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Social Values in Context: A Study of the European Knowledge Society

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis investigates how social values align with changing patterns of economic development, work and quality of life in the European knowledge society. Conceptually, the thesis draws upon Richard Florida's *Theory of the Creative Class* (2002) and *Human Values Theory* as developed by Shalom Schwartz (1992). The research combines different methodological approaches and is structured in three parts.

The first study involves a secondary data analysis of the European Social Survey that includes Schwartz's value inventory and other value related items. It aims at mapping the values of Florida's three key occupational groups: knowledge, service and manufacturing workers. While manufacturing workers were found to be distinct from knowledge and service workers, the latter two categories were rather similar. In addition, a mixture of liberal and traditional values characterised knowledge workers' value systems. Little empirical support was found for Schwartz's circumplex structure of values.

The second part of the thesis, using two split-ballot experiments and cognitive interviews, explores the role of context in the conceptualisation and study of values. Drawing on the concept of 'behavioural spheres' (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), the operation of values in the familial, recreational and occupational sphere is examined. The findings show that many values demonstrated context specificity.

In-depth interviews with Greek and British knowledge and service workers constitute the third and final study. I examine how workers' *valuing processes* delineate their *creative* endeavours to construct the meaning of work and good life, as embedded in the wider societal, economic, political and work contexts. Creativity focuses on how workers, create value meanings and enact values, combine different roles, make sense of their living and the world and deal with adversities. It was shown that the ability to transform work into a meaningful activity is not restricted to knowledge workers.

The findings altogether did not corroborate Florida's proposal of an emerging creative class with distinct value orientations and Schwartz's model of a structure of universal values, captured in a set of binary oppositions. A range of challenges for policy making in the knowledge society is implied when authenticity rather than creativity —as defined by Florida- was found to delineate the European work ethos.

Keywords: human values, meaning of work, quality of life, knowledge society, creativity, Greece, Britain.

To Yannis

Acknowledgments

I wouldn't have had the change to be here in London without my mother's, Magda, and father's, Giorgos, support, who always believed in my skills, encouraged my growth and with patience tolerated me pretty much since the day I was born. I am grateful to them for giving me the foundations that will accompany me wherever I go.

Last but not least, I would like to dedicate this thesis to my darling Yannis, with whom I took every single step throughout this journey. His continuing faith and patience have saved me from losing my sanity and enabled me to go on with a smile. I will never forget our countless –of more or less the same nature- conversations we shared over wine and music. He was always there reading my drafts, providing me with comments, expanding my thinking, encouraging me and making me laugh with his unique humour... He is a wonderful partner, a best friend and a cool scientist, who I deeply admire. He was and still remains the light on my path.

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Preface – A Guide to this Research

The European Union website highlights terms such as 'information society' or 'knowledge society'. In 2000 the European Union, in Lisbon, set itself a new strategic goal for the next decade: *to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion.*[1] The expansion of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) has been accompanied by extensive changes, which essentially transform people's modes of working and living. This is why our society is characterised either as *information society*, to signify the widespread use of low-cost information and ICT, or as *knowledge society*, to indicate how ideas, knowledge and creativity become the new structural features of the economy.

When Peter Drucker (Drucker, 1993) coined the terms 'knowledge society' and 'knowledge workers' in the 1960s, he foresaw human skills and talent turning into key economic assets. In this context, harnessing people's knowledge becomes of pivotal importance. And while the attention shifts to workers' heads, their needs and values become of paramount importance (Manville & Ober, 2003). Leveraging workers' creativity and skills is contingent upon understanding and respecting their values as well as providing the opportunity to enact them. Within the context of global technological, societal and economic changes, notions of quality of work and life are thus being reframed in order to meet these new challenges. The present thesis aims to contribute to a better understanding of these transformations and their intersection with workers' values as they guide everyday living.

The possible link between belief systems and economic activities has fascinated me since my first degree, when I wrote my dissertation on materialism in the context of attitudes towards advertising. Then, it was the impact of materialism on purchasing habits and consumer behaviour that captivated my curiosity. Soon, I came to realise that there is more to it. The implications of materialism on personality, identity and values and the distinction between having and being (Fromm, 1941) were intriguing, especially in the context of the modern or later modern industrialised world. My interest was further stimulated, when I began to read the works of Ronald Inglehart (1977). His studies on values shifts and the transition from materialism to post-materialism reinforced my enthusiasm to further investigate the links between economic transformations and values.

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[1] (Lisbon European Council, 23 and 24 March 2000)

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Richard Florida's (2002) work on *The Rise of the Creative Class* sealed my decision to embark on the current project and further pursue the idea of the interconnection between values and economic transitions, within the contemporary socio-economic setting: the knowledge society. Despite the economic nature of his analysis[2], it provides valuable insights into profound value shifts occurring within the knowledge society and their links with everyday life. The present thesis will attempt to elaborate, refine and expand the psychological ramifications of his theory. The starting point for such an inquiry is provided by Shalom Schwartz and his theory of *Universal Human Values* (Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 1996). Despite the large number of studies on the relationship between economic development and values, the extant literature lacks a social psychological account of the phenomenon. A deeper analysis of the intersection between the knowledge society and human values, in the context of a social psychological inquiry, is thus essential.

Given that work plays an important part in conceptualisations of good life, I will seek to explore how values describe and reconstruct concepts of quality of life, as these are grounded in different societal, political and economic realities. To this extent, I will compare Greek and British workers –through interviews- to inspect more closely the mechanics of the relationship between human values and the socio-economic context. Selecting two countries that exhibit different industrialisation levels and paths to knowledge-based economies are likely to increase our understanding on the challenges pertinent to the achievement of the Lisbon strategy.

Alongside with the above, I will endeavour to elucidate the nature of values and value systems. Although, this thesis started by examining values as components of a person's conscious experience, which guide his/her life decisions and activities, it became evident that the underpinning mechanisms of values have a deeper, latent nature that are not easily reportable (Epstein, 1989). The present thesis therefore looks at human values both as *properties* and as *processes*. The *property* perspective views values as repositories of individuals' experiences, knowledge, beliefs etc., thus targeting the overt values that prevail at a certain period and whose importance individuals are cognizant of. Such approaches have received wide attention over the past decades. However, less attention has been attributed to values as processes (Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004). Looking at the *valuing processes* establishes values as life trajectories, which are fluid and changing, thus allowing us to delve into the ways whereby individuals experience, interact and reflect about themselves and the world in relation to others over their life history. I pinpoint five

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[2] Richard Florida is a professor in economic geography

elements that compose workers' valuing processes, as identified in the qualitative part of this thesis, in an attempt to better understand the contextual underpinnings of human values and to provide a practical compass for future research work.

At the same time, the current theorisation of values originally grounded in Schwartz's account of binary value relationships (i.e. one value versus another), will move beyond such homogenising endeavours of oppositional alignments. The present approach will be reconstructed in a way, which will reveal the significance of pluralism in its explanation of values. Moreover, while the Schwartzian paradigm of values is an abstraction over the varied domains of life, the present thesis will appreciate the contextual nature of values through introducing the concept of behavioural sphere (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) into their conceptualisation and study.

To examine the above, the present study is structured as follows. In *Chapter 1*, I explore the key debates in the exploration and delineation of the concept of values, as these have emerged from sociological, social psychological, philosophical and anthropological endeavours. This chapter contains clues to similarities and differences between the variant scholarly inquiries into methodological and ontological issues of values. It concludes by highlighting the importance of a dialogical study of values and the issues that need to be addressed to this extent.

Given that the overarching aim of this thesis is to better understand the relationship between values and socio-economic phenomena, *Chapter 2* contrasts theoretical and empirical explorations of this relationship, thus taking the opportunity to delineate the context, which contours the present examination of values: the knowledge society. On this basis, I introduce Richard Florida's theory on the *Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) and exemplify its significance for the present study. While illustrating the value of his theory, I pinpoint the weaknesses pertinent to his definition of the 'creative class' and theorisation of their values and try to reframe them from a social psychological perspective. The second part of this chapter sketches the research design of this thesis and describes the key questions to be addressed in each study.

In *Chapters 3* to *9*, the present conceptual issues are turned into empirical investigations, which are organised around three main studies. *Chapters 3* and *4* outline the procedures and results from the first study, which aims to map the values of European knowledge, service and manual workers using data from the European Social Survey (Round 2: 2004). The results reveal Florida's delineation of the creative ethos does not fully define European knowledge workers. In addition, workers are found to embark on a plurality of values that challenge Schwartz's psychological structure of values.

Following Klukchohn's and Strodtbeck's claim that value priorities vary across behavioural spheres, the second study (*Chapter 5*) sets to explore its legitimacy through two split-ballot experiments and cognitive interviews. In this respect, I examine Schwartz's ten values within three behavioural spheres: the familial, occupational and recreational. The three studies altogether provide evidence of the importance of incorporating the interdependence of values and behavioural spheres into our theoretical knowledge about values and empirical pursuits.

