help or hinder their accumulation of other capitals and may impact the formation of their capital goals. One's economic capital goals may then impact one's evaluations of the PC as it either meets those goals or not. Aspects of the transactional PC may link to economic capital goals, for example a focus on monetary gains, in the exchange relationship. In summary, explaining his view on economic capital, Bourdieu states,

"Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalised in the forms of educational qualifications and as social capital, made up of social obligations (connections), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and be institutionalized in the forms of a title of mobility." Bourdieu, 1986:243).

In relation to the PC, opportunities to accumulate economic capital can drive an individual's motivation and sense of value that shapes their workplace engagement and may lead to PC fulfilment. Loss of or perceived loss of opportunity to accumulate this foundational capital may be perceived as PC breach.

To summarise this section delineating the analytical value of a capital approach to studying the PC, I argue that the PC, as an individualised embodied construct, needs clarifying concepts that unpack its dynamic and individualised content (Conway & Briner, 2005). A capital approach widens the analytical lens allowing researchers to empirically interrogate the often only theorised dynamism of the PC as capitals are accumulated and depleted over time and individuals perceive their contract as fulfilled or breached. I argue that capital accumulation opportunities (or lack thereof) play a key role in an individual's evaluation of the PC exchange. Key capital interactions occurring at work may enable capital accumulation which garner notions of PC fulfilment. Conversely, negative interactions or the lack of positive ones may cause (perceived) capital depletion as actual capital or opportunities to accumulate capital are lost, resulting in capital depletion for the individual. From each of an intern's various capital interactions at work, cognitive schemata of the

employment relationship may be revised. As discussed in chapter 2, The Psychological Contract, these schemata constitute PC expectations and filter how the individual sees, responds to, and evaluates capital opportunities in the social world of employment. These schemata influence how interns frame their responses and decisions in relation to the impact on their capitals (Tasheva & Hillman, 2019). Interns desire and expect to accumulate capital in the form of experience, knowledge, skills, professional development, and social contacts during an internship (Ayala & García, 2021). Thus, if the employer provides ample opportunities for the accumulation of capital, the intern may perceive their PC has been fulfilled. The next section in this chapter interrogates current conservation of resources (COR) theoretical (Hobfoll, 2001) approaches to studying the PC highlighting how a Bourdieusian approach is capable of addressing avenues left open by COR theory.

A Bourdieusian approach to studying psychological contracts: Building on the resource exchange perspective of the psychological contract

Recent studies utilising a resource perspective on the PC have taken a COR approach. COR theory (Hobfoll, 1989) posits that "individuals strive to obtain, retain, foster, and protect those things they centrally value", for example, resources (Hobfoll et al., 2018:104). COR defines resources as "anything perceived by the individual to help attain his or her goals" (Halbesleben et al., 2014:1138). As PC breach is associated with the organisation not fulfilling its obligations, it often signals a threat to resources (Priesemuth & Taylor, 2016; Rayton & Yalabik, 2014). When resources are threatened, lost, or fail to accrue as expected, negative reactions occur (Hobfoll et al., 2018). Prior research demonstrates that a PC breach in the form of unfulfilled obligations results in either real or perceived resource loss (Deng et al., 2018; Zhong et al., 2021) for the individual.

Studies which have taken a COR approach to explain PC breach outcomes include Priesemuth & Taylor's (2016) work examining depressive mood as an outcome of PC breach, Deng et al.'s, (2018) paper demonstrating depletion of ego because of perceived loss of resources, and Rayton and Yalabik's (2014) study revealing reductions in work engagement after breach. Bankins and Griep's (2022) work revealed a reciprocal relationship between PC breach and perceived organisational

support (POS), the degree to which employees feel supported by their organisations, when employees felt their resources had diminished due to a breach. Other studies, such as Achnak et al. (2018) and Deng et al. (2018) also demonstrate that PC breach and violation spawn notions of resource loss for the individual. Lastly, Kiazad, Seibert and Kraimer (2014) researched innovation responses to PC breach from a COR perspective and found that, in contrast to most PC study outcomes, breach responses were not always negative but that under some conditions individuals respond with innovation in an attempt to conserve resources depleted by the breach.

Also using COR theory, Zhong et al. (2021:3) argue that the effect of recurring PC breaches "alters the degree of resource loss such that employees adjust their discretionary behaviors". They examined organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB), the degree to which employees invest discretionary behaviour in the organisation, burnout, and anticipation of future PC breaches in relation to perceived resource loss as a result of sequential PC breaches. Their results show "the power of the resource-based perspective as a theoretical lens in understanding the dynamic impact of sequential [psychological contract] breaches on a wide range of employee behavioral outcomes" (Zhong et al., 2021:23). Other studies have employed COR theory to explain negative reactions to PC breach in the form of a psychosocial resource loss (Mo & shi, 2017; Tabak & Hendy, 2016). When one party to the exchange fails to sufficiently reciprocate the inputs of the other, not only the resource explicitly being exchanged, for example material goods or valuable knowledge, is threatened, but key psychosocial resources, such as trust and confidence, may also deteriorate.

Recovering from a resource loss requires reinvestment of more resources potentially causing further resource depletion, at least initially (Hobfoll, 2001). The same is true for recovery from a PC breach. Recovering from a PC breach, adjusting one's PC, and mending an employment relationship requires investment of resources (Bankins, 2015; Bankins & Griep, 2022; Kiazad, Seibert & Kraimer, 2014; Tomprou et al., 2018). In SET, certain resources are essential for a healthily functioning exchange relationship. For example, if trust, a form of psychological capital, is eroded due to failure to reciprocate invested resources, the individual may reduce their efforts at work questioning whether the exchange will be equitable and reciprocal in the future (Bankins & Griep, 2022). Thus, believing that the employer is unlikely to reciprocate

fairly, the individual with eroded trust may reduce their efforts at work or the amount of capital (of various forms) they invest in their work. These studies also teach us that resource losses may be more salient than resource gains (Doane et al., 2012; Hobfoll et al., 2018). According to these theories, SET (Blau, 1964) and the norm of reciprocity (Gouldner, 1960), the degree to which these resources are invested and reinvested in the employment relationship is altered negatively or positively based on perceived reciprocation from the other party or parties involved.

A COR perspective on the PC has illuminated new questions and opens up new research agendas that Bourdieu's theory of practice is well poised to address. Diverging from other resource approaches to the PC, I utilise Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) and proffer capitals as the dynamic resources underpinning the PC exchange. To review, capital refers to resources that confer benefits for the individual. Habitus refers to habits and internalised dispositions that individuals have acquired through their participation in social life. Field refers to a specific arena or context of social activity. Bourdieu's theory posits that individuals strive to mobilise their capital, guided by their habitus, to compete for power and recognition in a particular social field and highlights the dynamic interplay between social structure and individual agency. While COR theory has undoubtedly made positive contributions to PC research, I argue that Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and the concept of capital offers an alternative lens with deeper explanatory power to elucidate the dynamic exchange occurring in contemporary employment relationships. In the following paragraph and in Table 3.1 I will briefly contrast COR and Bourdieu's theory of practice arguing why a capital approach can enable researchers to delve deeper into the study of PCs.

Table 2 Contrasting COR theory and Bourdieu's theory of practice

COR (Hobfoll, 1989)	Bourdieu (1977)		
Narrower focus on individual strategies	Broader socio-cultural lens considering		
that, while allowing for environmental	power dynamics, class structure, and		
consideration, overall neglects	agency to explain individual and group		
contextual factors	actions		

Resources poorly defined handicapping	Resources clearly delineated as various			
analytical accuracy and comparison	capitals with definitions and			
	boundaries ready to be operationalised			
Unclear determination of the value of	Symbolic capital theorises how and			
resources	why specific capitals (resources) hold			
	value in specific contexts			
A theory designed to explain stress	A theory explicitly designed to explain			
avoidance with resources being	the mobilisation and exchange of			
conserved as a means to accomplishing	valuable capital in a competitive social,			
the goal of stress avoidance	cultural and power infused context			

Firstly, despite decades of research, there remains widespread critique of COR's limits in clearly defining what a resource is (Halbesleben, Neveu, Paustian-Underdahl & Westman, 2014; Thompson & Cooper, 2001). Hobfoll (1989) defined resources broadly as anything that people value. He also emphasised sources of value such as objects, states, and conditions. Critics of the theory argue that virtually anything considered good can be regarded as a poorly defined resource (Halbesleben & Wheeler, 2014). This is unfortunate as the construct 'resource' underpins the entire theory and is a vital concept for studying the exchange that occurs within the PC. Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and the concept of capitals, on the other hand, clearly creates boundaries and provides practicable definitions with which to interrogate a phenomenon while still allowing for a wide range of resources.

Secondly, in addition to resources being poorly defined in COR theory, how resources are determined as valuable or not by an individual is also poorly understood and a notable gap in the literature (Halbesleben et al., 2014). Despite its seminal author calling for further examination of the "normative evaluation of resources" (Hobfoll, 1989:520), a lack of clarity remains. Halbesleben et al. (2014) did attempt to further understanding of value in COR by conceptualising resources as anything that enables an individual to reach their goals. While adding this goal directed element is a step forward, by their own admission this is still extremely broad and vague. Their review of COR literature concludes that "COR as a less holistic theory must look to other theories to explain how individuals perceive value" and that the future of the theory

may rest on its success in defining and explaining resource value (Halbesleben et al., 2014: The Value of Resources Section). As the PC is a dynamic theory, examination of its resource exchange elements demands tools capable of explaining why and how the value of resources may change. This is not to say that COR is not a dynamic theory but that its explanatory power regarding resource definitions and how value is adjusted lacks clarity. Conversely, Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital answers the question as to how value is ascribed to capitals. Symbolic capital explains that value is dependent upon its recognition in a context or field. This is why grounding the study of the PC and capitals in the specific field of internships is vital. The rules of a specific context legitimize or delegitimize the value of certain capitals or combinations of capital, i.e. how symbolic they are in that context (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Symbolic capital elucidates why some resources or capitals are deemed more valuable than others at different times in different settings.

Thirdly, COR theory focuses on individual strategies to conserve resources (Hobfoll, 1989) rather than strongly considering the social setting within which this occurs. While the theory does acknowledge environmental factors via resource caravan passageways (Hobfoll, Halbesleben, Neveu, and Westman, 2018), its focus on the individual and their psychological efforts, at the expense of exploring structural power and social factors, may limit its explanatory power. As the employment exchange experience does not happen in a vacuum (Rousseau et al., 2018; Johns, 2006), it is essential to employ theories capable of balancing the myriad of competing and complementing elements at play, including social context. Bourdieu's theory of practice emphasises that capital is only fully understood in the context of its social field and equally that the social field is only understood in light of the dominant capital valued in that context. Bourdieu (2005) highlights that firms can be considered social fields and as such provides a socio-cultural lens to examine the PC while not neglecting the idiosyncratic strategies of capital mobilisation.

Lastly, COR is at its core a theory designed to explain stress avoidance and coping, with various resources being conserved as a means to accomplishing that goal (Hobfoll, 1989). Primarily cited in organisational behaviour literature, it is often used to explain resource loss and the resulting psychological strain that loss causes (Helbessleben & Buckley, 2004; Hobfoll, 2001a; Westman, Hobfoll, Chen, Davidson

& Lasky, 2004). While COR could be useful in understanding coping responses to unfulfilled obligations in the PC and the stress they may trigger, its focus is more limited and generally more negative (focused on resource loss avoidance and responses) than that of the theory of practice. Bourdieu looks to explain the overall picture of desired advancement and dynamic exchanges between various actors considering capital (resources), field (social context) and habitus (socially influenced ways of thinking and being). As such it both broadens the scope of research investigation and also enables examination of not only stress avoidance practices or psychological motivations but also social and cultural dynamics empowering and constraining the employment exchange experience.

In summary, the purpose of this discussion contrasting COR theory and the Theory of Practice is not to undermine the value of COR theory nor to claim that it should not be used in PC research. COR work has illuminated new questions and opens up new research agendas that the capitals are well poised to address. The purpose of this section is to argue a case for why Bourdieu's Theory of Practice (1979) is capable of illuminating the avenues that COR theory has left unexplored. It considers the strategic mobilisation and exchange of specific capitals to forward one's cause in a competitive social and structured setting studying power dynamics and agency in organisational life. In short, although the PC is a psychological construct, it also operates in a social setting as the contract is between two or more parties and is not hinged only upon the psychological processes or strategies of one individual. Thus, to best interrogate its operation, one must employ theories capable of exploring both intraindividual processes and the impact of socio-cultural influences. It is my argument in this PhD that Bourdieu's theory of practice is a theory capable of augmenting our understanding of how the PC operates in a social organisational domain. It does this by illuminating the resources (capitals) underpinning the exchange relationship which individuals, with their idiosyncratic approaches (habitus, which influences PC schemata), in a particular organisational setting, an internship (field

The internship as a social field of psychological contract exchange

This section discusses characteristics of the internship as a field in which capitals are being mobilised. It is not an exhaustive review of literature on internships or placements. It serves to outline the context of particular forces at play in the internship PC-capital exchange and how other concepts of the theory of practice may operate in this specific social field. What we know about undergraduate internships is that the experience has multiple positive effects. An internship is a short-term practical work experience opportunity in which learners receive training and develop desired skills (Zopiatis, 2007). Taylor (1998:393) defines internships as "structured and careerrelevant work experiences obtained by students prior to graduation from an academic program". With the democratisation and massification of higher education, the university degree alone is no longer a guarantee of gaining access to the professional labour market (Tomlinson, 2008). In a congested and competitive graduate labour market, students must take measures to differentiate themselves (Wolgram & Ahrens, 2022). One way students do this is by undertaking an organisational internship. Coupled with the increasing pressure for HEIs to produce employable students, internships or placements have become an attractive choice for students and a core element to HEI's offering (Tomlinson & Jackson, 2021). The current field of employment relationships is characterised by global competition, increased mobility, complex working structures (Yuhee & Takeuchi, 2016), the rise of fixed-contract, part-time, and contract-based work with less of a focus on the traditional organisational career.

Individuals are expected to play a greater role in developing themselves and managing their own careers (Wolgram & Ahrens, 2022). Indeed, this shift to a more boundaryless career concept requires individuals to proactively and independently adapt to labour market changes (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Thus, career novices must work to accumulate field-relevant capital to increase their attractiveness to employers and to equip themselves to navigate a complex and dynamic field. They use experiences such as internships "as an important tool for projecting a narrative of individual potential, competence and skill" (Tomlinson 2008:57). In response to these shifts, organisations are ever more recruiting based on the capital package that an individual presents (Tomlinson, 2017). Organisations seek specific skills and attributes in what scholars term a re-orientation of the economy of experience (Brown and Hesketh 2004), putting interns and graduates under pressure to accumulate these resources and promote their marketable or employable selves.

From an anthropological point of view, Gershon (2011:542) depicts this race to accumulate masses of experience and skill as a neoliberal form of agency embodied by "those who reflexively and flexibly manage themselves as one owns and manages a business, tending to one's own qualities and traits". A social-political theory, Neoliberalism represents a political and economic approach encouraging capitalist ideals mapped to other areas of social life (Harvey 2007). Fleming (2017:693) critically terms this shift "the radical responsibilisation of employment" and the self. This neoliberal concept of the professional self exists in higher education institutions who promote versions of students who will possess whatever necessary skills and experience the market demands and who are committed to life-long learning (Wolgram & Ahrens, 2022). Thus, career novices find themselves in a position where they need to develop their marketable self and expect an internship to help them do this. This pressure may influence their capital goals. Thus, their APCs and PCs maybe influenced. Failure of an internship to deliver capital relevant skills and experiences will influence the intern's perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach.

In this final section, I turn to discussing what literature reveals about internships as a specific employment field including intern perceptions of satisfactory internships, characteristics of internships, outcomes of internships for interns, organisations, and higher education institutions and complementary and competing interests among differing stakeholders. Literature collectively portrays how impactful the internship experience is, making it an ideal avenue through which to explore the PC and the mobilisation of capital. Wolfgram and Ahrens (2022) note that growing research supports the ideas that individuals who have completed an internship often increase their self-confidence and adaptability (Ocampo et al. 2020), their future employability (Nunley et al. 2016), and also their academic achievement (Parker et al. 2016). Velez and Giner's (2014) review of business internships notes that interns improve their career exploration behaviours, skills and competencies, employment opportunities, and career satisfaction. Other literature highlights that job skills and social skills appear particularly improved (Chen et al., 2011) by undertaking an internship. Gerkin et al.'s (2012) analysis of 66 articles on internships, empirical and conceptual dating from 1998-2010, summarised internships as primarily beneficial specifically contributing to career development, networking opportunities, and useful experience. Internships function as realistic previews of the future job (Knouse, Tanner, & Harris,

1999). Sekiguchi, Mitate, and Yang, (2022:2) highlight that "job seekers often rely on indirect or inaccurate information to assess the attractiveness of potential employers" and that "internship experience provides more realistic and accurate information". Internships can enhance future job satisfaction and reduce turnover rates (Atkins, 1980). Interns build upon repeated experiences (Tadeu, 2019) to develop more realistic expectations (Knouse & Fontenot, 2008) reducing reality shock events (Coco, 2000), and display higher levels of competence in career exploration, career path management (Gault et al., 2000), and social skills (Chen et al., 2011). The positive effects also spill over into their subsequent college performance (Knouse et al., 1999) as also noted above in Wolfgram and Ahrens (2022) review.

Three studies specifically discuss interns' perceptions of satisfaction with their internships. In the context of this PhD, these studies are important as they highlight intern perceptions of the value of their employment relationship and, as such, bear relation to one's evaluation of the PC. Though fulfilment of the PC and job satisfaction may not be identical concepts, indeed, having a fulfilled PC should contribute to feelings of satisfaction with the employment relationship. As can be seen from the results below, opportunities to develop one's personal, marketable, or employable self, which can be seen as capital accumulation opportunities, are the currency that interns reported as factors influencing their satisfaction with their internships. Feldman and Weitz (1990) found that interns reported higher levels of job satisfaction with internships when given opportunity to interact with others, practice autonomy, develop a variety of skills, and master task identity. Task identity is a concept in job design research (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006; Hackman & Oldham, 1975) that promotes completion of a task by the individual rather than playing a small part of the whole. From a capital perspective, working with others could build social capital as valuable connections are made or human capital in the form of soft skill development via practicing communication skills or gaining new knowledge from experts.

D'Abate (2009) found that interns self-reported higher levels of satisfaction with their internships when they were given helpful feedback and experienced task significance, how important a task is perceived to be, but did not find significant results supporting task identity, skills variety, or autonomy. Rothman (2003) found that interns who had positive experiences with the actual characteristics of their job reported higher levels

of internship satisfaction. Feldman and Weitz's (1990) and D'Abate's (2009) studies present almost opposite findings. Thus, the question then remains as to what might make an intern perceive that their internship with a specific employer has been satisfactory? Or, to relate it to this study, which types of capital accumulation opportunities might lead to perceptions of internship satisfaction or PC fulfilment for the intern?

Velez & Giner's 2014 systematic review of literature on the impact of internships argues based on their findings that interns want greater autonomy, challenging assignments, positive attitudes from superiors, and mentoring at work. They highlight that interns expect to develop their job skills, relational skills, technical skills, receive technological training, and enhance future job searches. They expect and value good supervision and support from their mentors and desire frequent feedback (D'abate aet al., 2009). When expectations regarding internships are not met, interns usually interpret the internship experience negatively (Velez & Giner, 2014). Each of these findings, though not explicitly framed in PC terms, can be linked to the schematic structures of an intern's (A)PC, what they expect and hope for from the internship, and resulting breach or fulfilment in relation to expectations. However, the internship is not solely about the intern but also concerns the employing organisation as another stakeholder and party to the PC capital exchange.

Employers also have expectations of interns and internships and though some aspects of these expectations algin, others may not, making the field of the PC employment relationship "contested terrain" (Inkson & King, 2011:42). As mentioned previously, a career, even at the early stages, can be considered as "the outcome of a process of contracting" (Inkson & King, 2011:42), whereby the content of the contract consists of negotiated exchanges of capital between intern and employer. Indeed, interns have already negotiated to pass initial screenings, applications, interviews, and win interesting work assignments. The further negotiating of capital accumulation opportunities characterises the experience of the intern. On the employer side, employers expect to benefit from low-cost high-quality workers. They expect updated novel content knowledge and technical skills and expect interns to "produce real and tangible positive outcomes for the host organisation, providing assistance, solving problems and completing projects" (Degravel, Hertz, & Koutroumanis, 2012:33). Employers agree with interns that internships should provide opportunities to develop

communication and social skills, job skills, and employability (Velez & Giner, 2014). Employers value interns who are positive, professional, take responsibility (Zopiatis, 2007), and are enthusiastic (Cook et al., 2004). Rogers et al., (2021) highlight that organisations participate in internship programmes to streamline recruitment, reduce recruitment costs, and receive free publicity through students sharing their experiences with their social networks. Organisations also expect to benefit from increased reputation with educational institutions and the community. Thus, both complementary and competing goals exist between interns and organisations which can create tension and power struggles.

Though, overall, a worthwhile exchange on both sides, there are challenges to the intern employment exchange. Internship programmes do not always receive the resource allocations necessary from the employer side creating tensions and difficulties for the interns (Govender & Vaaland, 2022). While supervising interns provides supervisory training opportunities for their own staff, internships also drain the limited resources of organisations. Organisations do not always provide suitable training to supervisors and mentors to deal with the specific needs of interns (Jackson et al., 2017). For example, as interns usually possess little to no prior work experience, interns require "training and extensive support and feedback before they can become a productive part of the company" (Gerken et al., 2012:12). Organisations must "balance supervisor costs with potential benefits" (Gerken et al., 2012:12). The costs of coordination, recruitment, and administration with both the intern and their institution must also be considered. Govender & Vaaland's (2022) review of literature highlights that organisations lack motivation to prepare for, invest in, monitor, and assess internship programmes. Indeed, many organisations, particularly SMEs, face challenges identifying suitable tasks for interns to execute (Jackson et al., 2017) and are generally not configured in a manner suitable to engaging interns in their daily operations. Indeed, organisations often operate on a pressured time horizon opposite to that of long-term inculcation of knowledge which higher education seeks to effect (Thatcher et al., 2016). These factors can create power struggles within the internship field as different parties vie to attain their (sometimes) competing goals in contested terrain (Inkson & King, 2011).

Higher education institutions are also stakeholders in the internship experience. They enhance their reputation and visibility, attract new students through internship

offerings, develop stronger ties with industry, source potential funding opportunities (Coco, 2000), and use valuable feedback from organisations to make course content more business relevant (Velez & Giner, 2014). Higher education institutions are sometimes accused of not providing sufficient institutional support to interns as interns manage the demands of being both a student and a professional. The relevance of course content and the transferability of theory to practice is also criticised (Govender & Vaaland, 2022). Indeed, organisations claim that interns are not as ready for the workplace as institutions claim. The expectations of the three stakeholders, interns, organisations, and higher education institutions, to the undergraduate internship possess overlapping, distinct, and sometimes contradictory motivations and desired outcomes. These differing interests, and the investment of resources according to those interests, may cause tensions at times in the intern experience of the employment relationship resulting in unmet capital goals and fractured or breached PCs.

Overall, understanding of the antecedents to the APC and resulting PC of interns is sorely lacking in both PC and undergraduate internship literature. Existing approaches to research have focused on the effects or outputs of internships rather than on the unfolding experience of being in one and how that experience interacts with one's PC and capital accumulation goals. Indeed, Velez & Giner's (2014:126) review noted a particular "lack of empirical research concerning business internships in the European context" and that the overall empirical research available on interns' satisfaction with their employment experience reveals mixed results requiring further investigation. They do note that the majority of studies report internships to have positive outcomes, however, understanding of how and why this may be requires further empirical and theoretical investigation. Roger et al.'s (2021:10) review of internship literature concludes that understanding interns' perceptions of and satisfaction with their experience and the employment relationship "is more complex and nuanced than has been told thus far."

Most literature addressing the intern experience centres on outcomes with a focus on factors that increase employability or educational results that contribute to employability. While an important area of study, as improving employability is a common motivation for undertaking an internship and thus can be a capital goal, employability literature has been criticised for its overly narrow parameters and yet loosely defined attributes. Those critical of the neo-liberal agenda question the

accepted link between employability and the human capital approach rooted in economics. Human capital is expressed as generic transferrable skills that are implicitly believed to hold value in varying contexts ignoring the forces of situated enactment and social field (Bourdieu, 1977). Critics argue that the dominant discourse on employability evidenced in much of the graduate and higher education literature decontextualises and separates employment skills from the individual's world (Kalfa & Taksa, 2015). Employment skills and experience, conceptualised as capital in this PhD, are often discussed as though they are "amenable to quantitative measurement" (Attewell, 1990:423) and owned in the sense that they can be redeemed anywhere.

However, this approach ignores the realities of skills surpluses and shortages in certain professions or geographic locations, the effects of credentialism, or disparities within graduate or career novice populations (Kalfa & Taksa, 2015) such as gender, class or ethnicity (Holmes, 2006). Indeed, Leonard (2000:181) asserts that the exclusive use of the human capital approach is a "project of masculinity" produced by late modernism to herald rational, utilitarian, and technical perspectives that ignore the complexities and social construction of skills thereby missing how they might be valued and rewarded in differing social contexts. This is where the value of using Bourdieu comes in. Bourdieu's use of capital located within social fields and influenced by habitus overcomes the naïve and overly simplistic assumptions of the dominant human capital or skills approach in graduate literature. It allows for investigating the influences of multiple actors within the field and how forces within the field influence the value of particular capitals for particular people at a particular time. Utilising Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus, and capital (1977) overcome the simplicities that are often assumed in explorations of career novice experiences of working life that leave questions unanswered. Interns know their world or are at least becoming more aware of the rules of the game (doxa) and demands that dominate it. They are not satisfied with generic promises of experience but want real life currency or capital that will be symbolic in their chosen fields. A generic employability agenda and experience will not suffice to satisfy the employment expectations or PC of today's career novices. A capital approach widens the analytical lens allowing researchers to empirically interrogate the often only theorised dynamism of the PC as capitals are accumulated and depleted over time and individuals perceive their contract as fulfilled or breached.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature that conceptualises the PC as a resource exchange. It has constructed an argument for using Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) to further illuminate the dynamics at play in the PC resource exchange by offering capitals as an explanatory mechanism. It argues the case for adopting a Bourdieusian framework rather than a conservation of resources approach, as is mostly done in emerging literature. Bourdieu's theory of practice and its elements of capital, field, doxa, and habitus, coupled with the PC make sense of the intern employment exchange relationship. A Bourdieusian inspired framework supporting the analysis of the PC enables consideration of the influence of both individual dispositions and social structures (Al Ariss, Vassilopoulou, Ozbilgin, & Game, 2013) pertinent to the PC exchange. In line with Bourdieu's argument that capital can only be realised, viewed and become symbolic in relation to a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), this approach addresses the specific contextual field of the intern employment relationship context. This field is then interpreted using the doxa, or underlying principles that rule the space. Habitus enables the exploration and understanding of responses and choices made by agents in the field as they evaluate their PCs and respond accordingly. As the individual operates within the employment relationship, they are accumulating capitals and testing the obligations of the PC. In short, in this chapter, I conceptualised capitals as the construct underpinning the resource exchange relationship of the PC. This chapter argued the value of capital theory as a strong conceptual toolbox to unpack the black box of the resource exchange at play in the PC.

Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) is a rich theory capable of capturing not just the exchange of resources in the PC, but also the structural forces and constraints and individual dispositions that impact the dynamic game of resource exchange which embodies the contemporary employment relationship. Thus, I see these concepts of the PC and capital going hand in hand as key aspects at play in the employment relationship. This multifaceted conceptualisation allows for insights to the workings of internal psychological processes and the social/environmental context, not as separate lines of inquiry but as mutually co-influencing forces evolving over time. Positioning the PC in this multi-perspective context overcomes the reduction of experience to merely either agentic or structural viewpoints respectively. This enables

the multi-layered and multi-faceted insight necessary to redefine manifold forms and combinations of capital (beyond Bourdieu's original three), and its mobilisation in the employment relationship context, aligning it simultaneously with the PC. How the PC and resources (capital) evolve as they are mutually enacted in an internship is made empirically researchable. Together these theories complement and augment each other's value and applicability to the understanding of how capital interacts with the PC in the social field. Using grand social theory to structure inquiry encourages a more holistic dialogue surrounding the intricate nature of the contemporary employment relationship, bringing society and broader structures to the picture (Lounsbury & Ventresca, 2003). It can be used to unpack the black box of the PC and capital exchange relationship.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to share the assumptions, paradigms, framework, and research design adopted by the researcher and employed in this research undertaking. This qualitative process study explores the lived experiences of undergraduate interns in Ireland as they navigate the transition from university to a structured one-year organisational internship focusing on the evolution and interaction of their PCs and capitals. The research is framed upon a subjective ontology, interpretive epistemology, and abductive approach employing a process methodology. Data collection, sample, data analysis methods, and the role of the researcher will be highlighted in this chapter.

The study takes a process methodological approach whereby change over time is central to interrogating the research questions. Process studies investigate questions surrounding how and why phenomena arise, develop, or terminate over time and space (Langley, & Tsoukas, 2011) and, as such, are a suitable mechanism for understanding the dynamic nature of PCs and capitals. Despite the inescapability and centrality of time and temporal effects on human and organisational life, ironically, time is relatively unexplored in top management scholarship (Langley, et al., 2013) and in studies of the PC (Bankins et al., 2020). Despite specific definitional emphases on time and evolution, there is still a dearth of information as to how the PC (Rousseau, et al., 2018) and capitals (Tomlinson, 2021) as distinct concepts (and in this study mutually influencing concepts) operate over time. Time is central to process (Pentland, 2017). "The structural contexts of action are themselves temporal as well as relational" (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:963). On a practical note, factors within person and context evolve over time and influence the construction of an intern's PC. Indeed, "people understand their current and orient their future selves through an interplay of past and current events." (De Vos, et al., 2021:12). Researching the individual experience of the PC and capital interactions from a temporal perspective is a process of tracking, over time, changes in the individual in relation to their social space (Gunz, & Mayrhofer, 2015). The central focus of process methodology aligns

directly with questions core to the lived experience of the employment relationship with phenomena that happen over time, and where temporalities are, to an extent, constitutive of their meaning. As Van de Ven (2007:155) explicates, "process explanations hinge on discerning the central subjects and the types of interactions that mark qualitative changes in these subjects"; which is also supported by Langley et al. (2013:1) "Process studies take time seriously, illuminate the role of tensions and contradictions in driving patterns of change, and show how interactions across levels contribute to change".

This process focus differs from a variance approach employed by much management scholarship. Process thinking is necessary as the traditional cross-sectional or variance approach provides a limited view of the social world assuming stability and consistency where actually there is dynamism (Tsoukas & Hatch, 2001). Most PC research employs a static methodology usually examining PC breaches at one point in time and is limited in how it captures the dynamics and complexities of multiple interactions and responses over time (Zhong et al., 2021). Methodological approaches in studies relating to capitals are similar. Pentland likens the research move from a variance centric worldview to a process centric worldview to that of "switching from Ptolemaic to Copernican astronomy" (2017:1796). The process methodology used in this PhD undertaking illuminates the centrality of change over time and its effects on interns' PCs and capitals that would not be readily available from a variance study. "Process organisation studies have emerged as a coherent and useful way of understanding the goings-on in everyday organisational life". They show how "everyday goings-on actually eventuate in tangible...outcomes" (Chia, 2017:593) but as yet remain underutilised in individual level studies of the PC and capitals. Not only is there a need for more process research to understand how the PC develops and changes in line with capital over time, but there is also a lack of research when it comes to process analysis from a micro individual perspective, with most studies pitched at the organisational level (Langley et al., 2013). Analysis at the individual level presents important opportunities to address organisational and management concerns but is under researched and underrepresented in top management scholarship. Indeed, Langley et al. (2013:10) highlight the crucial role that individuals play in organisational life and lament the lack of process analysis on the individual level and

"encourage such research that might deal with such temporally evolving issues as careers, work-family balance, identity, work practices, and socialization".

Thus, this PhD takes an individual level process methodological approach to the investigation of how the PC and capitals influence each other and evolve over time. It does this by employing a process methodology which illustrates interns' capital accumulation and depletion and its impact on their PCs. This approach requires a shift in paradigmatic thinking as not only is process research in the minority in organisational studies, but within process research, investigation on the individual level is far less utilised (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017). This underutilisation of the process approach is something I would like to remedy by taking the methodological "road less travelled" in pursuit of it making "all the difference" to our understanding of how the PC develops over time and interacts with capitals (Frost, 1915:NP).

Ontological and epistemological perspectives underpinning process research

Research design is the overarching arrangement of a study from the wording of the research question to where, how, from whom, and what types of data are gathered and then how that data will be analysed, interpreted and communicated (Bryman, 2016; Creswell & Poth, 2018). The research design process in a qualitative study is built upon the researcher's philosophical assumptions as to what knowledge or truth is, where it may reside and how it may be accessed or understood. A researcher brings their own world view, paradigm, or set of beliefs to the research which influence the conduct and analysis of the study (Creswell & Poth, 2018). A paradigm is "a basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba, 1990:17). These beliefs or paradigms have been termed as philosophical assumptions, epistemologies, and ontologies (Crotty, 1998), alternative knowledge claims (Creswell, 2003), and research methodologies (Neuman, 2000). Further, theoretical or interpretive frameworks are applied to advance and deepen understanding of the research phenomena. Akin to the structural architecture of a solid building, the research design provides the foundation and plans to interrogate the research question guiding action and purpose.

One's ontology (assumptions about the nature of reality), epistemology (assumptions about the most appropriate ways of obtaining knowledge about reality), axiology (the role of values in obtaining and understanding knowledge), and methodological (methods used) assumptions build the framework upon which the research design rests and implications emerge (Bryman, Bell & Harley, 2019; Creswell, 2007; Creswell & Poth, 2018; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991). Ontology emerges from the Greek word 'ontos' meaning 'to be' and reflects what a researcher believes to be real about the world. It encompasses what can be known about the world in which we live and what the nature of being might be in this world (Bryman et al., 2019). I subscribe to a relativist ontology and see reality as socially co-constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 2009). Reality for one person may be different from reality for another (Creswell, 2007) and as such I seek to excavate the elements of 'reality' that are individually perceived and socially constructed. This means that in this study, one intern may perceive an organisational interaction differently than another with perceptions of PC fulfilment and capital accumulation interpreted uniquely. Indeed, "the important reality is what people perceive it to be" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975:14) and participants' descriptions of their experience are noted and valued as their reality. Thus, the possibility for multiple realities exists.

This ontological perspective is the opposite of realism or objectivism which emerges from a positivist ontology, viewing reality as concrete and existing independently of the individual experience of it (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018). Realism and relativism represent polar opposites on a continuum from objective reality to multiple realities. Awareness of the research design enables understanding of the steps taken in the inquiry process (Kaplan, 1964), the appropriateness of the chosen approach, (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991) and increases credibility (Merriam, 1998). The crucial question in choosing a research approach is whether the approach contributes to greater insight of the phenomenon being studied than another approach would (Saunders, 2016). It is not merely a choice of preference on the behalf of the researcher but is part of an extensive process that identifies a subject as "amenable to study in a distinctive way" (Morgan, 1983:19) and is derived "from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored" (Morgan & Smirich, 1980:491). Consequently, it is of utmost importance to illuminate the philosophical stance and methodologies from which the research emerges.

In adherence to the philosophical stance, theoretical framework and phenomenon under scrutiny in this process study, the research design of this study is qualitative, subjective, and interpretive. The qualitative approach allows for and appreciates the subjectivity and complexity of human nature (Bryman et al., 2019). Qualitative approaches are "an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world." (van Maanen, 1979:520). It is "all non-numeric data or data that has not been quantified" (Saunders et al., 2009:23). Qualitative research is considered more appropriate "where the phenomena in question have subjective capabilities" (Gill & Johnson, 1991:34) and is better understood and described through words rather than numbers. It values an "interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3). This means that qualitative studies are interested in the natural setting in which phenomena take place and how to best understand the meaning people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It attempts to view the empirical world from the eyes and mind of the participants and is recognised for its ability to capture complex human behaviour and ways of being (Mc Cracken, 1988). As such, it is a fitting approach for this study of the PCs of career novices and how their perceptions of capital accumulation influence their PC processes. These processes are driven by individual perceptions and evaluations of the interactions that make up social reality. When conducting a qualitative study, the researcher must embrace the ontological possibility of multiple 'realities' as experienced and described by the research participants (Creswell, 2007).

This type of qualitative approach is often termed a constructivist approach (Bryman, Bell & Harley, 2019). The terms constructivism and social constructionism are often used interchangeably under the umbrella of 'constructivism'. However, constructivism focuses on an individual mentally constructing a world of experience through cognitive process whereas social constructionism embodies a social rather than individual focus. It is more interested in socially constructed habituated societal norms and expectations and is less interested in the individual cognitive process of construction (Andrews, 2010; Berger & Luckmann, 1991). I take a constructivist approach which investigates "how the individual cognitively engages in the construction of knowledge" (Young & Collin, 2004: 373). Proponents of constructivism and interpretivism share the goal of understanding lived experiences

from the perspectives of those who are living it (Andrews, 2010). The 'constructivist' or relativist paradigm is sometimes criticised for being anti-realist and denying objective reality (Bryman et al., 2019). However, in this study, I do not deny that an objective reality may exist, but assert that any reality can only be known, understood, and enacted through individuals' subjective understanding and experience of it. My perspective on how we understand the world, or my epistemological view, is that we know and understand our world through a process of subjective co-creation. Our knowledge of the world emerges as we interact with the social context (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). Thus, we make sense of and interpret our reality based upon our experience of the processes of social life (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018; Gergen, 2009).

Axiology

Axiology, the interrogation of individual values, bears significant influence on the research undertaking (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018). The qualitative epistemology encourages the researcher to minimize "distance" or "objective separateness" between themselves and the participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1998:94) in order to see the world through the eyes of those being studied. Of course, taking this research stance increases risk of researcher bias. Janesick (1998) highlights that identifying the researcher's role in qualitative reports is critical as it evolves during the study. Thus, the researcher's own values inevitably bear influence on the study. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) exhort scholars to consider their own social location within the field and be aware of participants' subjective interpretations. When a decision to engage in research of a particular experience is made, the researcher begins a process of selfreflection. For the qualitative researcher, this is typically part of the preparatory phase of research and might include the writing down of these reflections for reference during the analysis process (Polkinghorne, 1989). The purpose of this reflection is to become aware of one's biases and assumptions in order to bracket them, or set them aside, to engage in the experience without preconceived notions. Acknowledging potential biases, as a researcher, I attempted to make a reflective move to suspend my personal understanding and perspective to cultivate curiosity (Bryman et al., 2019). This awareness is seen as a protection from imposing the assumptions or biases of the researcher on the study.

However, I am not unaware that social scientists operate from either explicit or implicit assumptions concerning the nature of reality and how best to enquire about it. Indeed, it would be unrealistic to claim that human research is completely free from the influence of bias (Bryman, 2016). Burrell & Morgan (2017) highlight that all organisation theorists possess and work from a preconceived frame of reference. Mangham and Overington (1987:25) contend that "There is no such thing as presuppositionless research, nor does theory simply emerge from data" and that "the researcher also gives meaning to what she sees and hears." Cognisant of these cahllenges, I have approached the research process and data gathering exercise as objectively as possible while allowing myself to enter as fully into the participants' stories and world views as possible.

At the same time, as a relativist, I recognise that knowledge and lived experience is socially constructed and inherently subjective (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2018). Thus, during this research study I have striven to accept and validate the perceptions of the research participants as their truth and as their reality even if different from my perspective. Throughout the data collection, I strove to present a neutral, polite, yet friendly manner (Bryman, 2016) building rapport (Schmid, Garrels, & Skåland, 2024) when interacting with research participants. Taking this approach fosters an inclusive research environment. My own background which consists of both educator and management roles in educational non-profit and for-profit institutions has provided me with much experience dealing with career novices and undergraduate students transitioning from education to work. This repeated experience of watching my students transition to work sparked the interest, that in part, led to this research undertaking. This research is exploratory, and my desire is to learn of the experience as seen through the eyes of the participants. Thus, as much as possible, presuppositions have not steered the research.

The value of a process methodological approach to the study of psychological contracts and capitals

This study takes a process methodological approach and applies a teleological change motor to identify and explain the mechanisms driving and underpinning change (Van de Ven & Poole, 1995). Process methodology investigates how things evolve over

time (Langley, 1999) and as such is fitting for the investigation of how interns' PCs and capitals evolve over the course of a one-year internship. Process research focuses on event-driven explanations that build forward from events or interactions observed over time to subsequent outcomes illuminating underlying mechanisms. This aligns with a constructivist ontology and epistemology (Hussenot, Hernes, & Bouty, 2020) conceptualising social life as made up of entities, such as people and organisations, that actively and uniquely participate in or respond to organisational events. This fits with the 'weak' process tradition (Langley & Tsoukas 2016) which incorporates the role of discrete events or interactions. "Events are the natural units of the social process; events are what key actors do or what happens to them" (Van de Ven, 2007: 148). In this way, process research encompasses temporal layers of explanation spanning from immediate to distal, illuminating how individuals and organisations mutually undergo metamorphosis over time as a result of their interaction. I focus on the individual side of the event interaction. Thus, the components of interns' PCs and capitals may change in meaning, order, and significance throughout a study (Van de Ven, 2007). As such, the process approach is suitable for a study such as my phased study on the dynamic, iterative, and synergistic interactions of the PC and capital.

To this process approach I apply a teleological "change motor" (Van de Ven, 2007: 203) which centrally positions individual entities as purposeful drivers of change enacted through agentic choices aimed at reaching an end state or goal (Bankins, 2015; Van de Ven & Poole, 1995). In this study, individuals are active drivers of change that interpret, respond to, and enact capital interactions within the field of the internship. As agentic entities, interns navigate their social field seeking to accumulate capital in line with their goals while simultaneously dealing with the demands and opportunities the field presents. This accumulation or depletion of capital underpins the dynamic exchange relationship between intern and organisation and impacts intern evaluation of the PC.

Thus, a process approach illuminates *how* all of these dynamic phenomena may be interacting. I note a methodological nuance here in relation to process literature. Process focused research tells us *how* while variance or cross-sectional focused research tends to tell us *what*, with much PC scholarship generated from the cross-sectional perspective (Bankins et al., 2020). This PhD takes a process approach examining how interns' PCs and capitals evolve over time. However, there are

elements to the process that require content components. For example, one phase of a process may have a list of influencing factors which could be conceived to be 'content' or 'variance' focused. While the overarching approach in this study is processual, I acknowledge that within processes there is relatively stable content, albeit in flux at times, that influences the process itself. Without embarking on a taxonomic debate of process definitions (see Chia & Langley, 2004 or Van de Ven, 2007 for a full discussion), I see process as the dynamic unfolding of phenomena that speaks to event or interaction driven data. Process stories are akin to "a narrative describing how things develop and change" (Van de Ven, 2007:148). Indeed, Cloutier & Langley, (2020:17) highlight that "variance reasoning often plays a complementary role" in illuminating "how...process conceptualisations are rendered richer, more complex and potentially more satisfying by an exploration of the contingencies surrounding them.". In addition, Langley (2013) notes that in practice, much research utilises elements of both perspectives and that exclusively using one approach is in fact rare. She advocates for incorporating elements of both as this best represents organisational life (Langley, 1999). Tsoukas (2017) highlights that the only way to make sense of the large quantities of moving concepts is to temporarily suspend the process for examination of its moving parts, which I have done in this study.

Time in process studies

A discussion of process methodology is not complete without acknowledging the role of time and temporalities. Time is central to process (Pentland, 2017). Time honoured philosophers, Bourdieu and Nice, remind us:

"to reintroduce time, with its rhythm, its orientation, its irreversibility." They add "Science has a time which is not that of practice...Scientific practice is so 'detemporalized' that it tends to exclude even the idea of what it excludes...because science is possible only in a relation to time which is opposed to that of practice, it tends to ignore time and, in doing so, to reify practices...The detemporalizing effect (visible in the synoptic apprehension that diagrams make possible) that science produces when it forgets the transformation it imposes on practices inscribed in the current of time, i.e. detotalized, simply by totalizing them, is never more pernicious that when exerted on practices defined by the fact that their temporal structure, direction and rhythm are constitutive of their meaning." (1979:9)

Management scholarship has largely neglected calls to adopt a temporal lens in individual-level organisation studies (Shipp & Cole, 2015). Indeed, "within-person research in micro-organisational studies was almost non-existent just 20 years ago" (Shipp & Cole, 2015:245). Speaking of management literature, Shipp & Cole (2015:245) highlight that "much of the existing work in our field has incurred a temporal blind spot, in which time is overlooked". This is also true of PC research where the majority of methodologies applied are cross-sectional, quantitative, and targeting groups or global measures rather than individual temporal processes (Griep & Cooper, 2019). When a body of work is predominantly cross-sectional, as is scholarship on the PC and capitals, the empirical evidence available is limited in its ability to speak to dynamic concepts (Bankins et al., 2020), such as trajectories, transitions, cycles, and time lags, that are inherently embedded and assumed in the literature's conceptual and theoretical models (Shipp & Cole, 2015).

Continuing calls for robust evidence-based management scholarship (Rousseau, 2006) in organisations, seeking data on what works in practice, have generated a wealth of information deemed suitable for application to practice. However, this is predominantly variance research (Langley et al., 2017), often on large comparative performance studies or controlled lab settings. When examined more closely, this "what works" approach may reveal a gap in actionable steps, guidance, or processual understanding. One may be left wondering how, when, or in what way the information may be used (Langley et al., 2013:4). For example, knowing that situation or practice B is more effective than situation or practice A sheds little light on how the change from A to B might be initiated, evolve, or be executed or what the effect of the process itself may be. Counting what works is perhaps sometimes conflated with understanding what works with the result of jumping immediately into prescription without pausing for the deep unpacking of how things evolve. When collecting processual data closer to real time, one maximises the opportunity to identify factors that, though short lived, exert influence on a process (Van de Ven, 2007). This is where process studies shine brightly to illuminate the specific forces, people and environmental factors at play in different parts of the process. It may be a more complex picture, nevertheless, it provides valuable insight to how phenomena unfold in social fields. It reveals, not just what practices or states are most desirable, but how

an individual or organisation may achieve this state and what happens in the process of changing.

Examining how the PC and capitals interact and evolve over time, rather than simply because time passes, is insight lacking in literature. For example, time alone without interactions in the social world does not necessarily change one's PC and capitals but the passing of time allows the researcher to observe and investigate how these concepts may change as they interact (Cooper & Griep, 2019). Indeed, when collecting data, time 0 is not necessarily the genesis of the participant's experience. For this reason, I asked participants to reflect on past experiences that may have contributed to their PCs and capital goals. As a researcher I am still "catching reality in flight" (Pettigrew, 1990:268) as from the moment a human is born their reality is in construction and any subsequent intervention is not the true beginning. However, I believe this undergraduate career novice sample to be an excellent choice for examining the construction of PCs as for most participants, their internship was either their first job or their first 'professional' job enabling examination of the novice PC schema.

In summary, factors within an intern and their field evolve over time and influence their experience of their PC and capitals. "Understanding the impact of time in people's sensemaking processes regarding their career...[is] important...People understand their current and orient their future selves through an interplay of past and current events" (De Vos, Jacobs & Verbruggen, 2021:12). My purpose here in discussing time is not to specify a particular theory, model, or perspective of time that should be employed but to highlight how time is central to process methodology and allows for the influence of change in the lived experience of interns. Thus, my study follows the dynamic experience of interns over time investigating how their PCs and capitals evolve.

Data Collection, Sample, and Sampling Strategy

Pilot Study

Prior to the commencement of the primary data collection, in line with good practice (O'Gorman, & MacIntosh, 2015), I conducted two pilot studies in February 2020 in the form of participant workshops with internship students from the previous cohort of interns at the same university. The first workshop group had sixty participants and

the second had twelve participants. The original plan was to conduct four workshops with two groups whereby I would meet with each group twice with a two-month break in between to see how their experience unfolded over time. The second phase of the pilot study was not conducted due to Covid-19 restrictions. Thus, I met two groups in total one time each. I used these workshops to gain insight to a population similar to the target sample, see which themes were emerging from the discussion, and to inform my interview guides for the main study. Ethical clearance for this activity allowed for the results of group work or general themes to be quoted but not direct quotes from individuals as students were attending as part of a required work placement module. I was granted access by the module coordinator, students were informed in advance in writing, and all participants consented in writing. I followed all ethical protocols of the university. The first half of the workshop (90 minutes) was facilitated by the module coordinator but in line with the topics of my research and the second half (90 minutes) was facilitated by me. For the first half of the workshop, the module coordinator investigated two main topics including 'why' students chose to do an internship and 'what they hoped to achieve or gain' from the internship. I then explored three main questions:

- 1. What was it like preparing for work placement [the internship]?
- 2. How would you describe your current experience of placement [the internship]?
- 3. How have you changed since last year?

Each question had several sub questions more specifically relating to capitals and the employment relationship. For example, (1) "What resources did you draw upon to help you navigate [insert topic]?" (2) "How is your relationship with your organisation?" and (3) "How will these changes influence your future?" The topic guide and slides used in the workshop can be found in Appendix 2 of this thesis.

Both the module coordinator and I followed the same approach. We presented the research in layman's terms, asked students to reflect on questions individually and make notes. They then discussed their experience with their group and each group created and presented a poster summarising major aspects of their experiences. After all groups presented, they then voted for what they believed were the most important aspects of the internship experience overall in relation to the topics for that segment.

As workshop two had much fewer participants, it progressed akin to a focus group, and it was from this group that deeper discussion emerged.

These focus groups contributed to understanding the sample, hearing about their lived-experience, and informing the interview questions. Process research often acquires eclectic data with "variable temporal embeddedness" (Langley 1999:695) and thus multiple forms of data were collected.

Main sample

The entire data set consists of 96 in-depth semi-structured interviews, 2 intern focus groups, and 30 written reflective accounts from intern participants who progressed through the entire placement. The main interview sample consisted of 37 undergraduate interns from business, finance, accounting, design innovation, computer science, psychology and geography departments embarking upon a selfinitiated structured full-time internship lasting between 12 months from the same third level institution in Ireland. Each participant was interviewed a minimum of 3 times over a minimum period of 12 months between June 2020 and November 2021 to gather data on how the PC and capitals evolved over time and which capitals were significant in the PC process. Some participants were interviewed up to 5 times and over a period of 15 months. Interviews were conducted at three main stages in the work experience 1) pre or early internship (immediately before or within several weeks of starting), 2) approximately halfway through the internship, and 3) upon return to university for the final year of education, approximately 3 months after finishing the internship. Interviews took place over Microsoft Teams video calls due to the Covid-19 pandemic restrictions, were recorded, and have an average length of 55 minutes. 3 months post intern return to college, I collected reflective accounts via email where students reflected, having had ample time to settle back to college life, on themes previously discussed during interviews and any adjustments to their perspectives. This revealed how their understanding and perceptions of their experience may have developed. Data collected at different periods over time from the same participants enabled analysis of the cumulative short- and long-term impacts of PC and capital interactions. Roughly equal gender sampling, sixteen males and fourteen females, garnered balanced gender perspectives. Participants' names were

replaced with pseudonyms and anonymity was ensured in accordance with the full research ethics approval obtained for the study.

Of the 37 participants, 30 completed the full internship period of 12 months. Seven interns completed internships of less than two months due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Thus, those seven participants (from the psychology and geography departments) only participated in phase one of the interview process. Their data was not included in analysis of the process longitudinal aspect of the study but was analysed in contribution to understanding intern motivations for undertaking an internship. Multiple methods of data collection allowed for triangulation of the data (Saunders, 2016). The table below outlines the data gathering exercise.