In the third and final study, I continue with an in-depth exploration of the contextual underpinnings of values, employing qualitative data. Interviews with British and Greek knowledge and service workers seek to overcome the shortcomings arising from a quantitative and positivist study of values. This study seeks to establish a richer understanding of values, as they are constructed, experienced and enacted by workers themselves. *Chapter 6* introduces the research design and process of the qualitative study followed by *chapter 7*, which discusses the findings from the interviews with British workers. *Chapter 8* focuses on the findings from the Greek interviews. Finally, *Chapter 9* synthesises the results from chapter 7 and 8 and draws a comparison between Greek and British workers. It aims to propose a framework to examine the differences and similarities between workers' values, as their meanings and functions were informed by two divergent societal and cultural contexts.

The findings from the qualitative study support the importance of going beyond positions of 'more or less' creative workers, as Florida seems to suggest. They highlight the role of authenticity in workers' lives, which is rooted in the ability to associate professional activities with meaning. Using valuing processes as tools to analyse workers' discourses opens up the elements that underpinned workers' efforts to experience authenticity across behavioural spheres and construct the meaning of work and good living. These efforts were sketched against a backdrop of different lived realities in the two countries and intersected with different constructions of selfhood between Greek and British workers.

I conclude the thesis with a critical review and summary of all the findings. I discuss the implications of the themes of plurality and specificity on future theoretical and research inquiries in values. I also consider how valuing processes can elucidate the dynamic nature of values and the elements that contour not only personal but also social being and becoming. In light of this, implications of the linkage between valuing processes and social change and citizenship are addressed. The challenges the present findings impose for organisational leadership and policy making are also discussed. In this respect, I hope that this study may be of use to anyone interested in the analysis of values, as these delineate

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the contemporary modes of living, working and participating in the public sphere. I also hope that through this study our understanding of values will be extended towards a direction, which appreciates the complexity, plurality and fluidity of post-modern social life.

1. The Concept of Values

1.1   *Overview*

In discussions about values, we often encounter people talking about how they and others have become alienated from life and how they should try to re-discover those values that once imbued their and their ancestors' lives with meaning. The quest to find meaning in living is an inextricable part of human existence, which is essentially underpinned by values. Existential questions have been the object of philosophical inquiries since 6th-7^{th}B.C., when thinkers like Homer, Socrates, Aristotle and later Cicero and Virgil were among the first -in the western world- to address the meaning and purpose of human values, as these were informed by the social, political and economic transformations of their time.

The notion of values and the influence they exert on conceptualisations of 'good life' is thus a subject of universal and historical significance. Although knowledge and reflections on human values are attributed to scholarly pursuits that go back to antiquity, since then we have encountered important progress in our knowledge both on an analytical and an empirical level. Having attracted attention in many disciplines, debates regarding their definition, conceptualisation, function and operationalisation are numerous. Brewster Smith (1969) describes the lack of consensus on the definition of values within the social scientific realm, as follows:

> "The increased currency of explicit value concepts among psychologists and social scientists has unfortunately not been accompanied by corresponding gains in conceptual clarity or consensus. We talk about altogether too many things under one rubric when we stretch the same terminology to include the utilities of mathematical decision theory (Edwards, 1954), fundamental assumptions about the nature of the world and man's place in it (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961), and core attitudes or sentiments that set priorities among one's preferences and thus give a structure to a life (Allport, 1937). And, at the same time, we are embarrassed with a proliferation of concepts akin to values: attitudes, sentiments, but also interests preferences, motives, cathexes, valences. The handful of major attempts to study values empirically have started from different preconceptions and have altogether failed to link together to yield a domain of cumulative knowledge" (Smith, 1969, p.97-98).

Following Smith's statement, every research endeavour in human values should begin with a clarification of their nature and their differentiation from other concepts such as motives, beliefs, preferences attitudes and norms. Such concepts are often employed in

the various literatures as conceptual substitutes for values, thus undermining a clear theorisation of the latter. This chapter will begin with the essential task of defining the ontology of values as concepts and as preferences and will continue by distinguishing them from other relevant concepts. This will be then followed by an attempt to extract the main debates in the conceptualisation and study of values.

In comparing and contrasting early theoretical and empirical frameworks by Gordon Allport, Philip Vernon (Allport & Vernon, 1931) and Charles Morris (1956), I will explore how initial ideas have yielded cumulative knowledge on values, which was systematically integrated and expanded in the context of research pursuits of Milton Rokeach (1973), Florence Kluckhon and Fred Strodtbeck (1961) and Shalom Schwartz (1987). In this respect, I will try to reveal the common core as well as the different tenets underpinning their analytical explorations. The analysis will demonstrate that these theoretical and empirical accounts have ignored or have unsuccessfully promoted the importance of plural and contextual nature and operation of values. Theoretical and empirical frameworks that touch upon such issues will be described. Moreover, the distinction between different classes of values as they stemmed from different schemes will be problematised and the usefulness of reviving old value types within modern research endeavours will be emphasised. Finally, the different perspectives will reveal that values need to be conceived and analysed as encompassing explicit and objectively measured as well as less conscious, implicit and socially constructed elements.

1.2   Defining Values

1.2.1.   Values as Concepts

Values have been largely defined in the literature as cognitive and motivational in nature. Theorists such as Brewster Smith (Smith, 1969) and Clyde Kluckhohn (Kluckhohn, 1951b) have emphasised the cognitive aspect of values describing them "as conceptions of the desirable that are relevant to selective behaviour" (Smith, 1966:102). Wishing to distinguish between values as concepualisations of the *desirable* from the mere *desired*, Kluckhohn postulated that "a value is more than mere preference (i.e.desired); it is limited to those types of preferential behaviour based upon conceptions of the desirable" (1951:422) The use of the term *desirable* (or preferable) is crucial for his definition firstly, because it establishes the motivational function of values (Meissner, 1970) and secondly, it

stresses the 'ought' quality of values (Heider, 1958), which delineates what is 'proper', 'right' or 'suitable', referring to socially required standards. On the contrary, the desired (or preferred), which is also ingrained in values, departs from such mandatory qualities by pointing towards preferences, likings, wishes, interests and desires. While values have a normative and as well as a preferential-impulsive dimension, for Kluckhohn and Smith a value is defined more in terms of the diffusion of desires to the attainment of long-term goals (desirable/preferable) rather than the short-term satisfaction of impulses (desired/preferred).

Notwithstanding the role of both the desirable and the desired in characterising the nature of values, it needs to be noted that although the two dimensions may overlap, they are frequently incompatible with each other. To capture the mechanics of this interconnection, McLaughlin saw values as part of a continuum that ranges from the desirable, encompassing normative values, to the actually desired, referring to preferential values (McLaughlin, 1965).

Desirable/Preferable   **Desired/Preferred**

Normative Values   Preferential Values
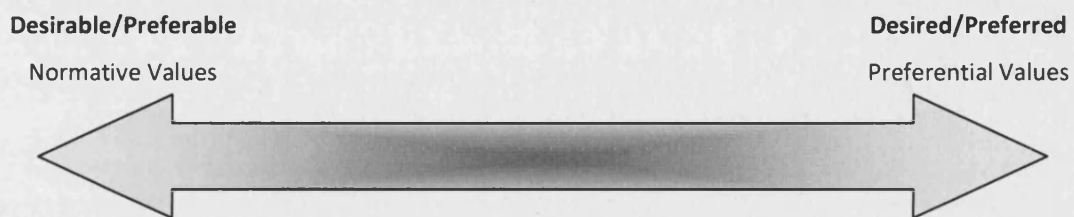
Figure 1. 1: *Continuum of values as encompassing the desirable and the desired*

The literature essentially differentiates between conceptualisations of the desirable and the desired as they apply to oneself and for one's society. Hence, researchers refer to personal and societal/cultural values respectively. Using the individual as the main unit of analysis, personal values reflect socially shared representations of personal goals and modes for achieving them (Kluckhohn, 1951b; Rokeach, 1979a). On the contrary, societal or cultural values symbolise socially shared conceptualisations of societal and cultural goals and of what is good and preferable in a society and a culture (Williams, 1960). Cultural values provide the scripts, which individuals need to take into account when operating in various institutional spheres. In this respect, the unit of analysis for cultural and societal values is the society and the cultural groups and not the individuals (Hofstede, 1980; Schultz, 1962; Schwartz, 1999b). The present thesis is mainly concerned with individual

values although their connection with societal values will be touched upon in the qualitative section of this project.

In sum, Smith's and Kluckhohn's view of values as representing the 'should' is limiting in that it dismisses the role of the 'want' in the nature of values. However, McLaughlin's emphasis on their association constitutes a compelling addition to the discussion, managing to overcome the duality between the desired and desirable and acknowledge their interdependence as an inherent attribute of values.

1.2.2. Values as Preferences

Moving away from the emphasis on the cognitive dimension of values, theorists such as Gordon Allport and Charles Morris turned their attention to the motivational aspect of values, who viewed them mostly as motivators and preferences. For Allport (Allport, 1961; Allport & Vernon, 1931) values are beliefs according to which one acts by preference. In this sense, values are cognitive instigators of behaviour. Morris's (1956) account of values presents a greater interest because he touches upon the incongruence between what one conceives as desirable and his/her actual preferences/desires and what it entails for values theorisation and research. He thus distinguished between the intentional nature of values and their enactment through behaviour. As a consequence, *conceived values* appear to be intentional by representing conceptions of the desirable/preferable. They pertain to those values that people endorse or claim they endorse. But people's actions are frequently found to contradict their values. In this respect, *operative values* refer to those values that function as guiding principles in people's lives by actually influencing their actions as well as their means of action. It thus arises that values can range from mere conceptions of the ideal to their actual fulfilment, thus explaining why values do not always act as explicit guides to individuals' behaviours.

Conceived Values

Conception of the Desirable

Operative Values

Enactment of Values
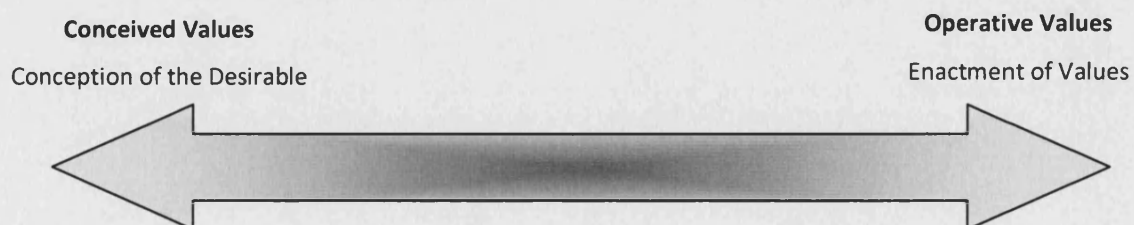
Figure 1. 2: *Continuum of values as representations and practices of the ideal*

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Given that conceived values are contingent upon people's statements about representations of the ideal, they are usually *explicit* in nature and they can be therefore explored through direct descriptions. On the contrary, operative values can be inferred through an individual's actions and behaviours, therefore rendering them less obvious and more *implicit*. Indirect methods are thus required to explore operative values, such as observations of a person's actions or indirect verbal means like reports of evaluation or descriptions of possible/future actions (McLaughlin, 1965). McLaughlin observes that the relationship between operative and conceived values is also implicit, which is exposed to contextual factors determining the lack of fit between the two value types.

Moreover, in functioning as standards that influence judgements of ourselves and others, impressions of ourselves to others and social comparisons, values reveal a close tie to our self conception (Hitlin, 2003; Joas, 2001; Smith, 1991). We perceive ourselves in terms of our values (Gecas, 2000). For this reason and taking into account their contingency upon the desirable and the desired, many times we rationalise values that may be perceived as threats to our sense of efficiency or morality, thus preserving our self-esteem (Rokeach, 1973, 1979a). In this respect, values, through their ego-defensive and adjustive functions, become protectors of our personal balance and sense of efficacy. Once again, the link between values and self-concept pertains to the implicit dimension of values.

To sum up, values as concepts are intrapsychic but also socio-cultural structures that can be mandatory or preferential thus locating them in both conscious and unconscious pillars of human existence. Due to their conceptual and intentional nature they can be expressed and verbalised directly. However, researchers sometimes need to apply indirect research methods to retrieve less conscious values and investigate the implicit links between holding and fulfilling values and their intersection with self-concept. In all, "values are abstract ideals, positive or negative...that represent a person's beliefs about modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals" (Rokeach, 1968:124). But while they may act as guides to evaluations, judgements and actions, it is not always possible for individuals to actualise them through their behaviours.

1.3   Distinguishing Values from Other Constructs

So far, I have argued that a value is a complex multi-dimensional concept that is interwoven with other constructs, such as attitudes, beliefs, norms etc. In this respect and

considering Smith's remarks about the confusion that dominates the field of human values, it is essential to point to what distinguishes them from related concepts.

As already mentioned, encompassing 'want' and 'ought' elements, values stimulate –conscious or unconscious- evaluations of goodness and badness of situations, objects, states of affairs etc (Smith, 1969). Seeing a motive as a broader concept, which acts as a determinant of behaviour that also influences the persistence and strength of behavioural manifestations, values can be, thus seen as a particular type of motives, which has both a normative and an evaluative function (Feather, 1982). But, while all values act as motives in some way, not all motives are values.

Examining values in relation to beliefs, the latter are generally taken to represent simple claims -conscious or unconscious- based on what a person says or does (Rokeach, 1968, 1973). Beliefs answer to descriptive questions about expectancies (what can happen), existence (what exists), cause (why this happened), probabilities and hypotheses. Values, on the other hand, answer to questions like 'what is good, preferable, proper, desirable' (Scheibe, 1970). Although beliefs can often embody values, not all beliefs are value expressive. Similar to beliefs, preferences can also reflect mere factual views of the world but they lack the profound evaluative and durable elements of values responsible for influencing behavioural decisions (Hechter, 1993).

In parallel, the vast amount of literature and research interest in attitudes has generated extensive confusion over their connection with values and their functional differences. As a result, attitudes are commonly employed as a proxy for values. Contrary to the general character of values, attitudes are an organisation of beliefs about specific objects, entities or situations that prompt an individual to act preferentially towards an object, entity or a situation (Allport, 1937; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Feather, 1982; Rokeach, 1968, 1973). While they have the capacity to influence preferences, they do not act as standards for evaluating general modes of behaviour and goals. Instead, a preferred attitude-object can be value expressive (Maio & Olson, 2000), perceived to be instrumental towards fulfilling a specific value (Rokeach, 1973). Overall, attitudes with their specificity eliminate the abstract character of people's value judgements (Rohan, 2000).

Related to beliefs and values are *social axioms*, a term recently coined by Leung *et al.* (Leung, Bond *et al.*, 2002). Drawing on a social-cognitive paradigm, a social axiom is defined as a "generalised belief about oneself, the social and physical environment, or the spiritual world, and are in the form of an assertion about the relationship between two entities or concept" (Leung, Bond *et al.*, 2002 pg.289). A value is an evaluative belief about a general situation (eg. wars are bad or health is good), which becomes an axiom when applied in a

concrete situation (eg. wars will lead to the destruction of civilisation or health will lead to success in work). Complementing general value statements with beliefs Leung and his colleagues hope to increase our prediction of social behaviours across contexts (Bond, Leung *et al.*, 2004). Although social axioms seem to allude to the link between conceived and operative values, they differ from such typology because of its contingency upon situational factors (McLaughlin, 1965). Hence, while social axioms partially resemble values in their functional nature, they can be seen more as an amalgam of values and beliefs, which exhibits the functional properties of both constructs.

Given the obligatory nature of values, norms are another commonly associated concept. According to Sherif, norms are cultural products that comprise values, customs and traditions (Sherif, 1936). They represent socially shared expectancies (Kelvin, 1969), based on which people judge the suitability of behaviour, the validity of perceptions, attitudes and values (Secord & Backman, 1964). While both norms and values encompass prescriptive elements as contingent upon societal appropriateness, the latter also pertain to the sphere of personal needs and desires. Hence, norms could be seen more as control mechanisms pointing towards obligatory demands, whereas values as providing criteria for desirability and preferences (Williams, 1979). Opposed to the abstract and general character of values, norms have been also theorised to provide the rules of 'proper' behaviour –dos and dont's- as these apply to specific situations (Parsons, 1951).

In sum, conceptual confusion over values is inevitable to emerge given that values have been at the centre of scholars' attention across time and disciplines. However, despite the widespread interest they have attracted, there have been few attempts for their theorisation and systematic study. In the section, which follows and beginning with early theories, I aim to chart the trajectory of theoretical and empirical knowledge on values as it developed out of changing constellations of social scientific ideas. I demonstrate how different frameworks have shaped each other and have also informed the current account of values.