Table 3 Data gathering exercise

Participants	Form of data	Date	Location/Form of	
	collection		Communication	
Undergraduate	Pilot study	February	University School	
business interns (from	workshops (2)	2020	of Business	
previous year of				
internships)				
Undergraduate	Pre/early	January-	Microsoft Teams	
interns (focal	internship semi-	September		
sample)	structured	2020		
	interviews 32			
Undergraduate	During internship	September	Microsoft Teams	
interns (focal	semi-structured	2020-August		
sample)	interviews 32	2021		
Undergraduate	Post internship	April 2021-	Microsoft Teams	
interns (focal	semi-structured	December		
sample)	interviews 32	2021		
Undergraduate	Written reflections	April 2021-	University e-mail	
interns (focal	(30)	December	accounts	
sample)		2021		

Table 4 Participants who completed the full internship

Pseudonym	Gender	Studies	Name	Gender	Studies
Aisling	F	Business	Fiachra	M	Business
Aoibhinn	F	Business	Georgina	F	Business
Alex	M	Business	Joel	M	Computer
					Science
Angelica	F	Accounting	Jordan	M	Business
Anthony	M	Accounting	Kaitlin	F	Business
Barry	M	Engineering	Kristine	F	Business
Caleb	M	Accounting	Meave	F	Business
Caolan	M	Accounting	Niah	F	Business
Cara	F	Business	Patrick	M	Business &
					Finance
Colton	M	Design	Rehan	M	Business
		Science			
Craig	M	Business	Rory	M	Business &
					Finance
Darren	M	Design	Shane	M	Business
		Innovation			
Desmond	M	Business	Shania	F	Business
Eilis	F	Business	Sharon	F	Business
Eva	F	Business	Susan	F	Accounting

Sample design can be defined as a representative framework within which the sampling occurs, comprising the number and types of sampling schemes as well as the sample size (Saunders, 2016). The aim of sample selection in qualitative interpretive studies is to collaborate with a number of individuals who have a lived experience that is the focus of the research and who are prepared to share their experience (van Manen, 1997). As the rationale of qualitative investigation is to accumulate insights and develop theory rather than test it, an emphasis is placed on purposive selection of participants. Purposive convenience sampling (Creswell & Poth, 2016) led me to

recruit participants primarily from the university school of business internship programme which was the same department where I was undertaking my PhD studies. I also recruited participants from other departments through the university placement office. Inclusion criteria demanded that the individual was an undergraduate student participating in a one-year structured work placement intervention without significant previous employment experience. Equal gender sampling design garnered perceptions for comparison purposes. These measures were taken to ensure that data gathered is relevant to the study (Bryman, 2016). The sample does not claim to be representative of the total population (Bryman & Bell, 2019) of undergraduate students undertaking an internship.

Much thought was given to the decision to explore undergraduate interns experience of an internship rather than graduates subsumed into employment. The focus of this research and consequent design was to investigate undergraduate interns' perceptions of the employment relationship and development and utilisation of capital between the 'growth and fantasy' and 'exploration and trialling' phases of career development (Super et al., 1996), when PCs and capital may still lie in embryonic forms. Temporal proximity to the research phenomena was essential (Johan, Sadler-Smith & Tribe, 2019) to investigate how PCs and capitals evolve over time. Older and more experienced graduates' retrospective recollection of PC and capital experiences could result in muddled loss of insight (Hughes & Davis, 2024). Collecting data pre, during and post internship enabled a closer relationship between data, context, and conscious experience facilitating processual analysis of the PC and capitals over time and space.

In line with the qualitative exploratory practice that initial engagement with a research subject should be relatively open and not overly prescriptive, the in-depth interviews were semi-structured during which I employed an open-ended conversational style. This facilitates exploratory conversations (Bryman, 2004). "Unless the process is highly circumscribed, certain phenomena will tend to be absent from a systematic list of ordered incidents...there are often background trends that modulate the progress of specific events...part of what interests us may be going on in people's heads and leave no concrete trace of the exact moment of its passing" (Langley, 2009:692-693) This is why in-depth qualitative interviews were essential for the research. Participants were asked questions in line with the topic guides (see appendix 1) and space was given for participants to lead the conversation. I invited participants to elaborate

further on certain points to gain clarity for my own understanding and draw out the intricacies of their narratives. Prolonged engagement and multiple interactions with research participants helped acclimate me to the sample (and vice versa) thus improving interaction technique, decisions regarding saliency, and diminished distortion of communicated meanings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I informed participants that I would take written notes during the interviews and assured them that these notes were for my own analysis later and were not indicative that anything significant had just been spoken. I used these notes during the analysis to familiarise myself with an overview of each participant's story (Trainor and Bundon, 2021) and often added extra handwritten notes in a different colour as the analysis progressed.

In order to access the participants, a stringent ethical approval process was completed and approved by the university. Access included liaising with the university work placement coordinator, the school of business work placement coordinator, who liaises between the school of business and the placement office, and the work placement academic module coordinator. Through these key gate keepers and with their approval, contact was made with undergraduate students undergoing the work placement process to explain the research and request volunteers to participate. This contact and soliciting of participants was done through email, posts on Moodle (Virtual Learning Platform), video explainers and invitations, and presentation of the research in potential participants' work placement classes.

Analytical strategy: Process narrative story telling

"Process research is concerned with understanding how things evolve over time and why they evolve in this way, and process data therefore consists largely of stories about what happened and who did what when – that is, events, activities, and choices ordered over time" (Langley, 1999:692). Storytelling and the use of narratives is becoming more popular in process organisational studies and organisational studies in general (Langley & Tsoukas, 2016). "Narrative strategy involves construction of a detailed story from the raw data" (Langley, 1999:695). Narratives act as temporal descriptors of events (Abbott, 1992). By depicting how interns understand episodes of interactions over time, narratives ascribe meaning to what could be otherwise relegated to disconnected discrete events (Gergen & Gergen, 1997). Following Rantakari and Vaara's (2016:271) discussion [in Langley & Tsoukas, 2016] of

narrative in process studies, I define process narrative in this context as "a temporal discursive construction that provides means for individual, social, and **organisational sensemaking**". To analyse the data, I drew on detailed interview accounts of interns' experiences of constructing their PCs and how capital accumulation interactions influenced PCs over time. Thus, "the processes being considered are therefore found within the textual account (e.g., a narrative interview) rather than constituting the researcher's narrative of events in the 'real' world. Each intern's narrative is considered a mini case "and theorisation is developed from a synthesis of common narrative threads identified in the individual stories" and "how these stories coalesce" (Abdallah, Lusiani & Langley, 2019:105). I compared these narrative stories about the experience of the employment relationship and development of their PCs and capitals noting common threads in processes and interactions and interwove these to develop the bigger process narrative picture that these stories told. This is similar to Johnston's (2024) explanation of composite narratives. Thus, the larger empirical story unfolded around the identification of common threads within the individual narratives. This provided structure for the findings.

Theoretical meaning was then drawn from the "analytical intersections" of the narratives (Abdallah et al., 2019:105). "Theoretical models are presented as synthesizing devices that make contributions around the identification of narrative patterns." Following Pentland (1999:105), I used this 'narrativization' process to illuminate how "deeper structures emerge from the more surface-based features of narrative data." (Abdallah et al., 2019:105). So, although process studies appreciate dynamic change and movement in social life, "to empirically investigate, operationalise and theorise a process, one must in some way 'stabilise' the process" (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017:6). One cannot include every potentially influencing element in a process but must segment and stabilise elements of the process in line with the focus of the research study. Indeed, Moore (1996:55) asserts that "so called discrete elements are only apparent when we have a need to pluck them from our continuing experience." [italics in original]. Indeed, although we "segment the world and chronologically arrange our discrete experiences...it does not mean that what we apparently perceive is all there is" (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017:5). This temporary 'stabilising' of the process of PC construction and capital evolution over time provided

the frame within which I could begin analysing the data and "harness its becomingness" (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017:6). Callon (1998:16) describes framing as a "process of disentanglement". Cloutier & Langley (2020:19) add "[f]raming becomes a way of thinking about how to disentangle the complex reality that are processes" as they span multiple levels and interactions of human experience. It influences what and what not to include to facilitate analysis and theory development of a process. At all times, the inquiry and analysis of data was guided by an iterative approach that moved back and forth between theory and data e.g. what the participants actually said. In this way, I took a bottom up, abductive, and yet theory influenced approach to seeing and making sense of the data. For example, I would look at what the participants actually said, try to understand what they meant and what their reality was, and then asked myself how this might relate to theory and current literature.

Process narratives illuminate the role of temporality in stories highlighting how events unfold. This provides shape to the intern experience of the employment relationship and connects past, present, and future events (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). This does not mean merely recording the sequence of interactions but adds the rich nuance of interns' understanding and temporal meanings that they ascribe to interactions and indeed which interactions are even worthy of being discussed in the interview process. This contributes vital insight to understanding the complex constellation of the intern lived experience identifying antecedents and outcomes of interactions over time. Just as organisations are locations of immanent flux (Langley et al., 2013), narratives recursively tell the story of (re)defining and ordering interactions to promote meaning. Indeed, storytelling is a spatial practice where one locates "the self across time, space, and context" (Langley & Tsoukas, 2017:276). This aligns with the theoretical framework of this study where interns are conceptualised within the Bourdieusian field of the internship. As "narrative constructions relate consequences to antecedents in event sequences over time, they are essential means to understand the processual nature of organisational life in all of its complexity" (Rantakari & Vaara, 2017:271) and how the PC develops and operates within this complexity. It provides understanding of the phenomenon through "vicarious experience" by investigating the lived experience of participants undergoing the phenomena (Lincoln & Guba, 1985:359). The interview guides which supported this approach are included in the appendix.

Defining the qualitative datum, coding, and analysing process data

A significant initial step in the analytical process is transforming raw data observations into formats that can be analyzed. As observations in the data may be similar yet possess slightly different characteristics, I needed to aggregate similar observations into 'qualitative datums'. A qualitative datum is "the basic element of information that is entered into a data file for analysing temporal event sequences" (Abdallah et al., 2021:320). This required creating boundaries for what constitutes a PC or capital 'interaction' observation. While events or interactions may be "bounded in space and time (i.e., discrete) such that they have an identifiable temporal beginning and end and evolve in a specific setting" (Morgeson, Mitchell, & Liu, 2015: 520), the individual's experience of these interactions can be more dynamic and enduring. I explored if, at the individual level of analysis, common organisational interactions may also have significant individual outcomes (Feldman & Pentland, 2003) for capital accumulation and the PC. A workplace interaction is a contextually focused and time restricted event that prompts an employee to enact their capital reserves and evaluate or reconstruct their PC as they participate in and enact the interaction. The focus was on the micro, often routine (but not always), organisational interactions and their interplay with individuals' capital reserves (Bourdieu, 1986) and PCs (Rousseau, 2001). However, what may be considered routine for a long-standing member of staff, may not be for a career novice. What is a 'routine' interaction to one person could trigger or disrupt an intern's day causing them to "focus attention to their exchange relationship" (Wiechers et al 2023:7). Thus, the study did allow for interactions outside of what might be considered daily or routine as I was guided by what the participants deemed important.

Interviews were conducted over Microsoft Teams (MT) which all participants agreed to in writing. MT provided an initial transcript of the interviews. I transcribed these again for accuracy. I analysed the interview transcripts and reflective accounts using Maxqda software. This required several stages and iterations of coding and was by no means straightforward or linear. Codes are "essence-capturing and essential elements of the research story that, when clustered together according to similarity and regularity (patterns), they actively facilitate the development of categories and thus

analysis of their connections" (Saldaña, 2016:9). This exercise of coding and analysis was the critical link "between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data" (Charmaz, 2014:46). As with all qualitative work, it included "conceptual leaping," (Klag & Langley, 2013:151). From the first round of interviews, I took an abductive and iterative approach where I moved between theory and data. The topic guide focused conversation on relevant topics. I began with open coding or "in vivo codes" (Charmaz, 2014:55) of each individual's expectations of the working relationship using codes to identify various antecedents to the (A)PC and what forms of (A)PC these antecedents developed into, noting key events and capitals that influenced the psychological contracting process. As interns did not speak in terms of the PC and capitals, I used my theoretical literature informed definitions of capitals (see table 1) to decide which participant descriptions aligned with a capital. I asked questions that elicited discussion on 'skills', knowledge', 'coping mechanisms', 'confidence' 'learning', 'practice', and 'execution of work tasks' etc. to explore the capitals being mobilised. Thus, all particpants were asked questions that addressed all the captials covered to ensure effective examination of capitals in as equal a measure as possible. For the PC, I listened to their descriptions of expectations of and experience with the employment relationship. From the in vivo codes, I developed theory related codes, and then 'themes' in line with literature. As themes are developed from codes, they are "constructed at the intersection of the data, the researcher's subjectivity, theoretical and conceptual understanding" (Braun & Clarke, 2022:9–10). This was an abductive process.

As I was alert to the potential danger of interpreting findings solely in light of preexisting theoretical concepts, I sought to be open to new concepts and new insights based on what participants meant. Thus, I conducted several iterations of data analysis with 'fresh eyes', consulted regularly with both of my supervisors for their expert insight, and asked participants if my understanding of what they said at their previous interview was accurate. Soliciting participants' opinions on the credibility of analysis and findings is hailed by Lincoln and Guba (1985:314) as "the most critical technique for establishing credibility". This approach allowed for the emergence of new insight while also honouring prior theory (Johan et al., 2018). In addition to my written notes from the interviews, discussed above, I made 'sticky notes' in Maxqda to note any initial interesting findings in relation to certain codes or individuals. Following best practice, I began analysing the first phase of interviews "as soon as the first set of transcripts [were] available" (Bryman, 2004:85). After the first interviews, I revised second round interview questions to incorporate further investigation of the (A)PC and capital dimensions and processes. I retained the original codes and added to these as experiences within the workplace brought up new information. I repeated this for the third and subsequent rounds of interviews.

The logic I followed and steps I took are detailed below. I analysed each individual and each round of interview separately to identify the antecedents, content elements, and evolution of the (A)PC and capitals noting which types of capital interactions the participants deemed impactful. Impact or importance of interactions was evaluated by how important the participant deemed them to be (Bryman, et al., 2019). Each individual's interviews (between 3-5 each) were then placed in individual sequential order to identify how each participant's process of psychological contracting and capital mobilisation unfolded, identifying antecedents of the (A)PC, content of the (A)PC, affective events, agential responses, and how the (A)PC and capitals evolved over time. From this substantial data set, I identified clusters and trajectories, and began reducing the vast data structure to theoretically abstract the process story one step higher (Langley, 1999).

Maxqda could not visually illustrate the data from a sequential process perspective, so I took my main findings and manually displayed each participant's PC process horizontally across an excel spreadsheet to help me 'see' the unfolding of the PC over time. This manual engagement with the data encouraged "investigative thinking" (Johan et al., 2018:394) and enhanced "control over and ownership of the work" (Saldana, 2009:22). This extra layer of manual analysis could not be done in one step. I first created categories of columns where the first category or group of columns represented an individual's results from the first interview delineating antecedents to their PCs, APCs, PCs, capitals, and interactions etc. This was followed by the second and third groupings of data from subsequent interviews. From these I reduced the data to a more streamlined process. This aspect of the analysis was manual but based upon the results of the Maxqda coding analysis. This enabled me to 'see' one participant's story unfold horizontally across a page/screen. From this vast data set, I began constructing my empirically and theoretically informed process model of undergraduate dynamic (A)PCs and their evolution over time, including how capital

accumulation and depletion impacted the evolution of the PC. This enabled the research to move beyond a collection of idiosyncratic narratives and descriptions of capital interactions to distilling more theoretically versatile insights that led to the formation of my psychological contract process model.

Having empirically analysed the overall process of PC construction and evolution noting the impact that capital accumulation and depletion played, I began delving deeper into the nuances of how each specific capital operated. I began by compiling lists of common interactions related to each capital and noting any impact on the PC. I began to see that interactions related to individual's capital goals bore most influence on the PC and appeared to be driving forces underpinning dynamic aspects of the PC and its evolution. I organized these capital interactions into tables related to each capital. I began to see a pattern of how interns enacted each capital and how they perceived the organisation had supported or facilitated their accumulation of that capital. This analysis resulted in six capital tables detailing intern enactment and organisational facilitation (from the intern perspective) of capital. Having analysed these capital interactions, the process by which an individual accumulates capital became clearer and led to the construction of the capital accumulation process model (see figure 3). Trajectories of capital accumulation related to interaction experiences also began to emerge from the data whereby interns with positive capital accumulation trajectories possessed fulfilled PCs and interns with less positive capital accumulation trajectories possessed less fulfilled or breached PCs.

Making process findings versatile: Generalising and abstracting from the specifics

"A process theory needs to go beyond a surface description to penetrate the logic behind observed temporal progressions" (Van de Ven, 2007:223). One of the challenges surrounding the 'doing' of process research, with its rich data and context specific detail, is how to theoretically broaden and further operationalise the in-depth idiosyncratic narratives that emerge (Langley et al., 2013; Langley & Tsoukas, 2017; Van de Ven, 2007). The process researcher must manage and make versatile, rather than generalisable (Ven, 2007), the significant quantities of seemingly idiosyncratic data that process studies produce. Thus, process analysis identifies the generative interactions and what contingencies or details were at play. Lincoln and Guba (1985)

emphasise the important practice of including contextual details to enable the reader to discern theoretical transferability. In PC and capital research, as in this study, this included specifying the dynamics of the Bourdieusian field of internships (Chudzikowski, 2012). I analysed how individuals' PC and capitals interacted with dynamics specific to the field of internships, for example, potential or perceived power imbalances or lack of information. It is this observation of how key interactions influence following interactions in the field that is vital to the value of process research. The particulars of how to make knowledge actionable, in other words, what decision to make and when, and under what circumstances would that decision be best taken is revealed (Langley, et al., 2013).

The value of focused, in-depth qualitative studies is their ability to capture the detailed essence of what is actually happening and then move on to the question of "What is this a case of?" (Tsoukas, 2009:298). Thus, I moved from description to explanation useful for theory. This requires a 'story' which is what process output is (Pentland, 1999). The data in this form then bore the foundational building blocks of a versatile PC and capital process explanation that illuminates the role of subjects and contexts and how they interact over time to produce multi-influenced experiences (Langley et al., 2013). I note here that any 'outcome' in a process model is neither final nor absolute as it stands to become the 'input' for the next stage of the process and that social processes do not end where the data collection ceases (Van de Ven, 2007).

Conclusion

This chapter has identified, described, and explained the assumptions, paradigms, framework, and research design adopted by the researcher. The research is subjective, interpretive, and abductive in approach employing a process methodology with data collected over time. This research design lays the foundation to qualitatively explore the lived experience of undergraduate interns from an Irish university as they construct their PCs and mobilise their capitals during a structured one-year organisational internship. This chapter has highlighted the various data collected via semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and reflective accounts and the justification for varying forms of data collected over time (Langley, 1999). I took an abductive, iterative, and qualitative approach iterating between theory and data (Maria, 2018; Van de Ven,

2007). The chapter has discussed the rationale for sampling undergraduate interns or, career novices, as the most appropriate subjects for interrogating how the PC is constructed and how capital accumulation and depletion influence the development of the PC. The reflexive role of the qualitative researcher is discussed providing safeguards to address researcher bias. Ethical approval, considerations, and protection of data is outlined in accordance with Maynooth University's stringent ethics and data management practices. The chapter has discussed in detail the underutilised and complex research design and data analysis approach employed by process studies.

Thus, in this research undertaking, I take the methodological 'road less travelled' (Frost, 2013:NP) as I investigate the dynamic construction and change of PCs over time from a process methodological perspective. This methodology enables the identification of how capital accumulation and depletion impacts the dynamism of the PC as individuals evaluate and revise their PCs in line with capital interactions over time. Thus, the research design of this study enables novel insight to the black box of PC construction, evolution, and the resource exchange relationship. These insights are shared next in the findings chapters.

Chapter 5: Findings Part 1

Introduction

The empirical findings of this qualitative process study are presented over two chapters. This first chapter addresses the research questions 1 a-c and begins with a brief discussion of the pilot study findings. This is followed by the presentation of my empirically informed five-phase psychological contract model which examines how an employee's PC forms and changes over time as they experience the employment relationship. The chapter then presents a capital trajectory model which demonstrates how capital was accumulated on differing trajectories and how this influenced PC outcomes. It becomes evident that participants had specific capital related goals which they desired to reach by participating in their internships. As individuals' capitals were accumulated or depleted during the internship, participants constructed evaluations of the employment relationship, the PC, based on this experience of capital accumulation or depletion. Finally, the chapter presents a table which details the human capital accumulation or depletion experience of all 30 participants across all of their interviews. It details how their PCs were ultimately impacted in relation to their capital accumulation or depletion providing substantial empirical evidence to support the arguments made in this chapter.

Pilot study findings

The pilot study was conducted in two sections (repeated twice with two groups). The first section explored 'why' interns chose to do an internship and 'what' they hoped to achieve or gain' from the internship. The topic guide and slides used in the workshop can be found in the appendix of this thesis. The findings revealed insight as to 'why' students chose to do an internship and 'what they hoped to achieve or gain' from the internship. The results of these two questions, which overlapped to some extent, helped to formulate the concept of 'capital goals' for the main study. Interns answered the 'why' question with three themes. 1) Professional development was the most common result with descriptions aligning closely with the concept of employability, gaining experience in the working world, and developing hard and soft skills. 2) Personal development included interns not being ready to enter the final year

of college, wanting a year to mature or develop independence and develop self-awareness. 3) Financial or economic development included wanting a salary, using the salary to save to avoid working in their final year of studies or taking a 'gap year' to travel. This strong economic motivation influenced my inclusion of economic capital in the main study in contrast to most graduate capital models which do not. I note that most interns reported a package of motivations and not just one 'why'.

The 'what' question revealed that employability was important with interns describing this in terms of "gaining professional experience", "building confidence", "adaptability", "communication skills", and "maturing". Also, "developing experience in an area I think I want to work in" was common. Microsoft excel skills and learning to budget money were also discussed. Interns' overall voting on the most important topics from their posters revealed "gaining professional experience" and transferable employability skills as the main goals and motivations for doing the internship. They believed this would give them competitive advantage in the labour market. Overall, the 'why?' and 'what?' findings revealed a strong desire to accumulate human capital in the form of experience and skills and identity and psychological capital in the form of personal development and maturing. Copies of the intern posters that these findings are based on can be found in the appendix.

The second section of the pilot studies asked three questions:

- (1) What was it like preparing for work placement [internship]?
- 2) How is your current experience of the placement [internship]?
- 3) How have you changed since last year?

Each question had several sub questions more specifically relating to capitals and the employment relationship. For example, a sub question of number was 1) "What resources did you draw upon to help you navigate this experience?" (2) "How is your relationship with your organisation?" and (3) "How will these changes influence your future?" While analysing the pilot study findings, I mapped each of the findings to their respective capitals to build a picture of which capitals may be pertinent to the internship employment relationship. These are presented in the table below.

Table 5 Pilot study findings

Capitals	Human Capital: Researching using the internet to find				
enacted and	information on organisations and jobs available, using LinkedIn to				
accumulated	learn about professional profiles, taking advantage of university				
in preparing	supports such as placement classes and CV writing support.				
for the	Psychological capital: Facing the unknown, practising work-life				
internship:	balance and resting, and practising resilience in the face of				
	challenges.				
	Identity Capital: Developing, projecting, and marketing				
	professional selves				
	Cultural Capital: Using education to showcase accomplishments				
	on job applications and CVs.				
	Social Capital: engaging with those who have completed an				
	internship, building new friendships				
	Economic Capital: Not mentioned				
Capitals	Capitals:				
enacted and	Human Capital: Gaining knowledge and skills linked to one's				
accumulated	job, improving communication skills				
during	Psychological capital: Stepping up to new responsibilities,				
placement	gaining confidence, practising work-life balance and resting, and				
	practising resilience in the face of challenges				
	Identity Capital: Developing, projecting, and marketing their				
	professional selves				
	Cultural Capital: Learning the 'ins and outs' of how business is				
	done, how clients are handled, knowing how to speak and dress in				
	an appropriate way				
	Social Capital: Gaining contacts to use for finding future jobs				
	Economic Capital: Saving money for the future				

Overall, the findings from the second set of questions revealed human, psychological, and identity capitals as most pertinent to interns' experiences as of mid-way through their internships. As noted in the methodology chapter, I only met with each pilot study group one time due to the Covid-19 restrictions being activated shortly after the first

phase of pilot study workshops. These findings were informative as I designed the semi-structured interviews of the main study and proved to align well with the subsequent findings of the main study. I now turn to presenting the results of the main study.

Overview of the dynamic psychological contract process

First, I present my empirically informed five-phase dynamic model of the process of PC construction and revision during the undergraduate internship (see Figure 2). This model follows the evolution of the PC from its embryonic beginnings (pre organisational entry) through to the revisions demanded by the enactment of organisational experiences of mobilising capitals. It identifies varying sources of influence on the PC, highlighting the impact of field and habitus. It underlines the often-misaligned expectations that interns bring to their employment relationships and how these play out over time. It also examines the agentic responses individuals make or cannot make in light of the social forces of the field to manage their PCs and enact capital interactions. In each section, I first present the empirical model for that topic with a brief overview of the findings to guide the reader. This is then followed by a detailed presentation of the data for that model and section.

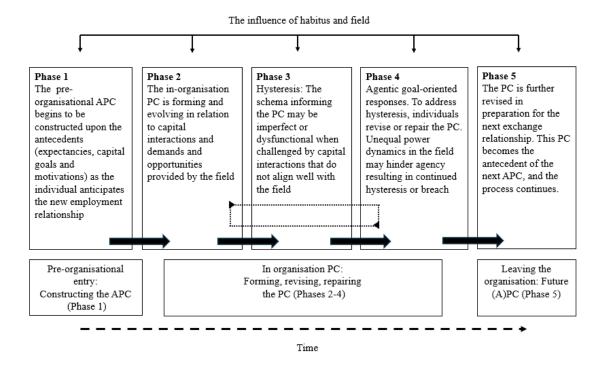


Figure 2 Dynamic psychological contract process model

Before interns or individuals engaged in an employment relationship with a specific organisation, they already possessed expectations of what the employment relationship would be like. These expectations were rooted in various individual, organisational, and societal sources of information. I labelled these as antecedents to the APC and the resulting PC. These expectations formed rudimentary, imperfect, or even dysfunctional schemata or beliefs about the employment relationship. These beliefs often included notions surrounding expectations of dress, unnecessary formality, subservience, and mundane labour. From these antecedents, an APC, or preentry PC (Phase 1), was formed that guided the interns into the initial employment relationship and became the filter through which they made sense of brand-new experiences and people. Once the interns officially began working, the APC, now evolving into a PC (Phases 2-4), had to be revised to face the realities and demands of a working context that may not have been directly aligned with their APC founded upon imperfect schemata. When faced with disorienting or disrupting affective events, whether positively or negatively surprising, interns used their agency to revise their understanding and expectations (schemata) of the PC to shorten this period of hysteresis, or misalignment, and bring the PC back into alignment with their goals and motivations for the internship. This happened few or many times to varying degrees

depending on the valence of the affective event and the goals of the intern throughout the period of the internship. This revising, reconstructing, and maintaining of the PC continued until the internship ended and bore consequences for the intern's future PCs (Phase 5) with other employing organisations and even their expectations or PCs with their university lecturers and other university entities during the final year of study. The resulting PC forms part of the antecedents and APC of future employment relationships and continues the process of psychological contracting.

In depth perspective of the dynamic psychological contract process Model

Phase 1: Forming the anticipated psychological contract preorganisational entry

I began by asking participants what their expectations of the employment relationship exchange and working context might be, or in the case of those first interviewed shortly after organisational entry, what their expectations of the employment exchange were before entry. Upon gaining an understanding of their pre-entry expectations or anticipated psychological contract (APC) (de Vos, 2005), I asked about where these expectations came from and what might have influenced them. These sources of expectations are the APC antecedents or initial schemata influence the APC. The data revealed multiple sources of influence on antecedents of the (A)PC, emanating from individuals' social field and habitus, which over time influenced their PCs. I present these in two broad categories labelled first, expectancies and second, goals and motivations, which I further break down and delineate. Expectancies included the influence of media, such as television, movies, and social media, hierarchical education systems, previous work experience, stories from family and friends, and initial contact with the employing organisation. Media, in the form of television and movies was the overwhelming influence cited in relation to the antecedents of schema development and work expectations in this category. The second predominant category of antecedents to the (A)PC was individual goals and motivations for undertaking an internship which included wanting to get experience, building the resume, making an informed choice of career, delaying graduation, building wealth to avoid working in their final year of studies, and securing a graduate position. When asked where their ideas of work came from, the following quotes emerged. Quotes are referenced by interview number or labelled as

reflective account (RA). I note that when asking about antecedents, I used open questions, not suggesting potential answers, and participants responded accordingly. Next I present the data upon which the empirical model is founded.

Expectancies as antecedents of the (A)PC

Jordan, an accounting student, in his 1st interview said, 'Have you seen 'The Incredibles', that movie? That's what I was expecting...You have some lower-level employee in charge of you" (1). In his second interview, Jordan's comments on the antecedents of his (A)PC remained consistent. "From movies, like the Incredibles, the working life of the Incredibles' relationship with his boss. I'd say that affected a lot of kids. You hear stories of bosses going mad [getting angry]. I expected him to be upset with me. You hear from friends and family, or a tweet online, movies, and TV. People who complain move to the top. A tweet saying, 'oh my boss is so nice' won't gain much traction" (2). Eva identified media as a secondary influencer, "Movies also had an impact, they always highlight the intern as the person who does coffee runs or photocopying, with the [university] placement /study abroad jamboree [being] my main influence" (RA). Alex describes the "massive" influence that social media had on his APC and how his expectations were not met: "On the company's social media, some of the employees always seemed to be sitting in these cool hammocks and bean bags whilst doing work. But when I got there I realized it was more of an area for informal meetings and not really a place to sit and do work or eat lunch...They made a post about 'new interns' where they posted a picture of 6 students sitting in the bean bag area and they wrote a little bio for each person (interests, ethnicity, fun fact etc) so when I saw this 'new interns' post I assumed these people would be there when I got there but there was only 2 of the 6 still at the company ... Yeah as I said before, the company's social media was a massive influencer as I could get a good insight into the company" (1).

Others also attributed their expectations to the experience of perceived hierarchical education systems and/or previous work experience. Eva and Susan attribute their perceptions of work as being formal and hierarchical to their perceived hierarchical experience in education. "In school you only go to the principal's office if it's something really serious. In college there are levels between people, a hierarchy, some people are untouchable." (3). "If you're in college it's like — 'if you don't email me in this format, I'm not replying...And I guess that's the perception that I had. I mean, if

that's all you've ever seen, why would you think differently? And at school you only go to the principal if there's something really serious." (2). Aoibhinn, Fiachra, and Georgina share how previous work experience was a antecedent to their current APCs. "No, I used to work in a family run pub. It was personal. I pictured this corporate idea." (1), Aoibhinn. "I thought it was more a chain of command, a hierarchy. I've worked with pop up events and a bar as well for two years.... I got that [chain of command/hierarchical view] from my experience in the bar. The managers are the owners." (1) Fiachra. "I've been working for my Dad's company since I was 12, doing HR. I thought it [internship] would be more professional, but it was very social...The college put that forward, the college hiked it up to be like that." (3) Georgina. Some attributed their expectations to early engagement with and research of the employing organisation or stories from others in their social circle. "The communication I had with the CEO and business development manager over email was very positive and they were both quite young and chirpy so I had high hopes for the other relationships I was going to build." (RA) Darren. Kaitlin shares how her perceptions of work emanated "From listening to other people's stories" (3).

Overall, when asked about where their expectations of work and the working relationship arose from, these are the main expectancies offered. I will demonstrate later in this section how these expectancies influenced the (A)PC but proved to be imperfect or dysfunctional and required revision and abandonment in some cases. There was little mention of specific organisational promises. Perhaps it was assumed that these would be fulfilled based on the interns' research or initial engagement with the employer, or perhaps they are encapsulated in the goals and motivations described below. If one intends to accomplish something in a new endeavour, it follows that they expect this will be made possible having put in the effort to move towards the goal.

Table 6 Antecedents of the anticipated psychological contract

Antecedents of the	Example Quotes
(A)PC: Expectancies	
Media	"Where did I get this idea from? All I could do is take
Tradition of the state of the s	what media told me. I've never been in an office before.
	I suppose it's like the American psycho movie, the yuppy

	culture, big office management, I'm using it as a
	metaphor. I just imagine me hunching over my laptop
	punching numbers". 1 Craig
Hierarchical education	"This is not what I expected it to be at allI thought a
systems	multinational would be all work. You hear it in lectures
	and in business type things that everything has to be
	straight to be the point, stern. I've never been shown a
	reason [referring to college education] to think it would
	be informal or more human. I was told businesses need
	to hit their targets and there's no time for anything else.
	That's the impression I had." 1, Aoibhinn
Work experience	"Previous work experience influenced my perceptions of
	work. From previous part time jobs or summer work, I
	found the working environment depended on who was on
	the same shift as me, and that everyone was looked down
	on and judged by management." Aisling, RA
Stories from family	"It was as I hoped it would be but not as I thought it
and friends	would be. I was expecting like Gordon Ramsey. You hear
	these stories of crazy stories. I expected him [boss] to be
	upset with me You hear it from friends and family".
	2/3, Jordan
Communications with	"The onboarding process was formal. It influenced my
the employing	perception". 2, Craig
organisation or similar	
organisations	

When speaking of the description of expectations and the foundations of these expectations, participants cited their motivations for undertaking the internship. These motivations for undertaking the internship were often framed in terms of goals, which I conceptualise as capital goals. These capital goals are first presented here to show their role in the PC process and later will be discussed in more detail. Goals could be divided into professional and personal categories. Professional goals included

experience of working life and accumulating capitals such as human capital goals (developing the C.V., gaining ne skills, increasing employability), social capital goals (building one's network), and overlapping capital goals (to know if the chosen profession is the right fit). Personal capital goals included economic capital goals (accumulating wealth to avoid working in the final year of university or saving to take a gap year), identity capital goals (to mature and become an adult), and again overlapping capital goals (the autonomy of moving out from home, managing money, becoming an adult with responsibilities).

For example, some interns had goals to get experience and secure their future and expressed the difficulty of obtaining the internship: "I'm focused on getting a grad job". (1) Niah. "I wanted to get into a grad programme." (3) Eilis. "My brother couldn't get a job after college so I did placement to see what work is like and to get ahead of the others." (1) Caleb. A recurring theme was interns not seeing previous work experience as applicable. Eilis had had three previous part time jobs but said, "Getting the placement was really hard...Before this I didn't have experience. I felt just like a student trying to get a bit of experience." (1). This was similar for other participants: "I did this to find out what I want to achieve". (1) Jordan. "I did this to see what working is like, what it's like to actually work full time." (2) Kaitlin. Others wanted to delay graduation, "I'm not really mentally ready for final year and I need experience on my CV." (1) Niah. The interns saw what they actively wanted to accomplish during the internship as intertwined with and informing their expectations. Thus, their goals and motivations formed part of the antecedents of the (A)PC and what they hoped for in their exchange with the organisation. I will also demonstrate later in this section, how these goals developed as interns gained knowledge and experience. Overall, original goals mostly remained constant but gained nuance. New goals were added for future employment exchanges as interns understood working life more. Expectancies were less constant for most. They exerted influence but required revision and often abandonment as their misconceptions caused hysteresis. In summary, phase 1 illustrates the antecedents of the APCs and what influenced the construction of APCs.

The pre-organisational APC is formed upon the antecedent expectancies and capital goals and motivations. The APC is composed of the expectations and schematic beliefs that an individual holds regarding the imminent employment relationship. It

may be present in general and embryonic schematic forms before the interview and job search stage, as the data shows, and develops throughout initial engagement until organisational entry where it becomes an antecedent to the PC. The majority of the sample held perceptions of formal, subservient, and hierarchical forms of employment relationship, though their motivations (discussed above in phase 1) reveal that they still expected significant capital accumulation opportunities. This evidenced a cognitive dissonance between their expectations and capital goals.

Sharon's perceptions, garnered from media, created a dysfunctional schema requiring revision of the APC later. I will further illustrate this in phase 3. "I just saw it [the employment relationship] on telly. Suits and briefcases and headsets on. But it's completely different." (3). Joel said, "I imagined business-men in suits and it being really formal, but it wasn't like that." He goes on to make the link between schematic antecedents and his ill-informed APC, "It's always been taught to us, TV shows, school, don't talk unless you're spoken to, the cliché of business-men, it's formal, in suits. But it wasn't like that." (5). Jordan's expectations of the employment relationship are described as "boring or draining". He attributes his APC to "Movies and television. Usually when people leave work, they don't really want to talk about it and part of me thought this was because working might be boring or draining like certain media portrays it to be". (3). When asked, shortly after starting the internship, if the employment relationship was as expected, Aoibhinn responded, "No...I thought it would be slacks and blouses, I'd be making the coffee, no one cares about anyone. I think you see it in media. And the staff at the pub went on and moved to corporate positions then came back to bemoan the corporate experience." (1). Based on his interview experience, Rory, worried about reactions to his dyslexia shared, "I'm worried about my dyslexia and how that might effect things, but I don't want to say it until it comes up. The interview was nerve racking. I think it [the job] will be stressful." (1).

Others in the sample, a much smaller number, three, appeared to not allow outside sources of information influence their schemata as much. They made comments such as, "My perceptions were pretty similar to how it actually turned out to be! It was formal etiquette as where I worked was a large financial institution, so it was as expected. I didn't think I'd get along so well with my colleagues though! And was

pleasantly surprised with how inclusive/diverse the workplace was. It wasn't as "black and white" as I thought it would be." (RA) Meave. Those whose APCs were more aligned with their reality still experienced surprise at how informal the employment relationship was which they perceived positively. The data displays the links between pre organisational entry expectations and their resulting presence in the APC. The majority of participants had dysfunctional or at best imperfect APCs predominantly built upon schemata informed by media, perceptions of educational hierarchy, and stories from family and friends, influences rooted in their social field and habitus. Even those APCS based on previous work experience did not prove well aligned as we will see in the next phase. Thus far, phase 1 has identified the influences or antecedents that are foundational to APCs and phase 2 has illustrated what types of APCs those antecedents created.

Phases 2 to 4: Constructing and Revising the Psychological Contract Upon and After Organisational Entry.

Individual-organisational Interactions leading to Hysteresis and Demanding Agential Responses in Line with Goals

In phases 2-4, I show how the APC, built upon antecedents, evolves into the actual PC of the employment relationship and how the interns agentially respond, in line with their goals, to capital interactions in the employment relationship. Interactions could be positive capital accumulation interactions or negative capital depletion interactions. These phases represent the period of the formal internship employment relationship and are presented together as interactions, hysteresis, and agential responses that are mutually influencing, reinforcing, and may be repeated in cycles throughout the employment relationship. Thus, phase three to five may be repeated in a cyclical, rather than linear, manner many times before moving to phase six. As such, these phases incorporate a multitude of individual experiences over time. I illustrate through example quotes how the imperfect or dysfunctional schemata which formed the APC influenced the in-role PC and necessitated active revision. I show how interns initially struggled with the misalignment of expectations and reality and then their active and purposeful responses to revise their PCs to meet their originally stated, and persistent, capital goals. Again, Findings Part 2 will further detail the specific nature of the enactment and accumulation of each capital while this chapter focuses on illustrating the overall process of PC evolution, of which capitals are a part.

As most interns possessed formal, power distant, and hierarchical APCs influenced by their habitus and social field, they encountered initial confusion and hysteresis when even minor affective interactions or exchanges did not align with their expectations. Some examples of the initial experience follow. I spoke to Barry after his first day of work. He said, "It feels more friendly than I expected. I'm wondering if they're treating me like a kid, like is this nepotism? It's just like a group of friends talking to each other." (1). Shane shares how he expected a "bad" relationship but was surprised, pleasantly, "I had a brilliant relationship with my manager and buddy...I had a different idea of what it would be like, a bad idea." (3). Though most interns experienced misaligned PCs that resulted in eventual pleasant surprise, once hysteresis was worked through, not all did. One intern, not expecting the formal hierarchical PC like others, said, "I hoped the interaction and relationships with my managers would be more personal... I was working there part-time before as a call centre agent." (1).

The effects that imperfect schemata had on the interns' PC process include reactions similar to hysteresis, such as keeping one's "guard up", being caught "off guard", feeling "awkward", "coming in afraid", and being "thrown off". In her first interview Aoibhinn shared, "The first few weeks I kept my guard up. It was in my own head... This is not what I expected it to be at all. But it's a good effect." (1). Caleb shares his embarrassment, "I thought there'd be loads of pressure. I thought it was going to be so formal. For the first call I got all dressed up in a suit and tie and everyone on the call was casual. I felt really awkward." Eva shared overcoming her fears, "I got more comfortable near the start with the informality. It was slightly different than I expected. I thought I had to be stoic and dressed professionally. I was coming in afraid." (3). In his 5th interview, Joel reflects, "It caught me off guard [how 'casual' the working relationship was], they were so chill. I was the novice. It was more cordial, more friendly than I expected." (5). "So, when I saw some of those positives [friendly manager] there at work it really threw me off. I went in there thinking there would be no opportunity for fun or playfulness. You just work." (RA) Patrick.

Impactful capital interactions influencing the PC did not only occur at the beginning of the internship but continued throughout. I present capital interactions, including breach events with capital accumulation and depletion outcomes, and interns' goal-oriented agentic responses that were active drivers of change in the PC revision

process. The following quotes demonstrate that not all apparently negative interactions directly and finally result in PC breach and violation but that individuals evaluate and enact interactions in light of their capital goals. This is not to suggest that the impact of negative interactions is to be dismissed, but firstly to highlight the agentic responses that compose the complex experience of negotiating the PC and secondly to highlight that PCs may not be as linear and static as much literature portrays (Bankins et al., 2020).

Niah felt she was experiencing gender discrimination and an unbalanced workload which could deplete her psychological, social, and identity capital but "put up with it" to reach her human capital goal. "I just need to get to the 23rd [end date]. I'm focused on getting a grad job, in another department I won't be working with the same people. I'll just put up with it until then...I'm not getting my breaks. I'm working until 7:30-8pm at night. I was thrown in the deep end". (1). Niah recognised the value of the work in reaching her human capital goal and thus decided to endure the negative interactions. Colton, who by the second interview, realised he did not want to work in retail or in an environment where there were "forced social calls" said, "I've had enough of work placement. I'm not 'feeling' what I'm doing. I don't have a huge interest. I'm not sure if it's the industry or the work. It's not creative. There's a lack of motivation in this for me... My working relationship with them is quite formal. It's focused on work. We have forced social calls...I keep my overall goals in mind" (2). Colton's human capital goal was not being met by the work, and this was depleting his psychological capital. However, in the third interview he said, "I had to just put my head down and do what's best. That's how I got through it." (3). His immediate human capital goal of successfully completing the placement enabled him to endure. It appears a person-organisation fit, or person-job fit was lacking here and it affected his capital reserves and his PC. Eilis's human capital goal of securing a graduate role influenced her behaviour at work and how she operated within the employment exchange, "I wanted to get into a grad programme... So, I'm not afraid to ask questions and the result is I learn". (3).

Here I share Jordan's experience, across the 3 interviews, of revising his PC and overcoming both the effects of dysfunctional schemata and depleting capital interactions, which impacted his capitals, to reach his goal. In phase one I shared Jordan's description of work as mirroring that of the Incredibles movie. He continues

to share, "I've adapted surprisingly fast. I'm constantly adapting. I'm happier, I like the pace, I'm very happy." This was very different to his initial expectations, demonstrating the misaligned schemata he previously held. He then shares a negative event and his agentic response to it. "They sold my desk, that was my main drop in motivation. They said I need to share a desk if I ever get to come in, but it was clear they weren't planning on me ever coming in. It felt like a slap in the face. I'd been hoping to go in, but they just see me as dispensable. I didn't feel like part of the team. I did feel equal but not anymore. They sold my desk like. Like where am I supposed to work if I come in, share someone else's desk? Who wants the intern on the side of their desk? The context has changed. There's no upward mobility. There's no direct emotional gratification from these people. But, overall, I'm still happy. My overall feeling depends solely on whether I get a contract or not". In a bid to save on organisational resources, the organisation breached Jordan's PC by removing this equipment. For Jordan, this was removing the means by which he could conduct his work and accumulate human capital skills and knowledge in person. It potentially hindered social capital accumulation as he could not interact in person as he had hoped to. It is clear from his quotes that his psychological capital and identity capital were depleted from this interaction as his motivation decreased, he no longer felt part of the team and describes the situation as a "slap in the face". However, despite his initial negative emotional response, he reevaluates the situation in light of his overall human capital goal of getting a future contract. Thus, his capital goal tempered his PC response. Jordan's internship took place during the Covid-19 pandemic and was remote. He may never have used that desk, but the symbolic meaning of having his desk removed initially breached his PC.

By his second interview he is experiencing a lack of work life balance and monotonous work which is depleting his psychological capital. However, again he evaluates the situation in light of his specific human capital goal of getting "a good reference". He shares, "My motivation has decreased. If eel like Buckaroo, you know that game? They keep piling work on me to see how I react... I'm being bombarded. There's no variability, it's monotonous but not boring. There's no room for me to prove myself, no way to excel. It's all the same thing...I tried switching departments...Now I need motivation to just actually get up out of bed and do it. But I'm actually happy at the end of the day. I'm always trying to make a good impression... I'll get a reference."

His power distant and hierarchical (A)PC persisted in its influence. "I've learned how to ask your boss for a day off, that you can. I didn't ask for a day off for the first 6 months. Finally, I was so sick, and my boss noticed and asked how I was. I thought he would be mad, but he demanded that I take the rest of the day off. I'm respected by him. The effects of a good boss is that I don't wake up afraid to go to work." In his third interview he said, "I feel like I was doing 70% of the work [the bulk of the work in the team] and no one ever mentioned it. I didn't complain because I wanted a good reference." (1-3). Jordan's experience reveals the immediate impact of repeated capital depleting interactions as he describes feelings of exhaustion, demotivation, unfair treatment, and feeling dispensable as he perceived work resources were not fairly exchanged. However, his experience also gives insight to the complexities of the capital-PC interface as mediated by capital interactions whereby he was able to report feelings of a fulfilled (albeit salvaged) PC, despite the interactions mentioned, as his human capital goal of gaining a graduate contract was subsequently met.

There were also positive capital interactions which mostly included being trusted with important work, positive affirmation through feedback, and good relationships with managers that also demanded a revision of the PC schema. In other words, not only negative interactions but also positive ones that were not expected, required revisions to be made to the PC schema. I asked if the employment relationship was as expected? Craig said, "Absolutely not. I expected a fraction of that. I never expected them to be proud of me. I expected a surface level, hollow relationship. I think a lot of companies are hollow. I thought if I'm in 5 minutes late, I'll get a slap on the wrist." (3). Sharon described her experience looking back in her 3rd interview, "It's really informal. It's casual, jeans and t-shirts... The atmosphere was so different than what I expected. By the end I was friends with my line manager... That was a massive surprise. I thought it would be really corporate. I thought - this is odd. I wasn't expecting that! I thought older people who were 30 or 40 years in the company would be a bit...you know. It's completely different." (3). Though pleasantly surprised by their experience, Craig and Sharon's formal and hierarchical perceptions of the employment relationship (equating formality and dress code with professionalism), required them to revise their PC schemata when faced with organisational realities.

As the interns revised their imperfect PC schemata over time in line with their capital reserves, they began to construct a more nuanced and complex schema

regarding the employment relationship for the future. This section illustrates the evolution of PC schemata. From the third interviews onward, they began to describe a dichotomy whereby work tasks were "serious" but social interaction was "informal". This represents a higher level of cognitive schematic abstraction (Rousseau, 2001). In the fifth interview, Joel said, "I know computer science is relaxed, like sitting at the bar almost, but when it came to work, we were serious and we got it done." (5). Craig said, "I got good managers, a lot better than I could have expected. They're very methodical and descriptive in communication but then very informal afterwards." (3). In his third interview, Patrick said "a 'relaxed workplace' it sounds like such a contradiction from what I said before. Tasks were demanding because of monitoring but communication was relaxed. It was volatile. Meetings were informal and fun, but work was stressed. You'd go from fun to stressed within 5 seconds of each other." Patrick reflected after his internship, "When I first started, I definitely thought it would be a lot more formal. When talking with managers and coworkers there was definitely a more relaxed atmosphere even though we could be severely behind in something... And although it can definitely be like that [soul sucking] it's a lot more nuanced. It can definitely be sometimes fun, interesting and engaging. (RA). Each of these participant's quotes illustrates the evolution of their PC schema from simple to more complex as they learned to differentiate between the appropriate timing and situations for formalities and focus and informalities and a relaxed approach to work.

Phase 5: Constructing and Revising the Psychological Contract for the Future

Finally, I present my findings illustrating how the PC process continued to evolve into further revised and more complex schemata forming the belief system for future (A)PCs in employment and education relationships. In the third interview upon returning to college, Craig shared how his relationship to those in authority has changed, "I challenged a lecturer about a wrong question on the MCQ. I never did that before. The initial embarrassment and worry wore off quicker than it would have in 2nd year...I had more self-assurance. The year on placement helped that grow. One or two times on placement I spotted errors in presentations and got such positive feedback, there's a link between those. It's not that there was no fear to doing it, it's that I had the confidence. I think he needs to show me the same courtesy that I've

shown him. If the lecturer will hold us to that standard, I'll hold him to it too. If they'll be that pedantic, I will be too." (3). Most interns reported a change in their PC for future employment relationships. Aisling said, "This has set the bar high for me for when I'm looking for jobs in the future. The team you're working with, the respect, the atmosphere in the office, the duties" (3). Cara has used the internship to further compare and construct her employment schema. "Just like how I compared this internship with my summer internship, I think I will do the same with this internship and future jobs. This experience has raised my standard of expectations for future jobs and made me understand how to work within a company, how to maintain a work-life balance and how I should be treated in future jobs." (RA). Barry has revised his PC with his educational institution, "I've completely reconsidered...When I'm in college or lectures now, I'm thinking, I'm paying to do this. I'm not getting paid'. (3).

In summary, the findings show that most interns in this sample were heavily influenced by the antecedents of media, mostly American movies and television, hierarchical perceptions of employment gained through education, previous work experiences perceived as being very different, and stories from family and friends. These antecedents led to the construction of dysfunctional or imperfect schemata informing the APC which tended to be formal, power distant, subservient, hierarchical, and traditional in its expectations. Upon entering the employment relationship, interns experienced capital interactions, often the nature of which challenged the inaccuracies of their PCs. They then entered a period of hysteresis where PC and experience did not align. Then, a number of times and in line with their previously stated goals, they agentially responded to revise the PC and reduce hysteresis, the misalignment of capital and field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1989). I found that much of the content of the antecedent expectancies was not sustained (media depictions, perceptions influenced by hierarchical education, stories from family and friend) but necessitated abandonment and that most of the content of the antecedent capital goals and motivations (gaining a graduate job and getting experience) remained influential in the PC construction and revision process. This revision based on experience and personal goals, led to new expectations and a new (A)PC not just for future employment relationships, but also for relationships with their lecturers, fellow students, and university staff upon returning for the final year of study.

Capital: Its accumulation and impact on interns' psychological contracts over time

In this section, I present the data to support my argument that viewing the individual's PC resources as capitals helps clarify the black box of the resource relationship between the individual and the organisation. I also argue that not only are capitals a helpful way to interrogate the PC resource relationship, but that capital accumulation and depletion interactions actually impact and shape the PC over time. While the section which opened this chapter focuses on the overall PC process, this section focuses on illuminating the role that capital plays in that overall PC process. In chapter three of this thesis, I conceptualised capitals as the construct underpinning the individual's PC resource relationship with the organisation. I argued that viewing the resources that make up the PC as specific capitals, offers a strong conceptual toolbox to unpack the individual side of the exchange relationship at play in the PC. In this section, I present the findings of the empirical study as they relate to the role and impact of individuals' capitals in the PC process over time.

Firstly, I present the data demonstrating how capital accumulation and depletion over time impacted the PC. To do this, I discuss two in-depth examples showing how participants mobilised their human capital across all interviews, how their capital goals were fulfilled or unfulfilled, and how their PCs were impacted as a result. Secondly, I present a Capital Trajectory figure which details how participants experienced the accumulation and depletion of capitals along different trajectories and how each trajectory impacted the PC. Lastly, I present a table evidencing how all 30 participants mobilised their human capital across all interviews, how their capital goals were fulfilled or unfulfilled and how their PCs were impacted as a result. This table illustrates the data that supports the arguments that precede it in this chapter. It also exemplifies the rich process data that was collected and analysed over the course of this PhD undertaking.