1.4   Key Theoretical Approaches

1.4.1   Early Theoretical Underpinnings

1.4.1.1 Allport, Vernon & Lindzey: Types of Men

Early theoretical approaches were formulated through the scope of personality. Eduard Spranger (Spranger, 1928), a German philosopher with his work on *Types of Men*, promoting a Gestalt approach, claimed that human psychological functioning in its entirety can be best understood through studying individuals' values. Thus, he identified five types of individuality, which every person endorses to variant degrees by assigning different priorities to each type. The *theoretical* type places importance on objectivity; the *economic* type focuses on the value of utility; the *social* type is geared towards love and compassion to people; the *political* person's interests lies mainly in the value of power; the *religious* type sees high value in unity with God. Spranger's types formed the basis for the first value questionnaire in 1931 compiled by Allport, Vernon and Lindzey (Allport & Vernon, 1931), where the respondent is presented with questions relevant to different types of activities or occupations, which s/he has to arrange in order of preference[3]

Supplementing Spranger's typology with a sixth type, the *aesthetic* individual, whose interest lies in the value of harmony and form, Allport, Vernon and Lindzey developed a *Study of Values* instrument for high schools students. It was revised in 1951, where they redefined Spranger's social type of individuality, which was thought to be too broad thus excluding the variant importance this value could take in different contexts. They provide the example of someone valuing the importance of love at home without necessarily being philanthropic. This distinction is important towards acknowledging the contextual operation of values, which was incorporated and extended by very few theorists working in the field, as it will be shortly demonstrated.

However, the items in the questionnaire seemed to tap into respondents' knowledge, preferences and interests rather than values thus failing to distinguish between the former and human values. It was mainly for this reason that the *Study of Values* was found to be an

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[3] To demonstrate the nature of questions included in the *Study of Values*, I am providing two indicative items. The first one focuses on occupational interests and is phrased as follows: "assuming that you are a man with the necessary ability and that the salary for each of the following occupations is the same, would you prefer to be a) mathematician, b) sales manager, c) chergyman and d) politician". A different type of question measuring activities is formatted like this: "are you more interested in reading accounts of the lives and works of men such as: a) Alexander, Julius Caesar and Chrarlemagne , b) Aristotle, Socrates and Kant.

instrument for interests –of vocational nature - rather than values (Fallding, 1965; Smith, 1969). In parallel, its use of an ordering system was not considered to be the most appropriate way of capturing the variant importance of values. Nevertheless, the emphasis on values' contextual underpinnings and the belief that there is a limited number of universal values, which all individuals exhibit to variant degrees were innovative and important theoretical propositions. The latter effectively became the basis for all future approaches to value theorisations and measurement. Influenced by this tenet, Charles Morris (1956) offered a more holistic approach to the study of values, which did not confine their conceptualisation to the sphere of preferences and occupational interests but expanded it to a more general philosophical framework that saw values as paths of living and conceptions of good life.

1.4.1.2 Charles Morris - 13 Ways to Live

Even though values are a subject of philosophical discussions, Charles Morris (Morris, 1956b) was the only theorist in his discipline of philosophy to break new ground in the research of values. To do so, he employed quantitative and qualitative methodologies and studied them cross-culturally. Seeing values as representations of good life, he distinguished between *operative, conceived*[4] and *object* values. *Object* values refer to what is preferable as tied to a specific object, irrespective of whether it is preferred or perceived as preferable. In other words, they have an economic meaning and pertain to means-ends relationships, where a means is preferable over others to achieve an objective.

Ahead of his time, Morris used various methods to explore life orientations in different cultures (USA, Canada, China, India). In his research, he interviewed students, asking their opinions of works of art and provided them with his questionnaire, which described 13 *Ways to Live* in long paragraphs. Extending his work on religious and ethical orientations, as presented in his book *Paths of Life (Morris, 1956a)*, his 13 living philosophies were framed around three basic personality types, the Dionysian, Promethean and Buddhist personality. He combined a ranking and a rating system to measure their importance. He also used a factor analysis to extract a structure and obtained five value types from the 13 living modes. These are social restraint and self-control, enjoyment and progress in action, withdrawal and self-sufficiency, receptivity and sympathetic concern,

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[4] A description of *operative and conceived* values has already been provided in section 1.2.2. *Conceived* values refer to the ideal conceptions of guiding principles in life and *operative* values pertain to the operation of values as actual guiding principles in life .

and self-indulgence (or sensuous enjoyment). His interest lied in exploring how the 13 modes of life promote his five value types as end-states. However, these five types were obtained from a factorial analysis only with a sample of 250 male Chinese students (Garrott, 1995). That is why many theorists ignore Morris's value profiles, preferring instead to use the complete list of 13 living approaches in their research endeavours. The central meaning of each way is summarised as follows:

Way 1: preserve the best that man has attained

Way 2: cultivate independence of persons and things

Way 3: show sympathetic concern for others

Way 4: experience festivity and solitude in alternation

Way 5: act and enjoy life through group participation

Way 6: constantly master changing conditions

Way 7: integrate action, enjoyment, and contemplation

Way 8: live with wholesome, carefree enjoyment

Way 9: wait in quiet receptivity

Way 10: control the self stoically

Way 11: meditate on the inner life

Way 12: chance adventuresome deeds

Way 13: obey the cosmic purposes

In evaluating his methodology, researchers have lamented the limited validity of his measure arising from the length of each paragraph-item[5] as well as the language employed to describe the 13 *Ways to Live*, which due to their abstract, approving and poetic tone, have been found to invoke positive ratings among respondents and increase the risk of confusion and multiple interpretations. In this respect, issues of coherence and clarity regarding each description were brought to the attention of critics (Dempsey & Dukes, 1966; Rokeach & Parker, 1970; Winthrop, 1959).

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[5] For instance, Way 1 is measured through the following item: "In this *design for living* the individual actively participates in the social life of his community, not to change it primarily, but to understand, appreciate, and preserve the best that man has attained. Excessive desires should be avoided and moderation sought. One wants the good things of life but in orderly way. Life is to have clarity, balance, refinement, control. Vulgarity, great enthusiasm, irrational behaviour, impatience, indulgence are to be avoided. Friendship is to be esteemed but not easy intimacy with many people. Life is to have discipline, intelligibility, good manners, predictability. Social changes are to be made slowly and carefully, so that what has been achieved in human culture is not lost. The individual should be active physically and socially, and not in a hectic and radical way. Restraint and intelligence should give order to an active life".

Moreover, Morris with his questionnaire targeted conceived values thus failing to look at the relationship between conceived and operative values (Winthrop, 1959). Such a distinction is valuable in examining the explicit and implicit role of values in people's lives. For, while values can represent the desired and desirable, very often they cannot be actualised. In this case, values do not act as guiding principles in an individual's life and remain mere conceptualisations of the desirable and ideal. The discrepancy between the two types is important for the constitution of self-concept, given that value enhancing choices -across different life domains- have been found to be incremental for a person's sense of self-worth and efficacy (Gecas, 1986; Lewin, 1936).

Nevertheless, Morris's overall work was methodologically and theoretically groundbreaking not only for his discipline but for the study of values in general. Unfortunately, the advantageous use of a rating system was not incorporated in any study of values until the early 90s, when Shalom Schwartz formulated his *Theory of Universal Values*. In essence, his idea of values functioning on explicit and implicit levels will exert major influence on subsequent theoretical and empirical work and his list of 13 living alternatives will provide inspiration for future value typologies.

1.4.2 Science of Values

The *Study of Values,* in being the only instrument at the time, was the most popular values scale until Charles Morris composed his questionnaire on *13 Ways of Life*. The revisions Allport, Vernon and Lindzey incorporated in their scale together with Morris's study on *Ways of Life* occurred in the 50s, when the repercussions of post-war economic and technological development and affluence on the human psyche and on relationships between cultures and societies had already began to preoccupy scholars. Issues of 'emptiness', 'amorality', 'lack of values' and cultural divisions were essentially the reasons that drove psychologists and other social scientists in 1957 to initiate discussions about a more systematic study of values. In this respect, the "Conference in Human Values" at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was organised to consider whether the science of values can be like any other science with "its axioms, definitions, rules of deduction, dimensions, measurements and calculations" (Hartman, 1959). Drawing parallels with principles of natural sciences as these have been expounded by scholars like Kant, Newton, Galileo and Aristotle, participants put forward a series of arguments, which advocated the possibility of having such a science: a *science of value*, as they called it.

These attempts coincided with the increasing tendency in social sciences to quantify knowledge, thus introducing issues around measurement. Inevitably such systematisation efforts resulted in the development of more instruments on values and the consequent gradual waning of the *Study of Values* and *Ways to Live* scales, given the limitations in their design. I am about to review the key theoretical and empirical underpinnings in the study of human values that have advanced our initial knowledge, as obtained from the work of Spanger (1928), Allport *et al.*(1931) and Morris (1956). Starting from the early 60s until today, I have distinguished three theorists, who have contributed to a systematic research on values and have marked significantly our theoretical and empirical knowledge on values.

1.4.2.1 Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck: Explaining cultural variability

Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961), cultural anthropologists from Harvard University, were keen on redefining *cultural variation* in value orientations through ethnographic and quantitative methods, extending, in this respect, Clyde Kluckhohn's theoretical work. Their interest lies in explanations of cultural differences in general, taken on by Geert Hofstede (Hofstede, 1980, 1991) in studies about the intersection between cultural values and organisational cultures. However, the latter departs from the former in that he focuses on values that distinguish between dominant cultures; in other words he is interested in dominant cross-cultural differences in work values. In contrast, Kluckhohn's and Strodtbeck's work focuses on values' variability.

At first glance, measuring concepts, in this case values, might seem at odds with more commonly understood methods of scientific inquiry for anthropologists. However, it has to be noted that anthropology had already established its reputation as a practical social science in two instances: firstly, during the great depression of the 30s, when American governmental interest was directed towards funding research related to finding solutions to social problems such as racial and educational issues, and problems of inequality. And the second impetus came during the cold war era, when anthropologists received extensive funding to study and understand the underlying causes behind Russian-American relationships and the values underpinning such or other cultural and social conflicts (Powers, 2000). In the post war period, issues of values and their role in socio-cultural differences thus became a focal point among anthropologists. *Variations in Value Orientations* is essentially the result of exchange of ideas with other social scientists like G. Allport, H. Murray and T. Parsons in the *Department of Social Relations for Interdisciplinary*

Social Sciences of Harvard University and a collection of extensive observations, thoughts and data going back to 1936, when Clyde Kluckhohn first started exploring values through observing different communities in a dominant culture.

Noting that people's variant values have received much less research attention in relation to dominant values, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck postulate that "there is a systematic variation in cultural phenomena, which is both as definite and as essential as the demonstrated systematic variation in physical and biological phenomena" (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:3). They define value orientations as:

> "Complex but rank-ordered principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process – the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements- which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these related to the solution of 'common human' problems" (pg. 4).

On this basis, they identified five universal human problems, which all cultures are confronted with. Despite the variability in the ways these can be addressed, there is a certain range of solutions present at all times in all societies. These solutions, however, are differentially selected by societies. Guided also by the idea of distinction between values as goals and modes of conduct, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck pinpoint three value orientations (means) to the resolution of each universal problem (goal), as follows:

- <u>What is the basic human nature?</u> Individuals manifest an *evil* (bad), a *good* and a *good and evil* (neutral) nature.

- <u>What are the relationships between humans and nature?</u> Individuals *subjugate* to Nature, *harmonise* with Nature or *master* over Nature.

- <u>What is the temporal focus of human life?</u> Individuals emphasise three time orientations: the *past, present* or *future.*

- <u>What is the best mode of human activity?</u> This is extended to the spontaneous and creative nature of activity (*being*), the current status of one's activity (*being in becoming*) and activity leading to accomplishments (*doing*). The distinction between *being* and *doing* is reminiscent of Erich Fromm's distinction between "having" and "being" (Fromm, 1976).

- <u>What is the best type of a person's relationship with other people?</u> In differentiating between different types of human sociality, as Fiske does with his theory of relational models (1991), relationships are classified into *linear*, which are characterised by continuity throughout time; *collateral,* which lack continuity

throughout time or *individualistic,* which are autonomous and independent types of relationships.

Concerns	Possible Orientations		
Human Nature	**Evil**	**Mixed**	**Good**
What is the basic human nature	Most people can't be trusted. People are basically bad and need to be controlled.	There are both evil people and good people in the world, and you have to check people out to find out which they are. People can be changed with the right guidance.	Most people are basically pretty good at heart; they are born good.
Human-Nature Relationship	**Subordinate to Nature**	**Harmony with Nature**	**Dominant over Nature**
What the relationships between humans and nature?	People really can't change nature. Life is largely determined by external forces, such as fate and genetics. What happens was meant to happen.	Man should, in every way, live in harmony with nature.	It the great human challenge to conquer and control nature. Everything from air conditioning to the "green revolution" has resulted from having met this challenge.
Time Orientation	**Past**	**Present**	**Future**
What is the temporal focus of human life?	People should learn from history, draw the values they live by from history, and strive to continue past traditions into the future.	The present moment is everything. Let's make the most of it. Don't worry about tomorrow: enjoy today.	Planning and goal setting make it possible for people to accomplish miracles, to change and grow. A little sacrifice today will bring a better tomorrow.
Activity Orientation	**Being**	**Becoming**	**Doing**
What is the best mode of human activity?	It's enough to just "be." It's not necessary to accomplish great things in life to feel your life has been worthwhile.	The main purpose for being placed on this earth is for one's own inner development.	If people work hard and apply themselves fully, their efforts will be rewarded. What a person accomplishes is a measure of his or her worth.
Relational Orientation	**Hierarchical**	**Collateral**	**Individual**
What is the best type of a person's relationship with other people?	There is a natural order to relations, some people are born to lead, others are followers. Decisions should be made by those in charge.	The best way to be organized is as a group, where everyone shares in the decision process. It is important not to make important decisions alone.	All people should have equal rights, and each should have complete control over one's own destiny. When we have to make a decision as a group it should be "one person one vote."

Table 1. 1: *Description of Five Common Human Concerns and Three Possible Responses (Gallagher, 2001).*

In measuring value orientations through the Values Orientation Method, as this arose from their observations in five native Spanish-American communities, they were able to measure only one dimension at a time and not the rank-ordering of all five dimensions in relation to each other (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). In addition, the rankings obtained from the instrument were difficult to be analysed statistically. For these reasons, their instrument was not found to yield many practical benefits.

Beyond the shortcomings of their methods, their conceptualisation of value orientations was unique in emphasising the role of variability. In this respect, by moving beyond the importance of pervasive (most preferred) value orientations, they departed from the dominant psychological and sociological streams of their time, which perceived variability as deviance and abnormality. Instead they saw variability as a no less integral part of a cultural system, which was central for its evolution. According to them, differentiation could not be conceived only in terms of a unitary system of dominant values but rather in terms of "an interlocking network of dominant and variant value orientations" (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961:364). Value heterogeneity thus constitutes a focal point in their analysis.

Another important formulation in their theory was their emphasis on societal differentiation -common to all cultures- as it interplays with variant value orientations. Hence, they claimed that varying life activities as performed across various institutions -or what they termed as *behaviour spheres*- such as the economic-occupational, religious, recreational and intellectual-aesthetic and familial sphere, are essential for a successful operation of a social system. They thus believed that value orientations are ordered according to the amount of time and degree of interest a person invests in different spheres of her/his life. Recognising that such contextual variability is an important facet of values that has been neglected by researchers in their theoretical and empirical work, they incorporated it in their theorisation and study of values.

"The predominance of a particular behaviour sphere (or a particular combination) is indicative of a particular ordering of value orientations" (1961:29).

To expound this argument through an example from their study on the Spanish-American culture of Atrisco, they showed how Spanish Americans diverge from Americans in the ordering of their value orientations due to differences in the salience of behaviour spheres. Hence, on one hand, Spanish-Americans were claimed to stress values of linearity, present time, subjugation to nature, being and mixed human nature, as pertinent to the

religious and recreational behaviour spheres. On the other hand, in the American culture, individualism, future time, mastery over nature, doing and mixed human nature were found to be most dominant in the context of the economic-technological sphere. In lending support to this thesis, Clyde Kluckhohn emphasises that the different roles individuals play across times and places are reflected in the ordering of their value orientations (Kluckhohn & Murray, 1948). Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck explored the idea of variability through interviews and observations and not through their questionnaire. This probably explains why their idea did not stimulate any interest in the context of future empirical efforts.

In all, their variation theory was an important step towards appreciating heterogeneity in values of individuals and societies, which has exerted an important influence on the current theorisation of values. However, due to the impractical methodology and unsuccessful operationalisation of their theoretical tenets, their instrument has not been incorporated into full-scale studies. This inevitably resulted in the waning of their ideas on variability and plurality, which, to my knowledge, have not been revived by scholars studying human values. Nonetheless, the Values Orientation Method has been employed in several studies, some of which have focused on education (Ortuno, 1991), medicine (Ponce, 1985), mental health-stress treatment (Papajohn & Spiegel, 1971) and conflict resolution (Gallagher, 2000). Their theory has certainly sparked extensive research interest in the analysis and exploration of human values and still remains one of the most influential theoretical formulations in the field of values, which inspired theorists such as Milton Rokeach and Shalom Schwartz.

1.4.2.2 Milton Rokeach: Explaining Value Hierarchies

Milton Rokeach (Rokeach, 1968, 1973, 1979a) has been associated with notable theoretical as well as methodological contributions in the knowledge of human values. For the first time in the values research, issues concerning relationships between values (value systems), determinants and consequences of values, links between values, attitudes and behaviour, value education, change and manipulation become objects of scientific inquiry. In his book, *The Nature of Human Values (1973)*, he describes a series of empirical studies that pursue the above themes. His theory has been applied in the study of many fields, from organisations and politics to family and educational settings (Connor P.E. & Becker

B.W., 1975; Connor P. E. & Becker B.W., 1975; Rokeach, 1973, 1979b; Searing D. D., 1978; Searing D.D., 1978). Rokeach describes a value as:

> " ...an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence
> is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct
> or end-state of existence" (Rokeach, 1973).