Below I present and discuss one detailed example of how one of my sample accumulated capital over time in line with their capital goals and how that capital mobilisation impacted their PC. Eva accumulated human capital over the course of her internship, which led to accumulating other capitals, and impacted on how her PC changed in relation to her capital mobilisation. Eva's human capital goal was "I want"

to learn the event management process A-Z." (1). Eva shares in her first interview how she is happy with her human capital accumulation seeing the technological aspect of her human capital as valuable to her employability, "I've learned skills that other interns don't have from previous years, like setting up online events across different time zones, and that's going to be a great skill going forward. So, I feel I've really, uh, put more ammunition into my toolbox." In her second interview, both her human capital and her social capital is increasing as she highlights her satisfaction with not only team communications but also the opportunity to accumulate knowledge and skills for personal development, "It's going great. I have a lovely team that I work with and that makes a big difference. In the morning and in the evening, I am checking online for event meetings. Sometimes it gets quiet, and they have a list of admin things that I do. There are requisitions that need to be raised to get a PO [purchase order]. I also do education courses when I have spare time. If there's no work, I do courses on big data mining. I did a course on excel and that was much needed. And then I also do LinkedIn courses, they provide those on how to improve different aspects of my work and myself." (1-2)

Again, pleased with her capital experience, she shares her perceptions of her valuable skills and the fulfilment of her capital goals in her third interview, "So I feel like when it comes to virtual work, I already have it in the bag. I have that edge on others... I've learned that your CV is definitely important. You need everything on there. You need to have got those skills and that knowledge and that experience...it was so different because, you know, most of the events were online. So, it was great to have the technological aspect of that and learn to set up virtual events because no one really knew how to set up virtual events...Doing placement was 100% beneficial. I was running parts of events like whole parts. And most important, I've gained a referee for future work, so no matter where I go, I have this reference now and that was really important to me. I did the work. I proved myself...If I go to a new company and I talk about my experience or I claim that I that I have this knowledge or these skills, I know that I'm able to back it up." She also shares how her capital mobilisation, including human, psychological, identity, and social capitals, experience has impacted her future expectations of the employment relationship and job content and how her capital goal was fulfilled. "I want a manager and a boss and the whole organisation to have open communication with me and other employees. And I want to have that freedom and

that open back and forth between a manager and between the organisation. That's really important to me now because I've had it. I've experienced it. It's what I would expect in a new role and that would be very important to me...I think doing placement was really worth it. I'm glad that I did it. It's shown me that I know what I want to do. I had an idea, I loved events, but having actually worked at this for nearly a year, I know now yes, I definitely want to do this...for me it's all about if I enjoy the work... I don't want to sit at a desk. I want to get to meet new people, do new things. I want a colourful organisation...I'm not the same person I was in second year...I know I want to go into events. I know what I want to do, and I know how to do it. I'm confident of what I want and how to present myself." (3).

In her reflective account post placement and having returned to college, Eva further specifies what she's looking for in the employment relationship, "I definitely will have a more positive view on the relationship one should have with their manager. That's essential to what I want now. It's not all about work and it certainly helps to have a relationship with them beyond just the tasks at hand...I suppose I learned to not define my expectations too much because the actual outcome may be quite different." (RA). This description of her revised PC shows the change that has occurred in Eva's expectations as she accumulated various forms of capital over time. The following quote from her first interview describing her early PC further highlights how her PC has evolved through the internship experience, "I expected it [the employment relationship] to be more formal, more rigid is the word I'm looking for...I've never had an office experience before...My manager is great. I feel like I can go to her with anything. I didn't expect to have the type of manager that I have. Umm, she sends lovely emails, everybody loves her. I thought team meetings were just focused on work. I'm not sure what I thought the relationship would be like. Maybe base level giving work, expecting it to be done? I was expecting a dictatorship really. We have an EI connect system. It's like an internal Facebook. I think the type of relationship that I have with my employer made me confident in my work. I felt confident to send unfinished work. She won't give out or get angry with me. She'll respond and give me pointers. So, I'm really happy to have that kind of relationship with her." (1). Eva previously expected a formal, impersonal, and power distant relationship with the organisation. She did not expect such support and opportunities to develop her capital.

However, having now experienced a "great" employment relationship that she's "really happy" with, this has now become "essential to what [she] want[s]".

This example demonstrates the strong impact that capital accumulation, in line with one's capital goals, has on an intern's expectation of the employment relationship, and how human capital accumulation impacts the PC over time.

Capital Mobilisation Trajectories and their Impact on Psychological Contracts

This section presents differing experiences of capital accumulation as trajectories of capital mobilisation over the course of the internship and details how different capital mobilisation experiences influence differing PC outcomes. Indeed, not only do the findings reveal that capital mobilisation influences the PC over time, they also show that different participants in the study accumulated capital on different trajectories. Three trajectories from the data. soaring, main arose satisfactory/salvaged, and stunted/stagnated. The type of trajectory upon which one's capital was plotted also bore influence on PC outcomes in relation to the types of capital interactions they experienced, whether they were positive +, negative -, or neutral/non-affective o, interactions in relation to capital goals. These are discussed below.

Table 7 Capital trajectories and their impact on the psychological contract

Description Trajectory	of	Capital Trajector y over Time	Participant s	Capital accumulatio n (+), depletion (-) and non-	Impact on Psychologica I Contract
				affective (0) interactions	
Soaring:	Capital		Aisling,	+++	Result: ++
mobilisation	and		Anthony,		Over
accumulation			Eva,		Fulfilled PC
increases	and		Aoibhinn,		without
multiplies as a	result of		Kaitlin,		

repeated positive	Meave,		negative
affective events and	Rory,		implications)
alignment of capital	Shane,		
goals.	Sharon		
Salvaged/Satisfactor	Alex,	+-+	Result: +
y, sufficient Capital	Angelica,		Initially
mobilisation and	Caleb,		fulfilled PC
accumulation initially	Caolan,		followed by
increase but then	Cara.		unfulfilled
decrease due a lack of	Colton,		PC/breach
positive events or one	Craig,		followed by
or more negative	Darren,		agentic repair
events and possible	Eilis,		and fulfilled
misalignment of	Fiachra,		PC
capital goals. The	Joel, Jordan,		
upward trajectory is	Niah,		
subsequently salvaged	Patrick,		
due to further positive	Rehan,		
capital mobilisation	Shania,		
events.	Susan		
Stunted/Stagnated	Barry,	+ O/	Result: 0/-
Capital mobilisation	Desmond,		Initially
initially increases due	Georgina,		fulfilled PC
to positive events but	Kristine		followed by
then plateaus or			unfulfilled
decreases due to a lack			PC/breach
of positive capital			without
accumulation events			sufficient
or negative capital			recovery to
depletion events. The			further fulfil
upward trajectory is			the PC
not recovered again			

due to a lack of
positive capital
accumulation events
or repeated negative
capital depletion
events. This results in
either further
stagnation or further
depletion of capital.

Soaring: In this trajectory capital mobilisation and accumulation increases and then multiplies as a result of the repeated enactment of positive capital interactions and the multiplying of capital. Nine participants manifested this trajectory. As the individual exercises/successfully mobilises capital, barriers or hindrances to mobilising capital are removed which results in a capital multiplying effect. This effect is discussed further in the capital accumulation model in chapter 6 findings part 2. Aisling's experience across her three interviews demonstrates the soaring capital trajectory. Her capital goals from the beginning were consistently met throughout the internship with the result that she experienced PC fulfilment which influenced the construction of the PC for the future. One of Aisling's capital goals was "to grow more. I want to be more confident especially speaking in front of people." (1). This reflects a psychological and human capital goal. She shares the capital accumulation opportunities she has been provided with, "We do groups meetings all the time...Everything was put into practice in some way". As a result, she says, "[M]y confidence has really improved. I'm not as shy. I'm happy to speak out...I'm more confident speaking in groups." (1). In her second interview she explains how her psychological and human capital goals have been consistently fulfilled with "day to day" opportunities to mobilise capital, "Conversing with people makes a difference day to day...I'm more confident. I used to hate group presentations. Now, I almost look forward to them. I love them. A lot of my learnings from college are put into practice." (2). Again, in her third interview she explains how capital mobilisation events fulfilled her capital goal to become "confident...speaking in front of people" 1. "Confidence, the opportunity to give presentations helped me so much. I actually

volunteered to do placement talks in [university]...Communication is easier now."

(3). Reflecting on her experience, post-internship, Aisling communicates how her human, psychological, and social capital accumulation influenced her PC with her employer and also the construction of her PC for future employment. Her expectations have changed. She shares, "the opportunities I was presented with, the continuous learning and development, and the responsibility I held far exceeded any expectations I could have imagined! I loved every minute of it, and it didn't feel like work or an effort. I was happy and eager to go to work every day!...This has set the bar high for me for when I'm looking for jobs in the future. The team you're working with, the respect, the atmosphere in the office, the duties." (RA).

Salvaged/Satisfactory: In this trajectory capital accumulation initially increases as a result of positive capital interactions but then decreases due to a lack of positive interactions or one or more negative interactions. The upward trajectory, temporarily stationary or declining, is subsequently salvaged due to further positive capital mobilisation experiences that rebalance the equilibrium in favour of a positive overall PC i.e. capital goals are still being met despite the setbacks. This results in an overall satisfactory capital accumulation experience with a positive PC outcome. As organisational life presents an assortment of daily, hourly, and momentary experiences, much of the sample, seventeen participants, aligned with this trajectory. As career novices, the sample navigated the process of managing hysteresis (see chapter 3), or misaligned PC expectations, as they agentically revised their PCs, in line with capital goals, to deal with work-related experiences in their organisations that they negatively perceived and experienced. Employees on this trajectory ultimately expressed perceptions of an overall positive employment exchange relationship and fulfilled PC. While still acknowledging the negative events in areas related to their work interactions, employees attributed their evaluations of fulfilled PCs to the opportunity to participate in an adequate number of capital accumulation interactions. Once the accumulation interactions aligned with their capital goals, they overshadowed the impact of negative capital depletion. In some cases, employees described the negative interactions as initially capital depleting but in the long term some became capital accumulation experiences. For example, having to face challenges initially depleted psychological capital but over time contributed to psychological capital accumulation in the form of building resilience for some. This

phenomenon is discussed in detail in the psychological capital section of Chapter 6 Findings Part 2.

Caolan experienced the salvaged or satisfactory capital trajectory. He shares how he "know[s] [his] place in the hierarchy" and that he "could be easily replaced" (1). Caolan had expressed his human and social capital goal saying, "I'm hoping my interpersonal skills would grow" (1). However, his expectations for interaction were not initially fulfilled, "There's not much integration with other people. We've only one call a day." (2). This caused a lack of social capital accumulation and a breach to his PC. He also mentions the continual changing of managers that he experiences, "A job is only booked for 2 weeks so I change between 4-6 managers" preventing him from building strong relationships (2). Though Caolan's experience presented him with a number of challenges and unfulfilled expectations (a lack of human and social capital accumulation and PC breach at times), he sees the value in the capital he later accumulated with his trajectory recovering. Concerning his human and social capital goal to "grow" his "interpersonal skills", he shares, "Regarding communication skills, probably yes, they did improve. It's hard to know. I wasn't inept going in, but I did need to ask colleagues how to write emails to clients and how do I go into a client meeting, like what to say and how to act...When I'm talking to people, I'm not as nervous, they're kind. I'm gaining social skills. I talk to clients on my own...I'd be ahead of other graduates that didn't do placement." (2). In his third interview he is more definite in his human capital accumulation evaluation, "I'm definitely more proficient in my understanding of accounting and how the job works." (3). Caolan's capital accumulation was overall satisfactory, but not soaring, and his PC was ultimately fulfilled. His capital accumulation and PC recovered from the depletion events and PC breaches. However, in his third interview he explains, "I know what to expect and I know what I want from a job, a boss, the people I work with... Where you work and what you want to do are important. I'd want to work in a good team, a friendly one. I don't want to go to the 'Big 4 [accounting firms] I don't like the environment.". His experience in this prestigious "Big 4" organisation and the type of employment relationship experienced there has taught him that this is not for him. Though not a negative experience overall, his PC for the future has been shaped by his experience.

This trajectory highlights the value of studying PC and capital interaction over time as had the data collection been a one-time cross-sectional exercise, findings would have suggested a simple linear relationship between challenging or negative events, capital depletion, and an unfulfilled PC and breach. Caolan's example of experiencing differing levels of satisfaction with his capital accumulation illustrates how capital depletion interactions and the absence of capital accumulation interactions can initiate a downward capital trajectory which can be subsequently salvaged when positive accumulation events are agentially enacted by both parties to the exchange. Aligned with a smaller body of more recent literature (Bankins, 2015), these findings demonstrate that employees, though initially experiencing an unfulfilled PC, or hysteresis, make agentic choices to revise their PCs, and repair the employment relationship, in line with their capital goals. The dynamic and fluid nature of the PC is underscored here. Caolan's experience shows how a perceived inequitable exchange can negatively influence the PC but then be recovered via organisational actions or interactions and the agentic response of employees. These findings demonstrate the critical and complex role that capital development plays in the employment relationship as it influences perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach over time. A negative interaction does not necessarily result in PC breach, violation and negative behaviours in the long term when it is mediated by sufficient capital accumulation opportunities. This is an important finding for PC theory in highlighting the dynamic, process nature of the PC and the integral role of capitals interacting over time on how individual's perceptions of the PC can be altered. The continuous role of the organisation in nurturing the PC is also shown here, in that the employee-organisation relationship is built on a number of influences over time, that together shape how the PC is perceived.

Stunted/Stagnated: In this trajectory, capital mobilisation initially increases due to positive interactions but then decreases due to a lack of positive capital accumulation interactions (non-affective events) or negative capital depletion interactions without sufficient recovery. The upward trajectory is not recovered again as in the salvaged trajectory due to a lack of capital accumulation interactions or repeated capital depletion interactions. This results in either further stagnation or further depletion of capital. Stagnation over time will usually eventually lead to depletion as capitals may lose symbolic power. Employees on this trajectory expressed

disappointment and perceptions of an inequitable exchange in the employment relationship, attributed to the lack of opportunity to accumulate individual capital and the experience of capital depletion, and thus perceptions of an unfulfilled PC. It appears that capital operates akin to a muscle that needs to be exercised, and if not exercised may suffer atrophy.

Barry's predominantly negative working experience illustrates the stunted trajectory. He began by obtaining the job through his social capital, specifically family connections, which initially seemed like a positive move. However, drawing upon his social capital subsequently added to his difficulties with accumulating economic and other forms of capital. He expresses a lack of freedom to question organisational practices and questions the legitimacy of his internship since it was secured through family ties. This highlights Barry's lack of agency caused by his structural positioning as intern and also the forces of this social field whereby the leaders were friends of his parents whom he did not want to offend. After multiple repeated negative interactions around lack of financial remuneration (loss of economic capital), lack of adequate work resources and work support (loss of human capital), he was discouraged and defeated which resulted in a lack of psychological and identity capital. The depletion of Barry's economic capital caused depletion of his psychological, identity, and human capitals showing how capitals are mutually influencing and interdependent.

In his first interview he expresses a lack of clarity surrounding economic rewards, "I'm not sure how the salary will work as they are friends of my family." (1). In his second interview he describes "Not enjoying having to ask for my salary" (2). Having to ask for his salary made him feel "awkward and embarrassed" and made him question his assertiveness. "I feel really awkward and embarrassed asking for my pay. They didn't give it to me. I said I needed it for my dentist. I felt I needed a reason. I didn't ask for the 2nd month 'cause I felt I didn't do anything and he's a friend of the family. I need to learn how to be assertive in the workplace." (2). This affects psychological capital in the area of well-being and decreased self-efficacy. Barry describes his experience with this organisation saying, "There was such a lack of resources. I didn't have the robot for ages. I didn't have wifi. My transport plans fell through... The company went bankrupt. They basically just said 'we're bankrupt. Do what you want'. I got my months in. The company was dead in the water. I'm disappointed by it. It wasn't an actual workplace. I got some stuff for my CV. I didn't get any interview experience... There

were many delays. They took a month to do something that should have taken a day. I think they knew it was a lost cause all along...If it had a hope, I could have advertised it [the robot] but I can't advertise that! [on my CV]" (3).

The severe lack of resources in the organisation depleted Barry's identity and human capital and left him feeling powerless. His example highlights the influence that economic capital can have on identity capital, for example, "I don't feel like a full-time employee because I don't get a constant paycheque." He was also hindered from accumulating human capital through the organisation's failure to provide adequate resources such as the robot that he was supposed to be working on. The "many delays" meant he "didn't do anything" for a month, never got to complete the project, did not experience "an actual workplace" and felt he did not have sufficient experience to "advertise" his project on his C.V.

Reflecting on his experience after completing the internship, he describes his APC saying "I do recall thinking it would be more organised, I would have good training, and that I would be managed properly. It certainly wasn't what I expected or hoped." (RA). Barry's capital goal of gaining technical experience and building his portfolio were not fulfilled. He believed he did not experience a fair exchange relationship. His answer to whether his expectations (capital goals) were fulfilled was "Nope, I thought I'd be active a lot more, looking back it feels like I did very little day-to-day work. Most of my time was waiting for roadblocks to pass". This demonstrates the connection between his repeatedly unfulfilled expectations of capital accumulation, his breached PC, and how he plans to manage his future employment relationships. Barry shares, "I'm definitely feeling more sour about the experience as more time passes". Concerning how this has impacted his PC for the future and the type of organisation he wants to work with, he says, "[A]nd I won't be applying to any startups. It's like I have anxiety about applying to companies that don't have at least five international branches. I'm exaggerating but yeah, you get the point." He also says, "I might go straight to employment instead of a Masters. I want to earn money...I used to think I didn't need a high paying job, but now I do." (3). Barry bemoaned not getting "a constant paycheque" and "not having a lot of pay." (2). This capital depletion impacted his PC. Barry's internship experience was overall a negative one with limited opportunity to accumulate capital and even deleterious effects on his existing capital.

His capital experience resulted in an unfulfilled PC highlighting how capital exchange in the employment relationship influences the PC.

Georgina discussed her lack of capital accumulation and its impact on their PC but also discussed the tensions surrounding who was at fault for her stunted or stagnated trajectory. Her experience was severely impacted by the socio-economic and environmental state of the internship field. She experienced a lack of agency as her internship field was impacted by extenuating circumstances imposed by Covid-19 restrictions. She struggled with where to apportion blame for her circumstances. Georgina believed that her employer was not to blame for her internship ending early as the employers were not in control of the extenuating circumstance. She explains, "I've had to stop Placement due to Covid. The store is closed, and they couldn't afford for me to work from home anymore" (2). Despite her loss of capital accumulation, she did not experience strong PC breach or violation as she did not attribute the cause of capital depletion to her employer. She says, "I don't blame the owner for letting me go. It wasn't his fault. He and his wife did their very best to keep me, but they just couldn't afford it with the shop closed. There wasn't enough happening online to sustain operations that included my payslip." (2). However, despite the absence of breach, she did not report a strong relationship with her employer saying she felt "out of place, like an outsider" (1), that there was "a tense atmosphere" and that the owner was "really stressed" (2). She did note thought that her employer was "very nice" (3). This demonstrates the impact of the social field and organisational ecosystem (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) in which capitals and PCs are operating. Similar to Barry, Georgina experienced a lack of agency to address the greater economic challenges her organisation was facing.

These three capital trajectories illustrate the varied experiences of interns as they accumulated and depleted capitals, in line with their capital goals, and how this influenced their PCs. The following human capital accumulation table provides further substantial data to support the capital trajectory model presented above. The table identifies each participant's capital goal or motivation for undertaking placement, followed by quotes from all of their interviews across the study illustrating how their human capital evolved over time. The final column of the table presents quotes highlighting the impact that capital mobilisation had on interns' PCs. Due to the vast data set that this PhD boasts, this table focuses on human capital goals, human capital

accumulation, and the resulting PC outcomes. The human capital table alone is composed of over 150 data points. This is not to say that other capitals are not evident in the table. They are present as capitals operate in a mutually influencing manner but are not the focus. Interns mobilised all of the other capitals and possessed other goals related to various capitals. For example, the first participant in the table, Aisling, describes wanting to develop her public speaking skills. This is a human capital goal, but the confidence needed to do that relates to psychological capital. The other capitals (psychological, identity, social, cultural, and economic) are further delineated and discussed in depth in chapter 6 findings part 2. Under the column for interview (3), quotes from some participants' interviews (4) and (5) are also included and labelled as such. This table illustrates a key premise of this PhD study, namely, that conceptualising capitals as the construct underpinning the individual's resource exchange in the PC clarifies the impact that capital mobilisation has on the PC.

Table 8 Capital goals, human capital accumulation/depletion and impact on the psychological contract across all participants

	Capital Goal/	Capital accumulation or depletion across interviews			PC and Capital
Participant	Motivation	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3 (4-5)	Outcome Quotes
pseudonym					
Aisling	I want to grow	I'm more confident	Conversing with	Confidence, the	I expected to get
	more. I want to	speaking in	people makes a	opportunity to give	valuable experience,
	be more	groupsWe do	difference day to	presentations helped me	but the opportunities I
	confident	groups meetings all	dayI'm more	so much. I actually	was presented with,
	especially	the	confident. I used to	volunteered to do	the continuous
	speaking in	timeEverything	hate group	placement talks in	learning and
	front of people.	was put into practice	presentations. Now, I	[university]Communica	development, and the
		in some waymy	almost look forward to	tion is easier now. If I	responsibility I held
		confidence has really	them. I love them. A	hadn't done placement, I	far exceeded any
		improved. I'm not as	lot of my learnings	wouldn't know what I	expectations I could
		shy. I'm happy to	from college are put	wanted to fix.	have imagined! This
		speak out.	into practice.		has set the bar high
					for me for when I'm
					looking for jobs in the
					future. The team
					you're working with,

					the respect, the
					atmosphere in the
					office, the duties.
Anthony	My motivation	The work that I was	I'm really developing	I've been using past	I was asked to come
	to undertake	doing was very much	my problem-solving	documents to inform the	back and work after
	work	based on my degree,	skills, with tech. I offer	new work. That's what the	graduation, so I'm
	placement was	so there was a direct	solutions nowI'm	whole organisation is	really pleased with
	the practical	link between what I	learning how to do	doing, and I've learned to	that. They've
	application of	was doing in	trend-based analysis.	do that too. You don't	discussed a grad
	learning. I	accounting. When	And that kind of skills,	notice yourself picking up	opportunity with
	wanted to get	I'm trying to do	it's a good step up in	new skills. I don't need	me I felt confident
	to know about	things, I refer back to	this type of work.	the checklists	asking for a job
	the transition to	knowledge that I've		anymorenow I	because of the quality
	work and what	already gainedMy		intuitively know what to	of my work and
	it's like.	lack of IT skills		doI was trying to find	because of the quality
		concerns me a bit.		every problem but now	of the relationship
				through experience I just	that I have with my
				do a reasonable level of	managers, with the
				assurance.	organisation, with my
					colleagues as well. I
					want to be in a

					supportive
					environment like they
					provided. I also want
					to be challenged. I
					want to not be bored,
					and I want to be
					respectedHaving
					had this good
					experience, now I
					know what I want
					from future
					employment.
Eva	I'm hoping that	I've learned skills	I've gained	I feel like when it comes	I want a manager and
	by doing this	that other interns	competency in	to virtual work, I already	a boss and the whole
	placementI'l	don't have from	customer serviceI'm	have it in the bag. I have	organisation to have
	1 know if this	previous years, like	beginning to	that edge on others You	open communication
	really is what I	setting up online	understand event	need to have got those	with me and other
	want to do.	events across	systems and setting up	skills and that knowledge	employeesThat's
		different time zones,	the registration pages	and that	really important to me
		and that's going to be	for event and all that	experiencemost of the	now because I've had
		a great skill going	goes into actually	events were online so it	it, I've experienced it.

		forward. So I feel I've	organizing an event	was great to have the	It's what I would
		really put more	itself. My	technological aspect of	expect in a new role
		ammunition into my	communication skills	that and learn to set up	and that would be
		toolboxI am	are improving	virtual events.	very important to
		checking online for	immensely.		meI definitely will
		event meetingsI			have a more positive
		also do education			view on the
		courses when I have			relationship one
		spare timeon big			should have with their
		data miningon			manager. That's
		exceland LinkedIn			essential to what I
		courses, they provide			want now. It's not all
		those.			about work and it
					certainly helps to
					have a relationship
					with them beyond just
					the tasks at hand
					different.
Aoibhinn	I'd like to	This has helped me	I'm learning to fight	I'm more confident in my	I want a team
	develop my	realise my	for my point and speak	abilities now. I can take	environment. The
	skills and get		in front of groups, give	praise now. I can do	relationships at work

	experience in a	abilityI'm getting	presentations I've	public speaking. I became	are important to me. I
	multinational.	to do real work.	gained expertise in	comfortable because I	want to do
			email etiquetteI	had to do them over and	fundraising. I want to
			learned by receiving	over.	work with charities. I
			emails, drafting them a		realised what I like. I
			few times. I'm learning		know exactly what I
			a lothow to use		want now.
			software, how a		
			business worksI just		
			learned to do by doing		
			it.		
Kaitlin	This is a step in	I'm becoming	They give me more	I understand the auditing	My confidence has
	the door for a	familiar with	work nowI'm	process now and I know	grown because I
	grad	auditing and	learning to speak out	what the work is like. I've	know what I want
	programme.	accounting. I'm	my own opinion on the	learned so much both in	now.
		learning loads.	work because I	the corporate context and	
			understand it and I'm	also in the social	
			growing in	volunteering we did with	
			confidencethe jobs	kids. I'm competent and	
			are harder. They trust	confident with	
				responsibility. I like the	

			me. They know I'm	responsibility and being	
			able for it.	trusted with the work.	
Meave	I want to	We use Jobber and	I've learned the	I've learned so much and	I definitely have high
	improve my	Whatsapp for work	importance of having a	my communication skills	expectations now
	communicatio	communication. The	good relationship with	are so much stronger	because of this job. I
	n and	best part of this is	your colleagues and	now, my confidence	got along very well
	presentation	getting the	your managers and	levels too.	with my managers.
	skills.	experience, gaining	putting yourself first		They really
		the technical skills. It	out there and getting		encouraged
		will make me more	noticed. I've also		development and
		employable I'm	improved my		gave so much praise
		gaining a technical	communication skills,		and recognition to all
		knowledge of	my work		staff. I have a high
		coding. Itake	etiquetteI've also		expectation now with
		courses. We do	learned to speak up		new mangers because
		knowledge transfers	and share your		of it. I learned a lot
		on a Friday.	opinions with		about what a good
			confidence.		manager is from that
					internship, I'm so
					glad for it!

Rory	I want to get	I'm not well	My excel skills have	I've gained experience in	Yeah, I'm happy with
	experience.	prepared. My	increased. My typing	knowing how to function	my experience. My
		technical knowledge	is faster. My	in the workplaceYou	employer provided
		and experience are	communication is	get given tasks and you	me with ample
		severely lacking.	getting better too. I	have to do them. It's in the	opportunities to learn
			have to be very clear	'day to dayness' of doing	the work. I enjoyed
			when I'm emailing. I	things. You have to be	our exchanges and
			had asked my team to	able to explain yourself	found them all to be
			check my emails. I was	very clearly over email, I	lovely. I've been
			very nervous writing	had to develop this,	offered a graduate
			emails in the	especially in the	role. My level of
			beginning. I've gotten	beginning. It's been a	knowledge and skill
			less nervous. The all	process of learning. (4)	was noticed. It's all
			day calls are good for		very goodI want a
			knowledge sharing.		welcoming
					environment.
Shane	I just want to	I learn 70% on the	I'm pretty proficient at	This helps you grow as a	I had a brilliant
	get experience	job, 20% by asking	using the applications	person in how you speak	relationship with my
	and get a good	others, and 10%	now. I use them on a	and relate with people at	manager and buddy
	job	through formal	daily basis, and I have	workI feel a lot more	I had a different idea
		training. Our training	challenging tasks so	confident with excel,	of what it would be

		waspractical and	you have to step up to	organising teams. It helps	like, a bad idea. I got
		helpful. I'm	the bar.	you grow as a person in	offered a contract. I
		developing my work		how you speak.	got a foot in the
		ethic and timetabling			doorI learned to
		everything, how to			work remotely, that
		strategise. From a			will put me ahead of
		technical			the restI'll be
		perspective, I'm			approaching college
		learning how to use			differently now. I'm
		applications - excel,			more motivated
		wordI'm getting			nowI want to take a
		the opportunity to			bigger role in the
		give presentations.			student societies.
Sharon	I want to learn	I have team meetings	I know everything	I feel I have an upper	I've a clear idea now
	what corporate	and meet with my	that's going on. I know	hand compared to others	of what I want to do
	work is really	manager weekly I	my own capacity	who haven't done	with my degree. I'm
	likeI want	spent six weeks with	nowI've had the	placement.	more employable
	this to improve	the previous intern.	opportunity to learn by		nowI've been
	my job options.	After two months, I	doingI used to		offered a contract for
		took over the	always ask and have to		the summerI know
		management of the	checkI understand		what I want 100%. I

		campaign	priority. In the		want flexible
		programmeI really	beginning the	7	working/ smart
		enjoy being given	explained in hug		working
		responsibilitymy	detail.		optionsBefore
		work has an			placement, if the
		impactThe senior			money was good
		manager emails me			enough, I'd do
		directly about my			anything, But no way
		own campaign. It's so			now. I'd take less
		satisfying. We have			money for enjoyment
		shared learning every			and work life balance.
		Friday.			I had that in
					[organisation] and I
					wouldn't settle for less
					since I know it's out
					there now.
Alex	I want	I will be working on	I'm applying basic 1s	t I was forced to	My manager is very
	experienceI	general	year work - how to	communicate with lots of	encouragingI'd
	want to get to	programming and	read a circuit. I hadn	random people, so I had	really like that in the
	know the nitty	really need to master	learned how to do as	to learn to communicate	future wherever I
	gritty of	it.	interview before now.	with everyone. The first	work. I didn't know

	programming			few months there was lots	you could have that
	and be flexible			of training and then they	I'll be more confident
	and fluent in it.			added work gradually.	in lectures to ask
					questions. I've never
					asked questions really
					before of my
					lecturers, but I will
					now, and my group
					work will definitely
					be improved.
Angelica	I'm looking	I'd like to develop my	I want to improve my	My communication skills	My perceptions of
	forward to	social skills, try to	time management and	have improved. There's a	work and the working
	finding out if	get on better with	my verbal	lot of communication	relationship has
	accounting is	people. When I leave	communication. I hope	between teams. I'm so	changed. I've come to
	for meBy the	placement, I'd like to	I'm more mature. I'm	much better at using	realise that work isn't
	end I'd like to	know how to manage	leaving my childhood	Excel and Word. The	always a chore, and
	be a person	my time and	behind and entering	knowledge from my	you should enjoy it.
	who can deal	communicate with	into more adulthood. I	degree has been	My part time jobs
	with tough	people in a less bossy	hope I'll be able to	appliedI have	were just for
	situations and	manner. I want to	copeI'm developing	improved self-	moneyI wouldn't
	deadlines and	have an attitude of	communication skills.	confidenceI've gotten	be afraid to voice my

	communicate	learning how to deal		better at time-	opinions nowMy
	well.	with clients, soaking		management My	self-confidence
		it all in.		overall productiveness	exploded when they
				has increasedMy	offered me the grad
				technical skills such as	contract.
				how to audit investment	
				firms have increased. (4)	
Caleb	My brother	I'm learningIt's	This has been a great	What I've really gained is	I got an offer of a job
	couldn't get a	practical, it's relevant	learning experience.	time management	if I want to do the
	job after	workMy	I've had so much	skillsAnd with my	accounting examsI
	college, so I	communication skills	opportunity to learn.	communication, I'm	do want work to be
	did placement	are improving	We did have weekly	reaching out to people, I	something that's
	to see what	massively. It's just	calls on Wednesday. I	initiate. I learn by having	meaningful to me. I
	work is like	because of the	feel like I've really	the opportunity to do	want to enjoy work. I
	and to get	amount of calls with	developed my	things. I'm glad that I had	want to wake up not
	ahead of the	peopleI'm getting	communication. I	each of those	dreading going to
	others.	much better at taking	wouldn't be as nervous	opportunities so I could	work. I want to know
		notesMy	now going into a	really gain those skills.	that my boss is nice. I
		relationships with the	callI've really		know that you can
		associates and the	improved my time		have a nice boss. I just
		senior Management	management. I love		think that placement

		Associates, they're	writing everything		is such a good
		all really, really	down and getting it		opportunity because
		good. You get	done.		before it was just all a
		snapshots like			mysteryAnd now
		feedback.			having done this I've
					a much clearer picture
					and more specific
					about what I want in
					the future, what I
					want in work, the kind
					of place I want to
					work, the kind of
					people I want to work
					with, the kind of feel
					of the place and the
					atmosphere that I
					want.
Caolan	I'm hoping my	I'm hoping my	I developed technical	I'm definitely more	I know what to expect
	interpersonal	interpersonal skills	and professional	proficient in my	and I know what I
	skills would	would growthen	skillsI'd be ahead of	understanding of	want from a job, a
	growI	there's the practical	other graduates that		boss, the people I

wanted to	application of	didn't do placement.	accounting and how the	work with. I'm not
experience	textbook knowledge,	I've learned what	job works.	going back to where I
what it's like to	experience it all in	actually goes on in the		wasWhere you
work and	real life - this is what	working world. Before		work and what you
maybe get a	they actually do.	when I asked people		want to do are
grad offer.		about accounting, it		important. I'd want to
		was like they were		work in a good team,
		speaking another		a friendly one. I don't
		languageRegarding		want to go to the big 4
		communication		[accounting firms]. I
		skills they did		don't like the
		improveWhen I'm		environment. I
		talking to people, I'm		wouldn't mesh well
		not as nervousI'm		with the environment.
		gaining social skills.		I'd like it to be laid
				back, decent work,
				something to pass the
				time with. There's
				only so much of a
				difference you can

					make in a job like
					that.
Cara	I just thought	When I did the	My job is doing a lot of	I've learned speed and	I wanted to know if
	that the work	interviews I thought	ad hoc research. I'm	accuracy. I don't have	this work was what I
	experience	'I've no clue what I'm	getting quicker. I'm	time to overthink. I	wanted to do. The
	would	doing here'I'm	learning to trust myself	definitely did learn a lot	next interview, I will
	definitely be a	definitely developing	and not check things	of things, so I gained a lot	be much better
	beneficial	research skills	all the time. I'm	of knowledge and skills	prepared for it, and I
	thinghopeful	because I've been	writing so many	and I'm glad about that. I	have a very clear
	ly trying this	doing that since day	emails, so that's how	got faster at doing	picture of what I want
	will give me	one.	I'm learning.	everything and trusting	now in employment.
	insight into			myself. (4)	
	it I want to				
	be more				
	mature, more				
	wise about the				
	area I want to				
	go into.				
Colton	Hopefully I'll	I was involved in a	I'm using my research	I've developed	In the future I'd like to
	be more	presentation	skills and getting good	communication skills,	go into UX design. It's
	confident in	yesterday. My	feedback from	skills that a designer	where 90% of the jobs

	my research	weaknesses are in	themI've been	would have, how to start a	from my course are.
	methods and	presentation and	presenting my findings	project and bring it to	This [internship] has
	presentation	organisational skills,	and communicating	completion.	shown me what I
	skills after this	communication too.	them. I did a project on		don't want.
	and build my	My strengths are	my own. I knew it		
	portfolio too.	attention to detail. It	inside out. I was		
		looks like I'll need to	confident of the		
		learn research skills	material.		
		and how to story tell.			
Craig	Hopefully my	I'm socially	I am developing skills	Placement helped me	I want to get into
	communicatio	awkward. But even	and brushing up on	sand down the rough	trades, local
	n and social	more than that,	Excel. I'm practicing	edges in my life I also	organisations. You
	skills will	honestly a few days	my communication	learned to be passionate	couldn't have
	improvesoci	on the job has already	skills, something I've	about what you like and	convinced me of this
	ally I'm	made a big	really, really needed,	other people will	back in first yearI
	awkwardI	difference.	and I am getting better	follow	challenged a lecturer
	need to		at itI used to be		about a wrong
	improve my IT		afraid to ask questions		question on the MCQ.
	skills and		beyond the training.		I never did that
	myself has to				beforeI had the guts
	get better. I				to be able to say

	would also like				thatThe year on
	to develop my				placement helped that
	leadership				grow.
	skills.				
Darren	In my field of	We can have	I never knew how a	In my first few weeksI	I'd like to work in a
	work, you need	knowledge sharing	design studio worked	basically wasted time not	design studio rather
	to do some	We use a software	before, and I really	knowing how to do	than a design team in
	kind of work	called SolidWorks.	wanted to see that. I	things, but after the	a larger
	before looking	It's like a 3D	wanted to know how	blenders [capital	organisationI
	for a job before	software, so I've	does the process	accumulating event], I	wasn't sure
	graduationI'	learned how to use	actually work?So,	was asking questions, and	beforehand, but I
	m hopingI'll	thatnow I feel like	I'm really enjoying	I was getting answers. I'd	realized working in a
	know which	I'm changing. I'm	getting the kind of	say overall my	design studio you get
	part of the	growing with	holistic bigger picture	confidence has grown	to see the whole
	whole design	communication. I'm	of it I'm	professionallyI	processAnd I
	process I want	speaking up in front	accumulating so much	wouldn't be afraid to step	prefer the flexibility
	to do. That's	of groups. I actually	knowledge and so	into a professional setting	and the agility that
	why I went for	fight for my point. I	much	because I know what to	you have when you're
	a smaller	make presentations.	experienceDoing all	do, I know how to act, I	doing all different
	company,		of this has showed me	know what to say, and I	parts of the work.
	because I want		how much I've grown		

	to see the		and how quickly I've	know how to comport	
	whole process.		learned.	myself.	
Eilis	I want to do	They've used my	They showed me how	I've developed a range of	I would email a
	well to keep	ideas and put them on	to do, then they let me	skills and understand	lecturer now if I had a
	my options	social media. I send	do it. They trust me but	office jobs.	questionI was
	open.	emails directly from	are there to help if I		asked to stay on for
		my account to the	need it. I know now it's		the Summer After
		whole	so important to ask		this, I think I'd like to
		organisationI'm	questionsNow I		run my own
		growing and	understand the 'why'		company I'll be
		changing in my	and 'how' of things		ready for working in
		computer skills. I'm	I'm using Excel and		the real worldThe
		understanding the	Powerpoint.		company were nice,
		day to day of HR. I'm			but I don't want an
		communicating with			office job.
		older people.			
Fiachra	I needed	I use employee-based	I've always had good	I have a higher level of	I'm more comfortable
	experience to	stories to source	interpersonal skills,	professionalism, an	being able to
	get a good job.	content. I used to	but I've developed	understanding of working	challenge decisions.
		send the stories to her	them further	in a team, efficiency, and	The managers took
		[the manager] to	professionallyI've	time management too.	my suggestions so

		check but now I don't	really improved my		that made me more
		really need toI've	organisational		confident to suggest
		improved my	skillsMy technical		other idea Group
		dyslexia skills. I've	skills have been really		meetings [in college]
		done it through	developed by being on		will change for me.
		emails, the more you	placement,		There won't be any
		write, the more you	powerpoint, excel,		more pointless
		learn howThis	word, how media		meetings, now the
		would have scared	works. I learn by doing		work will be
		the life out of me a	and I've had lots of		distributed quickly.
		few years ago but	opportunities to		I'm not picking
		now I know I can do	practice my skills.		anyone to be in my
		it.			group who hasn't been
					on placement.
Joel	I want	I wasn't prepared	I'm improving my	I'm more punctual now.	I will interact with
	experience into	going in. I only	communication too.	I've a better	lecturers more. I
	the working	learned on the		understanding of how a	know how to do that.
	world.	jobI'm adjusting to		workplace works. You	I know what
		new apps and new		need knowledge. You	questions to askI'll
		situations. I adjusted		need to know how to	beasking my
		quicker than I		communicate it. You	lecturers for help. I'm

		thought. I'm		have to be light on your	more career oriented
		communicating in a		feet, have your wits about	now. I'm more work
		unique scenarioI'm		you, don't be afraid to	driven nowI know
		feeling good about		approach peopleI'm a	what I want to do now
		my progressI'm		lot more organised now. I	after placement. It
		better prepared for		have more structure. If I	was muddy before. I
		work as a result of		say I'm going to do	now have a lot of
		this.		something, I will actually	criteria I wantThis
				do itMy organisational	experience has given
				skills were deficient	me a perspective on
				before thisComputer	how you should view
				science students need to	work and working
				go on placementHalf	with othersI want
				my teams calls were	to leave my mark
				knowing how to explain	somewhereI
				our expertise to others	decided not to do a
				outside tech. (4)	masters, but go
					straight into work.
Jordan	I did this to	I'm learning a lot	Early on I was learning	I know how to write	I've learned what I
	find out what I	about corporate	how to interact with	emails now, to talk to	want for the future. I
	want to	financeI'm	coworkers and deal	people, time	feel like I have a

achieve. My	figuring out how to	with trainingI try to	management, how to	better understanding
motivation for	speak in the	talk as much as	meet deadlines.	of my self-worth as an
doing this was	workplaceI'm	possible but it's not		individual and
tosecure a	learning how to use	easy for me. I		employee and will
career.	excel! I'm gaining	contacted the intern		definitely have higher
	independence in how	Team Leader and said		expectations in the
	I workI'm learning	I could see myself		futureThey said
	how to talk to each	working for		they'll give me a job
	otherI'm gaining	[organisation] in the		after graduation if
	insight to finance.	future. She said I was		they could. I'll get a
		the first one to say that.		reference tooI've a
		It felt good.		better sense of
				direction for the
				future. I know what
				work suits meI'm
				learning what type of
				learning is suited to
				meIt will help me
				with my career. I'll be
				able to tell them what
				I need to be able to

					learn and excel
					Work is not just the
					work.
Niah	I need	I'm learninghow to	You get exposed to	I've learned skills I'd	I've been offered a
	experience on	talk to someone, and	many new things and	never learn just by doing	grad position. I'm in a
	my CV. I'm	I'm seeing how a	get to learn a lotI'm	collegeI've learned so	much better position
	focused on	company works and	getting to learn how a	much SAP, Excel,	now than others. I
	getting a grad	what skills the work	global company	dealing with other	can't believe how well
	job.	requires.	works, the ins and	cultures/nationalities.	we were treatedI
			outs, what's the		would always say to
			difference between tax		do an internship. I
			avoidance and tax		would have more of
			evasion, things like		an understanding now
			that.		of what work and the
					relationship with your
					manager is like and
					what to expect. I'd do
					it all again.
Patrick	I did this so I'd	Communication is a	I have to have effective	I've excelled at finance	When I got the grad
	be ready for	big one. How to talk	communication, cut all	software. Because I'm	placement, it was all

work in the real	to people	the fat. There's no time	competent in in using the	worth it. I was
world I	professionally, how	for that. You have to	software I'll transition	working to get the
would like to	to say it	streamline	easily [to work].	grad placement. The
get a job out of	efficientlyWhen	communicationI		experience definitely
this for after	I'm working, I've	was a lot slower at		influenced me. For
college.	found a way to be as	first.		example, with my
	efficient as possible.			future bosses I'm now
	After this, it will be			much more confident
	easier for me to			when it comes to
	digest information.			talking about ideas
				and improvements.
				I'm still working on
				trying to become
				more friendly and
				laidback when it
				comes to talking to
				coworkers and
				bossesIt's made my
				relationship with
				authority more
				friendlyEven if the

					lecturer made a
					mistake. I would
					think it's mine. I
					wouldn't dare
					question. Now, I
					would question a
					lecturer, especially
					after my manager told
					me to ask questions.
Rehan	My computer	I'm becoming even	I'm learning new ways	I'm more confident now	I had a very good
	skills and	more organised and	of	speaking in front of	relationship with my
	communicatio	practising a lot on	communicationI'm	people and taking	managers, they were
	n, I'd like them	excel.	learning to problem	responsibility. I built it	very helpful, very
	to improve.		solve, how to deal with	through daily meetings,	approachableI
			situations, to be	reporting to Teams.	don't want to do this
			civilised no matter	Doing placement has got	in the future. It gave
			whatCommunicatio	me ready for final year.	me an idea of what I
			n is important. I'm	One of the biggest things	want to do. I don't
			doing emails, teams,	I've learned, is seeing	want office work. I
			Webex.	what an actual work	want to see the end of
				environment was like,	what I'm doing. I'd

				using MS Teams. Group	like the service
				work will be easier	industry.
				nowI've also developed	
				my excel skills	
				substantially.	
Shania	Hopefully I'll	I'm doing online	The first few months I	BeforeI wasn't a great	I've realised I don't
	know what	networking and	was in a learning role	speaker but I'm so much	want to work for a
	area I want to	meeting people as	but now I'm an	better nowbeing	state agency. I don't
	go into	part of the job. I'm	expertSince the last	invited to high level	want to go into a job
	Hopefully my	really developing my	time I spoke to you I	meetings to presentI	where I'm a number.
	confidence will	communication	don't go flushed red	know my capabilities. I	For me, rewards and
	have improved	skills.	anymore when I need	know I can learn. I've	recognition are
	and my time		to speakI've really	been pushed out of my	important, not pay.
	management		increased my problem	comfort zone, with my	I'm less willing to
	too.		solving and analytical	knowledge and my	take 'crap' from
			skillsMy	confidence, even	people not doing their
			organisational skills	applying for interviews.	work. In 2nd year
			have really		[college], I would
			improved I learn by		have carried it, not
			doing and that's how		now.
			my confidence grew.		

			I've learned how to use		
			microsoft, hotspot,		
			Strip, AWS etcI've		
			learned how to do		
			webinars.		
Susan	I wanted to get	I'm learning to use	I'm understanding the	My tech skills have been	I'm thinking more
	practical	excelThey could	audit process. My	enhanced, excel, we need	about my career
	experience in	definitely give us an	technical skills are	more of that in college.	nowI've always
	auditing. I	extra week of	improving. I've flown	I've gained an	been a naturally
	always wanted	training.	with excel. Team work	understanding of what the	confident person but
	to work for one		too. I've developed my	working world is like	getting the grad
	of the big four.		communication skills	I'm glad I had the eye-	position helped I've
	I wanted to		too. I was asked to give	opener of placementI	gained an
	know what it's		presentations. The	wanted to see what	understanding of
	like to work for		training is really	accounting was likeI	what the working
	a massive		goodI'm the only	wanted a grad	world is like. I've
	company.		placement student on	positionI'm future	realised that wherever
			the CSR committee. I	ready.	I go, there has to be
			took initiative to make		something that feeds
			that connection.		into my personal
					lifeThat would be a

					deal breaker for me.
					The professional side
					needs to align with
					my personal
					valuesThere's more
					to life than work. I've
					got a grad offer and a
					paid masters!I'm
					future ready.
Desmond	I'd like to	I've asked to be	The learning has	I still feel that I learned so	This is highlighting
	develop my	upskilled any time I	plateaued. I only learn	much and I was doing	what I want from a
	skills and move	canI had 4 weeks	when I move to new	thingsI built	job and what I want
	up the ladder.	of training. I ask	teams, then I get used	resilienceMy	from an organisation,
		questions and I get	to it, that's when I ask	organisational skills have	what I want from my
		helpI'm learning	to move. Now I can't	got so much better.	role and how I want to
		how to manage my	move. I'm		interact with other
		energyI'm getting	demotivated. Now		managers and things
		more skilled at	other negative things		like that. It's not just a
		actually managing	come to the front.		job anymore. It's not
		people and managing			just about money. It's
		a conversation.			about the workplace.

					The money
					motivation has
					changed. Money is
					still a factor for me,
					but I have a different
					perspective now. It's
					money in relation to
					stressthose things
					are really important to
					me now.
Barry	I hope to have	It's a robotic water	The month I spent	I had the most knowledge	If it had a hope, I
	made an actual	dispenser that I'm	doing nothing, I felt	about the robot.	could have advertised
	working	working on. It's high	really uselessThis		it [the robot] but I
	product by the	tech. I'm fixing the	project is more of a		can't advertise that
	end and put	wiring and working	hobby to them, but it's		[on my C.V]!It
	that on my C.V	on embedded coding.	my placement. It's		certainly wasn't what
	as experience.		much more important		I expected or hoped
	I'm working in		to me. They have me		I might go straight to
	robotics and it's		doing different things,		employment instead
	with the		not just programming.		of a Masters. I want to
	cofounder.		I'm getting the feel of		earn moneyI used

			how adaptable		to think I didn't need a
			robotics is, that's been		high paying job, but
			the most enjoyable		now I dothere's no
			thingI'm learning		point getting a job
			the programme		you hateI've
			language.		completely
					reconsidered the
					MastersWhen I'm
					in college or lectures
					now, I'm thinking,
					'I'm paying to do this.
					I'm not getting paid'
Georgina	My motivation	I'd need to really	I'm building skills on	I spent a lot of months	I'm looking forward
	for doing	work on my	LinkedInlearning,	sitting around being	to forgetting
	placement is	communication	Microsoft Office, and	stressed. People weren't	thisI'm looking
	I'm not ready	skills. We spend our	generally just doing all	respondingI started	forward to other
	for the	lives on social media.	I can to learn. I've been	taking on the attitude of	things. I'm using the
	workplace. I'm	I'm comfortable and	doing social media,	get **** done when I	resources and
	not ready for	confident there rather	marketing, even	went back to college. I	contacts available to
	final year.	than talking on a	helping with	can only wait so long for	me in college, that's
		phoneThey've	engraving. Sometimes	othersMy	something I've

		really thrown me in	I worked on the shop	communication has	learned. In the future,
		at the deep end doing	floorI've had to stop	improved. Having to	I'm going to stay
		all the work.	Placement due to	branch out and contact	away from
			Covid. The store is	organisations gave me	marketingI would
			closed.	practice I got set up on	like to get a graduate
				LinkedIn learning.	HR programme. I
				_	want to manage my
					own business.
Kristine	I need to learn	I'm trying to do my	I am learning, but I'm	I am confident in my	I would have liked
	all the things	internship and learn	not learning as much	knowledge now with the	more support. I
	that make you	everything I need to	as I would if this	tax and with the	needed more support
	get a good job	learn. It's a brand	wasn't during COVID.	accounting. I know some	but it was you know
	in Ireland.	new job so there's	My work is slow. I feel	of the basic systems and	crazy time so I cannot
		lots to learn and	I'm not really	processes which is good,	say that organisation
		make a good	completing the	but there's still a lot more	was bad. I will ask in
		impression, but I	workThere's a lot to	and I had hoped to get a	future though about
		can't do it all because	learnSo for me it's	lot more from this	flexibility for families
		my children are there	about getting the skills	experience. I hoped my	when getting a job.
		and they're trying to	to put on the CV.	boss and my manager	I'm just so glad this
		do online		would give me more	whole experience is
				interesting work and give	over.

schoolIt's really,	me more support to do the	
really difficult.	work.	

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of this qualitative process study detailing the unfolding process of PC evolution over time in the undergraduate internship experience. It began with a detailed discussion of my empirically informed process model of the intern PC process unveiling how an individual's (A)PC is constructed and evolves over time (Figure 2). It includes empirical evidence of how the social context in which one forms their PC influences the resulting PC. It also discusses the role of agency and hysteresis to address PC breach and misalignments of expectations and realities and demonstrates how an individual's current PC becomes an antecedent to the PC of their next employment relationship. The chapter also presented my capital trajectory table (Table 7) which empirically demonstrates how individuals accumulate capitals on differing trajectories and how this ultimately impacts their PCs. Lastly, the chapter presented an extensive table illustrating, with detailed quotes, how each participant in the study accumulated human capital across all of their interviews and how these capital interactions impacted their PCs in the present and their perceptions of future employment relationships. The next findings chapter (Chapter 6 Findings Part 2) presents a capital accumulation and depletion model and a detailed breakdown of how each capital was enacted by individuals and facilitated by organisations illustrating the essential process that underpins the accumulation of capital.

Chapter 6: Findings Part 2 Individuals' enactment and organisations' facilitation of capital accumulation over time

Introduction

The previous chapter empirically established that capital accumulation and depletion, in line with capital goals, influences the PC. This is illustrated through the PC process model (Figure 2), the capital trajectories table (Table 7), and the human capital table evidencing capital accumulation across all interviews for all participants and its influence on the PC (Table 8). This current chapter focuses on detailing how interns enacted and accumulated each capital and how the interns perceived their employing organisations facilitated (or not) that capital accumulation and answers research questions 1d and 1e. These findings are important for organisations and organisational actors who seek to facilitate and manage a positive PC through the identification of specific capital needs and how those needs can be met to promote and maintain a sustainable PC (Kraak, et al., 2024). It is also important for theory to understand how individuals accumulate specific capitals and how capitals impact each other. The chapter presents a process model detailing how capital is accumulated and how it impacts perceptions of PC fulfilment or not followed by specific examples illustrating the enactment, accumulation and facilitation of each capital.

A process model of how capital is accumulated and its influence on the psychological contract process

This section presents a process model derived from the empirics that analyses the steps by which capital is accumulated or depleted in the internship experience and how it impacts the PC from a process perspective. The latter section of this chapter delves into the nuances of specific ways that each capital is accumulated by interns and facilitated (or not) by organisations. This process model outlines the interaction of the individual, their capitals, and the organisation from a bird's eye view highlighting the impact that capital accumulation and

depletion has on the individual side of the PC. The model is explained step by step with data supporting each step.

The Influence of Capital Interactions on the Psychological Contract

С Α D Capital accumulation Pre-employment Capital Capital Outcome of capital reserves interaction response interaction Capital depletion Perceived equitable exchange/Fulfilled PC PC revisions Revised capital Next capital interaction reserves Perceived inequitable exchange/Breached PC F G Н

Figure 3 The influence of capital interactions on the psychological contract

The model begins with career novices entering employment with their pre-existing capital reserves and a novice or rudimentary PC, which has been informed by media (e.g. TV shows/movies and family/friend/own personal work and university experiences), previous work experience, hierarchical eduction, and social interactions with family and friends, as shared in chapter 5. This is represented by (A) in the diagram. I intentionally start here by sharing the story of a seemingly ordinary and 'unsensational' interaction/experience as it demonstrates the cumulative impact of repeated capital interactions on capital accumulation over time and the PC. To empirically exemplify: Cara (1) entered the organisation with an (A)PC that expected the employment relationship to "be a lot stricter", found out that her "job is different than I expected", and was surprised at how her manager was "really helping me out in regards to what I need to be looking at. She's been the one that's been kind of instigating in the background asking people to interact with me as well if they haven't...she's a massive help just to kind of get help me get integrated into the business and get my jobs done." Her manager was facilitating Cara's social capital accumulation for the purpose of supporting her to complete her tasks (human capital). Cara's APC was not aligned with the reality of what the working relationship or the work itself would be like. It was rudimentary, undeveloped, and misinformed. This sets

her up to experience what Bourdieu (1989) describes as 'hysteresis', not hysterics, but a misalignment of field, capital, and habitus.

In addition to her novice PC, Cara's reserves of human and psychological capital were low. She explains in her first interview, "In terms of weaknesses I can be quite a shy person. I think I need to be a little bit more confident. I think about myself and my abilities in general that's my problem anyway. I'm lacking confidence sometimes and I think that would probably be the thing that would bring me down if I was going into a new workplace." (1). In interview 2, Cara shares, "I hoped to learn to speak up during placement but wasn't doing it or I wasn't getting to do it...I expected to be interacting with people more. I only interact with my manager." Though Cara appreciated the open supportive manner in which her manager interacted, she shares, "I don't have the knowledge or experience or skills to know how to handle the openness." Thus, when Cara is faced with presenting progress made on a project to a group of colleagues and senior managers, she believes she is lacking the human capital necessary to execute the task and finds it daunting. Understanding the context of this event, Cara's perceived insufficiency in capitals, specifically human and psychological capital and lack of opportunity to mobilise them, demonstrates how a seemingly routine everyday work activity can become a significant capital interaction to a career novice or anyone new to a role or organisation. This represents (B) in the process model.

Once an organisational interaction which demands a response occurs (B), the employee will use their agency to make a capital response (C). Cara now needed to mobilise her capitals – particularly her psychological capital (confidence and self-efficacy) and human capital (hard and soft skills) to prepare for and make the presentation. Despite her lack of belief that her extant capital composition in these domains was developed enough, the work had to be done. In her second interview she explains the support she received from her manager "she set up a call there today to go through the slides that I'm working on and see if there's anything she could correct or give me advice about or some criticism. She's giving me a lot of guidance and she's really been a mentor." (2). After the presentation, Cara shares the significance of this interaction to her capital accumulation and the positive impact this had on her PC, "I gave a presentation and she [manager] was like kind of praising me over it, saying that I did a really good job, and [she] only made small comments on formatting. I was amazed, I just thought the fact that she was so positive and able to say, 'yeah that's good', that gave me a lot more confidence." Though a straightforward example, these interactions would require the employee to mobilise their current reserve of capital. For Cara, being a novice with little experience giving

presentations, this meant 1) mobilising psychological capital to step up to a somewhat intimidating event and 2) mobilising human capital in the form of using relevant knowledge and communication skills.

The outcome of the event (D), in this case a successful presentation and positive feedback, will impact the employee's reserve of capital (E), positively via capital accumulation or negatively via capital depletion. In Cara's example, successfully presenting the progress report and receiving positive feedback on her performance, (I note later in this chapter that positive feedback is essential to psychological and human capital accumulation) resulted in accumulating psychological and human capital. Her human capital reserves increased as she capably exercised communication skills to present newly acquired knowledge. This confidence in her human capital mobilisation then positively influenced her psychological capital such that the fear of making a future presentation was subsequently eased as her self-efficacy (psychological capital) increased.

This revision to the employee's resources or capitals (F) prompts the employee to reevaluate their perceptions of the employment relationship. This evaluation influences perceptions of a fulfilled or unfulfilled PC and represents (G) in the model. Capital accumulation as a result of perceived positive interactions tends to lead towards fulfilled PCs (G+) while capital depletion as a result of perceived negative events or a lack of positive accumulation events tends to lead towards an unfulfilled PC or breach (G-). In Cara's example, she was provided opportunity by the organisation to accumulate important capitals and supported in doing so. Those capitals would be useful, and thus symbolic as per Bourdieu, in enacting a future organisational interaction and thus led to perceptions of PC fulfilment at that time. Cara's subsequent praise for her manager shows the positive effects of this and similar interaactions on the PC relationship, "She's [manager] just really nice to talk to you and made me feel really comfortable...She makes me feel more comfortable in the business and I think it obviously reduces the stress...if I have a question she answers...She got me into the IT demo and stuff like that which she thought would be really helpful." This highlights the effects of a supportive manager and the impact that positive communication can have on capital accumulation and the PC. Cara demonstrates hope and optimism, elements of psychological capital, regarding her employment relationship going forward. She also knows she will be helped when mobilising her human capital, and her social capital is benefitting from the professional introductions her manager makes the effort to provide.

These new revisions that employees have made to their capitals and PCs are then carried into the next organisational interaction (H) meaning the next interaction may (or may not) be perceived, approached, enacted, and overall experienced differently by the employee based on their revised capital reserves and PCs. The employee may feel better equipped for the next presentation having mobilised capital and exercised their skills in this type of interaction. Cara shares how this seemingly ordinary interaction set her up for future events, "My confidence was boosted. Positive feedback from outside the team was a real boost as well, in addition to my manager. And each one helped for the next. What I mean is each time I got positive feedback, it helped me, for the next time I was going to do something, I felt better about it." (3). This evidences how one interaction may influence how the next is experienced. In addition, Cara, now thinks about future tasks by saying, "I know I have someone I can go to if I'm stuck with something". Having successfully enacted the interaction and even accumulated capital as a result, the employee may have increased levels of resilience, self-efficacy, hope, and optimism, all elements of psychological capital to face the next interaction. Indeed, Cara's capital reserves were increased for enactment of the next interaction when Cara later connected subsequent presentations to her earlier experience explaining how it "reassured me that I can do it". She later spoke of giving presentations with more ease and without the same drain on psychological and human capitals that the initial event had demanded. In her fourth interview, Cara demonstrates her human and psychological capital accumulation when she shares "In team meetings, at first, I felt stupid, but by the end of the year I was chairing those meetings and that was a big thing that made me feel part of the team." (4). As Cara experienced multiple cycles of capital interactions throughout her internship, her capital reserves and PC changed over time. In interview 3 she describes how, as her capital increased, so did her expectations of the employment relationship. Ultimately, her capital accumulation experience influenced not only her current PC, but the construction of her PC for future employment relationships too. "This experience [developing skills, knowledge, and relationships [i.e. capital, in the internship] has raised my standard of expectations for future jobs and made me understand how to work within a company [accumulating capital], how to maintain a work-life balance and how I should be treated in future jobs [evolving PC]." (Cara, 3).

The timing and novelty of these capital interactions, happening early in Cara's new role, influences her enactment of or agentic response to the interactions. Events occurring early in an entity's developmental process can have a greater impact on development (Van de Ven, 2007). In the data, stories of giving presentations and receiving feedback were deemed critical by the participants in the first and second phases of data collection, but became less critical and

impactful, as interactions in themselves, when they became repetitive, less novel, and easily managed due to sufficient capital accumulated in response to previous interactions. The timing of interaction, at which stage of capital mobilisation and PC evolution they occurred was significant. Cara's case illustrates how multiple capital interactions build up to create a dynamic process of responses and outcomes for the PC. The steps outlined in this model are merely one cycle of the capital – PC interface. Each employee experiences and participates in multiple capital and PC influencing interactions over time as they participate in organisational life. The cumulative effect of these interactions is encompassed in my capital trajectory table (Table 7). Indeed, one interaction is not always the determining factor as to whether sufficient capital is accumulated to cause fulfillment or unfulfillment of the PC. Once the intern has proceeded past the initial organisational entry represented by (A) in the model, the subsequent steps are repeated continually until they leave the organisation. Thus, the model shared above is just one cycle which is repeated many times as an employee progresses through organisational life.

Intern capital accumulation and organisational facilitation

In this second findings chapter, I present my findings in relation to capitals and their application, utility, and accumulation over time in the internship experience. For each capital that emerged as highly relevant in the participants' experience, I present the data illustrating how that capital was enacted and accumulated by interns. I also present particular organisational interactions and practices that interns perceived to encourage or hinder the accumulation of each capital. Each section begins with an overview of the particular capital, how it was enacted, accumulated, and facilitated and a table of exemplar quotes from one participant across all of their interviews to illustrate the change in capital over time. This evidences how each capital is relevant across the sample, and helps to justify the consideration of the PC through a capitals lens. Each of the following sections then continues with further quotes supported by the researcher's description and explanation.

Human Capital

Human Capital: Enactment and accumulation

The findings in relation to human capital and its application and utility are presented in two categories, namely, hard and soft skills as discussed in Chapter 3. Human capital, particularly in the form of hard skills, is a more obvious capital to identify. For example, having the

technical knowledge, or not, to answer a client question is reasonably straightforward. Also, identifying which level of a technical certification an individual holds, such as accounting exams, is also easily identifiable. Human capital in the form of soft skills is less straightforward to identify as this form of human capital tends to present more in relationships, decision making, and ways of communicating and managing.

Table 9 Human capital accumulation over time

Human Capital	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Caolan	I'm hoping my	I developed technical	I'm definitely more
	interpersonal skills	and professional	proficient in my
	would growthen	skillsI'd be ahead	understanding of
	there's the practical	of other graduates	accounting and how
	application of	that didn't do	the job works
	textbook knowledge,	placement. I've	
	experience it all in	learned what actually	
	real life	goes on in the	
		working world	

Table 10 Human capital enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Human Capital			
Enactment and Accumulation	Facilitation		
Hard skills: Generic technical skills and role	Repeated opportunities to 'do' the work,		
specific knowledge and skills	positive workplace communications, and		
Soft Skills: Communication, managing	training events		
interpersonal professional relationships, time			
management, organisational skills, problem			
solving, leadership and management skills,			
efficient decision making, effective			
teamwork, and prioritisation of tasks			

Hard skills: The findings of this study reveal that interns enacted and accumulated their human capital in the form of hard skills in two main categories, generic technical skills and role specific knowledge and skills. Generic technical skills that were identified as key were using software programmes such as the Microsoft Office Suite, typing and keyboard skills, and online meeting

and communication applications, for example, Zoom or Microsoft Teams. Interns repeatedly talked about how their job required what they described as advanced Microsoft Excel skills and that their employers assumed they already possessed these skills when in fact most did not and had neither used nor learned to use the programme in higher education. They discussed how their lack of skill and experience with Microsoft Excel made tasks during the first weeks of work difficult, added extra pressure to a busy schedule, and required them to learn a new skill quickly. Several lamented their lack of preparation for this aspect of work. For example, Anthony shares in his first interview, "When I started working, I found out that my IT skills were really lacking. I really didn't know how to use Excel, and I didn't know how much you actually need Excel in the day-to-day workplace. I find that Excel skills are coming up a lot for me. I've picked up an understanding of how to use them." (1). He went on to say "They actually expected a good starting level and a good knowledge of Excel to start. So, I really needed that and if I had it, it would have helped me so much more in the beginning." (2).

The second element of human capital hard skills were role specific knowledge and skills. These included learning to use industry or role specific software programmes, for example accounting software, programmes for analysing big data, deepening knowledge of computer programming language and developers' software, marketing campaign software, and online event planning and management tools. Kaitlin shared in the first interview, "I'm becoming familiar with auditing and accounting. I'm learning loads. There's a lot to learn." (1). Meave describes the skills she's gaining in her first interview, "I'm gaining a technical knowledge of coding. I have the motivation to learn more and take courses... The best part of this is getting the experience, gaining the technical skills." (1). In her second interview, she says "My technical skills... have improved 100%. It's not taught enough in university, and you need it, how to use Google analytics in marketing. I'm going to have tools that non-placement students won't have like Twitter Studio. I understand engagement rates." (2). Finally, in her third interview she highlights her increased reserves of human capital, "I've drastically improved my technical skills...I didn't know anything about running a campaign or using marketing specific tools." (2).

Soft Skills:

Communication was the human capital soft skill most mentioned in the data and discussed as central to the learning and development experience of the internship. Interns discussed their anxiety and lack of experience with both written and verbal communication skills. Lack of knowledge and experience in writing professional emails was mentioned frequently in the

data. Interns did not know where to pitch the formality of an email or how to communicate information in a clear, succinct, and appropriate way to differing categories of recipients. They spoke of reading and rereading emails multiple times, submitting emails to superiors to get checked before sending and generally spending a lot of time and energy on one email. Written communication via Microsoft Teams or Slack messages were also problematic in the early stage of the internships as interns did not know whether to be formal or informal in these messages and were not sure how to respond if a senior sent an emoji, for example. This aspect of the work was reported as causing some level of anxiety in the first round of interviews. For example, Rory, "was very nervous writing emails in the beginning. I've gotten less nervous." (2). Sharon said, "I know how to write an email now, how to be professional. I used to always ask and have to check." (2).

Verbal communication, particularly giving presentations, was also discussed frequently in the first round of interviews. Interns found presentations intimidating and felt they were ill equipped for this workplace task as large class sizes in university often precluded the possibility for individual presentation practice. However, as interns accumulated their human capital, they reported significant improvement, and presentations were not viewed as hurdles or resource draining interactions any longer. For example, in her second interview Aoibhinn speaks about how she is developing, "I'm learning to fight for my point and speak in front of groups, give presentations." (2). Again, in her third interview, Aoibhinn reflected on her accumulation of human capital soft skills, "I can do public speaking... I was so nervous the first few times." (3). Speaking on the phone to clients, speaking up in meetings, and general communication at different levels within the workplace were all regular occurrences that interns deemed significant capital events in the first few months of their internships.

Other human capital soft skills deemed significant by interns included managing interpersonal professional relationships, time management, organisational skills, problem solving, leadership and management skills, efficient decision making, effective teamwork, and prioritisation of tasks. For example, in her second interview, Meave describes the range of human capital soft skills she is developing, "I've learned the importance of having a good relationship with your colleagues and your managers and putting yourself first out there and getting noticed. I've also improved my communication skills, my work etiquette, knowing how and when to write and speak formally. I've also learned to speak up and share your opinions with confidence." (2). Georgina, Aoibhinn, Anthony, Shane and Rehan also discussed their human capital in light of the themes above.

"I can sort out my own mistakes. I understand priority. In the beginning they explained in huge detail." Sharon (2).

"I've learned so much SAP, Excel, dealing with cultures, nationalities." Niah (3)

Human Capital: Facilitation

Next, I present *how* interns perceived the organisation supported them in their accumulation of human capital. In other words, what happens within the organisation that encourages and enhances human capital accumulation? The findings show three broad categories through which interns accumulated human capital. **The first category relates to the work itself. Repeated opportunities to 'do' the work was highlighted as the way in which capital was accumulated.** This included exposure to workplace operations, being included in key tasks and projects, doing challenging work, and having the right level of autonomy but with support. For example, Shania shares that she "learn[s] by doing." She adds, "There's a...quote that I keep coming back to 'Tell me and I forget, teach me and I may remember, involve me and I learn'...I'm taking on a leading role. The managers have trusted me." (2).

Participants shared,

"Turning points for me were watching others do their work and what they did. I learned what I did or didn't do from that." Rehan (3)

"I would have been blindsided without placement. The only way to know how to do it, is it do it." Niah (3)

The second main way in which human capital was accumulated was through positive workplace communications. Interns described the importance of having access to their managers and key gatekeepers so that they could easily ask questions and seek information as needed. In relation to communication, the findings repeatedly show the power of positive support and mentorship from managers or graduate 'buddies'. This was manifested particularly through constructive and consistent feedback. Some participants expressed difficulty asking for help and needed extra support and encouragement to do so.

In his first interview, Anthony shares his difficulty asking for help, "At first, I was very afraid to ask for help. They gave me a demo but then I felt like after the demo I was afraid to ask again because I felt that well, they've given me a demo on how to do this so I should know how to do it. If I don't know how to do it, is there something lacking in my competence and my knowledge? Should I already know how to do this? Can I ask again after a demo? I just wasn't sure." (1).

In his second interview, Anthony discusses how receiving encouragement from other employees and managers to ask for help allowed him to gain the necessary information and save time. "Not knowing when to ask for help was a particular difficulty for me, and I only really got more comfortable asking for help when I was encouraged by their, you know, by them offering to help or asking did I need any more support, and also by me just initiating. ... You can actually do your work just because someone gave you 60 seconds rather than spending hours trying to get something done." (2).

Thirdly, training events were avenues to accumulate human capital. Some events mentioned were certified training programmes, short online courses such as LinkedIn Learning, knowledge intensive seminars, and role specific knowledge or exams, for example, accountancy exams or workplace relations trainings. Meave highlights how her work is "easy now" and attributes it to a training course provided by the organisation, "I've done a course on web design and optimisation." (2). Aisling's first interview highlights the range of training courses the organisation has provided, "For my training we do online courses, my supervisor shows me things, I've done manual handling, food safety, first aid, training for the shop floor." (1). She goes on to say in her second interview, "The two HR ladies and manager and the business partner, they helped with my training. They had a huge influence." In her third interview, she again discusses not only the importance of her training, but the impact that relationships with those involved in her training had on her experience, "It took me about 2-3 months to settle in to work. The training for my position took 2-3 months to know people, the routine and the dayto-day operations." In her second interview, Shania shares how she now has become the one training others, "I'm training the new employee. I'm training someone older than me. I've really enjoyed it. I updated all their systems...The first few months I was in a learning role but now I'm an expert. I don't mean to be proud like. It just hit me 'Is this how it works?'" (2). She attributes her ability to train others to the opportunities she received to learn from others. This highlights the importance of point one under 'how' to accumulate human capital, opportunities to do and observe. In this section I have presented the findings related to the ways in which human capital, in hard and soft forms, manifested in the internship experience noting how interns enacted the capital and how organisations facilitated its accumulation. Thus, the value of internships for human capital accumulation is clearly established here. As interns accumulated human capital, their human capital goals were fulfilled.

Psychological Capital

Next, I present the findings relating to psychological capital illuminating how interns accumulated this capital and how organisations facilitated accumulation. The following section presents the data detailing how psychological capital was manifested in the internship experience.

Table 11 Psychological capital accumulation over time

Psychological	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Capital			
Aoibhinn	I'm surprised how much they	I'd say yes to my	I'm more confident
	trust me. They trust me with	manger and then	in my abilities now. I
	so much. It's just interesting	panic and go get	can take praise now.
	that they would trust an	help from my buddy.	I can do public
	intern with so much, I have	She really helped	speakingI was so
	responsibility with company	me. She believed I	nervous the first few
	funds that actually effects the	could do it and that	times. My buddy
	bottom lineThis has	really gave me	helped. I got praised.
	helped me realise my ability	confidence. She	I was listened toI
	and helped my confidence.	didn't change my	got used to asking
		work either. She	questions through
		thought it was good	meeting with my
		enough, so I thought	buddy. The buddy
		it was good enough.	system got me
		She allowed me to	through. It was
		practice.	fantastic.

Table 12 Psychological capital: Enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Psychological capital	
Individual Enactment and Accumulation	Organisational Facilitation
Confident communication, resilience and	Positive organisational communication, the
adaptability, increased self-efficacy, and	quality of organisational relationships, and
general optimism and confidence for the	clear boundaries and expectations including a
professional future.	balanced workload.

Psychological capital: Enactment and Accumulation

Psychological capital was a significant capital for most participants in the study (18 of the 30). Psychological capital represents self-efficacy, resilience, hope and optimism (Savickas & Porfelli, 2012; Tomlinson, 2017). It is the psycho-social resources mobilised in challenging employment contexts. This section details, first, how interns enacted and accumulated psychological capital within the internship and second, how organisations facilitated its accumulation. The enactment and accumulation of psychological capital was evidenced in the internship through confident communication, resilience and adaptability, increased self-efficacy, and general optimism and confidence for their professional future.

As the discussion on the capital findings progresses in this chapter, it will become evident that the capitals build upon each other and are mutually influencing and reinforcing. For example, in this section on psychological capital, which follows the findings on human capital, the reader will see that some manifestations of strong psychological capital, particularly confident communication or self-efficacy, are linked to an intern's confidence in their *ability to do* something or their *knowledge of a subject*, in other words, their human capital reserves. Shania's example highlights this link, "My knowledge has boosted my confidence. When I know what I'm doing and I've practised it, it makes me so much more confident. I know I can do it so I'm not afraid to try and I'll even volunteer for bigger things." (2).

Increased psychological capital enabled interns to improve their confidence in communication. This was evidenced through increased information seeking, often described as not being afraid to ask questions, speak up in meetings, getting one's point across, and challenging decisions. Fiachra's psychological capital accumulation means he is "more comfortable now being able to challenge decisions...I feel really good about myself and my work." (2). By his second interview, Craig's accumulation of psychological capital reduces his fear of information seeking from those in authority, "I'm getting less and less afraid to go to my manager. You know, I can go now and say, OK, I'm screwing this up, I need your help. Whereas before I definitely wouldn't have done that." Craig, (2). In his third interview he shares, "I had confidence problems. I kept asking if I was annoying them [managers] with all my questions, but their responses were better than I could have expected. I said to them 'you've looked after what are essentially two children'... I got good managers, a lot better than I could have expected." (3). Kaitlin, Angelica, and Joel shared similar sentiments about the quality of their exchange relationship emphasising the role of organisational actors in promoting a positive PC.

Psychological capital accumulation improved interns' resilience and adaptability. They described learning to "work through", "just keep going", "knuckle down", and becoming "adaptable", and building "resilience" and "confidence" in the face of challenges and demands. Darren shares how his accumulation of psychological capital is benefitting him, "Some ways that I'm developing myself and developing in my professional life is resilience. I'm learning to work through. I am working through. I'm sitting here for months, but I keep going. I learn to just keep going." (1). Joel describes his psychological capital accumulation as "adjusting to business. I'm more adaptable with all the work. In this environment, it's thrown at you...I just have to knuckle down." (1).

Interns also reported increases in their self-efficacy, belief in one's ability to do something, and their confidence in general including their outlook on the future. For example, in his first interview, Fiachra shares how he has changed, "This would have scared the life out of me a few years ago but now I know I can do it. You just keep doing it and you build up your confidence."

(1). In his second interview, he then says, "I'm confident in what I'm doing." (2). Cara says "I'm learning to trust myself. I am improving." (3). Jordan describes the change that increased psychological capital has made in his life now and how his outlook for the future has been affected, "I'm not shy, awkward, or worried now...I don't wake up afraid to go to work...I know what I want now for the future...I've a better sense of direction for the future." Jordan (3). Thus, psychological capital was a significant capital in the study. It's accumulation enabled interns to increase their self-efficacy, resilience, hope and optimism which in turn influenced their perceptions of the employment relationship.

Psychological capital: Facilitation

Interns described and explained how practices within the organisation encouraged and enhanced their psychological capital accumulation. Three broad themes emerged from the data that facilitated psychological capital accumulation. These were positive organisational communication, the quality of organisational relationships, and clear boundaries and expectations including a balanced workload. The influence of positive organisational communication was paramount to accumulating psychological capital in interns' narratives. Feedback from managers and others in the organisation was particularly impactful. For example, participants share,

[&]quot;Positive feedback gave me confidence. I knew I was in the right place!" Angelica (4)

"My self-confidence is mostly to do with feedback. They assure me that asking questions is good and fine. I can manage minor knocks. They would tell someone or tell me if something is wrong." Angelica (3)

"My confidence was boosted. Positive feedback from outside the team was a real boost as well, in addition to my manager. And each one helped for the next. What I mean is each time I got positive feedback, it helped me, for the next time I was going to do something, I felt better about it." Cara (3)

Craig's experience illustrates the transition an intern goes through in their information seeking behaviours and how that behaviour is linked to their psychological capital, or confidence, and how organisational actors, particularly managers, influence the accumulation of psychological capital, as well as time – where interactions over a sustained time period also influence capital development (accumulations or depletions). Psychological capital in turn facilitates gaining knowledge more quickly thus enhancing human capital too. "At first, I was afraid to ask questions beyond my training, but they told me to ask, and I needed that. I needed someone to say it's okay to ask because I thought, they've already given me training on this. Is there something wrong with me? Why do I still have questions? I was afraid they'll think 'oh the interns are at it again'. But it's not like that at all." (2). He goes on to explain in his third interview, "Their [managers'] responses were a lot better and overall, like than I could have expected." (3). Sharon, Shane, Cara, and Joel shared very similar examples.

Interns also reported that recognition for good work done and recognition of personal milestones, for example an email or cake to mark one's birthday, influenced their psychological capital accumulation. A few months into his internship, Fiachra points out the psychological capital impact of his manager recognising his work, "Being recognised encourages me to speak up... When my manager recognises that I've done something well and I get positive feedback... You can see your value in a small team... They speak to me on an even playing field... I'm more comfortable now being able to challenge decisions. The managers take my suggestions. It's made me more confident to suggest other ideas." (2).

Niah, who was initially upset at having a heavier workload than others, shares how recognition changed her feelings, bolstered her psychological capital and supported repair of the PC. "I got the recognition for the hard work in the end. The recognition made it worth it." (3). She also shares the impact of being publicly recognised by a manager and how this organisational action also enabled social capital accumulation for her, "In a townhall with the Dublin office, my manager was congratulated on a piece of work, and she named me, also my Team Lead

recognised me publicly. It gave me a sense of achievement, fulfilment. I got noticed and known through that." (3).

As to be expected, not all organisational interactions or communication is positive. Sometimes there are breakdowns in communications or overbearing monitoring systems in place that impact capital accumulation. Interns expressed the deleterious effect that poor organisational communication had on their psychological capital. In his first interview, Craig describes managers who were "too busy" to "talk to us", being "left to ourselves" and how the lack of communication was "quite discouraging". "The first two days the manager couldn't talk to us because they were just too busy, so we were just kind of left to ourselves, which was quite discouraging." Craig (1). Patrick reveals the "demotivating" and "stressful" effect that constant virtual "monitoring" and organisational publishing of individual "quality" issues had on him. He shares, "I'm constantly tracked with reported metrics. You have a score at the top of the screen, and everyone can see it. It's green if you're performing well and goes red if you're not and everyone can see that. It's so stressful. Sometimes you get so stressed trying to keep it in the green you lose focus and get worse... You're always on edge. It's like having a camera on you but you don't know where the camera is" (2). He again shares in his third interview, "The monitoring never stopped. Your name appears on the top with a label 'quality issues' if you make a mistake or are slower than you should be. I made a mistake with coding and got that. It's so demotivating." (3). This was a theme across his three interviews. From the beginning, he had said, "I feel the pressure of not wanting to be the problem" (1) and this capital depleting experience continued for much of the internship. Patrick expressed a lack of agency in light of the power exerted by the monitoring systems which negatively impacted his psychological capital and PC. However, as discussed in Findings Part 1, Patrick's PC was eventually fulfilled. as his capital goal of gaining a recommendation and graduate employment was met. The temporal dimension is again underscored here; how over time the perception of the psychological contract evolved for the individual intern depending on their capital interactions.

In addition to positive communication within the workplace, positive organisational relationships were deemed by interns as significant to their psychological capital accumulation. Interns described the importance of trust, respect, access, and support in the employment relationship and how the presence of these qualities encouraged psychological capital accumulation and ultimately their perceptions of the employment exchange relationship. Indeed, as will be discussed later in this chapter, the building blocks of psychological capital relate strongly to social capital in the form of beneficial relationships. The quality of

relationships and communication here are beneficial in the sense that they enhance psychological capital accumulation. Thus, one capital enhances accumulation of another. Anthony links "the fact that they [managers] trust me" to giving him "great confidence" and the realisation that he "can do the job...because...even they believe that I can do the job." (3). Eilis shares how being trusted to do difficult tasks gave her the opportunity to build confidence. "Doing tasks that are difficult builds confidence. I did inductions for new people. They trusted me to do that." (3). Aoibhinn highlights the value of supportive organisational relationships via a "buddy system" that "really helped", "got [her] through", "allowed [her] to practice" and "gave [her] confidence". In his third and fifth interviews, Joel describes that being "treated so well" by his "approachable" manager "helped [him] work better as there's no real sense of hierarchy" (3,5). These organisational side exchanges facilitated psychological capital accumulation and contributed to the building blocks of a positive PC.

Clear boundaries and expectations with a balanced workload also aided psychological capital accumulation. Cara shares how a lack of clarity around workload expectations caused stress, which has deleterious effects on psychological capital. "I was very stressed at the start. I think because it was all quite unclear with the hours...I had to ask about things because they didn't tell me up straight...I'd have to figure out exactly what I'm doing for the day." (2). Desmond shares how his experience of being overworked "is just killing" him, causing him to be "overwhelmed" and making him "just want to get out of here". Though he usually possesses "a good level of perspective and persistence", the unbalanced workload coupled with a lack of human capital knowledge where he does not "know the answers", is depleting his psychological capital. This again highlights the interdependency of capitals. The pressure Desmond is feeling from the busyness of work is compounded by the added lack of human capital. "I have 50 to 60 calls holding from 8:00 in the morning till night. I've always had a good level of perspective and persistence, but this is just killing me. I've asked to change roles again to get out of the madness here. I'm very overwhelmed, not only because of the volume of calls, but because I don't know the answers. People are asking me things and they're getting angry with me on the phone, but I actually don't know the answers. It's a horrible feeling...and then I know on the next call they're going to ask me the same questions...and I still don't have the answers. I just want to get out of here and get moved." (2). Desmond's psychological capital was depleted and his PC negatively impacted as his job demands and organisaitonal support did not balance well. This experience is not what he expected from his employment exchange.

Patrick describes a type of organisational relationship where "numbers are everything" and the unbalanced workload makes him feel like he is "living on a treadmill" resulting in him not taking breaks, not eating, and having no time to build relationships. "Where I work, numbers are everything. I have to hit my metrics ... I can't have a break. I'm not eating. It's like living on a treadmill. I have to have effective communication, cut all the fat. There's no time for that. You have to streamline communication. There's no time for friends and chat to build relationships." (2). Patrick's experience shows the deleterious psychological capital effect of an unbalanced workload coupled with task-oriented rather than people-oriented relationships within the organisation which characterises a transactional PC. Craig also had a similar experience. On a positive note, Rory shares how "The level of work or amount of work to be done helps you to feel integrated" in the team (3). Thus, clear boundaries and expectations regarding work, including a balanced workload, impacted psychological capital accumulation, and, in turn, the PC experienced by the interns. It was not only having too much work but also having too little work to do that influenced psychological capital. Darren shares, "In the beginning, I had three days of just looking through the Google Drive file. They just told me to look through it and familiarize myself with it. But three days of doing that that was a lot. It was a bit demoralising." (2).

In this research study, psychological capital presented a different pattern of accumulation and depletion. All of the other capitals operated much like a muscle, whereby exercising the capital resulted in accumulation or growth. However, as psychological capital is often mobilised in response to a challenging situation, its exercise can result in depletion rather than accumulation as other capitals would. Interns reported initial psychological capital depletion in response to negative interactions but later reported that overcoming those negative interactions actually strengthened their reserves of psychological capital and caused accumulation in the long term. This was particularly evident with resilience, a component of psychological capital. All interns experienced this to some degree as they faced a new working situation. Eight participants described significant capital depletion followed by an accumulation of resilience over time (Niah, Jordan, Desmond, Georgina, Susan, Patrick, Darren, and Colton). Two participants, Barry and Kristine did not recover their psychological capital reserves. It appears in their cases that there was a threshold to mobilising psychological capital whereby if one crosses the threshold, exerting too much effort in response to difficulties, that capital is depleted without the subsequent accumulation of resilience.

Desmond describes his experience of capital depletion and subsequent accumulation. He was "asked to put myself forward for another promotion but then got rejected and it's all gone downhill from there. All [things lacking in a] workplace have just fallen flat." What made it worse was that he had "been referred by two managers so I thought I'd get it... Lots of organisational problems are being revealed." This disappointment made him "consider a change in position...I was referred by them [managers], I thought I'd get it and it's all catching up on me now." (1) His psychological capital was depleted by the rejection, disappointment, unrewarding difficult job, and the confusion of managers' recommendations falling flat. However, by his second interview he describes how he is, "developing a real-life sense of resilience, how to carry on, how to carry the weight, to dig deep." (2). Then, by his third interview he explains how his perseverance and resilience have increased through responding to the difficult circumstances, "My ability to persevere has increased massively...I just had to keep going, even when it was really, really hard and I felt like I had nothing left...Reach down and use it...I gained resilience and fortitude." (3).

Psychological capital as a particularly emotional and relationally based capital bore significant influence on the PCs of interns. This section has highlighted the impact of clear boundaries, the quality of organisational relationships (social capital), and constructive feedback on psychological capital accumulation. It has also highlighted the avenues through which interns enacted psychological capital.

Identity Capital

Next, I present the findings relating to identity capital (see Chapter 3 identity capital section), illuminating how interns enacted and accumulated this capital and how organisations facilitated accumulation. Identity capital was a significant capital for most participants in the study (18 out of 30). Identity capital represents professional work-related narratives, scripts, or perceptions that one believes to be true about oneself, invests in, and portrays to others to advance oneself (Cote, 2005; Du Gay, 1996; Tomlinson, 2017). This manifested as an important building block of the psychological contract in that accumulation of identity capital changed interns' perspectives on themselves as employees and thus how they expected to be treated within the employment exchange. This section details, first, interns' enactment and accumulation of identity capital within the internship and second, how organisations facilitated this accumulation.

Table 13 Identity capital accumulation over time

Identity	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Capital			
Craig	I think I see myself as a student.	After Christmas [3-4	I have to tune my
	I don't have the level of expertise	months into	mind to this different
	or experience that these people	placement] a lot	way of living now.
	have.	more is expected	Getting back into it
		from you. There's a	[college life] is not as
		sense of familiarity	easy as I thought it
		after a while, they	would beNow I
		know us	have 'work Craig'
		nowwe've gone	and I have 'college
		from interns to	Craig'. It's like there
		workers.	are two ways to
			Craig. It's not as easy
			translating back and
			forth between the
			two 'mes' anymore.

Table 14 Identity Capital: Enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Identity Capital		
Enactment and accumulation	Facilitation	
Changing/Projecting professional narratives	Others' perceptions of an intern's identity	
and scripts about oneself, confidence to face	impacted how the interns saw themselves.	
the working world now and in future,	Perceived task significance and having	
changing expectations about how one should	enough work to do. Organisational	
be treated at work / in the higher education	communication and the quality of	
context as a student.	organisational relationships. The context,	
	university or work, in which interns found	
	themselves influenced their perceptions of	
	their identity.	

Identity Capital: Enactment and accumulation

The interns' professional identity scripts changed over the course of the placement as their identity capital developed from that of student to that of work novice to that of work colleague/peer and valued member of the team. This evolving transformation of their professional identity script, correspondingly, influenced their PC with their employing organisation. Previously constructed scripts in relation to the APC which the interns had constructed from their experiences to date evolved over the placement to reflect their experience-related perceptions of their identity in the context of their work placement and corresponding psychological contract with their employer. Identity scripts also morphed once again upon return to full-time education. Many participants reported perceiving themselves as 'students' or 'interns' at the beginning of the internship, a status or identity which they believed to be 'less professional'. After a short time in the organisation, many described themselves as 'employees' or 'regular members of the work team', a status they linked with being 'more professional'. Then upon returning to full-time education, interns once again experienced a shift in their identity narratives this time describing the tension around reintegrating to university life and being both a 'student' and a 'professional'.

The first example presents Joel's evolving narrative of the self across four interviews. His first interview evidences his perception of himself as "somewhere in between a student and a professional." He shares his "perspective change", how he has "changed as a person" and how he has realised the importance of not only working to a professional standard, "no shortcuts. You have to do your work", but projecting that professional self through displaying "passion". He realised you have to "Show it. Paint it in the sky". He shares, "I feel like an intern. I'm more mature now. I've had a reality check... That's how I've changed as a person. I've had a perspective change. You can't just do passable work. You have to display your passion. Show it. Paint it in the sky. That's a big lesson I've learned...I feel like I'm somewhere in between a student and a professional." (1). In his second interview he shares, "My occupation is part of my self-concept. I feel kind of settled, like I'm a student but I'm also fulltime. I'm professional and an employee." (2). The effects of his identity capital development are that he is "more career oriented now. I'm more work driven now. I'm eager to do different projects. I know what I want to do now after placement. It was muddy before" (3). In his fourth interview he shares, "Now [once he finishes college], I have to step into that role of a professional. I have a small bit of imposter syndrome. I have to swallow that. It's just my experience; it's not refined yet. It will be unrefined until I settle into a grad position or grad internship." (4). These quotes reveal Joel's unfolding professional identity development and how, though stronger, it was still neither refined nor fully settled upon completion of the internship. His identity capital has developed which has had a positive outcome for him in that he "know[s] what [he] want[s] to do now after placement" but still must "step into that role of a professional".

Desmond's example across three interviews shows how his identity capital accumulation moves his self-perception from being "a student" to "more than a student" to feeling "like a whole new person" who is "maturing" and is now "a worker", "an employee", and a "professional". He attributes this to "climbing the ladder", "getting better", "learning new things" and his identity being "reinforced" by the organisation. He then explains how his identity capital will be "a springboard for the next job" evidencing how identity capital is a resource to advance one's career. "Now that I'm, I'm changing departments, I'm getting better, I'm learning new things. I don't feel like a student anymore. Like it's been reinforced and I'm more than a student because I've been able to move departments." (1). "The more I can get out of this, it's a spring board for the next job...It's probably just maturing. I'm turning 21 but I feel I've gained 5 years of experience... I feel like a whole new person. I feel older." (2). His final interview shows how a renegotiation of the self occurs when an intern reintegrates to university life with Desmond now seeing himself as both a student and a professional. "I see myself as a student. Like Monday to Thursday, I'm a student, but Friday to Sunday I'm a worker because that's when I'm in work. So, I just think of myself in different ways...but I do consider myself a professional".

Darren's quote from his third interview highlights the power of organisational narratives on one's professional identity. Darren describes himself as an "intern" throughout the placement rather than a "professional". This differs from the language used by most interns in the study and at first glance it may appear that his identity has not developed in the same way as others. However, upon further examination, the power of organisational narratives or scripts is at play here. In this organisation, "interns do the same work as seniors, there's no separation" and "had [their] own table so [they] were comfortable sharing". Darren describes himself as "an intern, not a student". Being a student was seen differently than being an intern as "an intern wasn't any less than being a full employee in the organisation. It just meant that I knew my role as an intern and there was safety to that. I was comfortable with it, but I was still very much included in the team. Because interns had an important role". As discussed above, for other participants, being seen or labelled by organisational symbols, such as, email addresses labelled as 'intern' or being granted access (or not) to important company files and information, or being

referred to as "the intern" had a negative effect on identity capital accumulation. However, in Darren's organisation, being "an intern" was both a positive and safe identity category in which to be. The detailed process study approach employed in this research is valuable as it allowed me, as the researcher, to understand the nuance in the terms used by the participants and normalised in their respective employing organisations, rather than potentially cause me, in my analysis, to consider the usage of the word 'intern' as a more derogatory delineation separating the interns from the regular employees. In fact, in this particular organisational setting, the term 'intern' is normalised as valued members of the employee team.

Another repeated finding was that interns viewed themselves as "different student/s"] than those who had not completed an internship. Contrasting themselves with non-placement students, they described themselves as "different student[s] now" (Desmond), as more "mature" (Susan), more "collaborative" (Aoibhinn), "more developed" (Rehan), or "productive" and as having "different preferences" and a more "thorough thought process" (Niah). They bemoaned the experience of working together in groups with non-placement students saying placement students had "less tolerance for those not pulling their weight. We know what it is to get work done" and "It's hard to show off your skills when you're with others who haven't done an internship." Niah (3). Many complained about "doing most of the work in my group. It's different being with non-placement students" (Aoibhinn, 3) and often echoed sentiments such as "You could tell if someone has done placement" (Rehan, 3). Interns' professional identity capital had increased. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the influence of one capital upon another is evident here. Human capital, in the form of hard and soft skills and knowing how to get a group work task done, has influenced their related professional identities in their identity capital.

Identity Capital: Accumulation

In this section, I present the findings detailing the factors that influenced how identity capital was enacted and accumulated within the internship. Identity capital accumulation was influenced by three broad and overlapping categories of interactions. First, others' perceptions of an intern's identity impacted how they saw themselves. This included not only the words and actions of others in the organisation but also organisational symbols of status, such as, email addresses labelled as 'intern' or being granted access (or not) to important company files and information. Second, perceived task significance and having enough work to do were deemed as critical factors in identity capital accumulation by interns. Third, organisational communication and the quality of organisational relationships,

often expressed as being made to feel "part of the team", were highly influential to identity capital accumulation. I describe these categories of identity capital accumulation factors as overlapping because participants often described these factors in conjunction with each other but are presented here in separate paragraphs for clarity. For example, perceived task significance, or how central to team goals interns believed their work to be, was often immediately followed by a discussion on how doing important work made them feel part of the team and thus increased their professional identity capital. This made them feel more like organisational insiders and not temporary interns. Thus, these categories and factors are not completely distinct but mutually influencing and reinforcing.

Discussing the impact of organisational actors' words and actions, **Jordan shares**, "How they [managers and other employees] see you influences how I see myself." (1). In her first interview, Sharon's describes how others' perceptions influence her own, "They expect you to be like everyone else. No one is told I'm an intern so you're not treated differently... The fact that other people don't know I'm a student, I forget about it... I felt important because they didn't tell anyone I'm an intern." (1). This influence persists as she describes it again in her third interview, "I forgot I have to finish my degree. I feel like I graduated 5 years ago. When other people see you as an employee, you see yourself that way." (3). Kaitlin also shares "I definitely feel like part of the team. People think I'm just the same. They forget that I'm on placement." (2).

Discussing the impact of organisational symbols of status, Cara explained how having an intern email address rather than a full employee address affected her identity capital, "I felt like a student all the way throughout the placement. My e-mail address showed I was a student." Shania shared a similar experience and the impact that an email signature had on others' trust in her professional knowledge "I feel like a regular staff member in work but sometimes an intern. My signature at the end of my email is intern. Your judgment isn't trusted as an intern. People look you up on LinkedIn and they know." (3). As a significant building block of a positive employment relationship, trust impacted Shania's capital accumulation and resulting PC. In his third interview, Rehan reiterates the continuing impact that lack of access to files had on his identity capital (also mentioned in his first interview) and how, "Sometimes I only had access to certain files which made me feel like an intern." (1).

Symbols such as receiving birthday gifts or flowers or emails recognising one's birthday were also reported as significant to how interns perceived their place within the work team and thus had influence on their identity capital and PCs. For example, Patrick's identity capital was

depleted when, "On my 21st birthday I worked all day, 6am - 6pm. I had to cancel my birthday plans. No workers wished me happy birthday. Everyone else's birthday was marked with an email...I feel it was reinforced that you're not at our level yet. I'm part of the team but not at their level." (2). The significance of such events, that may seem non work related but influence the professional and psychological capital of the employee (albeit the intern employee in this study) is a recurring theme in the findings. Feeling part of a team and being valued as an individual (with a significant birthday as in Patrick's case above) directly influenced both the capital composition of the individual interns and their PCs.

Task significance, or how important an intern perceived their work to be, directly impacted their identity capital. In addition, having sufficient work to do contributed to their sense of being a valued team member. When summarising her experience at the end of her 4th interview, Cara's thoughts illustrate how being given "important work" and enough work to do can impact one's identity capital. "Many times, I just felt that my work wasn't that important and there wasn't enough work to do and when there's not enough work for you to do, but you can see that other people are busy, then you know you're not necessarily an essential part of the team. I think not having important work made me feel like I'm not an important part of the team, so it made me feel that I was external or that I wasn't necessary. So, it made me feel that I'm just a student here getting experience rather than a fully-fledged part of the team or someone who's proficient and a professional." This quote also illustrates how fragile and dependent upon external contextual factors intern identity capital can be. This makes it a complex, precarious, and easily depleted capital.

Niah's quote from her second interview again shows the fragility of an intern's identity capital and how it can fluctuate on a daily basis in relation to work tasks. "How I see myself varies each day. In marketing I'm busy so I feel more a part of the team. I feel more fulfilled at the end of the day, there's fulfilment feeling like you've worked hard and played an important role, but when you're not given much work, you don't." (2). In her third interview she further shares the effects that different types of work and being trusted to do the work can have on one's identity capital and trust in the employment exchange, "A different type of work makes you feel different. How I see myself and my work are intertwined. The more work you do and knowing how to do it makes you feel more like an employee, a professional. Less work and not knowing how to do it has the opposite effect...the only way to know how to do it, is to do it. You need those opportunities for someone to just trust you and let you try it even if you're not sure about yourself." (3). Niah's reflection also shows the interdependency of identity capital on human

capital or "knowing how to do" the work. Kaitlin's example shows the identity capital accumulating effect that having your "own work" can have as opposed to the non-accumulation of helping with others' work. "September to December I was a newbie, and I was thrown from person to person to help with their work. But from January, I was part of the team. I was being given my own work. This made a difference between feeling like a student versus an employee."

(2). Anthony, Susan, Sharon, and Rehan shared similar experiences. Caleb's example illustrates how not having an equal workload to others can impact identity capital. He shares, "My identity is somewhere in between an intern and an employee. I'm not...doing as much work as everyone else, and you know that." (2).

Interns reported that positive relationships with managers (social capital) resulting in constructive feedback and positive communication with other employees impacted their accumulation of identity capital. Similar to being given "good work" or "important work" discussed above, interns reported that the quality of their social capital with other team members (discussed below) made them feel trusted and part of the team. This impacted how they perceived their professional identity, their reserve of identity capital, and influenced how they evaluated their position in the PC exchange relationship. Aisling explains the impact that managers exhibiting "trust" and "respect" and being "very nice" and "approachable" has on an intern's identity. These qualities in the employment relationship impact whether someone feels "junior", "respect[ed]", "judged", on a "lower level", "distant" or whether they feel "confidence" in themselves and the employment relationship. (2). Niah shares how an intern needs someone else in the organisation to believe in their abilities, even if the intern lacks identity capital, "You need those opportunities for someone to just trust you and let you try it even if you're not sure about yourself." (3). Rehan and Anthony shared similar experiences.

Finally, the context in which interns found themselves influenced their perceptions of their identity. When employed and in work interns usually described themselves as "professionals" and upon return to college the described themselves as "students" but somehow still professional. This was an ongoing process of negotiation for them as they grappled with projecting their professional identity capital, along with their other capitals, they had accumulated during the internship, while physically being on a college campus fulfilling the role of student.

For example, Desmond describes how location and role influenced his narrative of the self, "When I'm on campus, I'm a student. When I'm in work, I'm a worker and I'm an employee".

(3). During the internship, Meave and Jordan share how links to the university through liaising

and placement classes influenced them towards a hybrid identity. "I feel like I'm a mix of a student and an intern. I also see myself as an intern. I still liaise with the college." Meave (1). "I'm a full employee, not a student. I'm only a student when I go to placement classes." Jordan (1). Shane describes himself as a "student again" after the internship as he has "no connection" with his former company anymore (3). Susan, on the other hand, evidences a dichotomy in her identity scripts, "Now that I'm back in college, I feel 75% student and 25% professional because I'm keeping my Linked In going." (3). This section on identity capital has presented the findings relating to how identity capital was accumulated by interns and facilitated by organisations. Identity capital accumulation influenced not only how equitable interns perceived their employment exchange to be, but also how they saw themselves as exchange partners and how they expected to be treated in the PC exchange.

Cultural Capital

Next, I present the findings relating to cultural capital illuminating how interns enacted and accumulated this capital and how organisations facilitated its accumulation. Interns displayed cultural capital within the workplace by learning how to comport themselves in a business context and a professional manner. This included learning appropriate ways of communicating, dressing, and adopting mannerisms that were befitting of the professional business context. Cultural capital was realised in particular contexts and roles and over time. Interns often discussed cultural capital accumulation after accumulating human, psychological, and identity capital. It appears these other three capitals were necessary foundations to cultural capital in the intern context. While most interns described this as a capital they were lacking regardless of their social background, interns from lower socio-economic areas (related to economic capital) or from families without professional working experience felt this cultural capital gap more keenly. Interns from challenging socio-economic areas reflected underdeveloped cultural capital and a habitus that lacked insight to professional working norms. This is a result of the social fields within which they grew and developed pre work experience. However, as this process study shows, over time this grouping of interns were able to accumulate the necessary cultural capital to enact a successful exchange relationship.

Table 15 Cultural capital accumulation over time

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Sharon	I was afraid. Going in I	I've realised they don't	No one in my family
	was worriedI felt like	mind where you've come	works
	I'm not like the rest of	from. I was coming in	corporateNow I can

these people. I didn't know what I was doing. I was afraid of making mistakes, like the way they hold themselves, the way they were dressed. They are all professionals. I'm from a council estate. No one in my family has ever had an office job. No one on my estate has even gone to college.

afraid thinking I wasn't like these people. I'm literally the only one on my entire estate that ever went to college, never mind having a corporate job! I'm so proud of myself. I know...how to be a professional.

do whatever they ask me. I know how to act. I know what to do, how to talk to people. I feel comfortable here, like one of team. I was going in afraid. Now I feel I can do whatever they give me.

Table 16 Cultural capital: enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Cultural Capital		
Enactment and accumulation	Facilitation	
Comporting oneself in a business context and	Opportunities for exposure to organisational	
a professional manner. This included	culture and opportunities to observe and	
learning appropriate ways of	practice culture, clear guidelines on	
communicating, dressing, and adopting	organisational norms and culture, and an	
mannerisms that were befitting of the	affirming culture.	
professional business context.		

Cultural Capital: Application and utility

Shania explains that she "did not have an office experience prior to placement nor did any of [her] family members in the past so this was an entirely new environment to experience." She describes how she incorrectly learned about "corporate life" via media which "influenced [her] outlook on the workplace and how it should be in real-life." Shania's example shows the impact that her social field and habitus had on her employment schema whereby (incorrect) media depictions of working life made up the gap that her habitus and low cultural capital reserves could not provide. (RA). In his first interview, Fiachra describes his background as "working class tradespeople" who "don't understand professional work" and "don't really get it". He explains that his "family are giving [him] more respect now that [he's] working…and that

"they respect [him] for doing it." (1). By his third interview, Fiachra had accumulated cultural capital and confidently declares, "I have a higher level of professionalism" than before (3). Rory says he has, "gained experience in knowing how to function in the workplace, the vibe, how to comport oneself." (3). Upon completing his internship, Darren feels he now has the cultural capital and human capital to not "be afraid to step into a professional setting because I know what to do, I know how to act, I know what to say, and I know how to comport myself." (3). Caolan says he needs to learn the rules of the game by "learning about office politics." (1).

Several interns discussed how they needed to learn appropriate forms of communication in the business setting, how to speak with clients and how to find the right level of formality and politeness. This differs from human capital knowledge and skills in the sense that human capital accumulation is gaining information, knowledge, and technical or relational skills whereas cultural capital is understanding the habitus of a specific field, what is appropriate, and how to appropriately apply knowledge in a specific social setting, in this case the business context. Through her internship, Aoibhinn says she is improving her understanding of "etiquette" including "what to say and how to say it." (2). In his fifth interview, Joel explains how an intern changes, "You can speak the language of the people you're working with." (5). Angelica said that through her exposure to others in the office, she is "learning how to" be "courteous and polite to people" in the business context and "how to set the correct tone when communicating." (2). This section has presented the findings of how interns enacted and accumulated cultural capital within the internship. The next paragraph introduces how organisations facilitated cultural capital.

Cultural Capital: Facilitation

This paragraph describes how cultural capital was facilitated by organisations. First, interns accumulated cultural capital when the organisation provided opportunities for exposure to organisational culture and opportunities to observe and practice culture, for example ways of interacting within the company and with clients. In relation to the first point, Eva explains how her experience of representing the company through the "help chat box" gave her opportunity to practice her "tele service voice". "I'm in the help chat box so I need to respond to people who make queries and I have to put on my tele service voice." (2). Sharon describes how "breakout rooms and chat" were a platform for her to mature and practice workplace communications. "I've grown up a lot. I've matured over the last year...We have break out rooms and chat." (1). Opportunities to observe cultural norms in person were particularly

helpful. Caolan shares, "You indirectly learn mannerisms from being around older people." (2).