Keen on measuring the ranking of values as *guiding principles in people's lives*, he created a typology, which was thought to be exhaustive of all human values. While his value types were proclaimed to be found in all societies and cultures, their order of importance, what he called 'patterning of values', was thought to vary. He distinguished between 18 values as goals (*terminal* – What do I want to achieve?) and 18 values as modes of conduct (*instrumental* – How do I want to achieve this?). Terminal values are further divided into *social* and *personal* values and instrumental into *moral* and *competence* values. Rokeach (1973) created his typology of values through 'intuitive', as he calls them, methods. His list of *terminal values* was created by extracting values from dictionaries, reviewing literatures relevant to the American culture and other societies and asking students and adults about their terminal values. His list of *instrumental values* was created using Anderson's (Anderson, 1968) list of 555 personality traits on the basis of their relevance to the American society and other cultures, sex and socio-economic status. Words that seemed to be synonyms, thus exhibiting high-inter-correlations, were eliminated. In a way, Rokeach seems to be extending Morris's 13 ways to live, which bears many similarities with his typology. For instance, an *exciting life* and *pleasure* seem to reflect ways 8 and 12, self-*controlled* seems to be relevant to way 10, *forgiving* and *helpful* seem to draw on way 3 etc.

Terminal Values	Instrumental Values
A Comfortable Life: a prosperous life	**Ambitious:** hardworking and aspiring
Equality: brotherhood and equal opportunity for all	**Broad-minded:** open-minded
An Exciting Life: a stimulating, active life	**Capable:** competent; effective
Family Security: taking care of loved ones	**Clean:** neat and tidy
Freedom: independence and free choice	**Courageous:** standing up for your beliefs
Health: physical and mental well-being	**Forgiving:** willing to pardon others
Inner Harmony: freedom from inner conflict	**Helpful:** working for the welfare of others
Mature Love: sexual and spiritual intimacy	**Honest:** sincere and truthful
National Security: protection from attack	**Imaginative:** daring and creative
Pleasure: an enjoyable, leisurely life	**Independent:** self-reliant; self-sufficient
Salvation saved; eternal life	**Intellectual:** intelligent and reflective
Self-Respect: self-esteem	**Logical:** consistent; rational
A Sense of Accomplishment: a lasting contribution	**Loving:** affectionate and tender
Social Recognition: respect and admiration	**Loyal:** faithful to friends or the group
True Friendship: close companionship	**Obedient:** dutiful; respectful
Wisdom: a mature understanding of life	**Polite:** courteous and well-mannered
A World at Peace: a world free of war and conflict	**Responsible:** dependable and reliable
A World of Beauty: beauty of nature and the arts	**Self-controlled:** restrained; self-disciplined

Table 1. 2: *List of Terminal and Instrumental Values*[6].

Rokeach's research interest laid mainly in the relationships of these values, what he calls value systems. These are defined as "an enduring organisation of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance" (pg. 5). His differentiation between values as means and ends has been evidently influenced by various theorists such as Clyde Kluckhohn (1948,1951), Charles Morris (1956) as well as Arthur Lovejoy, who distinguished between adjectival and terminal values (Lovejoy, 1950). However, this is the first time that this theoretical differentiation is empirically tested and shapes the methodology of future values' measurement.

Another important facet of his conceptualisation of values focuses on the understanding of value relationships in binary oppositions: something is preferable to something else; a certain mode or end state is preferable to an opposite mode or end state. For instance, he postulates that moral oppose competence values and social are antithetical to personal values. In this vein, values are placed in the context of dilemmas. This constitutes an important theoretical proposition, about the structure of values, which

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[6] Each list is independent of each other; therefore, there is no linkage between the two sets of values.

although Rokeach claimed to incorporate into his studies, his work was found inadequate to provide insights into how certain value priorities affect others (Schwartz, 1992). The use of a ranking system was also considered an impediment towards the discovery of an underlying value structure (Braithwaite & Law, 1985). As a consequence, the idea of patterning of values will be taken forward and rendered operational by Shalom Schwartz (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987a) with his theory on values' circular structure.

With regards to the motivational role of values, Rokeach along with other theorists (Gecas & Burke, 1995; Hitlin, 2003; Joas, 2001; Mead, 1934) identifies an important function, pertinent to the concept of self-concept and self-esteem. He thus posits that values serve our 'self-regard' (McDougall, 1926) by aiding our adjustment in society through altering values into more socially acceptable ones to avoid uneasiness or disruption to our self-concept (Rokeach, 1973). He provides the example of someone, who values compliance but due to reasons of social desirability it would be difficult to admit its significance. Instead this person would filter the importance of compliance through the importance of being successful or having good relationships with others. In other words, s/he would rationalise his/her values by rendering them into less threatening values for his/her self-concept.

In recognising the importance of the implicit elements in values, Rokeach is the first theorist who attempted to empirically study (using experiments) value inconsistencies, focusing on raising individuals' self-awareness of their contradictions (Rokeach, 1979a). His inquiry has included the study of self-awareness effects on changes in value priorities and behavioural changes such as smoking, alcoholism. With this program, despite its limited success in inducing long-term behavioural changes (Kristiansen & Hotte, 1996), Rokeach focused on the process of shifting value priorities through unveiling implicit associations between one's values and his/her attitudes, behaviour and self-concept, thus emphasising the latent layers of values. Recent experimental studies (Bernard, Maio *et al.*, 2003; Maio & Olson, 1998b) have also corroborated the idea that values are often truisms devoid of cognitive support that encompass difficult to access and articulate elements, which underpin their endorsement.

At the same time, in conceptualising and examining value contradictions on the basis of binary relationships - one mode or end state is preferable to an opposite mode or end state- Rokeach excludes the possibility of a plural and heterogeneous value system. Moreover, as I have already pointed, Morris's concept of operative values seems fundamental in assessing values' relevance to people's actual lives. However, Rokeach, by measuring the importance of values as *guiding principles*, does not specify whether his

focus is on the operative nature of values, as manifested through respondents' choices and preferences or on values as mere conceptions of ideal goals and modes of conduct or on both facets. Nonetheless, Rokeach needs to be acknowledged for calling our attention to the importance of including conscious and easy to express values as well as those that are latent, less reflected and more difficult to report, in our study of values. In sum, Rokeach's value survey provided the first simple and easy to administer value instrument and his ideas and empirical work laid the foundations for a first complete theory on value relationships.

1.4.2.3 Shalom Schwartz: Explaining personal and cultural value priorities

Influenced by the work of Rokeach and Kluckhohn, in the late 80s Shalom Schwartz's becomes interested in the motivational goals that underlie both individual and cultural values. His theory of cultural dimensions came after his theory of personal values. Both though are underpinned by the same principles (Schwartz, 1999b). Given that the focus of this thesis is on personal values, I will review this aspect of Schwartz's contribution here.[7]

Similar to previous definitions, Schwartz encapsulates values as "concepts or beliefs about desirable end states or behaviours that transcend specific situations, guide selection or evaluation of behaviour and events" (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987b, *pg. 551*). In an attempt to refine Rokeach's typology of values, he develops a list of ten universal human values that are rooted in three common human needs: biological, social interaction and welfare needs (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987a). These values are claimed to be found in all societies yet with different relevant importance, reiterating the arguments of previous theorists (Allport, Vernon *et al.*, 1960; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Morris, 1956b; Rokeach, 1973; Spranger, 1928).

Contrary to Rokeach, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Schwartz could not find any theoretical and empirical value in distinguishing between terminal and instrumental values (Schwartz, 1992). He was not able to identify how and when a value stops operating as means and becomes a goal and vice versa. Moving beyond such a distinction, his typology of universal values includes the following ten values, which again bear a close relationship with Morris's *13 ways to live*:

> 1. *Power*: wealth, status, control or dominance on other people and social respect.

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[7] For a detailed view of the cultural dimensions of his contribution see (Schwartz, 1999b)

2. *Achievement*: personal success, social recognition (ambitious, influential, capable people).

3. *Security*: safety, harmony, stability of society and protection from external dangers.

4. *Conformity*: proper behaviour, compliance with rules and norms, politeness, self-discipline, obedience, respect for elderly or parents.

5. *Hedonism*: pleasure, opulence and indulgence.

6. *Stimulation*: novelty, excitement in life, daring new things.

7. *Self-direction*: creativity, use of initiative, innovation, curiosity, exploration.

8. *Universalism*: pro-environmental spirit, belief in justice, diversity, tolerance, protection of all people and nature.

9. *Benevolence*: loyalty and devotion to friends, compassion for other people, generosity, kind-heartedness.