Secondly, clear guidelines on organisational norms and culture coupled with explanation is helpful to interns who often have no background to understand corporate culture or interaction. For example, Caleb recalls a "really, really embarrassing" situation whereby he lacked the knowledge of organisational customs and culture and felt he dressed inappropriately for a meeting. He also describes how he is learning "to talk…in a professional manner". "Yeah, there's been some embarrassing things, like I don't really know how to act appropriately, dress appropriately in the online meetings. One time I got all dressed up really formal in this suit and tie, but like, the call was so casual, and it was really, really embarrassing." (1).

Thirdly, an affirming culture helps interns to relax and accumulate cultural capital. Sharon, who describes herself as "from a low-income area" was "coming in afraid" as she thought she lacked cultural capital and was "not like the rest of these people" who she describes as "all professionals". She shares her anxiety about "making mistakes, like the way they hold themselves, the way they were dressed" as she believes she "didn't know what [she] was doing" being "from a council estate." (1). However, having experienced being on "the dream team" that are "very close" and having a manager who is "very good", "very encouraging", and "taking an interest" in her, she says, "I feel comfortable here, like one of the team". She "realise[s] they don't mind where you've come from." She explains how she is "figuring out how to carry [herself] professionally", is no longer keeping her "guard up" and "know[s] how to act" and "how to talk to people" (2). Sharon's example shows the impact that a positive inclusive environment can have on those who may be lacking cultural capital due to not experiencing a particular habitus before and the value of a phased data collection approach whereby the researcher engages with the participants on an ongoing basis to see change over time.

This section has outlined the findings in relation to cultural capital detailing how interns accumulated cultural capital and organisations facilitated its accumulation. Socio-economic status (related to economic capital) was impactful here as their social field left gaps in the intern habitus and resulting PC schema which impacted their initial experience of the professional employment exchange. Interns from this type of background initially lacked cultural capital but were able to accumulate it through their organisations' support which aligns with Bourdieu's argument that one can enhance their cultural standing (Bourdieu, 1989).

Social Capital

Ten participants out of thirty in the study discussed social capital (Bourdieu, 1989) as important to their capital goals and their experience. However, the findings reveal that social capital was a key facilitator for all participants in the accumulation of other capitals. It took time and experience for interns to realise the crucial role that social capital plays. This evidences how capital goals may be revised and developed as individuals accumulate capital and develop their PC schema. Social capital represents resources that are drawn from social connections such as mutual relationships, acquaintances, class or group membership and may be evidenced through strong and weak ties (Putnam, 1999) which broker trust and insider knowledge (Granovetter, 1985). This section details, first, how interns enacted and accumulated social capital and how organisations facilitated its accumulation.

Table 17 Social capital accumulation over time

Social	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Capital			
Susan	Hopefully I'll meet lots	I started on Linked In in	In busy seasons, you're
	of people along the	September. I have 150	better off with people.
	way My strategy is	connects. I joined the	My Linked In is at
	just to get involved	connect committee in	255 I think I've
	everywhere I can when	[organisation]. I also	changed in that I can
	we knew we wouldn't	work with someone in	network
	get to go in.	H.R. I am the social	professionally Yeah,
		media ambassador. I'm	I increased my social
		the only placement	connections 100%. I
		student on the CSR	put myself out there.
		committee How do I	H.R. asked me to do a
		connect? I'm a chatty	talk for new interns. I
		person. I take initiative	said before, when you
		and I make connections.	do one thing, you get
		I'm thinking more about	asked to do more. I felt
		my career now.	isolated at one stage,
			and all this helped I
			wanted to build my
			social network.

Table 18 Social capital: Enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Social Capital		
Enactment and accumulation	Facilitation	
The importance of developing quality	Opportunities for interaction, connection,	
professional relationships, how to step out of	and exposure.	
one's comfort zone to initiate contact, how to		
utilise contacts to advance one's career, and		
the challenges surrounding making contacts,		
particularly in an online or hybrid work		
context.		

Social Capital: Enactment and accumulation

Firstly, interns learned the importance of developing quality professional relationships.

This requires the organisation to structure workplace operations and communications in a manner conducive to collaboration and necessitates strategic intentionality. Both online and in person interaction was discussed including digital social tools, choosing meetings (online or in person) rather than emails to communicate, inviting interns to meetings, teamwork, and open communication approaches. Interns expressed a desire to accumulate social capital through building their professional networks with "good relationships" that they "draw on later". For example, Eva shares how she has realised the importance of not just "what you know" but "who you know". "I think what I've learned or how I've grown, how I've changed, is that I've realized connections are much more about who you know...who I know is what has made me who I am and who I know is what has made me try and do new things and make meaningful connections...So, that's become really, really important to me." (3). Aoibhinn shares that she is planning "to build a good list of connections on LinkedIn and more than that to actually have some good relationships that I could draw on later if I need them." (1). Early on, Angelica said she hopes to "grow" herself through accumulating social capital. "I'm hoping to attend events and meet people and grow myself that way... The social side is important too." (1). In her third interview, she reports, "I've really got to know my team... I have formed strong relationships with a lot of people over me and I've formed a light friendship with them." (3). Caleb and Darren shared similar experiences to the quotes above. This social capital focus on relationships impacted the PC exchange relationship and built towards fulfilled PCs as interns evaluated their interactions with the organisation.

Secondly, interns also reported learning to step out of one's comfort zone to gain contacts.

Interns had to muster up confidence (psychological capital) and "push" themselves "to reach out and connect" sometimes finding alternative ways to accumulate social capital in an online context. This highlights the interdependency of capital accumulation. Indeed, interns were operating in a new social field which required mobilising their psychological (confidence and self-efficacy), human (written and verbal communication skills and tools), identity (projecting one's professional script in introductions), and cultural (understanding appropriate approaches, signalling culturally valued dispositions, and industry lingo) capitals. By Aoibhinn's second interview she is, "gaining more confidence to reach out and connect with people after calls and through different software." (2). Eva expresses the effort it takes to make connections, "I pushed myself to join work Cafe calls...I need to push a little bit to do that, but I end up enjoying them and afterwards I'm glad that I went." (2). By her third interview, Angelica explains what she has learned to do, "I think some things that are different about me now is that I've learned to connect with people better." (3). Though Fiachra found the social aspect of remote working "hard", he still mobilised his capital and reports "building links with people." (3).

Thirdly, interns learned the importance of utilising social capital to advance their careers.

This practice of mobilising social capital began for some in the job search stage of the internship experience and continued with interns planning to use their new contacts for the future employment market. Fiachra and Barry used familial ties to help secure their internships. Barry shares, "I got this job through my mother, my Mum's friend." (2). Fiachra discusses the support he gained from his uncle, "My uncle helped me with the interviews." (1). Several others in the sample also drew on the support of family and friends in the job search stage. "I talked to someone who got it [secured an internship] to see what they did." Caolan (1). Thus, strong ties (Putnam, 2000) were utilised to secure the internship. Aoibhinn shares her strategy for mobilising social capital and what she has learned about its importance, "I've kept in touch and built my contacts during the internship... The relationships at work are important to me...I've developed a network of people." Joel and Caolan shared similar plans to use contacts for the future. Gaining these resources to bolster future employability fulfilled a capital goal for this sample who hoped that the internship would improve their future job prospects.

Finally, interns repeatedly discussed the challenges of building social capital in a hybrid or online working context. These challenges were compounded by the fact that interns are

novices in working life and lack the skill of accumulating social capital in a professional context. They reported the difficulty of not seeing "body language" (Angelica, 3) and not "naturally" (Aoibhinn, 1) or spontaneously meeting people in normal office interactions. Interns said, "you only talk to people that you directly work with." (Joel, 5). They reported feeling "restricted" (Joel, 2) and isolated saying they felt "like a number...on my own." (Patrick, 1) and that they had "definitely met fewer people because of remote working". They said, "it was harder to build meaningful relationships online" and that "online communication doesn't go very far" (Caleb, 3). They also reported feeling that they had "missed the collaboration of team success." (Aoibhinn, 3).

Social capital: facilitation

Next, I share how the organisation facilitated asocial capital accumulation. The main way that interns accumulated social capital was through being provided with opportunities for interaction and connection. This included both online and in person interaction. Organisations provided these opportunities for interaction through digital social tools, scheduling meetings rather than emails to communicate, inviting interns to work and social meetings, structuring tasks within a teamwork context, and by encouraging open communication styles. These actions required intentionality and strategic structuring of workplace interactions on the part of the organisation.

Eva shares how her organisation made regular online social interactions "normal and expected" and how this helped her. "I was included in a lot of social calls during work time with coworkers or my own manager and initially I was worried I looked bad on the call as I wasn't working but it was normal and expected to have these casual breaks and calls." (1). She also describes the organisation's "internal Facebook" called "Connect" as "great" and that "It really helps you feel connected." (2). Caolan highlights how having some calls rather than all written or email communication enhanced engagement, "My team was pretty engaging with calls, not just all emails." (2). Caleb, who expressed difficulty with isolation, shares how he his organisation scheduled calls and shows the importance of intentionality and scheduling interaction for interns who may not have the confidence to initiate interaction. "We did have weekly calls on Wednesday [with a buddy]." (2). Shania and Eilis benefited from their roles in the organisation which enabled them to make many contacts. "I got so many contacts through working on the strategic partner programme." Shania (3). Eilis: "I really built my social network because of the position I'm in" Eilis (2). Her position meant social capital accumulation, "just happens in the day to day" Eilis (3) and shows the importance of designing

roles and workplace interaction to promote connection so that social capital can be accumulated without undue barriers.

Interns often valued the opportunity to interact in person and learn by observing others. "You learn a lot just by being in the office and being around people and I definitely missed out on that side of it. Sometimes just by seeing the dynamics in person of how things are done, you can learn a lot and I missed that." Caleb (3). Darren shares the value of an in-person teamwork activity that increased his social capital reserves and how this also impacted his human capital through knowledge sharing and information seeking. "So, it was a few months before I really talked to anyone. We made smoothies all day. We were testing a new product, so we had to use it. After that, you'd say hi to people that you wouldn't have before. This helped me ask questions and get help. In my first few weeks I wasted and spent a lot of time not knowing how to do things, but after the smoothies I was asking questions and getting answers." (3). In addition to providing opportunities for interaction, social capital was more easily accumulated when unnecessary formality was removed from organisational interaction. Angelica shares, "when it's too formal...it thickens the lines before you when trying to make relationships." (2). Sharon shares how an organisational social time called "Coffee roulette changed things." (2).

The actions above require an organisation to structure workplace operations and communications in a manner conducive to collaboration and necessitates strategic intentionality. This section has reported the impact of social capital accumulation which provides the building blocks of a positive PC relational exchange and enables the accumulation of other capitals.

Economic Capital

Economic capital impacted interns both before and during their internships. As discussed above, interns' socio-economic background (their field) influenced the type of habitus they experienced pre-organisational entry which in turn influenced the construction of their APCs and their capital goals. When economic capital reserves were low or if economic capital was important to the individual, the accumulation of economic capital became a capital goal. Alex, Desmond, Patrick, Joel, Meave, Sharon, and Barry possessed and communicated economic capital goals for their internships. However, other participants, though not expressing economic capital goals for the internship, were influenced by their pre-existing economic capital reserves via habitus and field mentioned above. Thus, capitals play a role both pre (influencing the construction of APCs and capital goals) and during (as measures through which to evaluate the PC exchange) the internship experience.

Table 19 Economic capital accumulation over time

Name:	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Meave	I like learning but I	The money is great.	I really enjoyed the
	like money	I'm enjoying the	money and the
	moreAdulting is	freedom it gives	freedom that that
	expensive! My car	meI'm excited	bought. Having a car
	and insurance were	about going back to	changed my life.
	3000 euro. I couldn't	college but I will	
	have got this car	miss the money.	
	without the job. It's		
	given me so much		
	freedom.		

Table 20 Economic Capital: Enactment, accumulation, and facilitation

Economic Capital			
Individual enactment and accumulation	Organisational Facilitation		
Changing relationship to money over time,	Consistent and fair organisational rewards.		
sensitivity regarding fair and consistent			
rewards and salary, not central to the			
internship experience but an added benefit.			

Economic Capital: Enactment and accumulation

The data reveals the following themes in relation to economic capital. The first theme is that interns reported a changing relationship to economic capital over time. Desmond began his internship experience describing money and the salary as "really important" and what "motivated" him. He also highlighted how his "maturity" is increasing as he learns to be "really wise" and "manage [his] money". "Money motivates me. I'm the eldest of four kids, so I need money. My mother needs money. So, it's really, really important to me that I get the money from this, that I get my salary and, then like I have to be a really wise what I do with my money. I'd say I am changing through this experience. (1). Desmond's personal financial situation (including his familial social field and habitus) influenced his economic capital goal and terms of the PC making the accumulation of economic capital central to PC fulfilment. However, in his second interview, Desmond's perspective on money has shifted. Money no

longer motivates him in the same way. He shares, "This is highlighting what I want from a job and what I want from an organisation, what I want from my role and how I want to interact with other managers and things like that. It's not just a job anymore. It's not just about money. It's about the workplace. It's about the employer. It's about the whole experience that I'm going to have. So before, yeah, I know I said...I was focused on money...but now I don't think like that. I used to think how many hours I'd put in and what exchange that would be in financial terms, like if I do these 20 hours, I'll get this much money and that's the way I thought. That's what motivated me. But now I think about how many hours and what's that going to do to me? Is it going to drain me? I have to think now about how I'm feeling, about how I'm doing and balancing my life." (2). In his third interview, he describes his "different perspective" on the value he gives to economic capital and again describes how the employment experience is more important. He says, "Thinking about the future, money is still a factor for me, but I have a different perspective now. It's money in relation to stress. How much stress? There's a threshold. I want a vibrant workplace. I want a vibrant culture. And those things are really important to me now." (3).

Reflecting on her experience in her final interview, Sharon explains how her relationship to economic capital has changed and impacted her future PC, "Before placement, if the money was good enough, I'd do anything. But no way now. I'd take less money for enjoyment and work life balance. I had that in [organisation], and I wouldn't settle for less since I know it's out there now. Before I didn't know what was out there. Money used to motivate me." (3). This illustrates a reprioritising of the hierarchy of capital goals and a change to PC content. As interns communicated a changing relationship with economic capital by valuing their time and well-being more than money, some decreased their focus on accumulating economic capital for increasing psychological and human capital. Thus, it is essential that organisations keep the lines of communication open with employees to understand how and when the capital goals that compose the PC may be reprioritised. This understanding will enable better planning and proactive management of the PC.

The second theme is that economic capital, though important, was not central to the internship experience for most. In general, most interns experienced a straightforward relationship with economic capital (within the organisation) in that they did the work, and the organisation paid the agreed amount resulting in economic capital accumulation. It was seen by many as an added benefit to the internship that enabled independence and the funding of future plans, such as travel and avoiding working during their final year of study. These economic

goals or motivations are also discussed in chapter 5 Findings Part 1. Alex looks forward to his first pay cheque saying, "Having the money will be good and will enable me to do some things I've wanted to do for a while, like gain independence." (1). By his second interview he says, "I've moved out of home...it's my first time away from home. I really wanted to be able to do this and having the salary allows me to." He describes how he has "changed as a person" through this independence and growth experience but that he "will have to move back home [after the internship] because [he] won't be working anymore." (2). After the internship ended, he says, "I will miss the money and the independence it gave me. It was one of the good things about this." (3). Meave says that the economic capital accumulated through the internship has enabled her to get a car and start "adulting", which is "expensive" (1). She explains, "I couldn't have got this car without the job. It's given me so much freedom... Having a car changed my life. That was one of my big goals for placement, apart from the experience, obviously." (3). Economic capital was important but often not central, unless an economic capital goal had been stated to the internship experience. This may be a finding unique to this sample. As mostly young individuals living at home with parents, much of the sample did not carry the financial burden that an older employee may, such as a mortgage or childcare. Also, human capital goals (to gain work experience) were priority to this novice sample.

Economic Capital: Facilitation

Organisations facilitated interns' accumulation of economic capital by providing fair and consistent rewards and opportunities. When organisations did this, there was no compelling need for interns to speak of this capital as what was expected was provided. However, in situations such as Patrick's and Barry's (discussed more in Chapter 5 Findings Part 1) where interns may be wondering "how the salary will work" and "why didn't I get one? [referring to bonuses, healthcare, and vouchers]", inconsistency of rewards and benefits caused them to suffer with regard to their economic capital. For example, Barry lacked finances to buy bike tyres, "My bike tyres burst and I've no money to fix them." For Patrick, it was linked to his identity and psychological capitals with regard to how he compared his rewards with others and how that impacted his sense of self and his role within the organisation. In Patrick's first interview, he describes money as being "a huge incentive". However, in his second interview he is "wondering why" he has "heard that others [interns] are getting bonuses and rewards and [he's] not." Given that financial reward is so important to him, it is not surprising that in his third interview, his PC has been breached, "Some things happened that I'm not happy about...I was told I could have VHI healthcare but when I asked, I was told interns can't avail

of it. Other interns got VHI but not me. Everyone gets bonuses for overtime. They get paid overtime, but I don't. I had a very different idea. I couldn't participate in the conversations about how much people got for bonuses. It was a game stop situation. I had to remind myself that I'm the intern." Patrick perceived that economic capital was being distributed unfairly within the organisation and it resulted in him being "not happy" about "some things" resulting in PC breach (1-3). These findings highlight the impact that economic capital has on the internship experience and the PCs of interns. Economic capital is impactful both before (through field, habitus, and the APC) and during the employment relationship and influences the accumulation and depletion of other capitals. These findings highlight the need to address a gap in graduate capital literature whereby economic capital is mostly absent in empirical research on career novices' early employment experiences.

The mutually influencing and interdependent nature of capitals

Finally, I now discuss two more findings from an overview of the data. First, individual capitals imposed a mutually influencing and reinforcing role upon each other. In other words, accumulation or depletion of one capital appeared to influence accumulation or depletion of another capital. In particular, human, psychological, and identity capitals were often discussed as closely linked similar to an interdependent triangle. This means that capitals are dependent upon each other in a complex way and do not operate in isolation or in a vacuum. The second finding, linked to the first, is that as more and more capital was accumulated, a multiplying effect seemed to impact and accelerate more capital accumulation. The findings in the previous section above were presented by specific individual capital for clarity and to allow in depth interrogation of each capital. However, here I will briefly give examples to demonstrate how, in reality, these capitals did not operate independently of each other but in a complex constellation of interactions.

For example, Meave's narration of her identity capital accumulation highlights the mutually influencing and reinforcing role that capitals impose on each other. Meave enjoys her new identity, "I like being treated like a member of staff" and explains how she attained this identity, "Most staff took Christmas off. I didn't so I took on others' work. Doing all of their work and seeing and understanding their work made me feel like a proper colleague." She explains what the change in work and the fact that she was "trusted" with "real employees' work" and not only "intern work" means to her identity, "I felt like a proper colleague. I knew that I wasn't only capable of and only trusted to do intern work. They trusted me with real employees' work, and I did it fine. If I were just a student, they wouldn't have trusted me with that work." It is

also evident that the opportunity to "do", similar to human capital accumulation through opportunities to "do", is important for accumulation of identity capital. Building on her human capital skills and knowledge to execute the tasks, the realisation that she is now "capable of" the work feeds into her self-efficacy, a component of psychological capital, she now changes how she views herself. She is no longer "just a student" but now "a proper colleague" Meave (2). Her identity capital has increased. This illustrates how human capital accumulation encouraged psychological capital accumulation. Then together, human and psychological capital supported identity capital accumulation. This particular triangle of capital mobilisation, human-psychological-identity, was reported many times throughout the study. In addition, Angelica's experience illustrates the interconnectedness of human, psychological, and identity capitals. Speaking of her identity capital accumulation, in her third interview, Angelica shares, "I think of myself less of a child and more of an adult. I feel a lot less inferior. The intern thing, the I'm still in college thing. I left it behind". She explains that human capital accumulation impacted her identity capital. "My perspective changed when I was a few weeks in when working properly, when I knew what I was doing." She also adds the influence of psychological capital accumulation via organisational feedback. "They respect you. That helped me communicate with people...My self-confidence is mostly to do with feedback...I can manage minor knocks...My overall productiveness has increased. I wouldn't be afraid to voice my opinion now." Armed with increased reserves of human, psychological, and identity capitals, previous barriers to accumulating capital were removed. Barriers such as doubting one's reserve of skills to execute the task in demand (human capital), being afraid of making a mistake (psychological capital), or not seeing oneself as a professional fitting to the role (identity capital) diminished as they accumulated the capitals necessary to face organisational events.

Reflecting during his third interview, Darren describes that he has accumulated multiple capitals illustrating how they complement each other, "overall my confidence has grown professionally. I feel professional in myself [identity]. I'm way more confident now than I was before, and I wouldn't be afraid to step into a professional setting [psychological; identity] because I know what to do [human], I know how to act, I know what to say, and I know how to comport myself" [cultural] (3). His example illustrates the next capital that was usually described by interns after the human-psychological-identity triangle, cultural capital. As discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis, cultural capital, particularly embodied cultural capital, takes time to develop as it is acquired through socialisation and immersion in a field. It imprints itself on one's habitus (ways of thinking and being) over time through exposure. Thus, it is not

surprising that this capital is usually discussed after other capitals have been sufficiently accumulated.

Though human, psychological and identity capitals (and sometimes cultural capital) were discussed most often in relation to each other, all capitals did evidence influence on each other. For example, speaking of economic capital, Jordan and Desmond, discuss how economic capital influenced their identity capital and how they interact with their PC exchange in different areas of their lives. For example, Jordan says, "I'm on payroll here so I should be treated like other employees." Jordan (1). Desmond reiterates a similar perspective, "I'm in the same category as my parents now. I'm working, I'm bringing in a salary to the house just like they are, so I feel like I'm just on the same level as them now." Desmond (1). Thus, capitals influence each other and stimulate the mobilisation of more capital resulting in this multiplying influence. This process continued as employees faced more capital interactions and, in response, capital reserves continued accumulating and depleting depending on both the interaction and the capital response. This means capitals are mutually shaped by their synergistic interaction over time.

Conclusion

The chapter provided a step-by-step empirical process model (Figure 3) of how individuals accumulate capitals as they navigate organisational interactions. The model illustrates how the experience and enactment of capital interactions impacts capital accumulation and the PC over time. It details how capital accumulation or depletion in response to one interaction shapes how the next interaction may be experienced and illuminates the complex constellation of organisational interactions and individual capitals and PCs over time. Human capital was the capital discussed most by interns with all thirty participants reporting it as significant to their experience. Psychological and identity capitals were usually discussed in relation to human capital. Once interns were accumulating human, psychological, and identity capitals, they usually then spoke of themes related to cultural capital. Social capital, or the quality of communication and relationships with valuable contacts, appeared to operate as a silent facilitator of other capitals. It took interns time to realise the value of social capital. Finally, economic capital emerged as more important in this study than much of the graduate employability literature would suggest. Economic capital shaped interns' field and habitus which influenced their pre-employment PC schema. Thus, this chapter, building on chapter 5, has further illustrated specifically how interns enact and accumulate each capital and how organisations facilitated each capital. This is valuable to organisational actors, for example managers and human resource professionals, who seek to understand how to best manage the capital accumulation goals of their employees and promote a positive PC.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter discusses the contribution this PhD makes to the PC and capital literatures respectively and combined. It draws together the theoretical framework, empirics, and process methodology of the study to present novel and useful insights to how the PC is constructed and evolves over time in relation to its social context. It discusses the nuances and processual steps through which a PC is formed noting the underexamined role of the APC and its antecedents. It discusses the value of employing Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) to complement and extend the social exchange inherent to the PC. Utilising Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) enables the consideration of field, habitus, and capital to understand how social power, structure and agency influence the PC process. It also discusses the value of reconceptualising the content of the PC as capitals, as per Bourdieu (1989) and Tomlinson (2017), highlighting how this contributes to clarifying the social exchange of resources that underpins the PC relationship. This helps to move the PC literature forward to show how resource accumulation and depletion can be mechanisms through which revisions are made to the PC. A capitals approach widens the analytical opportunities for unpacking individuals' resource expectations and the multifaceted way in which individuals enact their employment experience. It also illuminates the inherent dynamism of the PC (Rousseau et al., 2018) as its capital contents are accumulated and depleted over time and capital goals impact perceptions of breach and fulfilment. While recent literature has begun to explore the PC as more of a dynamic theory (Weichers et al., 2022), much insight is still required. This PhD offers an in-depth exploration and conceptual toolbox for unpacking this dynamism. It examines an understudied sample, undergraduate interns, and takes a novel process approach to studying the intra-individual processes that compose the employment exchange relationship. With their rudimentary novice employment schemata, interns provide an ideal sample from which to study the building blocks of the PC. The study is useful to theorists, practitioners, and educators as they seek to understand the complexities of human expectations, social exchanges, and responses to perceived fulfilled or unfulfilled obligations relating to working life. The chapter first discusses the theoretical contributions of the study, followed by the methodological contributions, and lastly presents the empirical contributions that this PhD makes.

Theoretical Contribution

This study contributes to the theorisation of the PC as a dynamic time-infused phenomena. Specifically, the study presents a five-phase process model empirically illustrating theorisations of the PC as a dynamic time-infused and social construct (Figure 2). Secondly, the study provides an analytical framework for exploring the PC dynamically (over time) which incorporates both structural and agential shapers of the PC through habitus, field, and capital. The study contributes to theory by reconceptualising the content of the PC and proffering capitals as the dynamic malleable resources that can form the basis of the PC social exchange. PC literature highlights the impact of an individual's goals on their perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) To this capital perspective, capital expectations or goals, are presented to explain individuals' goal-oriented actions as they navigate their respective social exchange.

The Psychological contract as a time-infused social concept

Within my PC process model, distinct temporal phases, including pre-organisational entry, inorganisation, and post-organisation phases, highlight how the PC operates and changes over time. My emphasis on career novices (interns) contributes to theorising how the novice PC schema (Rousseau, 2001) or APC (De Vos, 2003) is constructed in its early stages, thereby providing additional insight which so far has been lacking in the literature (Sherman & Morley, 2015). It addresses issues of both structure and agency, a perspective often lacking in literature (Coyle-Shapiro, 2019). It does this by uniting the theory of the PC, an individual psychological theory, with Bourdieu's Theory of Practice, a socially embedded theory. This analytical framework augments the application of the PC by enabling the researcher to position the PC, which is founded upon social exchange, in the social field in which it operates.

Though theorised as a dynamic construct (Rousseau, 2001), literature thus far provides limited empirical insight to the PC as a time-based process (Cooper & Griep, 2019; Griep & Vantilborgh, 2018) operating within a social context (Kraak et al., 2020). This study contributes to PC theory and literature by theoretically and empirically exploring the PC as a dynamic, complex, and non-linear phenomenon over time through a process approach. It provides insight to the intra-individual processes that underpin the construction of the PC empirically showing how the contract is initially formed and develops over time in relation to its social context (field and habitus) and the capital goals or resources at play. It specifically investigates career novices as a sample whose PC schemata are embryonic in nature, contributing to insight as to how PC schemata are formed over time (Rousseau, 2001).

The study produces an empirically informed processes model of how the PC forms and changes over time in its social setting and, in doing so, I expand on much current literature which takes a static cross-sectional approach, often assumes linearity, and fails to account for phases within the PC process (Rousseau et al., 2018). Indeed, "A major shortcoming in PC research is a lack of attention to psychological processes over time" (Rousseau et al., 2018:1081). Theorising of the mechanisms that underpin the time-infused processes of the PC has remained underdeveloped (Hansen & Griep, 2016), is a gap this PhD has focused upon.

The value of a novice intern sample and the influence of habitus and field on the PC

Relatively little is known about how an undergraduate intern forms their PC (Knapp & Masterson, 2017; 2018). As the first major work experience for most, internships afford an "excellent representation" of career novices (Hughes & David, 2024:517). My study had a particular advantage in analysing schemata and habitus with a sample of career novices. The undergraduate internship, as a very early employment experience, is a particularly fitting research context as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:60) note that early "experiences have a particular weight" in forming the habitus. In line with Rousseau's (2001) and Sherman and Morley's (2015) theorising, these career novices had simpler and less complex schemata regarding employment than more experienced employees would have had. Thus, interns who possess a rudimentary PC are well positioned to offer valuable insights into the APC and PC formation over time.

Conceptualising the PC schema (individually held) as connected to and influenced by the broader habitus (a social concept which influences individuals' ways of thinking and being) helps to illuminate how social and societal forces impact upon the building blocks of the PC. This study advances PC theory by elucidating how habitus (broader social structures) affect the schemata that comprise the PC, including individuals' PC expectancies and capital goals (refer to the chapter 4 for a fuller description of these expectancies and goals). This study also answers calls to deepen understanding of the building blocks of the PC from a schema theory perspective (Sherman & Morley, 2015) and investigate undergraduate PCs (Knapp & Masterson, 2017; 2018). Thus, the study illuminates how environmental cues (habitus and field) influence a priori beliefs (APC Schemata) (Rousseau, 1995) and capital goals, and how these evolve over time (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019; Rousseau et al., 2018) as individuals develop their PCs.

Over the course of my study, interns revised their schemata showing the dynamism inherent to the PC. For most interns, their schemata or perceptions of the employment relationship were revised following them experiencing and participating in a variety of workplace interactions. For example, initially many interns expected work and organisational relationships to be usually formal, strict, and time pressured. When they experienced relaxed or informal communication and deadlines that were flexible, they experienced hysteresis (Bourdieu, 1979) but cognitively laboured to adjust their schema of employment. By their third round of interviews, interns almost seamlessly navigated between the formal and informal, the relaxed and pressured. Their schemata had become more complex incorporating varying aspects of working life as they gained experience. As they navigated social organisational life, their PCs developed more specific lower order beliefs regarding obligations and expectations which informed their higher order more general beliefs, how they viewed or made sense of, the employment exchange. This adds nuance and insight to a schematic perspective on PCs highlighting how career novices revise and scaffold their perceptions over time (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019; Rousseau, 2001; Rousseau et al., 2018; Sherman & Morley, 2015).

Media, especially movies, was a significant antecedent shaping the schematic (A)PCs of undergraduate interns and gave them a hierarchical, power distant expectation of the working relationship. This differs from generational expositions which often paint Generation Z as demanding instant feedback, work life balance, and close work relationships (Emerald, 2021). While interns desired these things, they certainly did not expect them. The influence of media on PCs is an important insight lacking in PC, management, and higher education literature. This aligns with and adds empirical evidence to Griffin, Harding, and Learmonths' (2017) argument that movies influence the work readiness of young people and warrants further exploration as an avenue not explored in depth in PC literature. Media caused many in this sample to construct an imperfect or dysfunctional (A)PC which over time was carried into the employment PC, caused hysteresis, and necessitated cognitive work to revise schemata. Perceptions of hierarchical education systems, initial engagement with the organisation, and stories from family and friends also contributed to (A)PC antecedents. Thus, the study found habitus influences PC schema.

In turn, theory tells us that one's habitus is influenced by the field in which one lives and operates (Bourdieu, 1989). Thus, as found in my study, the field in which an individual historically developed and currently operates has impact on their PC schema via habitus. This highlights that the study of social field is important to the PC. For example, interns from challenging socio-economic backgrounds experienced a lack of economic, social, and identity capital. They initially reported deficiencies in cultural capital as they lacked familial or social

exposure to the business context. This affected their perceptions of their place in the employment relationship. However, these perceptions changed over time. For example, Sharon went from saying in her first interview, "Going in I was worried...I felt like I'm not like the rest of these people. I didn't know what I was doing. I was afraid of making mistakes, like the way they hold themselves, the way they were dressed. They are all professionals. I'm from a council estate" to confidently declaring in her third interview, "Now I can do whatever they ask me. I know how to act. I know what to do, how to talk to people. I feel comfortable here, like one of the team." Sharon's socio-economic status (social and economic capital), shaped by her field and habitus, influenced her initial reserves of cultural capital. This confirms Bourdieu and Wacquant's (1992) argument that capitals neither develop nor operate in silos and form in the context of habitus and field. Capital accumulation influenced Sharon's experience of the employment relationship and ultimately how she interacted with the employing organisation, influencing her PC.

Sharon's habitus, the "durable dispositions acquired by the individual through socialization" (Bonnewitz, 2002: 94) was constructed upon her experience of social life in a "council estate" where no one in her "family works corporate". This socialisation as "a set of historical relations deposited within individual bodies in the form of mental and corporal schematic perception, appreciation and action" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:16) influenced Sharon's habitus and thus the content of her PC schema. Indeed, literature shows us that "Employees use schemata in very goal-oriented ways, and they search for information to 'fix' an incomplete schema" (Sherman & Morley, 2015:172). A perceived lack in one capital area, can generate a capital goal centred on remedying that lack. For example, Sharon initially had hierarchical perceptions of the employment relationship and feared she would not fit in. However, upon completion of her internship she had revised perceptions of the employment relationship based on her positive experience and capital accumulation saying "I wouldn't settle for less since I know it's out there now" (3). Sharon is just one example of how the data tells the unfolding story of PC construction based on social background and experience. Thus, this study contributes to PC theory by drawing together the wider social influences that are foundational to the construction of the PC highlighting how field, habitus, and capital interact to compose PCs and individuals' capital goals. This approach centres the study of PCs on understanding how the PC is constructed with a focus on proactive management of a sustainable PC (Kraak et al., 2024b) rather than on breach antecedents and outcomes where most literature focuses (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019). It also contributes to theoretical insight on how schemata, habitus, and capital are dynamic constructs that though somewhat stable can and do change

over time (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1986). Bourdieu's theory does not deny the possibility of cultural capital accumulation by socio-economically disadvantaged individuals and indeed notes educational opportunities, in this case an undergraduate internship, can afford opportunities for social inclusion (Kalfa & Taksa, 2015). Interns' PC schemata, their habitus, and their capitals evolved in relation to the opportunities that the field of internships afforded them. Hughes & David's (2024) study of interns and the initial employment experience found that the social context, even virtual context, of the organisation strongly impacted how interns learn to work and be workers. They highlight how interns made sense of instructions and policies in light of social interactions and relationships and by assimilating new and old experiences. Their work also shows the impact of social setting on the novice experience. My findings affirm this through the study of the social field of internships and the habitus of individual interns.

My study also found that power differences existed between interns and organisations and that interns' perceptions of their own agency and power in the field evolved over time thus influencing their PCs. For example, as career novices in time-bounded positions, interns initially perceived themselves as having little agency within the structure of the organisations that employed them. This affects the communication and negotiation related to the PC exchange as power differences act as a barrier to communication. The 'weaker' party may be reluctant to express expectations or may question the legitimacy of their rights with regards to the exchange (Rousseau, 2001). This aligns with Coyle-Shapiro et al.'s (2019) observation that analysing power and trust are key to understanding the PC exchange and could help move literature beyond the common managerialist approach.

However, the study revealed that interns' schematic perceptions of power and the PC exchange evolved over time in relation to their position within the social field. As they accumulated more capital and gained insight to the ways of working life, interns perceived themselves as being less powerless and began to assert their agency, for example, speaking up in meetings, suggesting alternative ways of doing things or acting in their own interests. Their understanding of the interaction of agency and structure developed to create a more hierarchical and complex PC schema. This is discussed in more detail in the capitals section below outlining specific changes in relation to each capital. This empirically contributes to theorisations whereby the broader career eco-system (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) and social context (Kraak et al., 2020) are argued as understudied yet foundational dynamics to understanding how the PC operates. Indeed, without understanding from where and how a construct is formed, its historical context,

how can one manage and predict its future development and behaviour? Applying Bourdieu's multi-level theory to the PC focuses in on effects at the individual level, illustrating how habitus and field (social forces) inform individual schemata (PC).

In summary, this part of the discussion shows that an individual's APC (an individual and psychological concept), as a pre-organisational schema, was influenced by social and societal factors which also make up and contribute to the habitus. This conceptualisation of PC schemata being closely related to and influenced by habitus contributes to schematic understanding of how the (A)PC is actually formed including its antecedents. The study identified multiple factors that influenced the formation of the (A)PC schema. Positioning the study of PCs in relation to Bourdieu's multi-level theory enables the researcher to interrogate how broader societal forces, familial sources, and individual sources may influence the construction of employment expectations. This study has demonstrated both theoretically and empirically how an individual's habitus and field contribute to the building blocks of the PC schema. Thus, it contributes to a smaller more nascent body of literature considering multi-dimensional influences on PCs (Kraak et al., 2020).

Reconceptualising the content of the PC: The value of a capital approach

In line with the theoretical framework discussed above, this study reconceptualised the content of the PC proffering capitals as the resources in operation in the PC social exchange. This helps to illuminate and clarify precisely what it is that individuals expect to gain from their social exchange with their employing organisation. This contributes to PC theory by enabling researchers to clarify what is often the 'hazy' subjective content of the PC. From a practical point of view, this knowledge helps to empower all stakeholders involved to possess a clearer picture of employee expectations which can then be negotiated, evaluated, and weighed against employer side inducements making the social and resource exchange clearer. PC content is important as it is the standard by which the PC is evaluated as fulfilled or breached. Despite its importance, relatively few studies on the content of the PC exist, although the relational, transactional, and balanced PCs offer a well-established, albeit very broad starting point (Inkson & King, 2011). However, aligned with my conceptualisation and empirical findings, Griep et al. (2024:145) found that on a daily level "the preference for a specific type of PC [relational or transactional] matters far less compared to the actual accumulation of resources". This also aligns with COR theory (Hobfoll, 2001) whereby individuals are concerned with protecting and accumulating their resources. However, contrary to these studies which position PC formation and resources as distinct phenomena, this PhD shows they are intertwined within the PC formation process. Capitals which can be accumulated, depleted, and influence one another offer a dynamic conceptualisation of PC schemata.

As this PhD demonstrates, the contents of the PC, here capitals, are also dynamic and can change in importance to an employee over time (Bourdieu, 1989). This aligns with and empirically affirms Baruch and Rousseau's (2019) recent conceptual work on employee goals which states that employees may revise their goals over time in accordance with life stage or priority. This PhD contributes to the state of the art by addressing matters of PC content (reconceptualising PC content as capitals) and process (investigating the dynamism of the PC and its capital content over time).

Capital goals

PC theory recognises that an individual's goals can powerfully shape their perceptions of the organisation's obligations (Rousseau et al., 2018). Goals also influence how organisational interactions are interpreted, influencing behaviour, emotions, and which environmental cues are given attention or overlooked (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019). As this study conceptualised the content of PCs as capitals, my concept of capital goals encapsulates what individuals value and expect in their exchange with an organisation. The study showed that these goals can form before formal employment begins and that they were influenced by field and habitus. Capital goals aid explanation of how individuals interpret the exchange relationship and organisational interactions i.e. in light of their capital goals. Ultimately, whether an organisational interaction results in PC breach or fulfilment can be mediated by the influence of capital goals. This illuminates and clarifies precisely what it is that individuals expect to gain from their social exchange with their employing organisation. This contributes to PC theory by enabling researchers to clarify what is often the 'hazy' subjective content of the PC and a challenge in PC literature (Conway & Briner, 2005). By further clarifying capital goals according to individual capitals and their specific definitions, individuals and organisations can compare these against shared promises, obligations, and expectations to proactively and cooperatively manage the PC and help avoid breach. This focuses research and practical application on pre-empting and proactively managing the PC instead of focusing on breach and its outcomes as much PC literature does.

Thus, capital goals are key to fulfilment of the PC exchange. Aligned with Rousseau's (2001) early work on PCs and their schematic antecedents and more recent theorisations of the PC (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019), my study found that in order to ignite the cognitive effort required

to revise a PC, a significant goal or motivation must be present. This represents the capital goal conceptualised in this study. Without goal-oriented action to guide, misalignment of the PC and experience would likely result in breach, violation, and other negative consequences such as disengagement. Much of the PC literature paints a rather deterministic picture portraying individuals as almost destined to spiral into negativity after breach (Bankins, 2015; Tomprou & Nikolaou, 2011). However, aligned with a smaller body of literature, this research took a more agentically focused approach (Bankins, 2015) whereby interns' agency, or sometimes lack of it, was central to understanding how they managed their PCs, i.e. in light of their capital goals, within the field. While interns' imperfect schemata caused them difficulties initially, they increased effort to revise these in line with their capital goals minimising further breach I theorised this experience of misalignment as hysteresis as per Bourdieu (1979) and found it caused interns confusion and surprise but was shortened and remedied by agentic intern responses.

Additionally, individuals' capital goals, which are partial antecedents to their APCs and formed throughout their employment experience, are also shaped by their habitus and field. This argument is reflected in earlier work theorising that individuals' "goals are affected by cues in the larger environment" (Baruch & Rousseau 2019:84) and again highlights the impact of field on the operation and management of the PC. Indeed, understanding the scope of possibility is a factor in PC formation. These capital goals become the basis of the social exchange and the standard by which the PC is evaluated. This adds nuance and detail to theorisations of the PC as a "system of beliefs regarding exchange arrangements" (Baruch & Rousseau 2019:84). For instance, as shown in Desmond's case, if an individual's family comes from a socioeconomically disadvantaged background and needs financial resources (economic capital), economic capital may become a significant aspect of their capital goals. Economic capital can alleviate need, whereas a lack of it brings need to the forefront of consciousness (Bourdieu, 1989) and makes it a primary focus. According to Bourdieu, the deprivation and need experienced at the social and familial level influence one's habitus. As previously established in my study, habitus can influence the PC schemata. Thus, social standing may influence the forming of capital goals, as part of the employment schema, centered around addressing a particular capital. This was reflected in the findings of this study. Thus, this study contributes to literature investigating career novices' early experiences with employment where capital mobilisation is increasingly framed as a dynamic process unfolding over time and space. However, much research has yet to empirically explore how this dynamic process happens. Indeed, speaking of this issue, Tomlinson (2017:1206) states "Further research will need to explore capitals formation during the early stages of graduates' career development". This research contributes to answering this call.

My empirically based capital trajectory model (Table 7) shows how opportunities to accumulate capital (or not) resulted in an upward or downward trajectory of capital mobilisation whereby discrete capital events had an overlapping or cumulative influence on each. Thus, 'discrete' interactions were not necessarily discrete in their impact. Together they resulted in a multiplying or spiralling effect. Further, capital accumulation opportunities influenced perceptions of PC fulfilment and breach. This concurs with Weichers et al.'s (2022) study which found that individuals interpreted both past and present organisational events in light of their goals and that these goals influenced their perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach. In my results, the impact of capital interactions or events (positive or negative) on capital trajectories and subsequent PC breach and fulfilment was not straightforward. Thus, the trajectory was not that positive capital interactions equals capital accumulation which equals fulfilled PC, or the contrary that negative capital interactions equals capital depletion which equals breached PC. Linearity was not characteristic of the trajectories. This insight to the multi-faceted nature of capital – PC interaction contributes to literature which theorises the PC as a dynamic non-linear theory.

For example, my study found that negative events that initially caused a negative reaction in interns, which one would expect to result in PC breach and possibly violation, were often reappraised in light of interns' overall capital goals. This demonstrates why knowing the capitals goals of each party is essential to managing the PC. If the event did not seriously hinder them from realising their capital goals, they revised their PC expectations and managed the event, either avoiding breach or repairing the PC promptly. This diverges from the majority of findings in PC studies regarding the re-evaluation of potential breach events (Dulac et la., 2008; Parzefall & Coyle-Shapiro, 2011) but aligns with the results of Kraak et al.'s (2020) study of PCs in a military context, whereby context was a key consideration in the study of how PC breach occurred. They found that pilots' responses to unfulfilled expectations were conditional on their career goals. My study contributes to these findings by showing how interns made sense of organisational events or capital interactions in light of their capital goals. A repeated finding was that interns on the 'soaring' trajectory (9) had mostly been offered further employment, a key human capital goal for many in the study. Thus, they reflected upon and perceived their capital interactions (positive and negative) in light of the attainment of their goals. Even within the 'salvaged/satisfactory' or 'stagnated/stunted' trajectories, individuals

who had a capital goal being met to some extent in one area were usually able to recover from breach events. Every participant who had some capital goals fulfilled, either experienced PC fulfilment or managed to recover from their PC breaches.

These findings at first appear to diminish the importance of negative events within the PC once other capital interactions enable the attainment of the individual's main capital goals. Perhaps perceptions of breach are influenced by temporal dynamics and social dynamics. Two factors may possibly explain these findings. First, perhaps the time-bounded nature of internships influenced the experience of negative events and breach. Kraak et al., (2020:253) suggest that in the piloting context, breach type events may be "tolerable for a reasonably short phase of their professional lives" while they work towards a career goal. This contextual aspect of length of time also aligns with my study in that interns were in a short term, usually 12-month, contract and may bear relevance to the explanation of how capital events and PC breach and evaluation are experienced in a time-bounded context. Second, interns expressed a sense of responsibility to represent the university well and not damage the university – organisation relationship with any poor behaviour. This created a power dynamic in the field. This sense of responsibility to maintain a positive relationship among all stakeholders to the internship may have shaped their reactions or tempered their responses to negative capital depleting interactions. Perhaps these two factors were counterbalancing to PC responses. This aligns with Kraak et al.'s (2020) study which highlighted that pilots' commitment to safety protocols, a responsibility, influenced the avoidance of neglect behaviour in the aftermath of breach. Other PC literature discusses a tipping point in that individuals can only endure so many trigger events before PC breach and violation occurs (Wiechers et al., 2022). Thus, PC responses require further investigation in contexts whereby a strong sense of responsibility is felt or where employment or goals are heavily time-bounded to investigate if these factors persist in influence and if, when, or how a tipping point may be reached.

The relationship between capital goals and their influence on perceptions of breach and fulfilment requires further investigation to see if length of employment contract (when it is ending), length of time to fulfilling a capital goal, or a greater sense of responsibility are explanatory factors that temper the PC. Again, this emphasises the importance of taking a holistic approach that brings contextual factors to light, and answers calls in literature (Kraak & Linde, 2019). Without considering the context in my study, the findings may have pointed to negative events and breach as playing a less significant role in the intern experience. Instead, this indicates how responses to a breach are shaped by power dynamics and the time horizon of

employment. Routes to improving the PC perhaps require consideration of power and a longer-term sense of belonging to the workplace. The findings additionally aid in comprehending PC fulfilment or breach from a micro and discrete event perspective, rather than focusing on general or global fulfilment, as much of the PC literature does (Kiefer, Barclay, Conway, & Briner, 2022). My model of capital trajectories, along with the identification of interactions between organisation and individual, enhances the theoretical understanding of how discrete and composite events may cumulatively contribute to perceptions of fulfilment or breach (Wiechers et al., 2022).

Capital goals were also dynamic and could change over time and had a performative element for example, capital accumulation generally prompted a goal to exercise that new capital and accumulate more. Most participants developed their capital goals further, rather than changing them completely, as they gained experience. This development, as outlined in the capital mobilisation model (Figure 3), influenced their PCs When individuals did reprioritise a capital goal, it was usually in relation to economic capital. Three participants' economic capital goals changed. Economic capital became less important for two participants (Desmond and Meave) who realised that work life balance and meaningful work was more important to them. Economic capital became more important for one participant (Barry) who experienced economic capital depletion. He changed his future plans to pursue a master's degree citing his reason as "I need money" (3). Working for a tech start-up, Barry had consistently experienced a lack of economic capital in his internship as the organisation sporadically paid his salary and then went bankrupt. As a result, he stated that in future he would only work for an organisation that was large, established, and financially stable, not a tech start-up. His capital goal had changed and his PC for the future had changed. This illustrates Bourdieu's (1989) point discussed above that economic capital can make 'need' feel close or distant. Thus, the accumulation and depletion of capitals, in relation to capital goals, impacts perceptions of PC fulfilment and breach.

These agentic goal-oriented responses align with Rousseau et al.'s (2018) conceptual dynamic phase model which purports that the employment relationship is governed by differing goal-oriented variables at different phases of the relationship. For example, career novices would start with the 'creation phase', which broadly aligns with phase 1 and 2 of my model, when their APC schemata are developing but then dynamically evolve through to a 'maintenance phase'. The maintenance phase is largely a subconscious exercise whereby the PC guides the implementation of the individual's PC schema. Interns did not experience long periods of what

could be considered a maintenance phase. They were constantly learning and experiencing new things. Even after becoming comfortable in their roles, interns were surprised when given new responsibilities, included in strategic discussions, or did not progress as anticipated. My empirical model differs in its approach than Rousseau et al.'s (2018) model which presents phases according to creation, maintenance, and disruption requiring repair. My model illuminates the process by which the individual contract is formed (phase 1) then details how hysteresis and organisational events disrupt and how agentic effort is exerted to revise the PC (phase 2-4 repeated cyclically) and then how the individual leaves the organisation with a more complex PC for the future (phase 5). Phases 2-4 of my model support Tomprou et al.'s (2015) post violation model of PC processes which illustrates that agentic efforts to restore or react to PC violation may modify schemata related to one's PC resulting in reactivation (reactivation or preservation), thriving (improvement), or impairment/dissolution (worsened) of the PC. My study found that when capital goals where fulfilled, results were similar to reactivation or thriving responses. When capital goals were not fulfilled, results were similar to impairment/dissolution as per Tomprou et al. (2015). This adds confirmatory evidence to the use of capitals as conceptualisations of the exchange resources in operation in the PC and is highlighted in my capital trajectory model which empirically demonstrates how capital accumulation and depletion impact the PC.

Thus far I have discussed an overview of the analytical framework which my study presents and empirically uses emphasising the value of positioning the PC in the social context in which it operates. I have discussed my reconceptualisation of the contents of the PC as capitals and capital goals, how this brings greater clarity to what underpins the social exchange relationship, and how it can influence how findings are interpreted. I now discuss what the findings of my study reveal about specific capitals as exchange resources in the dynamic intern experience and what the findings related to each capital mean for PC and wider literatures.

Capitals: individual enactment and organisational facilitation

This study also further explicates the functioning of the PC by identifying how capitals operated within the internship, identifying how individuals utilised and applied each capital and how organisations provided opportunities for enhancement and accumulation of capitals. In this section I demonstrate how further theorising of how specific capitals, including Bourdieu's capitals and those composing the graduate capital model (Tomlinson, 2017), are experienced and developed to inform and create a dynamic PC over time.

This research contributes to theoretical understanding of the dynamic, processual, and interdependent relational nature of capital (Bourdieu, 1989) as components of the PC exchange relationship. Indeed, the findings demonstrate how individuals' capital reserves dynamically changed over time as capital was accumulated and depleted in response to capital interactions within the organisation. This change to capital reserves impacted their perceptions of themselves, their current employment experience, and expectations for their future PC. This confirms theorisation of capitals "as crucial resources which are cumulative and recursive in nature, potentially empowering graduates when making the transitions into the job market". It also empirically confirms theorising that capital mobilisation influences career novices' "relations to the job market" shaping perceptions of "their potential and scope" within that market (Tomlinson, 2017: 349). That relationship to and perceptions of the job market captures ideas core to the PC which this study theoretically argues and empirically demonstrates is influenced by capital mobilisation.

In the study, capital was found to not only be dynamic in that it was accumulated and depleted over time, but that capitals were mutually reinforcing and interdependent. For example, human, psychological, and identity capital were usually spoken of as closely related whereby once an intern's human capital increased (they possessed the knowledge and skills to execute a task), their psychological capital (confidence to do the work) and then identity capital (seeing themselves as a legitimate 'professional') followed closely behind. This triangle of capitals featured prominently in intern's narratives of how their capital experience unfolded. Once these three capitals were perceived to be accumulating and sufficient, cultural capital then came to the fore. Theoretically, it makes sense for cultural capital to take longer to form as it requires time for culturally valued knowledge and practices to be inculcated (Bourdieu, 1986). The accumulation of these capitals was greatly influenced by the quality of communication and relationships with other more senior organisational actors (social capital). Thus, though social capital was not discussed as obviously and prominently as the above-mentioned capitals, it was a necessary facilitator to accumulating this triangle of capitals. It operated silently or under the radar evidencing itself through positive relationships in the form of feedback, trust and acceptance from others in the organisation, particularly managers and mentors. This highlights how accumulating one capital can have a multiplying effect on the accumulation of other capitals and contributes to Bourdieu's claims that forms of capital can be 'converted' into other forms. This lends further understanding to the "complex intersectionality" (Smith & Smith, 2024: 413) of how capitals operate. This also bears relevance to the importance of multi-party PCs and conceptions of 'who' actually represents and facilitates the PC and the social exchange of capitals within the organisation (Conway & Briner, 2005). This also speaks to Atkins et al.'s (2020) findings that organisational mentors influence identity development and Holmes' (2013) theorising that internship representatives act as affirmers of emerging identities. Thus, the findings revealed that manger or mentor relationships, even virtual, influenced perceptions of how well interns' PCs were being fulfilled and speaks to conversations surrounding the 'face' of the organisation and who represents the organisation in the PC (Conway & Briner, 2005; Dabos & Rousseau, 2004).