10. *Tradition*: modesty, importance of traditions and customs, respect to traditional ideas, culture and religion.

His approach is unique in that it is methodologically successful in addressing the issue of dynamic relationships between value domains . Extending Rokeach's unsuccessful efforts to address a theory about the underlying structure of values, Schwartz formulates the circumplex theory. Borrowing Guttman's idea of the circumplex (Guttman, 1957) and following personality theorists, who apply the same rationale on personality studies (Costa & McCrae, 1980; Goldberg, 1992; McCrae & John, 1992), he places the above ten values in a circular structure depending on whether they are opposing or complimenting each other (see figure 1.3).

Openness
to change

Self direction
Creativity, freedom

Self-transcen-dence

Universalism
Social justice, Equality

Stimulation
Exciting life

Benevolence
Helpfulness

Hedonism
Pleasure

Conformity
Obedience

Tradition
Humility, Devotedness

Achievement
Success, ambition

Power
Authority, Wealth

Security
Social order

Conser-vation

Self enhancement

Organised by motivational similarities and dissimilarities

Figure 1. 3: *Schwartz's theory of ten value domains (from the website of the European Social Survey;*(European Social Survey Education Net, 2005)

The closer two values are on the circle, the more similar their underlying motivations are; whereas, the bigger the distance between them on the circle, the more different their 'motivational goals'. For example, the pursuit of self-direction comes in conflict with the pursuit of security, whereas it goes hand in hand with stimulation. So in the case an individual likes to indulge himself/herself in different sorts of pleasures (hedonism), s/he is less likely to be humble and embrace rules and traditions (conformity). All ten basic values form higher order values, which occupy a similar role on the circumplex. By inference, we encounter *openness to change* (consisting of stimulation and self-direction) versus *conservation (*security, tradition and conformity), as well as *self-transcendence* (benevolence, universalism) versus *self-enhancement* (power, achievement, hedonism).

The above structure has been corroborated with more than 200 samples - comprising mainly students and teachers- across 67 countries (Fontaine & Schwartz, 1996; Schwartz, 1992, 1994, 1995; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001) through the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) or the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ). The PVQ is an improved version of the SVS, whereby each question describes a person as someone striving to fulfil different goals. Respondents are asked to compare themselves to this target person. Schwartz's PVQ is innovative because it is the first instrument that addresses values indirectly without respondents knowing they are having their values investigated. In addition, contrary to Rokeach's use of lists of words, as means of measuring terminal and instrumental values,

the use of concrete portraits, in the PVQ, is theorised to reduce the risk of multiple interpretations. Chapter two will provide a more detailed analysis of his instruments. Overall in applying a rating rather than a rank ordering system, through the use of Likert scale, Schwartz managed to simplify the measurement of values, which could now be easily explored through statistical analyses and also allowed their investigation as systems and not as single entities. As such, his methodological contribution has established him as the most important contemporary researcher in the study of human values (Rohan, 2000).

While Schwartz's methodological approach is ground-breaking, in tandem his theorisation of value relationships, akin to Rokeach's proposal, is motivated by concerns about oppositional alignments of values and trade-offs. The circumplex theory in prescribing value linkages excludes the plausibility of endorsing theoretically conflicting values. In this respect, the following question arises: to what extent does Schwartz's methodological proposition manage to reflect the versatile and heterogeneous nature of value systems as these operate in various contexts?

1.4.3 The Role of Context and Plurality in Theorisations of Values

Schwartz's approach assumes that values are arranged in an *absolute* way, thus positing that people use values as bases of judgment and behaviour in the same way. In this respect, motivational forces and meanings are inherent in values and not determined by the individual's interpretation of a value as this is influenced by his/her place in the societal context. Although the Schwartzian arrangement between values may be valid in certain conditions, such an order is not always given due to its contingency on individuals' different modes of being, which are socially and culturally organised. This approach regards values as *relative,* which, according to Peter Kelvin (Kelvin, 1969), *are* "a reflection of the way people think and feel in a particular cultural context at a particular period in its history" (pg 8). In his reckoning, systems of values are *man-made,* whose order reflects a person's feelings thus rendering them fluid and open to change rather than stable and given.

In the contemporary world, coherence and absolute order are undermined by the plurality of life domains (i.e. familial, recreational, economic, occupational), where social relationships and their purposes are likely to differ (Luckman, 1975). Reminiscent of Kluckhohn and Strocbeck's paradigm of variability, living in a number of settings (e.g. house, work etc) entails –most often- divergent roles for individuals. The need for co-ordinating and handling relationships in different ways thus arises. Think of the following

example of a female professional, who is hard working, ambitious and demanding with her colleagues. Showing her skills, receiving respect and recognition from her colleagues and being successful are important to her in the work domain. In a different setting of her life, she is also a mother. In her family, she is a relaxed, loving and caring person towards her children. In the above example, social interaction becomes a means to different ends for the same person. On one hand, we encounter the woman, who is harsh and competitive with her colleagues and emphasises power and achievement in her workplace; on the other hand, we meet the mother, who is loving, giving, generous and compassionate towards her family, thus promoting values of benevolence and universalism. Behaviour is expected to be different across various social situations given that people differ in their values as well as in the rules they choose to follow (Moscovici, 1990).

This idea of the multiplicity of positions and roles is also dominant in analyses of the concept of identity and self in a globalised world (Hall, 1992; Hermans, 1996, 2001). The self is conceived as dialogical and decentralised, which is extended along a plurality of opposing or mutually supporting *I*-positions (Hermans, 1996). The shared view of the world is reality. The individual thus interchanges between positions when interacting and conversing with others, by including or suppressing positions as these are contingent on the changes of the environment. In living within multiple spheres, s/he thus develops different types of relations between his/her pool of *I*-positions in order to respond to the demands of relationships as these unfold in divergent socio-cultural contexts. For Hermans (Hermans, 2002), conflicts, contradictions and tensions constitute an integral part of a healthy self as functioning within the wider society. Given that values are understood as a central core of self (Gecas, 2000; Gecas & Burke, 1995; Hitlin, 2003; Rokeach, 1973), we would thus expect the individual to engage in the various life domains with different values and systems of knowing (Jovchelovitch, 2007).

Valerie Braithwaite also highlights the plausibility and importance of engaging with 'incompatible' values. (Braithwaite, 1994; Braithwaite, Makkai *et al.*, 1996). Commenting on Rokeach's concept of political ideology described in terms of a dichotomy between 'left', as captured by world at peace and equality, and 'right' values, as measured by national strength and order, she found that individuals are willing to embark on both types of values. In linking these results to policy making, she postulates that they are a strong indication that policy makers need to acknowledge the importance of balanced rhetorics that do not expose the public to 'either-or' solutions and do not reinforce trade-offs between values that can co-exist in people's psyches. She asserts that the public is able to

endorse both *sharing and self-protective* values and politicians need to take the importance of value plurality into account.

The role of plurality and contextual factors in governing interpersonal phenomena is also reflected in the theoretical and empirical work of Alan Fiske (Fiske, 1991; Gergen, 1991). While Schwartz's conceptualisation of values abstracts them from the various societal contexts, Fiske emphasises the need to understand individual psychological processes in relation to a given setting. His theory of relational models advocates the existence of four models, which appear to co-ordinate human actions and relationships and express different values. These are the models of Communal Sharing, Authority Ranking, Equality Matching, and Market Pricing.

• In *Communal Sharing*, people are viewed as equivalent with respect to a common goal, in the relevant social sphere (i.e. sharing one's suffering, love for someone, kill someone for a common cause).

• In *Authority Ranking*, people relate to each other in an asymmetric and hierarchical way, where there are positions of subordinates-superior. Power, however is not perceived as reflecting coercive power but legitimate dissimilarities. This could involve employer-employee, parents-children, god-followers, teacher-students relationships, class, ethnic differences etc.

• *Equality Matching* is based on the principle of delivering and restoring balance in social relationships. This is relevant to the notion of equal distribution of tasks to a group of people, the concept of taking turns when doing a task or even the eye for an eye approach.

• *Market Pricing* relationships revolve around "socially meaningful ratios or rates such as prices, wages, interest, rents, tithes, or cost-benefit analyses". Anything can be thought in terms of ratios, from money to sex, morality, land, objects even marriage (in terms of costs and benefits for the partners).

Fiske posits that it is the combination of these four models that reflects the complexity of social life. Rather than bounding these four models to a fixed structure, he claims that people implement and combine relational models in congruence with their values, whereby their orientation is heavily influenced by factors pertinent to their place in a given social, group, institutional, cultural situation and context, the role of historical processes, the nature of their engagement with the other etc. As such, there are certain implementation rules that define the 'where', 'whom', 'when' and 'how' of choosing among models, which vary across cultures but also within cultures, thus making it harder for people to proceed sometimes into the right combinations and selections. Under such

conditions of model fusion, some models are likely to be rejected over others. Meaningful trade-offs between models are always necessary to be made , which are yet underpinned by a variety of contextual parameters (Fiske & Tetlock, 1997).