The study also highlights how accumulated capital from one field is sustained across a range of other contexts (Bourdieu, 1977). For example, human capital accumulated in the workplace influenced interns' subsequent approaches to their education with participants describing a more focused and serious approach as they utilised their newly acquired capitals, for example, hard and soft skills in their university project work. Identity capital accumulated in the workplace influenced interns' professional identity and influenced their relationship to their lecturers and fellow students upon return to university. Seeing themselves as more mature 'professionals' and no longer just 'students' changed their expectations of the lecturer-student relationship whereby they were willing to challenge ideas in the classroom and hold lecturers accountable. They perceived themselves as 'different' from students who had not done an internship. They also described how their newly accumulated capital changed their expectations for future work. This contributes to theoretical understandings of how capital accumulated in one field can influence behaviour and expectations in another context. Its implications are important for both educators and managers to understand that individual employees or students may bring with them capital related behaviours, skills, or expectations from another social field that could influence their experience in their current field (Smith, Dupre & Crough, 2024; Tomlinson, 2017; Tomlinson et al., 2022). I now move on to discuss each capital.

Human capital

This study found human capital to be central to the intern experience, aligning with other literature investigating career novices entering the workplace (Pham, Tomlinson, & Thompson 2019). Indeed, all participants emphasised this capital as important to their employment exchange and a core capital goal. Interns' perceived their PCs as fulfilled when organisations provided opportunity for human capital to be accumulated through occasions to apply human capital skills and knowledge. This was enhanced through positive workplace communication and opportunities for training. This insight contributes to theoretical understandings of how human capital may be accumulated emphasising both individual and organisational contributions. This contributes to knowledge providing guidance to how practitioners should

design work tasks to maximise the practice of skills, encourage positive organisational communications, and provide opportunities for development through training (formal and informal training). These steps were shown to enhance human capital accumulation and move the employment exchange towards fulfilled PCs. As other studies have noted (Al Ariss & Syed, 2010; Clarke, 2018; Pham et al., 2019), human capital alone was not sufficient for transitioning to the labour market. Though a key capital for all participants, fulfilling the PC and experiencing a satisfactory internship required the fulfilment of additional capital goals too. These are discussed next.

Psychological Capital

Through the identification of psychological capital and its impact on the PC, my study contributes to a novel "inwardly focused dimension of contract breach" (Coyle-Shapiro, 2019:157). My study shows how PC breach, via psychological capital depletion, can impact one's physical and mental health. For example, Patrick who was, "constantly tracked with reported metrics." reported that "It's so stressful. Sometimes you get so stressed trying to keep it in the green you lose focus and get worse...You're always on edge...Where I work, numbers are everything. I have to hit my metrics ... I can't have a break. I'm not eating. It's like living on a treadmill." (2). Cara was "very stressed at the start" because of unclear expectations surrounding working hours. (1). Desmond shared how his experience of being overworked "is just killing" him, causing him to be "overwhelmed" and making him "just want to get out of here". This extends prior research by Deng et al. (2018) which highlighted how resource depletion, as per COR theory, impacts vitality and energy. Participants in the study who experienced repeated psychological capital depletion reported being exhausted, not eating, losing motivation, and not feeling like part of the team. As early as 1962, Levinson et al. asserted that psychological needs, including need to control, are foundational to the PC. When these needs are thwarted, the PC is negatively impacted (Conway & Briner 2005), with resources no longer conserved. 'Belongingness' is also a core psychological need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) whereby individuals strive to form and maintain secure relationships. This was evident in the findings as interns repeatedly evaluated their own place and performance in light of organisational actors' feedback towards them which impacted their psychological capital reserves. Though Bordia et al. (2008) and (Zagenczyk et al. 2011) allude to belonginess and its impact on the PC, there is little empirical insight available in literature (Coyle-Shapiro, 2019). My study found that positive organisational communication, the quality of organisational relationships, and clear boundaries and expectations enhanced individuals' psychological capital.

My study adds confirmatory value and novel theoretical insight to the construct of psychological capital which features less in empirical studies of career novices (Tomlinson et al., 2022), for example in graduate employability or internship literature. Psychological capital played a significant role in the study. It often functioned differently compared to other forms of capital. Frequently it is challenging events that necessitate the mobilisation of psychological capital. This can lead to overexertion and deplete capital reserves beyond a certain threshold. It manifested a tipping point whereby when too much psychological capital was required to respond to events, reserves were drained. For example, some participants described challenging circumstances which initially drained their psychological capital but over time with the right support, they gained more resilience, a component of psychological capital, and increased their capital reserves. For example, Desmond's experience of being encouraged by two managers to apply for a promotion for which he was rejected left him with depleted psychological capital saying, "things went downhill from there" and that "it's all catching up on me now" (1). However, over time his psychological capital reserves recovered. Referring to this incident in his second interview he explains how he is, "developing a real-life sense of resilience, how to carry on, how to carry the weight, to dig deep". Then in his third interview he says, "I had to just keep going. And I think in the doing of it, I just muddled, not muddled through, but I just, I think I gained resilience and fortitude." (3). Shania's example shows the deleterious effects of psychological capital depletion and the impact that support from others can provide. "I got negative feedback on some work [from a non-management party] and I was at breaking point. I really needed my manager's support. (1). Support from her manager enabled her to avoid reaching breaking point. The depletion could be reversed but was dependent upon other social factors, for example a supportive environment or one's social capital. Without support, it resulted in depletion without recovery. Individuals without adequate support appeared to struggle more with psychological capital reserves.

This PhD contributes to knowledge surrounding the role of psychological needs and belongingness in the study of the PC and how psychological capital can be accumulated, including what actions organisations can take to support interns. It operationalises an avenue, through psychological capital, to empirically research the effects of psychological needs on the PC. Indeed, as Meckler et al. (2003) propose, the PC can only be understood when psychological needs are incorporated to the study of PCs. Organisational attentiveness and responsiveness as aspects of a sustainable PC (Kraak et al., 2024) were also evidenced here as crucial to psychological capital accumulation. It also contributes to insight of how

psychological capital operates in a differing accumulation and depletion pattern to other capitals.

Identity capital

My study revealed interns' accumulation or depletion of identity capital influenced their PCs. As career novices, all participants were relatively young and within the Generation Z category. Literature demonstrates that age impacts perceptions of the PC (Bal et al., 2008; Kraak et al., 2017; Lub et al., 2012; Vantilbourgh, 2014). The study revealed that the identity capital of this young population was fragile, dynamic, and influenced by contextual factors including setting and relationships. This aligns with recent research on career novice identity capital (Smith & Smith, 2024; Tomlinson 2017). However, contrary to Smith & Smith's (2024) study employing the graduate capital model, where identity capital was less prominent, it was prominent in my findings. Identity capital influenced how interns projected their professional selves and how they expected to be treated by the organisation. Their expectations of the employment relationship evolved as a result of their identity capital accumulation. When they no longer saw themselves as novice interns, they no longer wanted to be treated as novice interns. This highlights the dynamic nature of the PC and how management needs to stay abreast with the evolving expectations of their employees. Indeed, literature on social identity theory shows that satisfaction with one's internship contributes to career identity and fosters a positive PC (Jackson, 2016). This contributes to theory whereby other studies have found self-identity to be an influencing factor in reframing PC breach (Parzefall & Coyle-Shapiro, 2011).

Smith, Doupray, and Crow's (2024) study of graduate's employability highlights practitioner calls for career novices to increase identity capital. Indeed, evaluations of one's identity capital have salience in how career novices project their professional selves and what claims they may make when seeking future employment (Tomlinson, 2017; Tomlinson et al., 2022). This relates closely to their PC expectations as how one sees oneself (professionally) will influence how one expects to be treated. Thus, this study found that the terms of the PC exchange may change as one's identity capital and other capitals increase. Understanding this relationship between identity capital and the PC is important for understanding the building blocks of the PC and its management. The influence of identity capital is evident in my capital accumulation model (figure 3). The findings also contribute to understanding the transition an individual makes from pre-professional identity to professional identity (Jackson, 2016) as a career novice learns to act "in ways that lead others to ascribe to them the identity of a person worthy of being employed" (Holmes 2013: 549). As with psychological capital, the perceptions of other

organisational actors influenced how interns saw themselves emphasising the importance of quality relationships and communication. Aligned with Hughes and Davis's (2024) research on internships, perceived task significance and having enough work to keep busy were influential to interns' developmental experience. Finally, the spatial and relational context in which interns found themselves influenced their perceptions of their identity. When on the university campus their identity reverted back to student but a revised version of being a student. These findings provide theoretical insight to how identity capital develops over time in the social exchange between individual and organisational actors and how identity capital reserves cause changes to the PC. In light of minimal but divergent findings and a general lack of theoretical and empirical studies of identity capital in the intern or graduate context and the lack of intern PC studies, further understanding of identity capital and its interaction with the PC is required.

Cultural capital

The study also contributes to literature by showing how cultural capital accumulation influenced the PC of interns. Developing cultural capital was a capital goal for interns who wanted to learn how to operate in the business context. Interns learned appropriate ways of communicating, dressing, and adopting mannerisms that were befitting of the professional business context. In short, they developed "social competence" (Lareau & Weininger, 2003:581) and "social dignity" (Bourdieu, 1996:119) as they incorporated culturally relevant knowledge and "long lasting dispositions of the body and mind" (Bourdieu, 1986:47). This enabled them to comprehend and exchange signals within the work context that communicated cultural fit. This cultural fit has been shown to enhance the job prospects of graduates, making it a powerful resource (Pham et al., 2019; Tomlinson, 2017).

Cultural capital accumulation was usually discussed following successful accumulation of human, psychological and identity capital. Indeed, in order to competently understand the complex demands of the business field, interns needed to first accumulate knowledge, skills (human capital), self-efficacy (psychological capital) and a professional identity (identity capital) which bolstered the accumulating of cultural capital. Thus, cultural capital acted as somewhat of a cumulative capital whereby the previously mentioned capitals built towards and overlapped with it. This illustrates how the embodied nature of cultural capital takes time to be inculcated (Al Ariss & Syed, 2010) and demonstrates the value of this process study whereby data collected over time illustrates the complex changes that occur as interns accumulate and develop capital in the social field of internships. It empirically illustrates how capitals are linked and "established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition" (Bourdieu, 1986:46).

The study not only highlights the ways in which cultural capital was manifested by interns but how it was accumulated, contributing to theoretical understandings of how an individual develops cultural capital over time in a social field. Career novices accumulated cultural capital through opportunities for exposure to organisational culture, opportunities to observe and practice culture, clear guidelines on organisational norms and culture, and experiencing an affirming culture. For example, Caolan shared, "You indirectly learn mannerisms from being around older people." (2). Caolan shares that he had to learn, "how do I go into a client meeting, like what to say and how to act.". He learned this by discussing with colleagues in advance and then having supportive opportunities to practice. Joel explained how he developed cultural capital, "You can speak the language of the people you're working with." Aoibhinn said she was learning business "etiquette" through opportunities to work with professionals. Rory had "gained experience in knowing how to function in the workplace, the vibe, how to comport oneself." Eva developed her "tele service voice" through her appointment to the helpline role. Interns displayed cultural capital within the workplace by learning how to comport themselves in a business context and a professional manner. This included learning appropriate ways of communicating, dressing, and adopting mannerisms that were befitting of the professional business context. Understanding how interns developed cultural capital provides insight for organisations as to how to manage the cultural capital goals that interns may possess contributing to positive management of the PC and avoidance of unfulfilled capital goals and breach. The gaining of this nuanced insight to professional life contributed to fulfilling PC capital goals of interns who wanted to gain insight to the working world. Cultural capital differs here from identity capital discussed above in that cultural capital focuses on absorbing and embodying culturally relevant knowledge and dispositions that will be valued and valuable in the social context. This can contribute to one's sense of identity but is not the act of writing personal identity scripts or projecting professional identity narratives to others.

Social Capital:

The study contributes to literature by showing how social capital accumulation influenced the PC of interns. Indeed, a principal theme of the PC is that it is founded upon social exchange. This study revealed how social capital, both in its bridging and bonding forms as per Putnam (2000), were impactful to the PCs of interns and played a crucial role in the accumulation of other capitals. Findings further confirmed that "forms of capital are interdependent" (Al Ariss & Syed, 2010:5) and that the field of internships enables "one form of capital to be converted into another" (Bourdieu 1991:4). Initially, only ten interns spoke directly of social capital as important to them. This encompassed social capital as either a capital goal, an unintended

positive result of working life, or the capital that helped them secure the internship. In the first instance (first phase of interviews), social capital did not appear as a strongly impactful capital in the internship experience. However, throughout the study, accumulating social capital in the form of bonding ties (Putnam, 2000) or constructive relationships became key and foundational to the accumulation of other capitals. For instance, positive workplace communication and positive relationships were the most discussed avenues for accumulating human, psychological, and identity capitals. An affirming culture, which incorporates communication and relationships, was also key to accumulating cultural capital. Thus, social capital operated as a subtle enabler and facilitator of accumulating other forms of capital. Interns were initially unaware of the strategic value of workplace relationships but over time came to appreciate the value of social capital. Indeed, aligned with the results of Webber's (2024) study of undergraduates' capital acquisition and Putnam's (2000:23) definition of social capital, mutually supportive, reciprocal and co-operative relationships were the "sociological superglue" that acted as catalysts to capital accumulation in the organisational context. Interns learned the importance of developing quality professional relationships, how to step out of one's comfort zone to initiate contact, how to utilise contacts to advance one's career, and also experienced the challenges of accumulating social capital, particularly in an online or hybrid work context. Organisational opportunities to interact and connect were the avenues through which social capital was accumulated. Organisational actors can use this information to proactively manage the social exchange of the PC. Finally, the study also adds confirmatory evidence that social capital can either reproduce or reduce inequality depending on the opportunities that the field presents and the agency that individuals activate (Bathmaker, 2021; Bourdieu, 1986).

Economic capital

The study contributes to theory by highlighting the impact of economic capital on the intern PC and the internship experience. The impact of economic capital also contributes to capital frameworks and graduate employability literature as economic capital is not included in the graduate capital model (Tomlinson, 2017) nor in any established empirically tested capital model used for career novices entering the labour market (Donald et al., 2024). As Bourdieu (1986) theorised and as discussed above, economic capital is convertible, influential, and foundational to the accumulation of other capitals. It creates distance from deprivation and instead focuses attention on status and symbolic assets (Bourdieu, 1986). Indeed, research demonstrates that highly resourced students transition from education to the graduate labour market more smoothly (Bathmaker, Ingram, & Waller, 2013) and their very participation in the

internship is due to economic resources to fund higher education. Indeed "agency goals can be thwarted by economic insufficiencies leaving students with unequal resources to act and to participate" in social life (Walker, 2018:566). My study has found that economic capital not only influences graduate transitions but the transition from education to an undergraduate internship. It reveals that economic capital affects interns' identity, social, cultural, and psychological capital before and upon entering the organisation. Interns from lower socio-economic backgrounds struggled with knowing how to comport themselves, in terms of dress, speech, and professional norms (cultural capital), lacked support from knowledgeable experienced professionals (social capital), felt worried (psychological capital) as they did not perceive themselves as from a professional background (identity capital). As discussed earlier in this chapter, their habitus was influenced by their economic and social field which in turn influenced the construction of their PC schema.

Interns' economic capital reserves also influenced interns' experience of economic exchange with the organisation, in the form of rewards for performance, during their internship also influenced their PCs. For example, the perceived unfair distribution of bonuses and health insurance impacted the PC. Interns compared their rewards with each other and this social comparison affected their social exchange (Adams, 1965). This contributes to recent theorising moving beyond the dyadic employee and employer focus of PCs to a multi-party PC where social information from colleagues impacts perceptions of PC fulfilment and breach (Costa & Coyle-Shapiro, 2021). Perceived inequitable distribution of economic capital had knock on effects for other capitals. It caused depletion of psychological, identity, and social capitals with interns questioning and re-evaluating their position within their teams and organisations and re-evaluating the quality of their working relationships. The inconsistent and irregular payment of salary caused depletion of economic capital which created feelings of the internship not being a real job and affected professional identity capital. This lack of economic capital depleted identity capital which impacted how the individual planned to project their future marketable self, a key strategy for employability.

The process design of the study also illuminated interns' changing relationship to economic capital over time. Interns who began the internship with economic capital as one of their capital goals amended the value they placed on economic capital once the realities of working life dawned upon them. Most other capital goals remained stable throughout the internship in that they remained as goals but their composition developed over time. Over time psychological capital or well-being and work-life balance became more important than economic gain.

However, one participant, whose organisation failed to remunerate him and subsequently went bankrupt, changed his future plans of continuing on to a master's degree, instead deciding to work stating he needed money now. He also changed his future plans of working at a start-up to vowing to only work for large established organisations with more financial security. Thus, he changed the hierarchy of his capital goals. Economic capital, both on the individual and organisation side were impactful for interns at different stages of the internship experience. This adds empirical evidence to Baruch and Rousseau's (2019) conceptual discussion of individual goal-directed behaviour and how individuals can change priorities over time. Regular communication between parties is essential to detect if PC drift, a change to PC content (Rousseau, 1989), has occurred. It highlights the need for managers and human resource professionals to keep the lines of communication open with employees, not assume that the PC is static, and design flexible approaches to working and rewards.

The research contributes to PC literature by illuminating the role that economic capital plays in the intern's PC. It contributes to graduate capital literature and internship literature by identifying economic capital as impactful to the intern career novice and influential in the accumulation of other capitals during an internship. These findings suggest that economic capital should be considered in capital models for graduates and interns and supports Donald et al.'s (2024) conceptual employability growth model, based upon a review of graduate employability literature, that includes economic capital as a factor in the school to work transition.

Concluding thoughts on the theoretical contributions of the study

Finally, linking this discussion on capitals and capital goals to the APC expectancies discussed at the beginning of this chapter, I highlight that there appeared to be a cognitive dissonance surrounding expectancies and capital goals in the intern PC. On the one side, most interns anticipated a power distant, hierarchical, and subservient employment relationship characterised by mundane work (expectancies) while at the same time they possessed real capital goals for developing their professional selves and skills which they hoped would be fulfilled. The fulfilment or unfulfillment of these capital goals impacted their PCs. What they expected the employment relationship to be like seems contradictory with the capital goals they hoped to fulfil. In other words, how would one fulfil a human capital goal of developing expert knowledge and skills if mundane base-level tasks were characteristic of one's job? Perhaps we sometimes assume that individuals are capable of knowing the totality of what a workplace can and should give them. It appears that individuals had a sense of their capital goals, however

these were continually revised as they engaged with capital accumulation and depletion interactions in ways they could not have anticipated. Thus, the (A)PC is evolving as and until individuals realise what is possible and desirable in context.

Theoretically understanding the ongoing introspective work of reformulating and re-weighting of capital goals that shapes the PC over time, including influences caused by structure and agency, further opens research avenues (encouraging novel research questions) and theoretical insight to how influencing factors at different levels impact the (A)PC. Many of these expectancies were found to be misaligned with the reality of working life (hysteresis) and required PC revision, which interns agentically resolved. This contributes to understandings of the PC as a dynamic concept. From a practical perspective, this raises questions as to what educators can do to promote career readiness in students and what organisations can do to address these misinformed PCs before breach occurs or unnecessary energy is channelled into PC revisions and repair.

The effort an employee and employer make to regularly articulate and advance their capital goals, and the manner in which this interaction is done could be paramount to the successful functioning of the PC. This aligns with and advances literature on goal-oriented and sustainable perspectives of the PC (Kraak et al., 2024) and its proactive management where "[l]ess attention has been paid to how to establish a sustainable and fulfilled psychological contract" whereby "[s]ustainable contracts are those that serve the goals of their parties over time". (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019:101). This study contributes to theory by offering insights as to how the PC, as a high-quality exchange relationship characterised by attentive, responsible, and responsive parties with mutually beneficial goals (Kraak et al., 2024), may be developed and encouraged over time and space.

Empirical Contribution

This study contributes to PC literature by empirically demonstrating what is often only theorised (Bankins, 2015; Rousseau et al., 2018), how the PC dynamically develops over time. It does this by presenting an empirically informed five-phase PC process model that captures the nuances and non-linear experiences of individuals in organsiations. It provides the empirics to deepen understanding of each time-based phase of the model starting with individuals' pre-employment expectations. It provides deep analysis of the intra-individual processes that occur as pre-employment expectations form into an APC and then into an organisational PC. The study empirically contributes to a current gap in literature by detailing the antecedents and

characteristics of the APC which influences the formation of the PC. The impact of social background, media consumption, and social relationships were found to be influential in the construction of PC schemata. These antecedents are important for understanding the operation and management of the PC and which antecedents, for example expectancies, tend to be revised and discarded early on, and which antecedents, goals for example, tend to exert influence for a longer duration. The research details the experiences and organisational interactions that were key to causing hysteresis and disruption to the PC. Following these disruptive interactions, it analysed the agentic responses of individuals outlining how they dealt with PC breach and fulfilment. It then highlighted how individuals' PCs were revised for future organisational interactions including how students revised their PCs with their higher education institutions.

The study also contributes to literature by empirically considering the role of social context (Johns, 2006; Kraak et al., 2020) and other social actors, using Bourdieu's theory of practice (1979), and the impact these may have on the evolution of the PC over time. It identifies the role of line managers as particularly important to the management of the PC. The empirics detail how the intern PC was best developed and managed by organisations. It elucidates the actions taken by both parties, intern and organisation, highlighting which actions resulted in positive or negative outcomes for the PC and the individual. The need for positive communication and supportive organisational relationships were found to be essential to the management of PCs. The study also empirically presents the nuances and characteristics of the undergraduate intern or career novice PC, an understudied sample within PC literature.

This study not only presents a theoretical argument and conceptual framework to support the notion of capitals as the underlying resource in PC exchanges, it also empirically examines this approach. The study provides substantial findings that further validate the utility of a capital-based perspective for investigating PCs empirically demonstrating the influence of capital development on the intern PC. **The study identifies the capital contents of the PC bringing to light important components of the exchange relationship which can empower organisations and individuals to better manage the exchange.** It also identifies the capital goals of interns and empirically illustrates how capital goals influence intern behaviour and evaluations of the PC as fulfilled or breached. This process is captured in my capital trajectory table (Table 7) which presents varying trajectories of capital accumulation and their influence on PC outcomes. The study also produces a model (Figure 3) detailing how capital is accumulated over time describing step by step how individuals interacted with organisational events to accumulate capital. Through further detailed analysis, the study identifies how each

capital was manifested by interns and facilitated by organisations. That is, the individual enactment of each capital and the organisational practices that encouraged or hindered capital development, are outlined in the findings. This insight is valuable to both interns and organisations. Indeed, both parties can work to become more aware of which capitals are most pertinent to the particular PC exchange of which they are both a part. Interns can prepare themselves to accumulate and utilise these capitals and thus their employability (Tomlinson et al., 2022) and organisations can benefit by understanding how capital accumulation is best managed. Viewing capitals as resources in the exchange relationship can improve the exchange by bringing clarity and thus enhancing PC outcomes for all parties involved. The study also highlights the role of economic capital as an influencing factor in the PC exchange and recommends that it be considered in future studies. Economic capital is often omitted from graduate capital and employability frameworks.

The study also places capitals in the undergraduate internship context, thus applying the graduate capital model (Tomlinson, 2017) in a novel setting. In addition, the sample were from an Irish university contributing to literature on understanding internships in the European context, a relatively understudied context for internships (Velez & Giner, 2014). It also utilises the graduate capital model in a novel way whereby instead of focusing predominantly on capital outcomes and employability, as much graduate capital literature does, my study focuses on the unfolding lived experience of accumulating these capitals. This adds novel insight to the temporal complex processes through which capitals are accumulated and depleted.

Methodological Contribution

Methodological contributions are important as they enable researchers to move understanding forward by answering new questions and revisiting old questions with new insight (Bergh, Boyd, Byron, Gove, & Ketchen, 2022). While I do not claim my study has produced or utilised a new methodology, it has employed a methodological approach that is novel to the study of intern PCs and capitals and has unearthed new insights to the PCs of career novices. Taking a qualitative, individual-level, process approach over time, my study contributes to methodological insight by investigating the PC process in relation to capitals (resources) in a social field. PCs are conceptualised as dynamic, but studies often do not employ methodologies capable of capturing its inherent dynamism. Additionally, although Bourdieu's theory (1977) propounds the dynamic mutually influencing and enforcing nature of the interaction between agent, capital and field, it does not detail the temporal, sequential or developmental process by

which this happens. Thus, Bourdieu emphasises that change is happening but does not elaborate on the processual steps by which change occurs. Employing a process methodology approach enabled this study to broaden the analytical lens for understanding the temporal and social operation of the PC in relation to its social field. Epistemologically, Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) transcends a flat positivist empiricism or a wholly subjective naïve idealism, while addressing matters of reflexivity (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2010) and permits an assortment of methods representing opposing ends of the ontological spectrum (Bourdieu, 1984). It encourages a reflected eclecticism in methodology (Chudzikowski & Mayrhofer, 2010). Through the application of my framework, empirical data gathering activities of various kinds may be made comparable as they relate to varying aspects of the framework. It can be used to unpack the black box of PC resource exchange via the use of capitals within a social habitus and field.

This process methodological approach contributes to literature's limited insight of the PC as a time-based process (Griep & Vantilbourgh, 2018; Solinger, Hofmans, Bal, & Jansen, 2016) where many studies employ static cross-sectional methodologies. Even studies using longitudinal designs do not often explore the time-infused mechanisms at play in the PC collecting data related to a specific data point at different points in time rather than investigating the unfolding process of how and why change occurs over time (Achnak & Hansen, 2019). This PhD has sought to answer calls to overcome the "narrow focus on methodologies that preclude the examination of change over time [which have] not made significant progress in [their] examination of PC dynamics since the 1990s" (Rousseau et al., 2018:1084). Overcoming this methodological challenge in turn contributes to enhancing underdeveloped theorisations of the PC as a dynamic process (Hansen & Griep, 2016) and the problem of empirics based on a snippet of time (Rousseau et al., 2018).

Using a qualitative process methodology has also helped this research to overcome typical assumptions of linearity in relation to the PC, its formation, and its outcomes (Achnak & Hansen, 2019). Indeed, aligned with more recent findings (Bankins, 2015), a process methodology allowed my study to show that individuals' development of PC schemata and reactions to breach were not necessarily linear. Individuals experienced varying capital trajectories in line with their capital goals which resulted in differing PC outcomes. The PC was lived out in a temporal context and in temporal proximity to its social field. This allowed for identifying different responses to the same stimuli at different times i.e. people respond

differently at different times. This aligns with Rousseau et al.'s (2018) theorising of phases of the PC and how temporal context influences the experience of the PC.

Indeed, my study empirically showed that interns responded differently to similar interactions over time in line with their capital goals. For example, close support and monitoring was appreciated and welcomed in the initial phases of the internship and contributed to a fulfilled PC. However, over time interns resented being closely monitored and felt the monitoring communicated a lack of trust and belief in their competence which resulted in PC breach. These are two different reactions to the same stimuli over time which can only be accounted for with a methodology that allows for change over time. Aligned with recent cautions in literature, one cannot take a static antecedent - consequence approach (Hansen & Griep, 2016) because a predictor of fulfilment at one time may become a predictor for breach at another. The explanation for this is found in allowing for multi-faceted contextual forces. Being able to probe and question apparent contradictions in interns' narratives at each phase of interview required strong rapport between myself and the participants (Schmid et al., 2024). The opportunity to meet (virtually) several times strengthened the researcher-participant relationship which afforded deeper insight to their world. Without a process methodology applied over time, this insight would not have been possible, and the study would provide an incomplete and even misleading perspective on how to manage the PCs of interns. Thus, employing a methodology capable of accounting for these aspects of time and context (Johns, 2006) was essential to the insight garnered from this study.

Using a process methodology at the individual level has also provided contributions to process and PC literature by enabling investigations of the intra-individual processes that underpin the construction and development of the PC. Whereas most process methodology studies investigate organisational level processes, this study focuses on the individual. Also, in PC literature, many studies examine PC change at an aggregate level rather than intra-individual changes (Weichers et al., 2019).

This methodological approach has enabled the research to build towards an empirically informed process theoretical explanation of how the PC is constructed and changes over time in relation to social factors. These findings "go beyond a surface description to penetrate the logic behind observed temporal progressions" (Van de Ven, 2007:223). The results identified potential generative mechanisms at work in the PC exchange and what contingencies or details were at play (Tsoukas, 1989). Thus, using a process methodology moved the findings from

description to explanation useful for theory building (Pentland, 1999) and presented novel insights to the PC processes of interns.

Conclusion

This chapter has sought to explain the contribution this PhD makes to PC and capital literature by discussing how the theoretical framework, empirics, and process methodology work together to present novel and useful insights to how the PC is constructed and evolves over time in relation to its social context. It has discussed the nuances and processual steps through which a PC is formed noting the underexamined role of the APC and its antecedents. It has discussed the value of employing Bourdieu's theory of practice (1979) to complement and extend the social exchange inherent to the PC. Utilising Bourdieu's theory of practice (1979) enabled the consideration of field, habitus, and capital to understand how social forces and agency influence the PC process. It also discussed the value of reconceptualising the content of the PC as capitals, as per Bourdieu (1989) and Tomlinson (2017), highlighting how this contributes to clarifying the social exchange of resources that underpins the PC relationship. This helps to move the PC literature forward to show how resource accumulation and depletion can be mechanisms through which revisions are made to the PC. A hierarchy of capitals goals influenced the fulfilment or breach of the PC. For these interns, human capital was at the top of this hierarchy but individuals at other career stages may possess a different hierarchy. A capitals approach widens the analytical opportunities for unpacking individuals' resource expectations and the multi-faceted way in which individuals enact their employment experience. It also illuminates the inherent dynamism of the PC as its capital contents are accumulated and depleted over time and capital goals impact perceptions of breach and fulfilment. It examines an understudied sample, undergraduate interns, and takes a novel process approach to studying the intraindividual processes that compose the employment exchange relationship. The study is useful to theorists, practitioners, and educators as they seek to understand the complexities of human expectations, social exchanges, and responses to perceived fulfilled or unfulfilled obligations relating to working life.

Chapter 8: Recommendations, Limitations,

Future Research, and Conclusions

Introduction

This final chapter of the PhD thesis briefly summarises the contributions of this study (discussed in detail in chapter 7) demonstrating how the research question and sub-questions were addressed highlighting their practical value. It provides recommendations for researchers, practitioners, educators and career services, and career novices in light of the theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions of this study. It also outlines limitations of the study and provides clear directions for future research to move PC and capitals literature forward. It concludes by sharing my learning experience as the researcher conducting this qualitative process study over time.

Research questions

In chapter one of this thesis, I presented the research question and sub-questions that form the foundations of this research undertaking. Here I summarise how these questions were answered and demonstrate the value that the findings of each question adds to the understanding and management of PCs and capitals.

How does employing Bourdieu's theory of practice and a graduate capital lens provide deeper understanding of the dynamic psychological contract process?

How is an individual's PC constructed and how does it evolve over time and space including the role of APC antecedents? The results of this study have provided an empirically informed dynamic PC process model (Figure 2, Chapter 5). The process methodology employed in the study facilitated these dynamic findings. The model is composed of five phases detailing how a PC is constructed evolving from its antecedents to a pre-organisational APC to an in-organisation PC. It details how the PC moves through cycles involving hysteresis, revision, and repair and is then reconstructed for the future creating the APC for the next exchange relationship. It evidences the impact that expectancies and capital goals have on the

developing PC. It also offers valuable insight useful for the proactive and sustainable management of PCs (Kraak et al., 2024) as it uncovers from where expectations originate and how those expectations evolve rather than focusing on PC breach antecedents and outcomes as much literature does. This insight can facilitate more focused actions for sustainable management of PCs and answer calls to investigate the dynamism of the PC (Bankins, 2015; Coyle-Shapiro et al., 2019).

How does the consideration of social context (field and habitus) contribute to the study of PCs? The study highlights the contextual forces of field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) in the formation and development of the PC schema (Rousseau, 2001) particularly showing how the social history of the individual impacts their early constructions of employment expectations and their capital goals. It illuminates specific aspects of individual agency, power dynamics, and social norms that impact an individual's expectations and experience of the employment exchange. Aspects of field and habitus influence individuals' ability to accumulate capital in that context and indeed which capitals may be valuable or symbolic in that context. Understanding the social forces at play are crucial to researching the dynamics of the PC. These findings also answer calls to examine the social context of PCs (Bankins et al., 2020; Kraak & Linde, 2019).

How does capital accumulation, depletion, and the attainment of capital goals influence the evolution of the PC? The findings revealed hierarchies of capitals, that capitals were accumulated on trajectories, and that specific trajectories related to specific PC outcomes. These are evidenced in the capital trajectory model (Table 7, Chapter 5). The study revealed that interns possessed capital goals which they expected to attain through their employment exchange relationship. When interns accumulated capital in line with their capital goals, their PCs were impacted in a positive way resulting in PC fulfilment. When interns' capitals were depleted, their PCs were impacted in a negative way usually resulting in PC breach. However, sometimes interns experienced capital accumulation or depletion which did not significantly impact their capital goals. These capital interactions exerted less impact on their PCs with interns repairing PC breach quickly or not experiencing breach at all in relation to the interaction which illustrates the role capital accumulation or depletion plays in the PC. This information is helpful in understanding how and why similar incidents impact individuals differently, i.e. in

light of their capital goals and context and could also be tested to investigate the capital accumulation trajectories of other career stages.

How do interns enact and accumulate different forms of capital over time within an organisational setting? The study presents a capital accumulation model (Figure 3, Chapter 6) which illustrates step by step how an individual accumulates capital through capital interactions and how these interactions individually and cumulatively influence perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach. This question provides practical insight to what individuals actually do to accumulate the capital is that vital fulfilling their capital goals PCs. so to and These findings expand on and delve deeper into the previous questions by delineating how interns enacted and accumulated each specific capital through their employment exchange.

What organisational practices do interns perceive as most beneficial to their accumulation of capital? Also following on from the previous question and its focus, this contribution illuminates how interns perceived the different actions taken (or not taken) by organisations and whether those actions were perceived as enhancing or hindering their capital accumulation. Thus, for each capital it provides a valuable list of perceived capital enhancing interventions that organisations can evaluate and adopt to foster capital accumulation and perceptions of PC fulfilment in their employees.

Based on these contributions, the following recommendations are shared for researchers, practitioners, university educators and career services, and career novices themselves.

Recommendations

Recommendations for researchers

This study constructed a framework complementing PC theory with Bourdieu's theory of practice (Bourdieu, 1977) and a graduate capital lens (Tomlinson, 2017) to consider the influence of capital goals, social cues (Baruch & Rousseau, 2019) and social context (Kraak et al., 2020) on the PC process. It revealed a dynamic hierarchy of capitals. Researchers could

further test and explore this approach with other samples (for example, those in other career stages or contexts) to identify its strengths, weaknesses, and limitations. An individual-level process approach holds the potential to add value and novel insight to the study of PCs as dynamic time-infused concepts. Researchers could utilise this approach to interrogate the understudied dynamic nature of PCs (Bankins et al., 2020). Researchers should be aware of the enormous undertaking that a qualitative process study involves. Process studies amass volumes of data (Langley et al., 2013). Designing the study, analysing, and organising process data is also a challenge as the complexities of time and temporalities influence the meaning of participants' experiences (Van de Ven, 2007). However, researchers should not be discouraged from attempting process study of PCs. Thus, process studies, though challenging, do produce theoretically and empirically interesting and nuanced findings not readily available in cross sectional studies. Langley et al. (2013) recommend conducting process research in teams, especially if one is a novice researcher, to manage the significant workload. Thus, I recommend that PC researchers consider collaborative approaches that include time and temporalities and methodologies that are capable of capturing the complex dynamism of the PC.

Recommendations for practitioners

The importance of aligning capital goals and facilitating capital accumulation opportunities

Managers should be aware of the significant impact that employee capital goals bear on employees' enactment of the employment relationship. As organisations provide the opportunities for employees to fulfil their capital goals, employees perceive their PCs as being fulfilled. Managers should intentionally seek to discover their employees' capital goals and compare these against what the organisation can realistically deliver. For example, each parties' capital goals could be discussed to ensure alignment, discuss discrepancies, and facilitate attainment of goals and ultimately fulfilment of the PC. Managers should be intentional by scheduling meetings for this purpose to avoid PC drift (Rousseau, 2005) recognising that interns' capital goals and PC content may evolve over time.

The impact of social capital, in the form of positive communication and relationships, on the accumulation of other capitals

Social capital, in the form of positive communication and valuable relationships, enables the accumulation of other capitals. Managers and supervisors should be aware of the immense influence their communication and feedback have on interns' perceptions of themselves, the

quality and value of their work, and their place within the work team. In line with literature (Smith & Smith, 2024), this study revealed that interns found communication with organisational actors challenging and they perceived power differences between themselves and the organisation. Thus, organisations should seek to initiate and facilitate non-threatening positive communication, including feedback with interns, recognising that they may have misaligned and misinformed perceptions (APCs) of the employment relationship and lack certain capitals. As the study revealed that communication and relationships (social capital) were essential to capital accumulation and PC fulfilment, organisations and organisational actors should strive for positive, clear, and consistent communication to enhance employees' social capital and the accumulation of other capitals. This may include clear instructions about work tasks and boundaries, ways to access people and information, friendly informal interactions, managerial availability, and supportive conversations about progress and development. Organisations should also strive to be consistent in their communication of organisational messaging in relation to organisational values, culture, and rewards as interns compare their experience among themselves and this comparison evaluation was found to influence their PC. Thus, the study reinforces literature on the value of positive line management and organisational culture. However, it also adds practical and actionable steps that organisations can take such as mapping capitals to specific management or human resource practices to ensure that human resource and management systems facilitate dialogue surrounding capital goals and their attainment in a dynamic way to promote PC fulfilment and avoid breach. This may also apply to managing employees at any level.

The importance of capital accumulation opportunities to practice, observe, and connect

As the study revealed that capital is accumulated through opportunities to mobilise or practice it, organisations should design intern roles and responsibilities to offer as many opportunities as possible to practice work tasks and observe others performing their roles. This may enhance PC fulfilment. While this study focuses on the intern experience and the construction of the PC, these findings may be relevant for employees in general whose PCs and capitals are also evolving over time. Opportunities to make presentations were particularly salient to the interns' experiences. Also, a lack of experience using Microsoft Excel was keenly felt. Organisations could consider how to provide interns with opportunities to learn and practice skills lacking in their capital reserves at the outset of their employment. This could be done by rotating interns' jobs or tasks while providing enough time to master the task, inviting them to meetings to observe or participate, introducing them to people who can assist in their development, and

taking time to explain the 'why' or history behind something. Organisations should also be cognisant that though the internship is short and time-bounded, this experience is of great importance to the interns and foundational to their early career experience.

Recommendations for educators and university career services

The value of internships and a capital approach

This study found that internships were an overwhelmingly positive and worthwhile experience for accumulating capitals. Educators and third level career services should continue to provide, develop, and promote internship opportunities for undergraduate students to develop their capitals and become career ready and employable. Educators could utilise a graduate capital approach (Donald et al., 2024; Tomlinson, 2017) to help students frame their PC expectations and goals according to capitals (Smith & Smith, 2024). For example, parties could cocreate a list of capital goals and how they wish for them to be fulfilled. This could be for the student side only or both parties (lecturer/university representative) to express their capital goals for the exchange relationship. This would promote clearer communication and goal setting for the respective parties. As one example, my study revealed the importance of interns' human capital in the form of communication, particularly with learning how to draft emails, speak on the phone, or make presentations, in the first few months of their internships. Having identified such a capital need, educators, career services, and students could then work together within a common capital framework to address needs related to specific capitals. In this example, providing opportunities for students to practice communication via class presentations is one avenue for accumulating this soft skill element of human capital to promote work readiness. Educators could embed specific capital building activities into the curriculum, for example, practical training and tasks using Microsoft PowerPoint or Excel. As another example, in the study interns lacked cultural capital. As a more cumulative capital, it takes time and exposure to cultural practices to be inculcated. More work integrated projects, leadership and team simulations, and organisational site visits could help students 'see' and encounter working life in a more realistic way, help to take the mystery out of the professional context, and avoid unnecessary hysteresis (Bourdieu, 1989). Indeed, in most cases it is not possible to anticipate all of the capital demands and opportunities that will be presented in organisational life. Thus, curiosity and initiative on the part of interns is essential.

The impact of evolving psychological contracts and capitals on education

Educators should be aware of and help to inform the underdeveloped and potentially misinformed PC schemata of students. Educators could provide realistic depictions of the employment relationship and guide students to critically analyse and identify reliable sources of information regarding employment. Educators could provide and direct students to reliable media outlets and empower them to use tools to evaluate the applicability of others' experiences to their own. Educators should also be aware of the changing PC expectations of students. As students accumulated capitals, their PCs and expectations of not only the employment relationship but also the student-university and student-lecturer relationship evolved. Educators should be aware that students may now perceive themselves as more mature, professional, and equipped to challenge perspectives in the classroom or perceived shortcomings on the part of the university. Finally, educators and career services should be aware of the challenges that students face when returning to education after an internship. This is an underdeveloped area of literature, but this study showed that interns struggled with their identities straddling both student and professional identities simultaneously. They missed their working lives and professional selves and found it challenging to adapt to what they described as their old life which sometimes included relocating after having been away for one year. Educators and career services could provide transitionary support for students in the final year of their studies as they experience this liminal or intermediate phase, sandwiched between the previous year of internship and the next year of embarking upon graduate employment.

Recommendations for career novices

Career novices should try to identify their perceptions of the employment relationship and weigh their PC against realistic depictions of working life in that sector. They could also clarify what they want from an employment relationship by utilising a capital approach to identify capital goals and how they expect to attain those goals before and during employment. They should prepare to communicate their capital goals clearly with their employing organisation. Additionally, having identified capital needs or capital goals, career novices should act and avail of opportunities to accumulate capitals. This can be done by communicating with one's university or employer to request training, guidance, opportunities for exposure, and support. Finally, career novices should bear in mind that their personal and professional selves may evolve over time as they are exposed to and interact with new social fields that result in capital accumulation. They should take time to reflect upon what these changes mean for themselves and their future employment relationships.

Limitations and future research

Although this study makes several contributions to PC and capitals literature, it is not without its limitations. Empirically, the study includes only participants from one university, in one country, and a focused sample of interns. Thus, it may not be generalisable to the wider working population. However, process studies do not seek to be generalisable on a large scale, but to be versatile (Van de Ven, 2007). I have sought to make the findings versatile by moving from surface observations to theoretical abstractions of processes which forwarded understanding from descriptors to explanatory power (Langley et al., 2013). Future research could test and apply the PC process model and the capital trajectory model that this study produced. It could be used on intern samples from other universities and countries and even tested among more experienced working professionals to identify differences in PC processes between career novices and those more experienced. Specific phases of the PC process model could be applied more in depth to further investigate the nuances of each phase, for example, the development of and influence of understudied APCs. These findings could then be connected with or attached to the broader PC process model (Figure 2, Chapter 5) to help create a more detailed theorisation of the unfolding PC and avoid siloed perspectives and disjointed empirical insights. Future research could also test the capital trajectory model (Table 7, Chapter 5) and capital accumulation models (Figure 3, Chapter 6) with differing samples in differing social fields to explore the boundaries of their applicability and how they may be further developed.

In addition, a process does not necessarily begin or end where the data collection began and ended. Thus, there is no perfect conceptualisation of a process. I sought to mitigate this limitation by choosing a novice sample to get as temporally close to the beginning of the PC schema construction process as possible while still being close enough to the impending work experience to make it relevant. Also, the period of 12 to 15 month data collection covers the pre-internship and post-internship period but does not include the participants' experience of finding graduate employment after they completed their final year of studies. Future studies could lengthen the data collection time-period, tracking participants' PCs and capital accumulation into their graduate roles examining how the capital trajectories and PCs of graduates and interns may be similar or different.

Further investigation of the potential counterbalancing forces of the intern PC could garner interesting insights, for example perceived power dynamics and the impact of time-bounded employment relationships. Future studies could further research the influence of power

dynamics (a sense of responsibility) in the field and time (length of potential influence of the breach) on interns' responses to PC breach. Aligned with Kraak et al.'s (2020) work, my study revealed unexpected responses to PC breach that are perhaps explained by counterbalancing forces.

Additionally, as with the majority of PC research, my study only investigated the employee side of the PC. Future studies could explore the capital expectations that the organisation has of its employees and investigate both sides of the PC exchange. Finally, as with all research endeavours, there may always be other influencing factors not captured in the study and not explained by the theories used here. For example, one intern tended towards negative evaluations of organisational interactions. His capital goals were not aligned well with the culture and mission of the organisation. He also, however, described work values which did not fit with the organisation. It is possible that his work values and a lack of person-organisation fit were influencing his perception of breach events. Thus, not every eventuality in the employment relationship is captured and explained within PC and capitals theory. Future research could experiment with using other complementing theories to explore other factors at play in the PC process.

Reflections as the researcher

Finally, I would like to briefly share my own learnings as a researcher undertaking this qualitative process study. Multiple interactions with the sample showed me the value of building a strong rapport with the participants and the valuable insights that are shared when individuals begin to trust you and become more comfortable. Hearing Desmond state, in relation to an impactful capital interaction, "I said to myself, I can't wait to tell Kim about this" (3) made me realise that participants seemed to enjoy sharing their work experience with a willing and interested listener, particularly in the context of Covid-19 restrictions when social interaction was reduced. I also found that each phase of data collection involved a reflective and reflexive process whereby interns adjusted their narratives about their professional self-perception and PCs in relation to capital accumulation and depletion. In response, I as the researcher, then reframed and revised theoretical insights in line with participants' trajectories of capital accumulation and their individual PC processes. It required a willingness from me as the researcher to iteratively revise and reconstruct the theoretical and analytical decisions I made along the way in line with how participants and their experiences evolved over time.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter has summarised the contributions this PhD makes by answering the research questions stated at the outset of the study. It has outlined the contributions that this PhD undertaking makes. It has detailed recommendations for researchers, practitioners, educators, and career novices based on the empirical findings and theoretical implications of this study. It has also outlined limitations and revealed future research directions based on the findings. Answering calls and addressing persisting gaps in literature, this PhD has sought to theoretically, empirically, and methodologically advance literature by illuminating the process of PC construction and evolution over time and space. This qualitative process study on the PCs of undergraduate interns provided a theoretical framework incorporating Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977) and a graduate capital lens (Tomlinson, 2017) to the study of PCs. This encouraged and supported the examination of the PC as a dynamic time-infused social exchange concept.

Using this theoretical framework, the study produced a PC process model (Figure 2, Chapter 5) empirically interrogating how the PC of career novices is constructed and how it evolves over time. It identified five phases covering pre-organisational entry (phase 1), in organisation experiences (phases 2-4), and ending with post-organisational revisions to the PC (phase 5) that are brought into the next PC relationship whether that be employment or education. It empirically illustrated the role of social influences, via habitus and field, on the antecedents of the PC highlighting the importance of understanding from where and how the phenomenon one intends to manage emanates. It provided a novel conceptualisation of the content of PCs as capitals and capital goals. It produced a capital trajectory model (Table 7, Chapter 5) empirically demonstrating how the accumulation and depletion of capital over time influenced perceptions of PC fulfilment or breach in relation to capital goals. It has also provided detailed empirically informed insights to how each capital scrutinised in the study is enacted and accumulated (Chapter 6) by interns and the organisational actions that interns perceived enhanced capital accumulation and ultimately fulfilment of the PC. It also contributes to theoretical understanding of how capitals are accumulated and depleted over time in the career novice context. The study gives practical recommendations to practitioners on the management of the PC promoting sustainable exchange relationships (Kraak et al., 2024) for the future workforce. It also speaks to PCs in the third level educational setting and what career services and educators can do to help prepare the next generation of workers for the contemporary employment relationship. The study is also useful to career novices as they seek to understand

themselves, their own capital goals, and what to expect from the employment exchange relationship. All of this is in service of enhancing the quality of working life and the contemporary employment relationship.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approvals, interview guides, sample consent forms and participant invitation letters

Forward to ethical application and approval

Changes made to the below application:

- 1. Email from Dr. o' Connor confirming approval for participation in the Placement Module is included.
- 2. Information and consent forms have been revised to reflect a) concerns regarding the removal of anonymised information contributed during the placement module session should a student change their mind about participating (addressed through the reporting of the summary notes on Moodle for students' reflection and feedback b) the removal of permission to use quotes from the pilot study in publications.



Social Research Ethics Sub-Committee

Protocol for Tier 2-3 Ethical Review of a Research Project Involving Participation of Humans (This form must be submitted via the online Ethics Module in RIS).

1. Applicant.

-· ·· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Name:	MU Address/Department
Ms. Kim Coogan (PhD Student)	Maynooth University School of Business
Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry (Supervisor)	Maynooth University School of Business
Dr. Jean Cushen (Supervisor)	Maynooth University School of Business

2. Title. Brief title of the research project:

Unpacking the placement career transition of university students in Ireland: An exploratory case study investigation

Research Objectives. Please summarize briefly the objective(s) of the research, including relevant details such as purpose, research question, hypothesis, etc. (maximum 100 words).

Please Note: This is a revision to the addendum below addressing revisions for the pilot study.

- Email from Dr. o' Connor confirming approval for participation in the Placement Module is included below the information and consent forms.
- Information and consent forms have been revised to reflect a) concerns regarding
 the removal of anonymised information contributed during the placement module
 session should a student change their mind about participating (addressed
 through the reporting of the summary notes on Moodle for students' reflection
 and feedback and b) the removal of permission to use quotes from the pilot study
 in publications.

Please note: This is an addendum to the previously approved tier two ethics application No: 2391030. I have added a pilot study to the research taking place between February and April 2020. The study involves, me, Kim Coogan, attending two Placement Module sessions (with Module coordinator Dr. Edward o' Connor who has granted permission for this subject to ethical approval) to gather an overview of recurring themes that students mention during the normal session activities regarding their Work Placement experience. No personally identifiable data will be collected, the session will not be recorded, only general notes will be taken to identify themes to inform and set context for the already approved data collection activity. Students will be informed of my presence in advance of the session and given time and opportunity to contact either myself or the module coordinator (detailed below). Students participating in the pilot study will not be participating in the main data collection exercise. To explain, the pilot study will be with students undertaking the Placement Module in the academic year 2019-2020 and the main study will take place with students undertaking the Placement Module 2020-2021. Thus, I have included a separate and new information sheet and consent form for the students participating in the pilot study (see below).

The objective of the study is to investigate the lived experiences of undergraduate business students as they engage different forms of capital (resources that confer benefits) while transitioning to a workplace during a structured work placement at Maynooth University. The core research question is: How do undergraduate students perceive, develop and utilise the subcomponents of their individual capital when transitioning to the work context? Data will be gathered via a pilot study, semi-structured interviews, a focus group and self-reporting diaries in order to investigate how students progressively cultivate their capitals pre, during and post work placement over a one-year

period. This data will be enriched by expert interviews with work placement coordinators. As part of the requirements for a PhD in Business, I am undertaking this research under the supervision of Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry and Dr. Jean Cushen.

4. Methodology.

4a. Where will the research be carried out?

Location(s)	Please describe the locations where the research will be carried out. The pilot study will be carried out in the Maynooth University School of Business or other Maynooth University lecture halls.
	 Semi Structured interviews (three per student, one before, one during, and one after placement) and one focus group with undergraduate placement students will be carried out within Maynooth University School of Business or other Maynooth University offices on campus should a space not be available in the School of Business. Student written reflections will be shared post placement as they reflect on their experience.

4b. Briefly describe the overall methodology of the project.

Use plain English (maximum 350 words).

Depending on the methods/techniques to be used, elaborate upon the research context(s), potential questions / issues to be explored, tasks/tests/measures, frequency/duration of sessions, process of analysis to be used, as appropriate. Consider Methods, Context, Questions, Frequency etc.

Relevant details regarding the procedures for data collection, storage and retention should be reflected in the content of the Information Sheet. You should attach (as relevant) interview guides, survey questions as an appendix to the submission.

Since the introduction of GDPR guidelines, MU cannot use the Survey Monkey or many of the traditional platforms any longer. The university has a licence to onlinesurveys.ac.uk

To get access to this platform, please contact laura.mcelwain@mu.ie

Please note the use of this platform is subject to Maynooth University OnlineSurveys User Policy

A qualitative case study of the Maynooth University School of Business one-year undergraduate placement programme will be undertaken. A pilot study will be carried out between February and June 2020 with non-vulnerable Maynooth University adult students participating in the Work Placement programme 2019-2020 academic year. The pilot study will involve me, the researcher, Kim Coogan, attending two of the four scheduled work placement module sessions to gather generalised themes that emerge from students' discussions of the experience of work placement. The purpose is to identify general themes that students are mentioning so as to inform and set context for the main data collection exercise (already approved). No personal identifiers will be attached to any information gathered, only anonymised general themes to protect privacy. These sessions will not be recorded. Students participating in the pilot study (2019-2020 work placement students) in the main data collection exercise (2020-2021 work placement students). Note: The second session of the pilot study was not conducted due to Covid-19 and that data collection opportunity was lost. No interviews were conducted with the 2019-2020 School of Business cohort. I attended one of their work placement sessions and listened to discussion. Thus, these students will not be overburdened or fatigued should they volunteer to participate in the main study.

A sample of non-vulnerable adult students will be interviewed three times, once pre-placement, once during, and once post-placement to allow for identification of growth and changes in students' perceptions and use of their capital (resources) during a work placement intervention. In-depth, semi-structured and topic-guided interviews, just before and just after placement, will focus conversations on capital related matters. For example, the interviews will seek to explore which aspects of the transition to work were significant and why, and how did students learn to draw on resources available to them to manage these new experiences. During the placement year, there will be one interview. Collecting data pre, during and post work placement will enable a closer relationship between data and context, facilitating real-time processual analysis of capital mobilisation over time and space.

In parallel, expert interviews with work placement and graduate programme coordinators will offer key insights and set the scene for the study.

Qualitative analysis of the data will require use of the software MAXQDA.

Flow of data collection:

Maynooth University School of Business Undergraduate Students		Form of data collection	Location	
Pilot Study	February-June 2020		Attending two work placement module class periods to listen and gather generalised themes that emerge from students' discussions on the work placement experience to inform the	Maynooth University

		direction of the	
		already	
		approved data	
		collection -	
		interviews and	
		focus group	
		below	
Pre-Placement	January –	Semi structured	Maynooth
	December 2020	interviews. (One	University
		interview with	
		each	
		participant)	
During	May 2020-	Semi structured	Maynooth
Placement	October 2021	interviews. (One	University
		interview with	
		each	
		participant)	
Post-Placement	April 2021-	Semi structured	Maynooth
	December 2021	interviews (One	University
		interview with	
		each	
		participant) and	
		a focus group.	
L			

I will observe the principles of conduct, integrity and ethical clearance as required by the MU ethical guidelines for the management of research data. Participants will receive an information sheet on the purpose of the research including full transparency on how their data will be stored, access conditions, and any reasonable limits to confidentiality. Two consent forms will be prepared – (i) consent to participate, and (ii) consent to the storage of anonymised data in the IQDA repository at MU

https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/sites/default/files/assets/document/Maynooth%20University%20Research%20Ethics%20Policy%20June%202016 2.pdf.

Interviews and focus groups will be transcribed and analysed using Microsoft Word and MAXQDA. Diary entries will be received by email and stored securely. All data will be anonymised, saved and then encrypted (using VeraCrypt) on a Maynooth University School of Business secure server following the Maynooth University Research Policy for short term storage of personal data

(https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/sites/default/files/assets/document/MU%20Research%20I ntegrity%20%20Policy%20September%202016%20_2.pdf). Hard copy files will be temporarily stored in a locked cabinet at Maynooth University. Following input, they will be destroyed by shredding. Soft copy files will be overwritten or deleted.

As the completed checklist below (section 9) indicates, I am adhering to all MU ethical policies that apply to my PhD study.

5. Participants.

5a. Who will the participants be?

Participants will be Maynooth University Undergraduate Students. They will be non-vulnerable consenting adults undertaking the work placement programme. The Maynooth University work placement programme provides the opportunity to explore career transitions in action and in process. Equal gender sampling design will garner perceptions for comparison purposes. Other intersectional factors (such as race, nationality) will be captured to construct more holistic, nuanced typologies of the career protagonists.

5b. Outline the recruitment process, considering any criteria for inclusion/exclusion.

Where gatekeepers are involved in the process of participant recruitment, please clearly outline procedures relating to their involvement.

Contact will first be made with Ms Paula Murray, the university placement officer (paula.murray@mu.ie). From there, contact will be made with Dr. Paola Zappa (paopla.zappa@mu.ie) who is the placement contact coordinator in the School of Business, liaising between the School of Business and the Placement Office (Paula Murray). Upon approval to proceed, contact will be made with Dr. Edward O' Connor (Edward.oconnor@mu.ie), the module coordinator for the accompanying work placement module. Through these key gate keepers and with their approval, contact will be made with undergraduate students undergoing the work placement process to explain the research and requesting volunteers to participate.

Contact will be initiated through an in class presentation, on Moodle, or by email by the placement coordinator -Paula Murray, or Dr. Edward O Connor for Business Students.

Students must be enrolled in the Maynooth University School of Business work placement programme in order to be included in the study.

5c. What will research participants be asked to do for the purposes of this research study?

NB: This information should be reflected in the content of the Information Sheet and Consent Form.

For the pilot study, students will not be asked to do anything other than attend and participate in their required work placement module sessions. During these sessions (2 of which I will attend, February and April meetings), general themes of work placement experience will be noted and anonymised. Students will be notified of my presence and purpose in advance (through in class presentation, on Moodle by the placement module coordinator (Dr. Edward o' Connor, or by email) and asked to consent to their anonymised and generalised themes of discussion being used to inform the study for the following year. To address the concern regarding the retrospective removal of generalised contributions, the summarised and anonymised notes will be shared afterwards (on Moodle) with the class to ask if all are comfortable with the summary. If anyone is not, they may contact me personally to discuss their concerns and have their contributions omitted or amended to more accurately reflect the essence of the discussion. There will be no recording, collection of names or quotation of statements. The purpose is to identify recurring general themes contributed by multiple parties in the conversation. Should a student feel that a theme noted in the summary is inaccurate, or request that any particular

noted observation by the researcher is deleted, then the researcher will ensure these expressed concerns are adhered to.

- 1. Participation in the in-class activities of the placement module does not influence the student's grade for the module in any way. Students will be reminded of this.
- 2. Each participant will be asked to commit to attending three semi-structured interviews (one pre, during, and one post placement) and to make a written reflection over the course of their one-year work placement programme. Participants will be asked to share their experience and perspectives on transitioning from education to the work place and any insights they deemed significant in learning and developing their professional selves during that period.

Note: Students must attend four sessions as part of their work placement academic module at the School of Business over the course of the work placement year and it is envisaged that these dates and times would be the ideal times of contact for data collection.

5d. Conflict of Interest.	□ Yes	⊠ No	
Please consider the basis of any potential conflict of interest and descrito address this should it arise?	ibe the st	eps you	will take
Access the Conflict of Interest Policy here No conflict of interest is envisaged or currently apparent.			
5e. Will the research involve power relationships e.g. student/employe	e/employ	ver/colle □ Yes	ague etc.? ⊠ No

If yes to above, please outline the basis of the potential power relationship and describe the steps you will take to address this should it arise?

Note that power relationships may exist in situations other than supervisor-student relationships and or adult/child relationships.

The participants will be adult (18 years of age and over) undergraduate students of Maynooth University undertaking a work placement experience and graduate employment/work placement experts. I, the researcher am a mature full-time PhD student at the Maynooth University School of Business. No power relationships are apparent. I will assure participants that their responses are anonymised, thematically aggregated, will not influence their work placement performance in any way and University staff involved in placement are not privy to any insight nor will they have any input into the direction of study.

Pilot Study: Participation in the in-class activities of the placement module directed by the module coordinator does not influence the student's grade for the module in any way. Students will be reminded of this and thus no power relationship is apparent.

5f. Will the participants be remunerated, and if so, in what form?

No			

6. Risk/Benefit Analysis

6a. Potential Risks: Please identify and describe any potential risks arising from the research techniques, procedures or outputs (such as physical stress/reactions, psychological emotional distress, or reactions) <u>and</u> for each one, explain how you will address or minimise them.

No potential risks are expected. Contact will be informal and participants will share their experience of preparing for and experiencing work placement in as much or as little detail as they choose. No one is obliged to share anything. It is not anticipated that highly emotive topics will arise in the interviews, however, as participants will be discussing new experiences in the working world, one cannot completely preclude the possibility. My personal experience (teaching background) in managing this age group will be drawn upon to skilfully navigate interviews and the focus group. Should I feel concern for a participant, I will direct them to appropriate MU supports, though the need for this is not envisaged. At no time will participation affect the student grade for placement.

6b. Potential Benefits: Provide a list of potential benefits for this Research.

Please detail any potential benefits of the study which may be relevant to the participants/your discipline /and/or the wider society.

The benefits would be that a diverse and detailed set of individual experiences at the micro level would be collected and analysed to inform graduate transitions research. This is in keeping with calls from the European Higher Education Area to better understand Student-Centred Learning (SCL) which is a process of qualitative transformation for students.

The transitional work placement context is promising for theory building in the research of management learning and development. Findings could produce recommendations, such as a capital development model akin to informal, experiential and transformative learning models which will be a useful contribution to Human Resource Development, management learning and education and higher educational business research. Research on learning during the work placement transition is scarce and thus this research undertaking would be of great foundational benefit. It is expected that insights will be significant, theoretically and practically, to policy makers and career support organisations.

6c. Risk/Benefit Analysis: Taking into account your answer in section 9 (a) & (b) above, please provide a short justification for proceeding with the research as outlined in this project.

Bearing in mind that the benefits should out-weigh the risks

There are no major risks or concerns anticipated in this research where non vulnerable adults will voluntarily participate to share their views and experiences of work placement in a university programme. The benefits are clear and needed as outlined above. Thus, the benefits outweigh any potential minor unseen risks that could occur, which are not anticipated.

7. Informed Consent.

This section focuses on what and how, you tell participants about your research, and then obtain their informed consent as outlined in <u>section 3.4 of MU Research Ethics Policy.</u>

Please note if you are collecting personally identifiable data you must seek explicit consent in a recordable manner (e.g. written or audio recorded and transcribed) <u>Template consent form</u> available from the website

7a. Confirm you are seeking and recording informed consent from participants

 \boxtimes

Who will be responsible for seeking and recording consent?
 Coogan]

[Kim

When and where is consent obtained e.g. do participants get an information sheet and sign a consent form, keeping a copy for their records or is consent secured by another means?

Pilot Study: An information sheet about the overall study and pilot study and a consent form specifically for the pilot study will be posted on Moodle by the module coordinator in advance of the two meetings. This will allow students time to read, reflect upon and query anything related to the overall study or pilot study in which they may be involved prior to the work placement module sessions. My contact details and the module coordinators contact details will be available should students seek further clarification. On the two meeting days, before the sessions begin, I will be there early with printed copies of the information sheets and consent forms should students wish to reread the information, ask questions to me directly or indicate that they do not wish for any of their contributions to the session be used in the pilot study. Upon arrival, students will be asked to sign and give consent.

Consent will be obtained prior to the interviews and the focus group. Consent for any recording, should the diary check-in option (via phone, online or face to face meeting) be chosen, will also be obtained. All participants will be emailed a consent form and information sheets in advance of the interviews, focus groups or diary check-ins and may return the signed

forms by email attachment or submit/sign the forms in hard copy prior to the day of the interview, focus group or diary check-ins. Signed consent forms must be received prior to interviews or a focus group. Participants will be advised that they can contact the researcher at any time for clarification of any element of the information sheet and/or consent forms and that they may withdraw participation at any time up until the data is anonymised and analysed.

If participants should wish to keep a copy of their consent forms for their own records, that is in order.

Please note:

- Consent must be recorded in an appropriate format.
- If your research involves children or other vulnerable people, explain how you will obtain their assent.
- For projects in which participants will be involved over the long term, you must include details of how you will ensure ongoing consent.

Limits to confidentiality Statement:

Ensure that participants are informed of the <u>limits to confidentiality</u> as outlined in section 3.3 of the ethics policy

The following or similar text should be used in consent/information sheet.

'It must be recognized that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.'

7b. If applicable, please also justify deceiving or withholding information from participants <u>(see section 4.9 MU Ethics Policy).</u>

There will be no deceiving or withholding of information.

8. Follow-up. As appropriate, please explain what strategies you have in place to debrief or follow up with participants – especially in cases where information is withheld or deception is involved or where research has been carried out on sensitive topics, and/or with vulnerable persons.

Pilot Study: Apart from the two work placement module sessions detailed above, no further follow up is foreseen as necessary.

Though there will be three planned contact points for students (one interview before placement, one during, and one interview after placement, plus a written reflection to be emailed to the researcher), no further follow up is foreseen as necessary.

All participants will be thanked for their contribution to the interviews via individual emails. They will be reminded that they can ask to receive the recording/transcript of the interview and/or focus group and to clarify or amend any comment they may have made during the interview or that they, in hindsight, would like to withdraw or amend. All participants will also be reminded of the anonymity of their contribution, unless they desire that any quotes made by them personally be attributed to them in full. Each participant will be reminded that any desire to be identified with any quotes/comments made is voluntary and that the default position is that all participants remain anonymous. All data will be anonymous unless otherwise specifically requested and confirmed (in writing) by the respective participant.

9. Data Management, Storage

Please complete 9a if personally identifiable data is being collected. If no personally identifiable data is being collected please move to 9b.

9a. Anonymity

Page 2 of the <u>Maynooth University's Research Integrity Policy</u> states 'where ever possible personally identifiable data should be rendered anonymous in order to provide the best protection for participants'.

	Will personally identifiable data be protected through the use of	oseudonyms and/or codes´ Yes 🏿 No 🛚	?
•	If yes, please confirm that the key to pseudonyms and/or codes w	vill be held in a separate	
	location to the raw data?		
•	Will personally identifiable data collected be irreversibly anonymickeys to link pseudonyms or codes back to individual participants a	•	g
		Yes ☑ No □	
•	Who will be responsible for rendering the data anonymous?	[Kim Coogan]	

If you answered No to above and are keeping personally identifiable data please explain your decision & rationale for not adhering to the policy.

The personally identifiable data will be kept until the research study has been completed, analysed and written up. The identifiers will be kept in case any additional clarification or follow up conversations are required as the research process develops. Once the research is completed, all identifiable data and keys to pseudonyms will be destroyed.

9b. Data Access and Security:

Data must be stored in a safe, secure and accessible form, must be held for an appropriate length of time, to allow (if necessary) for future reassessment or verification of the data from primary sources, as outlined in the *Maynooth University's Research Integrity Policy*.

Please	tick	the	hox to	confirm	
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Please	e tick the box to confirm;			
• • •		pted a	ınd s	tored
•	Please justify any exceptions to the information stated above			
• • <u>Se</u>	Do you plan to transfer Data outside of the European Economic Area? If yes, please confirm you are doing so in accordance with Section 6 of the Manda University Data Protection Policy Dee Data Commissioners website for a list of approved countries and exceptions		th	No ⊠ Yes
9c. Da	nta Storage:			
•	Are you planning to collect data on a mobile device (SB keys, smart phones; audio recorders and/or laptops)?			orders; No 🗆
If yes,	to be compliant with <u>Data protection Law</u> , please confirm:			
• ar ⊠	nd/or encrypted if the device supports encryption	t a mir	nimu	ım,
•	- 200 г			
•	Data will be removed to a desktop PC or server in a secure location at Mayno	oth Uı	nivei	rsity⊠
9d. Se	condary Use and Processing:			
•	Are you planning for any secondary use of the data?	Yes	×	No 🗆

If yes, please confirm you will obtain explicit consent for;
 Re-use and/or sharing of anonymous data at the beginning of the project Re-use and/or sharing of the identifiable data for any purpose other than the current research project
 Depositing in an Archive such as the <u>Irish Qualitative Data Archive</u> or the <u>Irish Social Science</u> <u>Data Archive</u>?
 If yes, please give name and contact details for the proposed archive
Irish Qualitative Data Archive Irish Social Science Data Archive
9e. Data Disposal: Data should be destroyed in a manner appropriate to the sensitivity of that data.
Please confirm:
 Paper based data will be destroyed by confidentially shredding or incineration Electronic files will be deleted by overwriting
Who will be responsible for destroying personally identifiable data? [Kim Coogan]
10. Professional Codes of Ethics. Please append an appropriate code of ethics governing research in your area to this protocol, and/or provide a link to the website where the code may be found. This research will adhere to the code of ethics as put forward by the Academy of Management http://ethicist.aom.org/content/AOM_Code_of_Ethics.pdf. The Academy of Management is the preeminent professional association for management and organisation scholars, with a global community spanning more than 120 countries and 20,000 members http://aom.org/about/
I will also be guided by the Sociological Association of Ireland's Ethical Guidelines, https://www.sociology.ie/uploads/4/2/5/2/42525367/sai_ethical_guidelines.pdf which emphasize the importance of integrity, respect for others, respect for diversity and the researcher's social responsibility. In addition, this study and the researcher will abide by the following Maynooth University research ethics policy: https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/sites/default/files/assets/document/Maynooth%20University

Submission Check List

%20Research%20Ethics%20Policy%20June%202016_2.pdf

•	Completed application form
•	Letter from supervisor if applicant is a student
<u>if a</u>	pplicable – copies of:
•	prior ethical approval
•	ethical approval from other institutions
•	proposed information sheet and consent form
•	Samples of surveys/questionnaires, indicative focus groups/interview questions etc.
•	Documentary evidence for the use of existing data records, sourced from third party
	organisations, that consent was originally sought for data to be used for research purposes
Ple	ase upload your full application to <u>RIS</u> as one single File.

TEMPLATE FOR SUPERVISOR'S LETTER

The supervisor's letter should outline how the student is suitably prepared to carry out the type of research proposed. The following points should be addressed:

- Please elaborate on the student's preparedness to undertake the proposed research.
- Please provide details of the student's methodological competence to undertake the research project.
- Please address your confidence in the student's ability to manage risks that may arise as part of the research project.
- Please describe the support that you and the department will give to the student in the management and the execution of the research project.

TEMPLATE FOR INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM [please use the Maynooth University Research ethics <u>template information and consent form</u>]

<u>Topic Guides for Semi Structured Student Interviews 1 - 3, Student written reflections, Student Focus Group</u>

1. Semi Structured Student Interview 1 Guide (Pre Work Placement)

The interviews will be structured around thematic topic guide. Participants will be asked to expand on their answers and/or give examples throughout. As the interview is semi structured, some questions may not be asked should the participant lead the conversation in another related direction or should the participant answer a later question as part of a previous question's answer.

Opening: Remind the participant of the assurances provided in the consent form. For example, that participation is entirely voluntary and that I will be recording the interviews (if written consent has already been given). Collect basic information such as name, age and work placement company and role.

Topic Guide:

1. Motivation and goals for work placement

Tell me what led you to undertaking work placement as part of your programme? What do you hope to accomplish through work placement? Do you have any goals for this experience, if so, what?

What do you imagine working life will be like?

How do you envision the employment relationship?

Other possible follow up questions:

Have you always wanted to do a work placement?

What encouraged you to apply?

Have you worked before?

2. Readiness/Preparation for the placement

Tell me about your initial experience preparing for work placement.

Do you feel ready for the working world?

Other possible follow-up questions:

What have the most challenging/easiest parts of preparing for work placement been?

What things have you found helpful in rising to these challenges/demands?

If not already answered in above question, "How do you feel your education and life experiences so far have helped you or influenced you in being prepared for this new phase?"

Depending on answers and if necessary, I will follow up with Why? Can you tell me more about that?

3. Initial experience with potential employer

Tell me about your initial experiences engaging with your new employer, for example, the application and interview process. Was it as you expected?

4. Dealing with the offer/rejection.

Tell me about the experience of being offered a placement position or having an application rejected. What was helpful to you in managing that situation?

Questions to ask if not already answered in previous topics.

What are some important things you're facing during this transition?

What do you anticipate being the most enjoyable/challenging part of the work placement programme?

What do you think will help you manage this/these anticipated challenge(s)? Is there anything else you think is important to discuss?

Closing: Thank the participant. Ask them how they found this experience and remind them of my contact details and that they may withdraw participation or ask for a copy of their data at any time up until data is analysed and anonymized.

2. <u>Semi Structured Student Interview 2 Guide (During Work Placement)</u>

Opening: Remind the participant of the assurances provided in the consent form. For example, that participation is entirely voluntary and that I will be recording the interviews (if written consent has already been given). Collect basic information such as name, age and work placement company and role.

1. Onboarding

Tell me about the experience of integrating to your new workplace, the team and the responsibilities there.

What do you feel you brought to the organisation you worked with?

What have the most rewarding/easiest/most challenging parts of onboarding/integrating to your new workplace been?

What things have you found helpful in these situations?

Is there anything you wish your work supervisor/team leader/manager had understood better about you and your situation during this period?

2. Accumulating capital/developing skills

So far, overall, how has your placement experience been so far?

Do you think you are learning and gaining new skills? If so, what? How are you learning these things? Through what kinds of opportunities?

Do you think your organisation is supporting your development? If so, how? If not, tell me about that.

3. The employment relationship

How is your relationship with your organisation/manager? Is it as expected? In what ways?

Tell me about your plans for future work or study? Have they been influenced by this experience?

Following up on topics discussed last time (individual to each participant) Is there anything else you think is important to discuss?

Closing: Thank the participant. Ask them how they found this experience and remind them of my contact details and that they may withdraw participation or ask for a copy of their data at any time up until data is analysed and anonymized.

3. Semi Structured Student Interview 3 Guide (Post Work Placement)

As the interview is semi structured, some questions may not be asked should the participant lead the conversation in another related direction or should the participant answer a later question as part of a previous question's answer. This section may be edited based on learnings achieved by the researcher during the first two stages of data gathering.

Opening: Remind the participant of the assurances provided in the consent form. For example, that participation is entirely voluntary and that I will be recording the interviews (if written consent has already been given). Collect basic information such as name, age and work placement company and role.

Topic Guide:

1. The overall work placement experience

Tell me about the overall work placement experience What have the most challenging/easiest/most rewarding parts of work placement been?

What things have you found helpful in rising to these challenges/demands?

2. Accumulating capitals/developing skills What skills do you think you have gained? How have you gained these? In what ways do you think the organisation supported your development?

3. Maintaining links (or not) with your academic institution during work placement

Tell me about your contact with your academic institution during the work placement period. What effect did that contact or lack of contact have on your experience do you think?

4. The employment relationship

How would you describe your relationship with your organisation/manager during placement? Was it as expected? In what ways? Has this experience influenced your future work or study plans? In what ways?

The time experience influenced your rations work or study plane. In time way

5. Overall learning experience

Tell me about how you have developed personally and learned through the work placement

experience.

Have you changed in any way? What do you think influenced any changes? Were there any particularly impactful events during your placement? Is there anything else you think is important to discuss?

If not already answered in above questions:

How do you feel your education and life experiences so far have helped you in being prepared for the working world?

What are some important things you've faced during this transition?

Depending on answers and if necessary, I will follow up with "Why?" "Can you tell me more about that?"

Closing: Thank the participant. Ask them how they found this experience and remind them of my contact details and that they may withdraw participation or ask for a copy of their data at any time up until data is analyzed and anonymized.

Written Reflections (Post Placement) The purpose of the reflection is for you to share your experience of the employment relationship and any significant learning experiences or changes you experienced in relation to your work placement and your future plans. It can be a major happening or something seemingly small that you feel has had an impact on your learning experience.

Some points to guide you could be (note: you do not have to follow these points):

- Briefly describe the context for the experience
- What happened?
- Who was involved?
- What role did you play?
- What resources do you feel you used or developed in this situation?
- How did this influence your perceptions of yourself and your employment relationship?

(Examples of resources could be: personal resilience, adaptability, patience, integrity, academic knowledge, knowledge of the company values or culture, technical skills or expertise, communication or analytical skills; personal contacts who could help, a supervisor, materials or information you could access. There are many more options. This list is not exhaustive).

- How did you feel at the time and how do you feel about it now?
- What have you learned from this?
- Has this situation shaped your view of yourself at work and the employment reltionship? If so, in what way?



INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

SRESC TEMPLATE

- The aim of this form is to facilitate informed consent by communicating with participants <u>in</u> <u>language that they can understand</u>.
- Please adapt depending on whether participants are children or adults and for the type of interaction you are proposing, e.g. survey, interview, focus groups etc.
- If participants are not native English speakers translate this information sheet appropriately

The material below is a sample –<u>Adapt it to fit the circumstances of your own study</u>. Some of the sample text below assumes a study involving qualitative interview data. If that's not your methodology, adapt the text to the approach you are using.

Information Sheet

Purpose of the Study. I am Kim Coogan, a doctoral student, in the School of Business, Maynooth University.

As part of the requirements for the PhD in Business, I am undertaking a research study under the supervision of Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry and Dr. Jean Cushen.

The study is concerned with investigating the lived experiences of undergraduate business students as they engage different forms of capital (resources that confer benefits) while transitioning to work during a structured work placement at Maynooth University.

What will the study involve? The study will involve:

Me, the researcher, Kim Coogan, attending two of your four Work Placement Module sessions (February and April) to note any general recurring themes that seem to emerge from class discussions and activities. I will not be recording the sessions in any way and I will not be taking note of any personally identifiable information about you or your classmates. My goal is to find out what topics are important and of interest to students undertaking the Work Placement Module.

The study will follow the lived experiences of students undertaking the Work Placement Module in the academic year of 2020-2021 (next year's group). This year, with you, I am hoping to see what has been important to you and your colleagues/classmates in order to help prepare the context of the study for next year.

Who has approved this study? This study has been reviewed and received ethical approval from Maynooth University Research Ethics committee and the Social Research Ethics Sub-committee. You may have a copy of this approval if you request it.

Why have you been asked to take part? You have been asked because you are undertaking the Maynooth University School of Business Work Placement Programme and this experience presents a great opportunity to explore how students learn and develop during an education to work transition.

Do you have to take part?

No, you are under no obligation whatsoever to take part in this research. I will be attending the placement module MN339 on 22nd February and the 4th April, 2020. I am a PhD researcher in MU School of Business, and my research is exploring the transition from education to work. With this in mind, I wish to attend the class and take notes of general themes that arise during discussions in the class related to the transition to work placement. All comments and discussions noted during this class will be anonymized, with the class, year, and course masked or anonymized in any publications or reporting of this session. If you are uncomfortable with this, you may choose to not take part in any of the discussions during that part of the class.

Should you change your mind and want your anonymised/generalised contributions removed, you may contact me personally at : kim.coogan.2018@mumail.ie and we will ensure that your concerns regarding your input are adhered to. It is possible to withdraw your information up until such time as the pilot study research findings are analysed which is set to be approximately August 2020.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not you would like to take part. If you decide to take part, you will be asked to sign a consent form and given a copy and the information sheet for your own records. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your relationships with Maynooth University or your grade for the Work Placement Module in any way.

What information will be collected?

As detailed above, the (anonymized) information you share about your work placement experience during two Work Placement Module Sessions. You will not have to share anything that you do not want to share.

Will your participation in the study be kept confidential? Yes, all information that is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept confidential. No names will be identified at any time unless you explicitly request and give written consent for this. The intention is for all information to be anonymous. All hard copy information will be held in a locked cabinet at the researchers' place of work, electronic information will be encrypted and held securely on MU PC or servers and will be accessed only by Kim Coogan, Marian Crowley-Henry and Jean Cushen.

No University placement staff have access to the data, participation will not affect the student's grade in any way and their workplace performance is not being judged. Instead the study seeks to better understand students' own view of the placement experience.

I would like to place an anonymised version of the data on the Irish Qualitative Data Archive (IQDA) so that other researchers may benefit from access to it, if you agree to so.

No information will be distributed to any other unauthorised individual or third party. If you so wish, the data that you provide can also be made available to you at your own discretion.

'It must be recognised that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.'

What will happen to the information which you give? All the information you provide will be kept at Maynooth University in such a way that it will not be possible to identify you. On completion of the research, the data will be retained on the MU server. After ten years, all data will be destroyed (by the PI). Manual data will be shredded confidentially and electronic data will be reformatted or overwritten by the PI in Maynooth University.

What will happen to the results? The research will be written up and presented as a doctoral dissertation and possibly presented at National and International conferences and may be published in scientific journals in an anonymised form. A copy of the research findings will be made available to you upon request.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? I don't envisage any negative consequences for you in taking part.

What if there is a problem? At the end of the interview and focus group, I will discuss with you how you found the experience and how you are feeling. If you experience any distress following the interview or focus group, you may contact the Maynooth University Student Counselling Service at https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/campus-life/student-wellbeing-support/counselling or call 01 708 3554. You could also contact the Samaritans at 1850 609090. You may contact my supervisors, Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry(marian.crowleyhenry@mu.ie) or Dr. Jean Cushen (jean.cushen@mu.ie) if you feel the research has not been carried out as described above.

Any further queries? If you need any further information, you can contact me: Kim Coogan at kim.coogan.2018@mumail.ie

If you agree to take part in the study, please complete and sign the consent form overleaf.

Thank you for taking the time to read this

(Revised consent form for pilot study participants only)

Consent Form

Iagree to participate in Kim Coogan's research study titled "Unpacking the career
transition of university students in Ireland: An exploratory case study investigation".
Please tick each statement below:
The purpose and nature of the study has been explained to me verbally & in writing. I've been able to ask
questions, which were answered satisfactorily.

I am participating voluntarily.	
I understand that I can withdraw from the study, without repercussions, at any time, whether that is it starts or while I am participating.	before
I understand that I can withdraw permission to use the data right up to the anonymization of the pilo data (August 2020).	ot study
It has been explained to me how my data will be managed and that I may access it on request.	
I understand the limits of confidentiality as described in the information sheet	
I understand that my data, in an anonymous format, may be used in further research projects and an subsequent publications if I give permission below:	y
I agree for my data to be used for further research projects	
I do not agree for my data to be used for further research projects	
I agree for my data, once anonymised, to be retained indefinitely in the IQDA archive	
Signed Date	
Participant Name in block capitals	

I the undersigned have taken the time to fully explain to the above participant the nature and purpose of this study in a manner that they could understand. I have explained the risks involved as well as the possible benefits. I have invited them to ask questions on any aspect of the study that concerned them.

Researcher Name in block capitals	

If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process, please contact the Secretary of the Maynooth University Ethics Committee at research.ethics@mu.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Date.....

For your information the Data Controller for this research project is Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare. Maynooth University Data Protection officer is Ann McKeon in Humanity house, room 17, who can be contacted at ann.mckeon@mu.ie. Maynooth University Data Privacy policies can be found at https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-protection.

Two copies to be made: 1 for participant, 1 for PI

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

SRESC TEMPLATE

Signed.....

- The aim of this form is to facilitate informed consent by communicating with participants <u>in</u> language that they can understand.
- Please adapt depending on whether participants are children or adults and for the type of interaction you are proposing, e.g. survey, interview, focus groups etc.
- If participants are not native English speakers translate this information sheet appropriately

The material below is a sample –<u>Adapt it to fit the circumstances of your own study</u>. Some of the sample text below assumes a study involving qualitative interview data. If that's not your methodology, adapt the text to the approach you are using.

Information Sheet

Purpose of the Study. I am Kim Coogan, a doctoral student, in the School of Business, Maynooth University.

As part of the requirements for the PhD in Business, I am undertaking a research study under the supervision of Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry and Dr. Jean Cushen.

The study is concerned with investigating the lived experiences of undergraduate business students as they engage different forms of capital (resources that confer benefits) while transitioning to work during a structured work placement at Maynooth University.

What will the study involve? The study will involve:

Three interviews – one pre work placement, one during work placement, and one post placement. I will try to conduct these interviews at a convenient time and place on campus.

One written reflection— after you have completed your work placement programme.

Who has approved this study? This study has been reviewed and received ethical approval from Maynooth University Research Ethics committee and the Social Research Ethics Sub committee. You may have a copy of this approval if you request it.

Why have you been asked to take part? You have been asked because you are undertaking the Maynooth University Work Placement Programme and this experience presents a great opportunity to explore how students learn and develop during an education to work transition.

Do you have to take part?

No, you are under no obligation whatsoever to take part in this research. However, I hope that you will agree to take part and give us some of your time to participate in the interviews, the focus group and the diary collection. It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not you would like to take part. If you decide to do so, you will be asked to sign a consent form and given a copy and the information sheet for your own records. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and/or to withdraw your information up until such time as the research findings are analysed which is set to be approximately 2021. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your relationships with Maynooth University.

What information will be collected?

As detailed above, the information you share about your work placement experience during three interviews, one focus group and a written reflection will be collected. For example, you will be asked to share any experiences that you believe were significant to your personal development during your work placement programme and why these experiences may have been significant. You will not have to share anything that you do not want to share.

Will your participation in the study be kept confidential? Yes, all information that is collected about you during the course of the research will be kept confidential. No names will be identified at any time unless you explicitly request and give written consent for this. The intention is for all information to be anonymous. All hard copy information will be held in a locked cabinet at the researchers' place of work, electronic information will be encrypted and held securely on MU PC or servers and will be accessed only by Kim Coogan, Marian Crowley-Henry and Jean Cushen.

No University placement staff having access to the data, participation will not affect the student's grade in any way and their workplace performance is not being judged. Instead the study seeks to better understand students' own view of the placement experience.

I would like to place an anonymised version of the data on the Irish Qualitative Data Archive (IQDA) so that other researchers may benefit from access to it, if you agree to so.

No information will be distributed to any other unauthorised individual or third party. If you so wish, the data that you provide can also be made available to you at your own discretion.

'It must be recognised that, in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.'

What will happen to the information which you give? All the information you provide will be kept at Maynooth University in such a way that it will not be possible to identify you. On completion of the research, the data will be retained on the MU server. After ten years, all data will be destroyed (by the PI). Manual data will be shredded confidentially and electronic data will be reformatted or overwritten by the PI in Maynooth University.

What will happen to the results? The research will be written up and presented as a doctoral dissertation and possibly presented at National and International conferences and may be published in scientific journals in an anonymised form. A copy of the research findings will be made available to you upon request.

What are the possible disadvantages of taking part? I don't envisage any negative consequences for you in taking part.

What if there is a problem? At the end of the interview and focus group, I will discuss with you how you found the experience and how you are feeling. If you experience any distress following the interview or focus group, you may contact the Maynooth University Student Counselling Service at https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/campus-life/student-wellbeing-support/counselling or call 01 708 3554. You could also contact the Samaritans at 1850 609090. You may contact my supervisors, Dr. Marian Crowley-Henry(marian.crowleyhenry@mu.ie) or Dr. Jean Cushen (jean.cushen@mu.ie) if you feel the research has not been carried out as described above.

Any further queries? If you need any further information, you can contact me: Kim Coogan at kim.coogan.2018@mumail.ie

If you agree to take part in the study, please complete and sign the consent form overleaf.

Thank you for taking the time to read this

Consent Form

Iagree to participate in	Kim Coogan's research study titled "Unpacking the caree
transition of university students in Ireland: An ex	ploratory case study investigation".
Please tick each statement below:	
The purpose and nature of the study has been ex	xplained to me verbally & in writing. I've been able to ask
questions, which were answered satisfactorily.	
I am participating voluntarily.	
questions, which were answered satisfactorily.	φlained to me verbally & in writing. I've been able to as □

I give permission for my interviews/focus group with Kim Coogan to be audio recorded and written reflections to be used.	
I understand that I can withdraw from the study, without repercussions, at any time, whether that is it starts or while I am participating.	before
I understand that I can withdraw permission to use the data right up to the anonymization of the dat (approximately 2021).	ta
It has been explained to me how my data will be managed and that I may access it on request.	
I understand the limits of confidentiality as described in the information sheet	
I understand that my data, in an anonymous format, may be used in further research projects and ar subsequent publications if I give permission below:	ny
I agree to anonymized quotation/publication of extracts from my interview ☐	
I do not agree to anonymized quotation/publication of extracts from my interview $\hfill\Box$	
I agree for my data to be used for further research projects	
I do not agree for my data to be used for further research projects	
I agree for my data, once anonymised, to be retained indefinitely in the IQDA archive	
Signed Date	

Participant Name in block capitals	
	explain to the above participant the nature and purpose of this I have explained the risks involved as well as the possible
,	on any aspect of the study that concerned them.
Signed	Date
Researcher Name in block capitals	
If during your participation in this study you fee	el the information and quidelines that you were given have

For your information the Data Controller for this research project is Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare. Maynooth University Data Protection officer is Ann McKeon in Humanity house, room 17, who can be contacted at ann.mckeon@mu.ie. Maynooth University Data Privacy policies can be found at https://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/data-protection.

been neglected or disregarded in any way, or if you are unhappy about the process, please contact the Secretary of the Maynooth University Ethics Committee at research ethics@mu.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019.

Two copies to be made: 1 for participant, 1 for PI

Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Email from Dr. O' Connor

To whom it may concern,

As module leader of the module MN339w, I have given my permission to Kim Coogan to attend two sessions of this module. The purpose of Kim attending these two sessions will be to collect data as outlined in the ethical application.

There are a number of conditions attached to Kim's research collection during the sessions. These are:

Any participants' inputs will be generalised and anonymised.

Any student who does not want to take part in this part of the session will be allowed to opt-out. As lecturer I have given my approval for these students to take a longer break. This will be advised to students beforehand. The information provided beforehand will be as follows:

"A researcher will be attending the next sittings of MN339, on Feb 22nd and April 4th. The researcher's name is name is Kim Coogan and Kim is a PhD researcher in MU School of Business. Her research is exploring the transition from education to work. With this in mind, Kim will be attending the class on Feb. 22nd. and April 4th.

Kim will be taking notes of any discussions that may be arise in that class related to the transition to work placement. All comments, discussions noted during this class will be anonymized, with the class, year, course etc. masked or anonymized in any publications or reporting of this session. If you are uncomfortable with this, you may choose to not take part in any of the discussions during that part of the class. Your participation (or not) in the discussions during this session will not affect your relationship with Maynooth University or your grade for this module in any way."

The summarised and anonymised notes will be shared afterwards (on Moodle) with the class to ask if all are comfortable with the summary. If anyone is not, they may contact Kim or myself personally to discuss their concerns and we will ensure these expressed concerns are adhered to.

If have any further questions please do not hesitate to contact me,

Best regards,

Dr. Edward O'Connor

Assistant Professor

Maynooth University School of Business



Maynooth University, Maynooth, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

T: +353 1 474 7740

E: edward.oconnor@mu.ie W: www.maynoothuniversity.ie/business

Recruitment: Sample invitation letter to student participants

Dear Student,

My name is Kim Coogan and I'm a PhD student in Maynooth University School of Business. I'd like to invite you to be part of my research on what it's like to transition from third level education to the workplace. Presently, much research focuses on what organisations want from students and excludes what students actually go through over this transitionary period. This is an opportunity for people like you to share your experiences and to give voice to individuals undergoing a transition to work, which, I hope will result in a positive contribution that helps future students. I really hope you will support my research. If you are

interested, or want to ask any questions without obligation, please follow this link: https://mubusiness.eu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_1QUIFZQPvLjqckt to give your name, department and e-mail address (it only takes 20 seconds!) or email me at kim.coogan.2018@mumail.ie.

The research itself won't take too much of your time and is confidential. I would like to have an informal chat/interview with you (online) before or around the time you start your placement and then another chat/interview with you during your placement, and once again after you finish work placement. During the work placement year, if there was anything you wanted to add (at your discretion), I would be delighted to hear about it. You could also share one written reflection on your placement after you complete.

Participation is completely voluntary, any information you share would be anonymised and you are free to withdraw at any time without consequence. Your participation in my research project is completely separate to your formal placement registration and would not influence your work placement grade or relationship with the university in any way. This research has been approved by the Maynooth social research ethics sub-committee. I would love to have you as part of this!

All the best and thank you,

Kim Coogan

Recruitment: Follow up note to students who show interest

Work Placement Research – Thank you!

Dear [Student name],

Thank you so much for showing interest in my research!

I hope you and your loved ones are well during this time. I know it's exam season, so I'll be brief.

I would like to ask if you have secured a placement position and when that will begin? If you haven't secured a placement yet, no problem, still please respond.

As I mentioned in the initial note, I would like to have an informal chat (by phone/online) with you before you start your placement, one during, and one chat after you finish your placement at a time that suits you. This chat will be really helpful for my research. Everyone's experience is valuable to me.

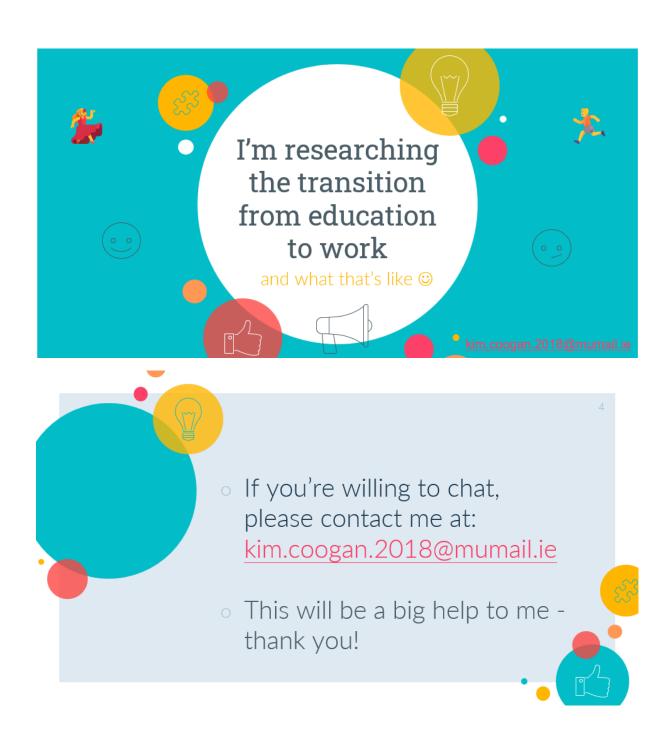
Let me know when suits you and again thank you so much for responding. If you have any questions, feel free to ask!

Kind regards,

Recruitment: Slides used in the work placement module class







Appendix 2: Data collection and analysis

Pilot study

The information in this first section of appendix two pertains to the pilot study conducted prior to the main collection exercise. It is then followed by examples from the main data collection exercise.

Pilot study slides used in the work placement module class













What was it like preparing for work placement?



- Which aspects of preparing for placement were easier/more difficult/enjoyable/less enjoyable? (CV, interviews, changes??)
- How/why was it like that?
- What resources did you drawn upon to help you navigate these things? (knowledge, skills you have, your personality, people you know, technology.....anything really!)
- What were your expectations of the employment relationship?







- Now you've been on placement for several months, how are you feeling? (mentally, emotionally, physically, socially)
- What do you think is making you feel this way?
- What is helping you to manage how you feel/how you're coping during work placement? (help from parents or friends, communication with your boss, googling for help, blocking it all out, self help resources)

7



How have you changed since last year?



- Have your feelings changed since the start of work placement?
- How do you think you've changed as a person? (In what ways? Can you give examples?)
- What's contributed to you changing?
- How will these changes influence your future?

8





What other things should we be talking about?

- What do you wish you had been asked today?
- What would you like to talk about at this stage of life?

9



Next Time!



- We'll be talking about your work log/reflections
- What are some incidents (things that happened no matter how big or small) that you think have been significant in your work placement experience?
- Can you remember what you came into this hoping to achieve?
 Have you achieved it? Why?/Why not?
- How do you feel about next year?

10



Pilot study Findings

Questions and topics that were discussed and presented through small group interaction.

1st topic discussed: What was it like preparing for work placement?

- A. Think back to early on in this journey. Identify which aspects of preparing for and securing a work placement position (the job/role itself, ie. CV, interviews etc) were easier/more difficult/enjoyable/less enjoyable?
- B. Why?
- C. What resources (capitals: knowledge/skills/people/services) did you draw upon to help you be successful at these things?
- D. What were your expectations of the employment relationship (psychological contract?

General themes in answers:

CVs and Interviews

Most said preparing a CV and preparing for the interviews was challenging as they had never done it before. They wanted to stand out without sounding like they were boasting. One group said preparing the CV was easy.

Placement Class

Overall the placement class was seen as a positive resource that helped in the preparation of the CVs although sometimes material seemed repetitive.

Feelings at the beginning of the placement process:

Fear/Stress/frustration

A number of groups reported feeling stressed and fearful about not finding a placement job in the beginning or at least not one that they really wanted. However, all found a job, but some were not happy about having to take the first job offered to them, even though it was not their preferred job.

Also, fear of the unknown was a factor. Not knowing if their CV was appropriately pitched or if they were prepared for an interview. Not knowing what appropriate business/office etiquette was, how to talk to your manager etc. Planning for accommodation was also a challenge.

Not going into third year with their friends was a concern at the beginning of the process and also the thought of returning to college when their friends had already graduated.

Relief/Excitement

A number of groups reported feeling relief and excitement once they had secured a position and looked forward to a new experience.

Some things that were enjoyable

Researching all job possibilities, learning about what they liked and did not like.

2nd topic discussed: How are you feeling now?

- A. Now that you're on the job and have been working several months, how are you feeling? It could be physically, mentally, emotionally.
- B. What do you think is making you feel this way (whether positive or negative)? Any examples of situations that cause this?
- C. What's helping you to manage how you feel during work placement (whether you feel you're managing well or not)?

Tiredness

Most groups reported feeling very tired for various reasons such as long commutes, getting up early, working more than they ever had before, working long hours, the pressure of responsibility, feeling like you're always busy, you can't take a day off.

Pressured

Some groups reported that not being able to take holidays without applying and planning in advance was challenging. Some reported feeling like they have to always be busy at work or else they will be seen to be lazy. Others felt that if they performed well, they were given even more work, and this was a hard thing to balance as they wanted to perform well but felt they already had a lot of work to do. Despite some recurring difficulties, some felt they had to remain in their placement.

Decrease in social activities

Most groups reported that they didn't have time or were too tired to continue their previous social activities such as going out on the weekends or even giving up sporting activities. It was also noted that their friends who were in college were no longer free at the same times as they were. For example, college friends had free time during the week but work placement students had to go to bed early for work. When they were free on weekends, their college friends were working in their part time jobs.

Boost in confidence

Many reported that they no longer had the same fear of the unknown. CVs, interviews, offices etc. were no longer a mystery. Most felt that they were doing their jobs very well and were performing as well as permanent employees with similar roles and felt much more confident about themselves and their ability to learn and perform tasks.

Returning to third year

Many said they would miss their friends from 2nd year but didn't seem too concerned now about making friends when they return to classes. They felt they would be better able to apply themselves after the work placement experience. Most expressed that they thought 3rd year wouldn't be difficult in comparison to work placement.

Other general topics that emerged from discussion:

Routine:

Most students emphasised that they loved having a routine. They found the routine of going to work every day very helpful and said they would miss it but hoped that they would be able to apply their new level of productivity to their college routine.

Accommodation:

Some groups reported that living at home was really helpful as they did not have to worry about cooking, washing their own clothes, being alone, coming home to a cold house or paying rent and felt this really helped them during a demanding time. They only had to focus on one thing without worrying about other things. Other groups reported that they enjoyed the liberty and freedom that came with moving away from home and didn't find cooking or washing a problem. They appreciated not having to travel far since they had moved close to the job location.

Personal and professional identity - Being seen as an intern:

Several groups expressed frustration that their opinion or work wasn't always trusted. Several examples were given of times when people wanted to hear an answer from their manager even though they knew the correct answer and had given the correct information. They felt belittled. Some said that they were treated differently to the graduate employees.

Most expressed that work placement has been a positive and worthwhile experience despite some feelings of inequality and difficulties.

What things have been helpful so far in the work placement experience?

Talking to other people who have done a work placement recently

Looking up information on internet

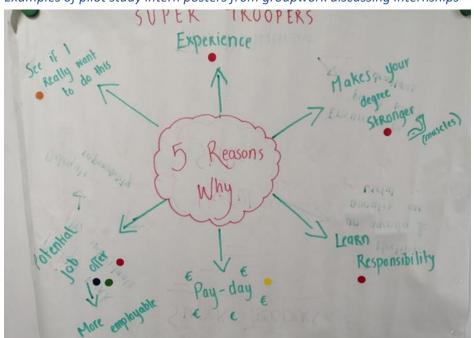
Having a helpful manager or Buddy over and over

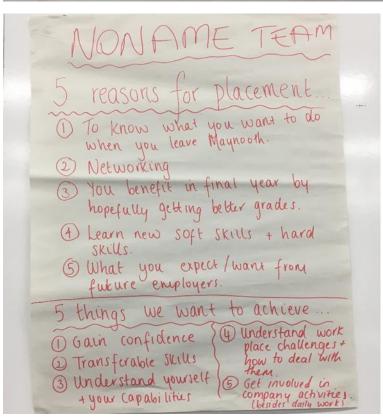
Getting opportunities to practice new skills

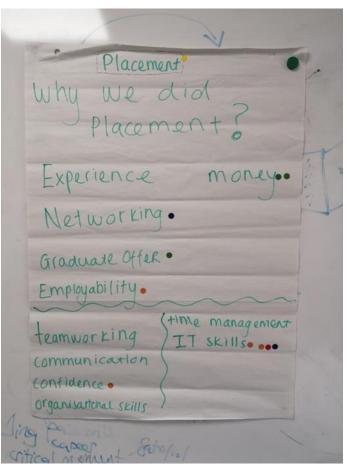
The work placement module

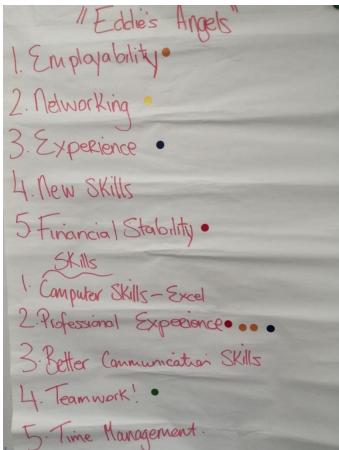
Family and friends

Examples of pilot study intern posters from groupwork discussing internships









The A Team.

Why?

Improve degree

Professional skills

Professional skills

Professional skills

Professional skills

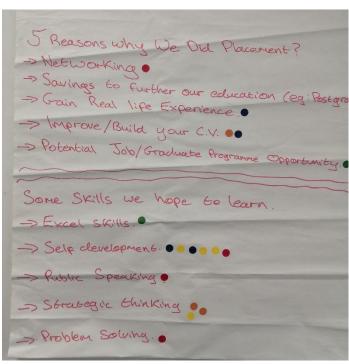
Property out before final year

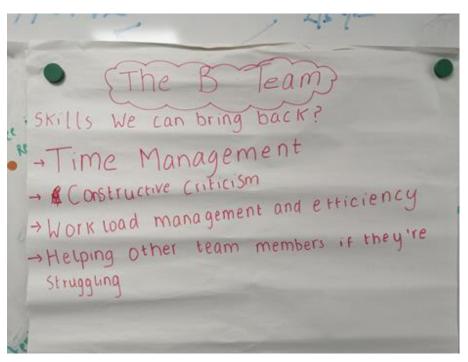
Property out of the specific area.

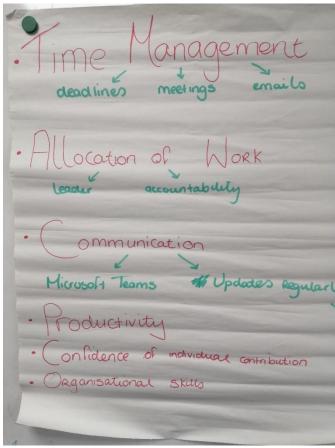
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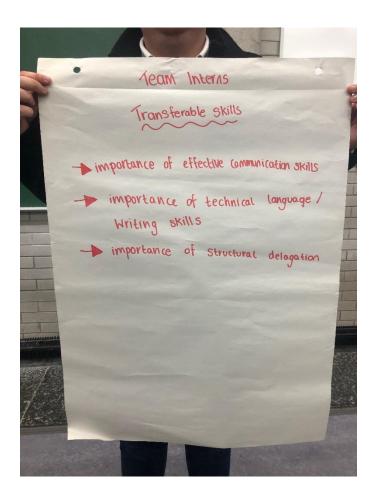
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Property out of the industry.





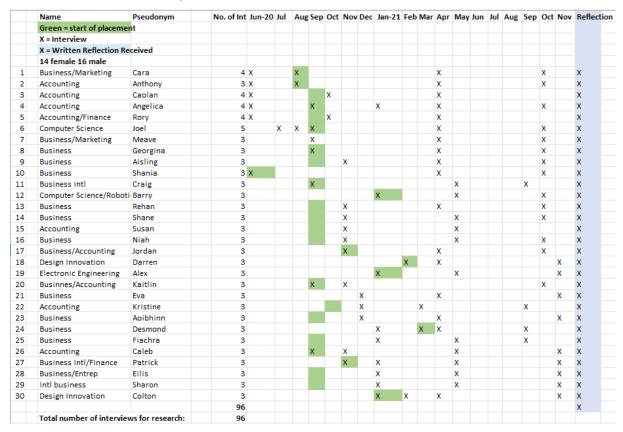




Main Data Collection

This section of appendix two presents information related to the main data collection exercise of this PhD. It presents the schedule of interview phases which details when each participant's interviews occurred, the extensive coding system used for the study in the form of a Maxqda codebook, and finally, screenshots of the Microsoft Excel spreadsheet analysis that was performed subsequent to the Maxqda analysis.

Schedule of interview phases



Data analysis: Maxqda Codebook

Below, the extensive and detailed coding system of the study is presented in the form of a Maxqda codebook. Each code hade multiple subcodes with clear definitions to show the boundaries of each code. Theoretical notes are also attached to codes. Over time some codes were found to be less relevant to the study as the theoretical focused developed and thus were not used in the final analysis, for example, codes related to 'liminality' 21:1-4 .

Codebook

PhD Project 2022.mx22

06/03/2023

Code System

out dystem
1 TIME AND TEMPORALITY
1.1 SUBJECTIVE TIME
1.1.1 IMMANENCE - PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE
1.2 OBJECTIVE TIME
2 T3 POST WORK PLACEMENT/REINTEGRATION TO UNIVERSITY
3 T2 DURING WORK PLACEMENT
4 T1 PRE EARLY WORK PLACEMENT
5 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT
5.1 WORK READINESS
5.2 ANTICIPATED PC
5.2.1 Mundane Labour: APC
5.2.2 Subservience/Hierarchy APC
5.2.3 Formality: APC
5.3 PC ANTECEDENTS
5.3.1 Antecedent: Goals or motivations
5.3.1.1 MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT
5.3.1.1.1 Accumulate Psychological Capital
5.3.1.1.2 Accumulate Human Capital Skills
5.3.1.1.3 Accumulate Social Capital
5.3.1.1.4 Secure a Graduate Position: Antecedent: goals & motivations
5.3.1.1.5 Delay Graduation: Antecedent: goals & motivations
5.3.1.1.6 Make Informed Choice of Career: Antecedent: goals & motivations
5.3.1.1.7 Build the Resume: Antecedent: goals & motivations
5.3.1.1.8 Get experience: Antecedent: goals & motivations
5.3.2 Antecedent: Expectancies
5.3.2.1 Initial contact with the organisation: Antecedents: Expectancies
5.3.2.2 Stories from family and friends: Antecedents: Expectanices
5.3.2.3 Previous work experience: Antecedents: Expectancies
5.3.2.4 Hierarchical education systems: Antecedent Expectancies
5.3.2.5 Media: Antecedent Expectancies

5.3.2.6 LESS EXPECTED OF AN INTERN
5.3.2.7 NORMATIVE EXPECTANCIES
5.3.2.8 PROBABILISTIC EXPECTANCIES
5.4 REVISED PC
6 CAP SOCIAL
6.1 TIES STRONG
6.2 TIES WEAK
6.3 TIES BRIDGING
6.4 TIES BONDING
7 PRE CAPITAL
8 CAP HUMAN
8.1 Human Soft Skills
8.2 HUMAN CAREER BUILDING SKILLS
8.3 HUMAN HARD SKILLS
8.3.1 COMMUNICATION
9 CAP CULTURAL
9.1 Institutionalized Cultural Capital
9.2 Objectified Cultural Capital
9.3 Embodied Cultural Capital
10 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL
10.1 Resilience Psycap
10.2 Hope Psycap
10.3 Optimism Psycap
10.4 Self-efficacy Psycap
11 CAP IDENTITY
11.1 IDENTITY NARRATIVE
11.2 CAP IDENTITY MODE
11.2.1 IDENTITY MODE BEHAVIOURAL
11.2.2 IDENTITY MODE PHYSICAL
11.2.3 IDENTITY MODE COGNITIVE
11.2.4 iDENTITY MODE DISCURSIVE
11.2.5 Yellow
11.3 CAP IDENTITY TYPES
11.3.1 IDENTITY TYPES PERSONAL
11.3.2 IDENTITY TYPES ROLE
11.3.3 IDENTITY TYPE COLLECTIVE
11.4 CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS
11.4.1 IDENTITY: RELATIONAL OUTCOMES
11.4.2 IDENTITY: ORGANISATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
11.4.3 IDENTITY: PERSONAL IMPLICATIONS

11.4.4 IDENTITY: IDENTITY OUTCOMES
12 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS
12.1 Duration and Timing EST
12.2 Space EST
12.3 Strength EST
12.4 Events surrounding work life
12.4.1 Self management: Scheduling
12.4.2 Commuting
12.5 Adjustments to Role, Reward and Incentives
12.5.1 Financial rewards event
12.5.2 Career Status Development Event
12.6 Adjustments to work event
12.6.1 Adjustments to work resources event
12.6.2 New work tasks event
12.7 Communications Event
12.7.1 Social interaction events
12.7.2 Group communication event
12.7.3 Colleague communication event
12.7.4 Managerial communciation event
12.8 NEGATIVE AFFECTIVE EVENTS
12.9 POSTIVE AFFECTIVE EVENTS
12.10 Living away from home
12.11 Living at home
13 WANT NEED TO LEARN
14 HYSTERESIS
15 SELF PERCEPTION BRING TO A JOB
16 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK
16.1 PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT
16.2 SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY MAKING A DIFFERENCE VALUES
16.3 OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESSION
16.4 SOCIAL LIFE AT WORK VALUES
16.5 WLB VALUES
16.6 MONEY VALUES
17 PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE
17.1 NO PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE
17.2 YES PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE
18 FINDING AND PREPARING FOR WORK
18.1 Difficulty and Stress finding work
19 COVID RELATED INFLUENCES
19.1 REMOTE MLE TEACHING LEARNING

19.1.1 GROUP WORK EXPERIENCES IN EDUCATION
19.2 REMOTE VIRTUAL WORKING
20 WLB
21 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE
21.1 TRANSITION
21.2 PRE LIMINALITY - SEPARATION
21.3 LIMINALITY - MIDDLE PHASE, BETWIXT AND BETWEEN
21.4 INCORPORATION Liminality

1 TIME AND TEMPORALITY

1.1 TIME AND TEMPORALITY >> SUBJECTIVE TIME

1.1.1 TIME AND TEMPORALITY >> SUBJECTIVE TIME >> IMMANENCE - PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

HOW THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE EMBODY THE CURRENT MOMENT. HOW INDIVIDUALS MAKE SENSE OF THE CURRENT MOMENT THROUGH THEIR RETROSPECITIONS ON PAST EXPERIENCES AND ANTICIPATIONS OF FUTURE EXPERIENCES. MENTAL TIME TRAVEL IN THE MOMENT.

1.2 TIME AND TEMPORALITY >> OBJECTIVE TIME

2 T3 POST WORK PLACEMENT/REINTEGRATION TO UNIVERSITY

3 T2 DURING WORK PLACEMENT

4 T1 PRE EARLY WORK PLACEMENT

5 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT

UNWRITTEN SUBJECTIVE EXPECTATIONS OF THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP AND EMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCE

5.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> WORK READINESS

5.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> ANTICIPATED PC

THE ANTICIPATED PC OR INITIAL/BASIC SCHEMA/BELIEFS CONCERNING WHAT THE EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP WILL BE LIKE.

5.2.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> ANTICIPATED PC >> Mundane Labour: APC

dress, formality, subservience and mundane labour

5.2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> ANTICIPATED PC >> Subservience/Hierarchy APC

APC themes: dress, formality, subservience and mundane labour (Student identity?)

5.2.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> ANTICIPATED PC >> Formality: APC

Elements of APCs: dress, formality, subservience and mundane labour Formality of dress and communication/etiquette

5.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS

THINGS THAT INFLUENCE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PC ANTECDENTS WHICH FORM THE ANTICIPATED PC OR INITIAL OR BASIC SCHEMA OF THE ANTICIPATED/NEW EMPLOYMENT RELATIONSHIP.

- 5.3.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations
- 5.3.1.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT

MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT

5.3.1.1.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Accumulate Psychological Capital

Gain confidence, overcome shyness, become reliable and resilient

5.3.1.1.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Accumulate Human Capital Skills

The goal is to Accumulate Human Capital Skills - this could be in communication etc.

5.3.1.1.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Accumulate Social Capital

Meeting new people and gaining contacts for the future as a motivaiton or goal in undertaking placement. This can relate to a desire to build social capital and thus the fulfilment of this part of the psychological contract, as this is an underlying goal/motivation/desire, may be partially or significantly fulfilled by how one is enabled to mobilise/accumulate social capital.

- 5.3.1.1.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Secure a Graduate Position: Antecedent: goals & motivations
- 5.3.1.1.5 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Delay Graduation: Antecedent: goals & motivations
- 5.3.1.1.6 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Make Informed Choice of Career: Antecedent: goals & motivations
- 5.3.1.1.7 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Build the Resume: Antecedent: goals & motivations

5.3.1.1.8 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Goals or motivations >> MOTIVATION FOR UNDERTAKING PLACEMENT >> Get experience: Antecedent: goals & motivations

Individual goals and motivations for undertaking an internship which included wanting to get experience, building the resume, making an informed choice of career, delaying graduation, and securing a graduate position.

- 5.3.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies
- 5.3.2.1 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> Initial contact with the organisation: Antecedents: Expectancie
- 5.3.2.2 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> Stories from family and friends: Antecedents: Expectanices
- 5.3.2.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> Previous work experience: Antecedents: Expectancies

previous work experience

- 5.3.2.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> Hierarchical education systems: Antecedent Expectancies
- 5.3.2.5 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> Media: Antecedent Expectancies

Expectancies included the influence of media, such as television, movies, and social media, hierarchical education systems, previous work experience, stories from family and friends, and initial contact with the employing organisation. Media, in the form of television and movies was the overwhelming influence cited in relation to the antecedents of schema development and work expectations in this category.

5.3.2.6 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> LESS EXPECTED OF AN INTERN

INTERNS FEEL A SENSE OF SECURITY IN BEING AN INTERN. FEEL THEY CAN MAKE MISTAKES WITH LESSER CONSEQUENCES. SOMEWHAT OF A SAFETY NET.

5.3.2.7 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> NORMATIVE EXPECTANCIES

Normative expectancies refer to what should happen based on normal societal standards, Probabilistic expectations refer to beliefs about what might happen in the future.

5.3.2.8 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> PC ANTECEDENTS >> Antecedent: Expectancies >> PROBABILISTIC EXPECTANCIES

Probabilistic expectations refer to beliefs about what might happen in the future and normative to what should happen based on normal societal standards.

5.4 PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTRACT >> REVISED PC

REVISIONS AND CHANGES TO THE PC DUE TO EXPERIENCE OF AFFECTIVE EVENTS

6 CAP SOCIAL

SUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS THAT HELP MOBILISE HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRING INDIVIDUALS CLOSER TO THE LABOUR MARKET. RESOURCES THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE ACCESS TO AS A RESULT OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR CONNECTIONS TO A PARTICULAR GROUP (BOURDIEU, 1986).

BRIDGING TIES - INTERACTIONS EXTERNAL TO ONE'S GROUP

BONDING TIES - INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF ONE'S GROUP TO SOLIDIFY GROUP RELATIONSHIPS (PUTNAM, 1999). THESE TIES CAN MAKE SOCIAL CAPITAL AVAILABLE AS A RESOURCE PROVIDING UNDERSTANDING, INSIGHT, KNOWLEDGE OF AND ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKET. THEY ARE SIGNIFICANT ENABLERS.

STRONG TIES - CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

WEAK TIES - RELATIVELY THIN SPREAD OF SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (GRANOVETTER, 1985). PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ABILITY TO IDENTIFY, GAIN ACCESS TO, DISCERN, AND EXPLOIT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES (TOMLINSON, 2018).

6.1 CAP SOCIAL >> TIES STRONG

SUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS THAT HELP MOBILISE HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRING INDIVIDUALS CLOSER TO THE LABOUR MARKET. RESOURCES THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE ACCESS TO AS A RESULT OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR CONNECTIONS TO A PARTICULAR GROUP (BOURDIEU, 1986).

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6.2 CAP SOCIAL >> TIES WEAK

SUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS THAT HELP MOBILISE HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRING INDIVIDUALS CLOSER TO THE LABOUR MARKET. RESOURCES THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE ACCESS TO AS A RESULT OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR CONNECTIONS TO A PARTICULAR GROUP (BOURDIEU, 1986).

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6.3 CAP SOCIAL >> TIES BRIDGING

SUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS THAT HELP MOBILISE HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRING INDIVIDUALS CLOSER TO THE LABOUR MARKET. RESOURCES THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE ACCESS TO AS A RESULT OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR CONNECTIONS TO A PARTICULAR GROUP (BOURDIEU, 1986).

BRIDGING TIES - INTERACTIONS EXTERNAL TO ONE'S GROUP

BONDING TIES - INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF ONE'S GROUP TO SOLIDIFY GROUP RELATIONSHIPS (PUTNAM, 1999). THESE TIES CAN MAKE SOCIAL CAPITAL AVAILABLE AS A RESOURCE PROVIDING UNDERSTANDING, INSIGHT, KNOWLEDGE OF AND ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKET. THEY ARE SIGNIFICANT ENABLERS.

STRONG TIES - CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

WEAK TIES - RELATIVELY THIN SPREAD OF SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (GRANOVETTER, 1985). PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ABILITY TO IDENTIFY, GAIN ACCESS TO, DISCERN, AND EXPLOIT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES (TOMLINSON, 2018).

6.4 CAP SOCIAL >> TIES BONDING

SUM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS THAT HELP MOBILISE HUMAN CAPITAL AND BRING INDIVIDUALS CLOSER TO THE LABOUR MARKET. RESOURCES THAT INDIVIDUALS HAVE ACCESS TO AS A RESULT OF THEIR MEMBERSHIP OR CONNECTIONS TO A PARTICULAR GROUP (BOURDIEU, 1986).

BRIDGING TIES - INTERACTIONS EXTERNAL TO ONE'S GROUP

BONDING TIES - INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MEMBERS OF ONE'S GROUP TO SOLIDIFY GROUP RELATIONSHIPS (PUTNAM, 1999). THESE TIES CAN MAKE SOCIAL CAPITAL AVAILABLE AS A RESOURCE PROVIDING UNDERSTANDING, INSIGHT, KNOWLEDGE OF AND ACCESS TO LABOUR MARKET. THEY ARE SIGNIFICANT ENABLERS.

STRONG TIES - CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS

WEAK TIES - RELATIVELY THIN SPREAD OF SOCIAL CONNECTIONS (GRANOVETTER, 1985). PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL: ABILITY TO IDENTIFY, GAIN ACCESS TO, DISCERN, AND EXPLOIT EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES (TOMLINSON, 2018).

7 PRE CAPITAL

CONDITION, SITUATION, REASONS FOR LACK OF CAPITAL OR EVENTS LEADING UP TO CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT. EXPLAINS INTERN EXPRESSIONS AS TO WHY A CERTAIN CAPITAL MIGHT BE LACKING

8 CAP HUMAN

HARD SKILLS, PROFESSIONAL SKILLS, ALSO CAREER SKILLS, SUBJECT SPECIALISM TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE, JOB PERFORMANCE, APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS, MATCHING QUALIFICATIONS WITH JOBS. CLOSEST RELATION TO THE SKILLS DISCOURSE AS IT CONNECTS FORMAL EDUCAITON WITH EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES.

CAREER SKILLS- KNOWLEDGE OF LABOUR MARKET AND ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE ONE'S VALUE TO PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYER.

8.1 CAP HUMAN >> Human Soft Skills

Human Capital Soft Skills

8.2 CAP HUMAN >> HUMAN CAREER BUILDING SKILLS

CAREER SKILLS- KNOWLEDGE OF LABOUR MARKET AND ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE ONE'S VALUE TO PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYER. INCLUDES CV WRITING SKILLS

8.3 CAP HUMAN >> HUMAN HARD SKILLS

HARD SKILLS, PROFESSIONAL SKILLS, SUBJECT SPECIALISM TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE, JOB PERFORMANCE, APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS, MATCHING QUALIFICATIONS WITH JOBS. CLOSEST RELATION TO THE SKILLS DISCOURSE AS IT CONNECTS FORMAL EDUCAITION WITH EMPLOYMENT OUTCOMES.

8.3.1 CAP HUMAN >> HUMAN HARD SKILLS >> COMMUNICATION

9 CAP CULTURAL

CULTURALLY VALUED KNOWLEDGE, DISPOSITIONS, AND BEHAVIOURS ALIGNED TO THE WORKPLACE ONE WISHES TO WORK IN. OFTEN FORMED OUTSIDE OF WORK AND USED AS CURRENCY TO OBTAIN EMPLOYMENT. FURTHER ENAHNCED BY EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS. CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE, EMBODIED BEHAVIOURS, DISTINCTION AND SYMBOLIC VALUE (TOMLINSON 2018), CULTURAL AWARENESS AND CONFIDENCE, FAVOURABLE APPRAISAL OF POTENTIAL; INTEGRATION INTO ORGANISATIONS. INCLUDES EMPLOYABILITY, CULTURAL SYNERGY AND ALIGNMENT AND UNDERSTANDING THE FILED RULES AS PER BOURDIEU. INFLUENCED BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.

EMBODIED CAPITAL - MANIFESTATION OF EMBODIED BEHAVIOURS AND DISPOSITIONS IN A FIELD. SYMBOLIC CAPITAL

CULTURAL UNFREEZING

HORIZON EXPANDING, CULTURAL EXPOSURE TO INCREASE SELF-EFFICACY.

9.1 CAP CULTURAL >> Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) can be 'embodied' 'objectified' or 'institutionalized' and consists of constructed cultural stamps of approval and notions of social class (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Cultural 'stamps of approval' provide socialization opportunities for culturally appropriate identities to be internalized. Cultural capital tends to be durable over time and requires long term investment to accumulate, e.g., accumulation of desirable cultural behaviors, knowledge, and interests. Acquiring cultural capital allows individuals to enact culturally valuable identities.

9.2 CAP CULTURAL >> Objectified Cultural Capital

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) can be 'embodied' 'objectified' or 'institutionalized' and consists of constructed cultural stamps of approval and notions of social class (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Cultural 'stamps of approval' provide socialization opportunities for culturally appropriate identities to be internalized. Cultural capital tends to be durable over time and requires long term investment to accumulate, e.g., accumulation of desirable cultural behaviors, knowledge, and interests. Acquiring cultural capital allows individuals to enact culturally valuable identities.

9.3 CAP CULTURAL >> Embodied Cultural Capital

Cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) can be 'embodied' 'objectified' or 'institutionalized' and consists of constructed cultural stamps of approval and notions of social class (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Cultural 'stamps of approval' provide socialization opportunities for culturally appropriate identities to be internalized. Cultural capital tends to be durable over time and requires long term investment to accumulate, e.g., accumulation of desirable cultural behaviors, knowledge, and interests. Acquiring cultural capital allows individuals to enact culturally valuable identities.

10 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL

RESILIENCE, SELF-EFFICACY, ADAPTABILITY, WITHSTANDING SETBACKS AND WORK PRESSURES, MALLEABILITY, FLEXIBILITY.

Psychological Capital is an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development and is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task. Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope. Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. In relation to a micro-event, an

individual with strong psychological capital possesses greater belief in their capacity to manage outcomes of challenging events and directs their energy accordingly.

10.1 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL >> Resilience Psycap

Psychological Capital is an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development and is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task. Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope. Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. In relation to a micro-event, an individual with strong psychological capital possesses greater belief in their capacity to manage outcomes of challenging events and directs their energy accordingly.

10.2 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL >> Hope Psycap

Psychological Capital is an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development and is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task. Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope. Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. In relation to a micro-event, an individual with strong psychological capital possesses greater belief in their capacity to manage outcomes of challenging events and directs their energy accordingly.

10.3 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL >> Optimism Psycap

Psychological Capital is an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development and is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task. Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope. Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. In relation to a micro-event, an individual with strong psychological capital possesses greater belief in their capacity to manage outcomes of challenging events and directs their energy accordingly.

10.4 CAP PSYCHOLOGICAL >> Self-efficacy Psycap

Psychological Capital is an individual's psychological capacity or positive state of development and is composed of four constructs: self-efficacy, optimism, hope, and resilience (Luthans, Youssef & Avolio, 2007). Self-efficacy is the confidence and belief one has in one's ability to access resources and competently execute a task. Added to this is optimism, an individual's expectation of positive rather than negative outcomes (Scheier, Carver, & Bridges, 2001). Agency, the effort or energy directed toward a goal, and pathways, the way that energy reaches its goal, together compose hope. Finally, resilience is the ability to adapt and recover from adverse events. In relation to a micro-event, an individual with strong psychological capital possesses greater belief in their capacity to manage outcomes of challenging events and directs their energy accordingly.

11 CAP IDENTITY

11.1 CAP IDENTITY >> IDENTITY NARRATIVE

11.2 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE

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11.2.1 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE >> IDENTITY MODE BEHAVIOURAL

A MODE IS A GROUP OF SIMILAR IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITIES. IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITY REPRESENTING WHERE THIS ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE: BEHAVIOURAL: ACTIONS THAT POEPLE ENACT TO BUILD, REVISE, MAINTAIN THEIR IDENTITIES. THIS IS A DRAMATURGICAL MODE OF IDENTITY WORK THAT SHAPES IDENTITY RELATED INTERATIONC WITH OTHERS THAT REINFORCE OR CHANGE SELF MEANING ADN HOW OTHERS VIEW THE PERSON (GOFFMAN). IN A SENSE, OTHER MODES COULD BE SUBSECTIONS OF THIS MODE (KIM'S NOTE). MODE REPRESENTS A PARTICULAR FORM, VARIETY OR MANNER (THE AMERICAN HERITAGE DICTIONARY).

11.2.2 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE >> IDENTITY MODE PHYSICAL

A MODE IS A GROUP OF SIMILAR IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITIES. IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITY REPRESENTING WHERE THIS ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE: PHYSICAL:USING ONE' OWN BODY OR MATERIALS, OBJECTS, ARTIFACTS, AND DRESS TOTOALIGN OTHERS' IMPRESSION WITH A DESIRED SELF-MEANING (BARKER ET AL, 2018) MODE REPRESENTS A PARTICULAR FORM, VARIETY OR MANNER (THE AMERICAN HERITAGE DICTIONARY).

11.2.3 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE >> IDENTITY MODE COGNITIVE

A MODE IS A GROUP OF SIMILAR IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITIES. IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITY REPRESENTING WHERE THIS ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE: COGNITIVE (IN THOUGHTS). MENTAL EFFORTS TO SUBJECTIVELY CONSTRUE, INTERPRET, UNDERSTAND, AND EVALUATE AN IDENTITY (KILLIAN & JOHNSON). MODE REPRESENTS A PARTICULAR FORM, VARIETY OR MANNER (THE AMERICAN HERITAGE DICTIONARY).

11.2.4 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE >> IDENTITY MODE DISCURSIVE

A MODE IS A GROUP OF SIMILAR IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITIES. IDENTITY WORK ACTIVITY REPRESENTING WHERE THIS ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE: COGNITIVE (IN THOUGHTS). IDENTITY TALK IS COMPRISED OF WHAT IS VERBALISED AND HOW IT IS VERBALIZED AND INCLUDES TONE OF VOICE, WORD CHOICE, LANGUAGE SKILLS, INSIDER JARGON, AND EXPRESSIONS. PEOPLE USE NARRATIVES, STORIES, AND DIALOGUES AS CONDUITS FOR IDENTITY WORK. MODE REPRESENTS A PARTICULAR FORM, VARIETY OR MANNER (THE AMERICAN HERITAGE DICTIONARY).

11.2.5 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY MODE >> Yellow

11.3 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY TYPES

11.3.1 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY TYPES >> IDENTITY TYPES PERSONAL

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF IDENTITY TYPES PEOPLE WORK ON: COLLECTIVE, ROLE, AND PERSONAL. PERSONAL: MOST ELEMENTRAY TYPE OF IDENTITY THAT DENOTES A UNIQUE INDIVIDUAL WITH SELF-DESCRIPTIONS DRAWN FROM ONE'S OWN BIOGRAPHY AND SINGULAR CONSTELLATION OF EXPERIENCES OWENS ET AL., 479). INDIVIDUALS CREATE THEIR OWN UNIFYING THEMES THAT LINK THEIR PAST AND CURRENT EXPERIENCES (BAKER ET. AL., 2018). PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES OR QUALITIES THAT 'STAMP' WHO THEY ARE, THE IDEA OF LEAVING YOUR STAMP ON SOMETHING. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS (GENDER/ETHNICITY) - ALTHOUGH ALSO PART OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES, THEY CAN BE INDIVIDUATING IN THE WORK CONTEXT.

11.3.2 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY TYPES >> IDENTITY TYPES ROLE

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF IDENTITY TYPES PEOPLE WORK ON: COLLECTIVE, ROLE, AND PERSONAL. ROLE: POSITIONS WE TAKE ON IN RELATION TO OTHERS. ROLE BASED SELF MEANINGS ARE TIED TO RELATIONAL IDENTITIES OR ONE'S SELF UNDERSTANDING IN RELATION TO OTHERS. THIS COVERS HOW PEOPLE CREATE MEANING AND LEGITIMACY IN THEIR ROLE AND HOW PEOPLE POSITION THEMSELVES RELATIVE TO DISCOURSES ABOUT THEIR ROLE. FOR EXAMPLE, PROFESSIONALISM - PRESENTING ONESELF IN WAYS TO REINFORCE CLAIMS TO SPECIALISED KNOWLEDGE OR EXPERTISE (GREY) OR NORMATIVE EXPECTATIONS.

11.3.3 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY TYPES >> IDENTITY TYPE COLLECTIVE

MAJOR CATEGORIES OF IDENTITY TYPES PEOPLE WORK ON: COLLECTIVE, ROLE, AND PERSONAL. COLLECTIVE: INDIVIDUALS OFTEN DEFINE THEMSLEVES AS PART OF A COLLECTIVE CONSTRUCTING WORK-RELATED SELF-MEANING AROUND THE ORGNIZATIONS IN WHICH THEY WORK. INDIVIDUALS ALSO TARGET PROFESSIONAL IDENTITIES FOCUSING ON WHAT IT EMANS TO BE A MEMBER OF A PARTICULAR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY (BARKER ET AL., 2018).

11.4 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS

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CAP IDENTITY IMPLICATIONS: IDENTITY

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OUTCOMES OF IDENTITY WORK ON IDENTITY CAN BE BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE

11.4.1 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS >> IDENTITY: RELATIONAL OUTCOMES

IDENTITY WORK CAN HAVE CONSEQUENCES FOR OTHERS IN THE WORK CONTEXT (KOERNER) AND IN OTHER AREAS OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S LIFE, EG. AT HOME.

11.4.2 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS >> IDENTITY: ORGANISATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY WORK HAS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ORGANISATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS THEY ARE WITHIN. AS EMPLOYEES CREATE THEIR OWN IDENTITIES, THEY ALSO SHAPE THE IDENTITY OF THEIR ORGANISATIONS (BARKER ET AL., 2018). THIS ALIGNS WITH GIDDEN'S STRUCTURATION THEORY: WE CREATE OURSELVES, WE ALSO CREATE THE STRUCTURES IN WHICH WE EXIST. FOR EXAMPLE, PERHAPS, AS INTERNS CONSTRUCT IDENTITY AS A SUCCESFUL PROFESSIONAL DURING AN INTERNSHIP, OVER TIME THE ORGANISATION THEY WORK WITHIN MAY BECOME KNOWN AS A GOOD PLACE TO DO AN INTERNSHIP THUS INFLUENCING ORGANISATIONAL IDENTITY AND EMPLOYER BRANDING.

11.4.3 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS >> IDENTITY: PERSONAL IMPLICATIONS

PERSONAL OUTCOMES OF IDENTITY WORK SUCH AS WELL-BEING, SUCCESS AT WORK, ALTERED ASPIRATIONS, PERSONAL FULFILLMENT, AUTHENTICITY ETC.

11.4.4 CAP IDENTITY >> CAP IDENTITY WORK OUTCOMES AND IMPLICATIONS >> IDENTITY: IDENTITY OUTCOMES

12 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS

"Events are the natural units of the social process; events are what key actors do or what happens to them" (Van de Ven, 2007:148). AN EVENT IS ANYTHING THAT MAKES THE ACTUAL MOMENT UNDERSTANDABLE (HUSSENOT ET AL., 2020:56). THE EVENT REFERS TO BOTH THE ACTUAL MOMENT AND TO THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE EVENTS THAT ARE CONSIDERED EXTERNAL TO THE MOMENT (HUSSENOT ET AL., 202:55). THE ACTUAL MOMENT EMBODIES PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. ACTIVITIES AND OCCURENCES HAPPENING WITHIN A TEMPORAL ONTOLOGY. DEFINING THE CONTINUITY OF ACTIVITIES THROUGH TIME AND OVER TIME (WHICH MAKES THESE ACTIVITIES POSSIBLE) (BERGSON, 1907/2009; MEAD, 1932). IT LOOKS AT THE EMERGENCE OF INDIVIDUAL AND ORGANISATIONAL PHENOMENA. IT IS RELATED TO THE BECOMING OF CONTINUITY (WHITEHEAD, 1929/1978) WITHIN ACTIVITIES. THIS SHOWS US HOW CONTINUITY IS PRODUCED AND REPRODUCED THROUGH EVENTS DESPITE ONGOING CHANGE IN ACTOR'S ACTIVITIES.

12.1 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Duration and Timing EST

Micro-events are 'time-restricted' meaning their enactment involves a relatively short duration. Exploring how a micro-event impacts an individual's capitals uncovers the dynamic and lasting significance of micro-events. The individual capital response may be closely aligned with the event duration. For example, an individual engaging in new work tasks might exercise their human capital in a novel way resulting in capital accumulation upon successful project completion. However, a seemingly short incident could prompt a lengthier capital response. For example, an unpleasant email or negative interaction with colleagues could prompt an internal reflection and ruminations on the individual's capitals that continue past the micro-event. Indeed, two individuals with different capitals can have differing responses to the same communications. Exploring micro-events over time brings this issue to light as the capital response will be shaped by how the event fits with individual capital reserves and also patterns of capital reserves amongst groups.

12.2 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Space EST

Event space incorporates event direction, origin, dispersion, and proximity and reflects "the specific location where an event originates and how its effects spread through an organisation" (Morgeson et al., 2015: 522). Micro-events are workplace events that individuals participate in and enact within defined, focused contexts. So, while events can originate from any organisational level, exploring micro-events orients the analytical gaze on occurrences within tight organisational units and the individuals that comprise it. Unpacking these micro-events examines the dynamism of the micro-foundations that make up organisational life. Doing so sheds light on bottom-up moderating which occurs when "individuals and collectives interact to create larger collective structures" (Morgeson et al., 2015: 524). The value of this micro-level understanding of event space is that it uncovers the micro-foundations - the individual capitals - that serve as the building blocks for the enactment, outcome, and impact of organisational events.

12.3 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Strength EST

Event strength relates to the "general impact events have on behaviors, features, and subsequent events" (Morgeson et al., 2015: 522). Micro-events incorporate events of varying strength, shaped by how novel, disruptive, and critical the event is to the capitals of the individual enacting the event and how this shapes the individual's enactment of the event. This means the strength of micro-events are situated, embodied, and constructed by the individual as they choose to exercise their capitals to shape the event outcome. Relatedly, their experience also has consequences for their own capital reserves. Additionally, event strength can be cumulative over time as events are repeated.

12.4 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Events surrounding work life

Events that happen because one is working but are not necessarily happening in the workplace, for example, the commute to work, getting up early every day, organisng one's personal life activities around the work schedule.

12.4.1 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Events surrounding work life >> Self management: Scheduling

Scheduling and managing one's personal life in order to be ready for working life

12.4.2 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Events surrounding work life >> Commuting

Anticipating the event of travelling to work everyday

12.5 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to Role, Reward and Incentives

12.5.1 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to Role, Reward and Incentives >> Financial rewards event

Adjustments to an individual's financial reward. The adjustment can relate to the fixed or variable, short or long term reward an individual can earn as well as benefits that have a financial value such as insurances, assurances, allowances and pensions. Also incorporates adjustments to tax treatment of financial rewards.

12.5.2 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to Role, Reward and Incentives >> Career Status Development Event

Adjustments can relate to the developmental opportunities made available to an individual that focus on longer term development (rather than a current role). The adjustment can also relate to a formal development of an individual's job such as contract status, taking on a new role and/or promotion.

12.6 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to work event

12.6.1 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to work event >> Adjustments to work resources event

An adjustment to the resources an organisation provides to an individual to complete their work. Work resources can incorporate the physical environment and workspace, technical hardware and software, financial budgets and training to complete to work tasks.

12.6.2 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Adjustments to work event >> New work tasks event

Individual work tasks that involve applying skills and competencies in a new way and/or interacting with a new work system or process. Tasks can vary in complexity and can be once off or ongoing feature of the job.

12.7 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Communications Event

12.7.1 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Communications Event >> Social interaction events

Interactions between an individual and their colleagues and/or managers that focus on non-work issues. Can occur within or beyond the physical work environment.

12.7.2 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Communications Event >> Group communication event

Making work-related information available to multiple colleagues simultaneously. Group communications range from emails and shared documents to meetings and presentations; can incorporate peers and managers.

12.7.3 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Communications Event >> Colleague communication event

Exchange of work-related information between an individual and a colleague. Collegiate communications range from being of general interest to having direct relevance to the individual's work.

12.7.4 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Communications Event >> Managerial communication event

Exchange of work-related information between an individual and more senior personnel. Exchanges range from hierarchical dissemination to collaborative consultations.

12.8 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> NEGATIVE AFFECTIVE EVENTS

12.9 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> POSTIVE AFFECTIVE EVENTS

12.10 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Living away from home

Living away from home indepedently or semi-independently and how and how and why this may have influeced the working experience.

12.11 AFFECTIVE EVENTS - INCIDENTS & MOMENTS >> Living at home

The effects or influence of living at home with family as opposed to renting own accommodation or reasons why someone could not leave home - high cost of rent and how this may or may not have impacted the working experience

13 WANT NEED TO LEARN

14 HYSTERESIS

AS PER BOURDIEU, MISALIGNMENT OF EXPECTATIONS, CAPITAL, AND FIELD OR REALITY. THIS IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE STATE WHICH INDIVIDUALS USUALLY STRIVE TO MOVE OUT OF USING STRATEGIC MOVES AND DECISIONS.

15 SELF PERCEPTION BRING TO A JOB

WHAT AN INTERN BELIEVES THEY BRING TO AN ORGANISATION. WHAT SKILLS THEY BELIEVE THEY HAVE.

16 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK

WHAT UNDERGRADUATE INTERNS VALUE IN WORK AND WHAT MEANINGFUL WORK IS TO THEM

16.1 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

16.2 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY MAKING A DIFFERENCE VALUES

16.3 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESSION

16.4 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> SOCIAL LIFE AT WORK VALUES

16.5 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> WLB VALUES

16.6 VALUES MEANINGFUL WORK >> MONEY VALUES

17 PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

17.1 PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE >> NO PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

17.2 PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE >> YES PREVIOUS WORK EXPERIENCE

18 FINDING AND PREPARING FOR WORK

THE PROCESS OF PREPARING THE CV, LOOKING FOR WORK, INTERVIEWING ETC.
THIS WILL OVERLAP WITH THE CODES FOR CAPITALS INVOLVED IN FINDING WORK AND ALSO WITH
THE TEMPORAL DIMENSIONS OF IT.

18.1 FINDING AND PREPARING FOR WORK >> Difficulty and Stress finding work

19 COVID RELATED INFLUENCES

THINGS THAT HAPPENED OR CHANGED SPECIFICALLY BECAUSE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

19.1 COVID RELATED INFLUENCES >> REMOTE MLE TEACHING LEARNING

FOCUS ON THE REMOTE UNIVERSITY LEARNING EXPERIENCE, MANAGEMENT LEARNING AND EDUCATION RATHER THAN WORKPLACE LEARNING

19.1.1 COVID RELATED INFLUENCES >> REMOTE MLE TEACHING LEARNING >> GROUP WORK EXPERIENCES IN EDUCATION

19.2 COVID RELATED INFLUENCES >> REMOTE VIRTUAL WORKING

20 WLB

INDIVIDUALS' EXPERIENCE OF BALANCING THE DEMANDS OF WORK AND PERSONAL OR FAMILY LIFE

21 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE

21.1 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE >> TRANSITION

LOOKING AT TRANSITIONING FROM ONE STATE TO THE OTHER AND THE EXPERIENCE INVOLVED IN THAT. EX: REMOTE VIRTUAL STUDYING/LEARNING TO REMOTE VIRTUAL WORKING.

21.2 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE >> PRE LIMINALITY - SEPARATION

21.3 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE >> LIMINALITY - MIDDLE PHASE, BETWIXT AND BETWEEN

21.4 LIMINALITY - RITE OF PASSAGE >> INCORPORATION Liminality

EXITING THE LIMINAL PHASE TO SETTLE INTO THE NEW NORM.

Sample data analysis from excel spreadsheet condensed from MAXQDA

This is a screenshot of the excel spreadsheets I used to visualise the data from Maxqda. It shows one participant, Patrick, and his experience across his three interviews coded and categorised in line with the themes of this study.

		My summary thou	0	nterview 1: APC/Sch		ccount (Post Placement)			CAntecents		Motivations/Goals		Pre placement experie
27 Business	Patrick	Investments, acco		I wanted to continue my					loney is a huge incentiv		I did this so I'd be re-		If I wanted to continu
Intl/Fina			ourse, I had to do placement was really hard to find an		I. When talking with ma efinitely a more relaxed			eople, the environment affer together (referring	work in the real world I would placement. Otherwi- like to get a job out of this for switch courses. It was		switch courses. It was		
nce			lon - Rot	ternship. I went through hell		ould be severely behind			amworkand helping ea	The second second	after college.If I war		internship. I went thro
		it. Experienced ne events [unfiar rew	gative	get one. I wondered if it		tmosphere to be so rela			old myself I'm a student g				wondered if it was jus
		but says they were	w w	ras just me. I went through		ne. In college you have p			sperience so I wouldn't b		placement. Otherwi		done but I missed a fe
		overshadowed by	his St	everal interviews with severa		s taking notes. This is th			sappointed. It's a form of		have had to switch o		started late. I got thro
		relationship with	1	ompanies only to not get		into exams the stressful			ly boss in my previous jo		was really hard to fir		interviews with severa
		He struggles with	tr	nem. You're in limbo. They reak your heart. I took it on		separation of the two. re struggled with that co			icial abuseIt was reall and an internship. I went t		internship. I went the to get one. I wonder		get them. You're in lin heart. I took it on the
		difference in PC w		ne chin, I was numb to it. You		ink TV and social media			get one. I wondered if i		iust me. I already ha		whole process. I got a
		technology [negat		ace rejection once every two		of office work. They only			e. I already had a CV do		done but I missed a		two days. It just made
		stressful constant		ays. You think 'you're not		soul sucking. And altho			issed a few weeks of ap		of applying. I started	late. I got	good enough". 15 time
		monitoring] and h	nis boss. g	ood enough'The interview	be like that	it's a lot more nuanced.	It can definit	tely be st	arted late. I got through	to several	through to several in	terviews	rejected. I had a conv
		Power dynamic fel		or this one was great. This		un, interesting and enga			terviews with several co		with several compar		just unlikely I'm going
		Lacked cultural ca		ras my last chance. That		se positives there at wo			nly to not get them. You		not get them. You're		nothing much I can do
		[foreign family, no	o office	reek was the longest week of ny life. I was overwhelmed. I		i there thinking there wo ayfulness. You just work			ney break your heart. I to nin. I was numb to the w		They break your hea on the chin.	rt. I took it	really not good. I'm ju everyone else is gettir
		workers]. Went th	irough a	elt like I won the lottery.		lefinitely influenced me.			ocess. I got a rejection of		on the chin.		demoralising. Is it my
		lot to get placeme	ent.	foney is a a huge incentive to		s I'm now much more of			vo days. It just made me				a just skip a year? Tak
		Learned to speak	up. Will	eWork is what I expected		king about ideas and im			ou're not good enough"				to drop out. It took a
		now challenge lect		to be like, kind of. But then	working on t	rying to become more f			month I got rejected. I h				one I got, I was studyi
		Identity fluctuated		's different. It's really good		es to talking to coworke			onversation with myself.				interview was great. T
		of the team but no		nd I wasn't expecting that. I	always have	to talk to them about ju	ust work.		nlikely I'm going to get o				That week was the lor
		their level - it feel:		rasn't expecting a manager	,				othing much I can do. I to				was overwhelmed. W
		unstable. His sche	emata to	be so hands on. She helped	1			18	'm really not good. I'm j	ust not			won the lottery!
Pre placement experies	nce	PC/Sch	h			Remote/Covid/WLB	Bi	reach/Fulfili	ment	Change to F	С	Influence	on future PC
If I wanted to continue				y of my coworkers face to	face. I don't				ımberI'm on my		ressure of not	(not yet)	
placement. Otherwise				cting. I'm not getting to kn		coworkers face to face			is watching me I'd		be the problem		
switch courses. It was	really hard	to find an don't k	know them.	I feel like a numberWhen	I started	don't feel like I'm inte	eracting. do	o better if th	nere were things to	_			
internship. I went throu	ugh hell to	get one. I there v	was a heavy	workload, they really need	ded me to be	I'm not getting to kno	w them. do	o. I'd be mo	tivated to go out and				
wondered if it was just				lar employee. I got into a r				top					
done but I missed a fev				peatMy perspective has		basketball made me f							
started late. I got throu		,		eir colleaugue. They expec		better than I have in r	months.						
interviews with several				they speak to me. They act		Mam said to go get							
get them. You're in lim				ne pressure of not wanting		multivitamins. I'm not	t getting						
heart. I took it on the o				nool to college is not a hug		sunlight.							
whole process. I got a two days. It just made				massive. In work, if I don't as to stay back. I didn't eve									
good enough". 15 time			five minute		ii want to								
rejected. I had a conve		-	nive minute	DICUR.									
just unlikely I'm going t													
nothing much I can do.													
really not good. I'm jus													
everyone else is getting	g it. It was	so											
demoralising. Is it my in	nterview sl	tills? Should											
a just skip a year? Take													
to drop out. It took a n													
one I got, I was studyin													
interview was great. Th													
That week was the long was overwhelmed. Wh													
was overwhelmed, who	ien i got it,	I felt like I										行(Ctrl) *	
		,				ı	'			'		III [[(Cai) -	
Capital/Skills/Knowledge					eturn to Colleg		Interview 2		PC Antecedents		PC/Sch		
Human: Communication professionally, How to s					niss naving a r	eason to see people.		portray it - s	ot like [Discussed under	interivew 1]			You're an employee, ou an employee and
time management. Who								u actually m			not an intern?) Th		
efficient as possible. Aft								ey care abou			original teamWh		
information I feel like a	a number	When I started there v	was a heavy					d be sitting i			everything. I have	to hit my me	etrics. I can't have a
workload, they really nee								e TV/movies					iving on a treadmill. I
employee. I was a lot slo								urce of refer					unication, cut all the
work, sleep, repeat. Soc:								body in my					ou have to streamline
perspective has changed								office, the r			communication. To to build relationshi		me for friends and chat
expect the work from me care about me. I feel the								ets happy <i>aj</i> i job. "Free G					orced to talk to a reek. I didn't realise
problemSee, school to								programme					n more competitive
work is massive. In work								e thing day i			than I knew. I need		
back. I didn't even want							out. I was s	urprised wh	at this		meThere's a rea	l power dyr	namic. I know it
the end of the day. I don	't eat durin	g the day at all. I'm str	raight to bed				was like. I'm	n Nigerian. T					t help thinking like this.
to recoup. I've matured				1			way of worl						e you. It's like a king-
myself I'm a student get							1	ock to me. I					d cartoons the boss is
disappointed. It's a form								m of texting the wanted t					morrow, you hear - hink it was in 2010
gave me racial abuse! a colleaugue. they expe				1				he wanted t couldn't init			when bosses began		
me. They actually care a								buted this to			approachI'm no		
Economic: I've heard th								erence]. Wh					everyone else gets a
and I'm not. I'm wonder		-					speak to ot	her Nigerian			voucher, we should	d all get the	sameBut all the
							ge it [under						r shadowed by the
								Even in our					n constantly tracked
				1			nouseholds	s, we have a	•		with reported met	rics. You ha	ave a score at the top

Change to PC		Influence	Capitals		Į.	Events				
I'm Nigerian. This way of working	I didn't realise competitio	n Identity: [speaking	of the new interns] You're an employee, they'r	e an intern (Why are you	I'm not respected	d. I just want				
shock to me. I would never dream of texting my motivates me. I'm			an employee and no	an employee and not an intern?) They asked me to stay on in the original team [to him th						
manager. She wanted to talk more, but I couldn't competitive than I knew. I			means he is on a di	means he is on a different level]Psycap: Where I work, numbers are everything. I have to						
initiate it. [he attributed this to culture need competition to motivate			rate hit my metrics. I car	hit my metrics. I can't have a break. I'm not eating. It's like living on a treadmill. Human: I						
difference]. When we speak to other Nigerians, me			have to have effect	have to have effective communication, cut all the fat. There's no time for that. You have to						
we ge it [understand the hierarchy]. Even in our		streamline commun	streamline communication. There's no time for friends and chat to build relationships. We're						
households, we have an inherent l	ierarchy. I don't		forced to talk to a k	forced to talk to a buddy for 30 minutes each weekI'm growing. I'm more competitive						
want to come across as disrespec	tful, so I was		than I knew. I didn't	realise competition motivates me. I need con	npetition to motivate	She's incredible				
afraid to give suggestions at the er	nd. I changed a		mePower Field H	mePower Field Habitus: There's a real power dynamic. I know it shouldn't be like this but						
bit in this over the year. My manag	ger spoke to me		can't help thinking I	can't help thinking like this. You know that person is above you. It's like a king-peasant						
about being quiet. She gave me a	green light to		relationship. In Tv	and cartoons the boss is always a 'He', deadli	nes are tomorrow, you					
come out of myself more. I starte	d having fun. It		hear - get this done	by tomorrow. I think it was in 2010 when bo	sses began to have a more					
became natural. I have to act diff	erently at home		positive approach	.I'm not respected. I just want to be treated	like everyone else. If					
and at work. It feels very unatura	l. In the		everyone else gets	a voucher, we should all get the sameBut	all the negatives of the					
beginning it really messed with m	e. I didn't even		place are over shad	lowed by the manager. She's incrediblePsy	cap: I'm constantly tracked					
know I as doing it, that I was like	that. There's no		with reported metri	with reported metrics. You have a score at the top of the screen and everyone can see it. It's						
guidance on how to talk to your	coworker. I		green if you're perfe							
didn't come across this when I wa	as studying. You		stressful. Sometime	ressful. Sometimes you get so stressed trying to keep it in the green you lose focus and get						
don't have to do anything like th	at. The		worse. Sometimes somone else has slow internet and that slows down how many seconds a							
lecturer's word is gospel. You can	task takes and it effects you. You're always on edge. It's like having a camera on you but									
Even if the lecturer made a mista	ven if the lecturer made a mistake. I would you don't know where the camera isIf I'm an employee, I'd have more of a voice. As an									
think it's mine [the mistake]. I wo	uldn't dare		intern, there's no po	intern, there's no point in me being in a team huddleIt's made my relationship with						
question. Now, I would question	a lecturer,		authority more frie							
especially after my manager told	me to ask		my only solace. Cul	my only solace. Cultural [lack of]: Nobody in my fmaily works in an office.						
questions.										
	-1			In a second	I					
Return to college Interview	3 APC/Sch		PC Antecedents	PC/Sch	Covid Influence/Remote/WLB		ulfilment			
I don't know how I feel about going back to college. I have		.When I got the grad placement, it was all worth it.		The monitoring never stopped. Your name appears on the top with a label 'quality issues' if you make a	It's such a weird dynamic because the last year indoors. There's a we		ings happened m an intern. I c			
different worries now. I'm not		I was working to get the grad		mistake or are slower than you should be. I made a	anxiety that goes with it. I have to		heard of [It ap			
looking forward to the stress		palcement, I'm looking back		mistake with coding and got that. It's so	to being around people. The unive		on rather than			

It's worse than work. I'm				daydreami	ing and burnt out by 12noon each day.	a group presi	entation. It's really hard to get	healthcare but when I asl
doing well in college. I was				Taking bre	aks moved my utilization from 100% to 85%	a room. We'	re all commuters in my groups	can't avail of it. Other into
told to do well or I'd be sen	t			but I had to	o. I can't eat and work. Food is linked with	so we can't j	ustgo to someone's house to	me. (Have you asked abo
back to Nigeria (by his				rest for me	e, I shut off after eating. Eating during the	practice. We	re sneaking into the	can'tEveryone gets bor
parents]				day would	destroy my performanceWhen I got the	postgraduate	e rooms and lecture rooms.	They get paid overtime b
				grad place	ement, it was all worth it. I was working to	Someone car	me in and gave out to us. We	very different idea. I coul
				get the gra	ad palcement. I'm looking back with rose	didn't know v	where else to go but she let us	the conversations about
				tinted glas	ses. Me and the other interns had a very	stay. Honest	ly, she single handedly saved	got for bonuses. It was a
				different e	experience. They didn't have much work. I	our presenta	tionWe were standing at the	Everyone got a chair exce
				had const	ant overtime but no bonuses. I only got 3	computer an	nd we weren't sure if we should	wondering if it was just m
				vouchers,	others got more with less work. On my	have our ma	sks on. We weren't social	respected. I just want to I
				21st birtho	day I worked all day, 6am - 6pm. I had to	distancing be	ecause we all needed to look at	everyone else. If everyon
				cancel my	birthday plans. No workers wished me	the screen	I'm coping because I worked	voucher, we should all ge
				happy birt	thday. Everyone else's birthday was	last year. I do	on't have to work now so that's	the negatives of the place
				marked w	ith an emailI feel it was reinforced that	making it eas	sier. Having access to lectures	by the manager. She's inc
				you're not	at our level yet. I'm part of the team but	online is help	oful if you feel compromised.	
				not at thie	r levelwhen they speak about their			
				bonuses, I	have to remind myself that I'm the intern.			
				Things wer	nt in swings and roundabouts. It feels quite			
				unstable. I	don't know where I lie. I don't know my			
				level of rep	psonsibility. I don't know what I can get			
	1	- 1				1		I
			0.000/0.00		L ancon Control Contr		I was well as a second	
Influence	Capital		Events		Return to College		Other:	4th Interview APC/Sch
and the second s	ith Psycap: Yes, in terms of confidence I've learned a lot b		On my 21st birthday I work		It's such a weird dynamic because I've spent			
authority more friendly. If it			day, 6am - 6pm. I had to ca	(3)	indoors. There's a weird anxiety that goes w			
	ork to come back so I know I can make it in the industry		birthday plans. No workers		to get used to being around people. The univ			
in other ways.	On my 21st birthday I worked all day, 6am - 6pm. I had				rooms have to be booked to practice a grou			
	my birthday plans. No workers wished me happy birth		birthday was marked with		presentation. It's really hard to get a room.			
	Everyone else's birthday was marked with an email!				commuters in my groups so we can't justgo t		1	
	reinforced that you're not at our level yet. I'm part of t		you're not at our level yet.	(S) 7/25	house to practice. We're sneaking into the p			
	but not at thier level. when they speak about their bo		of the team but not at thie		rooms and lecture rooms. Someone came in			
	have to remind myself that I'm the intern. Things went	177			out to us. We didn't know where else to go b			
	and roundabouts. It feels quite unstable. I don't know		name appears on the top w		stay. Honestly, she single handedly saved ou			
	lie. I don't know my level of repsonsibility. I don't know		'quality issues' if you make		presentationWe were standing at the com			
	can get away with. Can I ask someone to reschedule a		or are slower than you shou		weren't sure if we should have our masks on			
	Can an intern do this or can a professional do this? I fe		made a mistake with coding		social distancing because we all needed to lo			
	professional but my tag says 'intern'. Could I decline a	333	that. It's so demotivating		screenI'm coping because I worked last ye			
	I don't know what power I have. Psycap: Pressure mak		the other interns had a very		have to work now so that's making it easier.			
	learn. You're own your own and you have to learn. I cl		experience. They didn't have work. I had constant overting		access to lectures online is helpful if you fee compromised.	1		
	doing this. Click out. Now I'm doing this. You're consta tracke with reported metrics. The effectis you're alway		bonuses. I only got 3 vouch		Compromised.			
	edge. It's like having a camera on you but you don't kr		others got more with less w					
	where the camera is. If I'm an employee, I'd have more		when they speak about th					
	voice. As an intern, there's no point in me being in a te		bonuses, I have to remind n					
	huddleThe monitoring never stopped. Your name ap		I'm the intern. Things went i					
			and roundabouts. It feels qu					
	the top in bold with a label 'quality issues' beacuse you mistake with coding. IPC with technology! My boss is lo		unstable. I don't know when					
		Contract of the Contract of th	don't know my level of reps					
	this programme is ruining me. It's constantly watching stressed. It's demotivating. I'm so stressed out by it. It'							
	stressed. it's demotivating. I'm so stressed out by it. it'		I don't know what I can get	away	I			

End of appendices