In summary, Schwartz provides us with an insightful framework for understanding a range of social and cultural interpersonal phenomena and a much improved instrument to explore values. However, his interest is grounded in unitary rather multiple accounts of such phenomena. Given that human beings are far from being rational decision makers (Gigerenzer & Goldstein, 1996; Gigerenzer & Golstein, 1996; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000), it would be dysfunctional and impossible to place their values into a rigid circular structure that regulates their relationships invariably across settings. As other theorists have noted, value meanings and priorities are bound to be influenced by general situational factors contingent upon individuals' experiences and realities. Such claims therefore call for a study of values as subjective psychological elements that are dynamically constructed in relationship with others.

1.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have traced the roots of empirical and theoretical knowledge on values and compared and contrasted the major orientations the theorisation and study of values. It was shown that Allport, Vernon and Lindzey treated values in the design of their survey as parts of concrete situations, thus emphasising the specific nature of values. In a similar vein, Kluckhohn with Strotbeck acknowledged in their theory the variant importance of values as dictated by different behavioural contexts, yet without successfully translating their idea into empirical data. Conversely, Rokeach and Schwartz adopted more unitary accounts of values and ignored the situational underpinnings of value elements, thus excluding the possibility of individuals' embarking on theoretically conflicting values and manifesting a pluralistic value system. However, as argued, in the context of late-modernity, the proliferation of different constellations of social contexts necessitates the existence of a hybrid and heterogeneous value system, thus revealing the restrictive scope of such unitary and universal accounts of values.

In addition, the role of both explicit and implicit facets of values in delineating individuals' self-concept was noted by many theorists but was systematically investigated by Rokeach and included in his theoretical account. However, his attempt of examining value inconsistencies through valuing processes was not considered very successful,

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therefore failing to stimulate interest along this research line for a long period. Only recently has there been a relative revival in the topic, which yet remains tied to a paradigm that perceives values and value contradictions as objective constructs. Nevertheless, even in the positivist field, the exploration of the latent linkage between values and self-concept essentially remains an understudied area.

To this aim, Morris's distinction between values as actual choices and values as representations of the desirable can be proved useful. Such distinction would allow us to better understand the role of situational factors accounting for the fit or lack of it between holding and implementing values (Harding, 1948) and how their interrelationship contours individuals' self-concept. Delving into the mechanics of the linkage between conceived and operative vales is undoubtedly a rich ground for future research, given that Charles Morris as well as all other protagonists in the human values research, whose work was presently outlined, gave primacy to conceived values.

In this respect and also taking into account that the study of values has been largely pursued through a positivist lens that promotes an absolute view of objectively defined value positions and meanings, it is crucial to complement such perspective with a paradigm that embraces value pluralism and views values as context dependent. On the basis of the Hegelian paradigm that acknowledges that all knowledge in situational and scientific laws are contextual, understanding the whole is crucial for making sense of the individual parts (Marková, 1982). In this respect, understanding the different realities that individuals experience and shape their value meanings and priorities becomes crucial. For, there is no 'single best account' but a multiplicity of accounts (Gergen & Thatchenkery, 2004).

Going beyond objectively defined value relationships, it also needs to be noted that the literature lacks studies that explore people's own stories on how and why they select certain value orientations on which to live their lives. By giving people the opportunity to talk about their values, we can obtain insights into the underpinnings of the relationship between conceived and operative values, explicit and implicit dimensions of values that underpin their identity and sense of self. For, these are issues difficult to be captured through questionnaires, experiments or surveys and as McLaughlin (1965) has noted indirect research methods are necessary. Appreciating that values combine both objective and subjective dimensions, a paradigm that combines both perspectives becomes essential for better understanding the complexity of human existence and social life in a globalised world.

Although research pursuits of values necessitated manifold differentiations in their study and analysis, all theorists agreed on the view that values satisfy biological, social

interaction and group welfare needs. In examining, the body of literature on values, it is essentially the question of 'what constitutes good life' that has sparked such interest in studying, defining and conceptualising values. For, seeking the meaning of life is deeply embedded in human nature. Such pursuits, though take different forms in light of the socio-economic and political circumstances in different societies and time periods. Seeking to discover the meanings that values take in people's lives in today's social and economic environments, I will now turn my attention to an area of research that has provided us with meaningful frameworks for thinking about the connections between values, as guides to good living and sets of social, cultural, economic and political order.

2. Values and the Knowledge Society

"If we learn anything from the history of economic development, it is that culture makes all the difference" (David Landes, 1998:516).

2.1 Overview - Values and Modernisation

The linkage between socio-cultural and economic factors and the role of culture in the modernisation process, have attracted the interdisciplinary interest of scholars for many years (Eisenstadt, 1966; Harrison, 4th December 2006; Levy, 1966; Moore, 1963; Nisbet, 1969). The term 'modernisation' was first coined in the 60's, when the world was under the shadow of Cold War and the western attention was shifting to issues of economic development, social and political change in the so called 'developing' countries. The term soon also became a focus for social scientific theorising and research.

While no agreement has been reached upon the definition of 'modernisation', it is usually employed to emphasise the multifaceted nature of economic development processes. In this scope, economic progress is viewed as going hand in hand with a series of changes in the economic, cultural, political, social realm (i.e. industrialisation, urbanisation, secularization of societies, political activism) (Tipps, 1973). Although I do not intend to provide an exhaustive review of the theoretical approaches and critiques on the subject of modernisation, the need to project the central claim of interconnections between economic, political, cultural and social processes -as raised by modernisation theorists- is dictated by the objectives and context of the current analysis.

In explicating the essence behind the notion of modernisation, looking at the reasons that account for the popularity of such theoretical inquiry seems essential. In this respect, these appear to be inextricably linked to questions of causality between the various processes involved in modernisation with changing values being one key element. Such questions touch upon an old and engrossing topic in the social scientific discourse dating back to the industrial revolution. Since then efforts have been made to discover patterns in the trajectories of economic evolution. Questions like, 'are economic transformations the main drivers of value changes' or 'do values influence economic levels', have been central to the debate. The key premises of such approaches are currently sketched.

This chapter essentially starts by tracing the historical roots of research on the relationship between values and economic development and reviews the key approaches in this field. After examining the literature from an interdisciplinary perspective, I look at the changes in the economic structure of contemporary society that also contour the current theoretical line. I then introduce Florida's theory of the 'creative class', investigate the main concepts in his framework and assess their role in the current thesis. While unfolding Florida's rationale, I will be repositioning myself towards certain aspects and suggesting alternative approaches to look at his concepts. The aim of this chapter is to reach a social psychological understanding of Florida's observations about the *Creative Class* and also put forward a different proposal of mapping the values of the 'creative class'. To this aim, in the second part of this chapter, I will establish the methodological framework for this thesis, which consists of three main studies. In outlining the aims of each study, I will attempt to demonstrate how each can provide distinct social psychological insights into the issues addressed.

2.2 A History of the Relationship between Values and Economic Processes

Many scholars -from economics and political science to sociology and philosophy- have found culture and in particular cultural and social values, helpful in understanding economic development processes. After the industrial revolution, at the end of 18th and beginning of 19th century, the shift from manual labour to automation and technology induced important cultural and socio-economic changes around Europe and America. Karl Marx (Marx, 1867) with his initial volume of *Das Kapital (Capital)* is among the first to discuss the economic and social effects of industrialisation. He tried to show that capitalism –as a result of technological development- was advancing wealth levels, while it was also reducing the value of commodities and leading to labour exploitation. For Marx, the term "value" is equated with "worth", which is interwoven with issues of labour power and profits. In essence, the Marxist account captured industrialisation as playing a pivotal role in cultural and social transitions and ultimately value transformations (figure 2.1).

Economy ➝ **Values**

Figure 2. 1: *Economic Determinism*

Much later, the work of Daniel Bell (Bell, 1973) extended the principles of economic determinism to explain similar but contemporary economic phenomena. Bell, thus foresaw a transition from the industrial to the post-industrial society. The latter entailed a shift in the orientation of the economy from mass-production to the expansion of the information and services sector. As the workforce was moving from manufacturing and agriculture to the industry and services sectors, changes in the social and cultural order were looming. As such, the constitution of ideas and knowledge, as the new sources of economic power was giving people the opportunity to use their talent and education as vehicles for ascending the social ladder. Within the post-industrial society, meritocracy was thought to emerge as a key cultural, societal and individual value in the context of the new economic order.

After Marx and Bell had addressed important questions regarding the relationship between social values and economic development from a theoretical point of view, Ronald Inglehart (Inglehart, 1977, 1981, 1997; Inglehart & Flanagan, 1987) attempted to empirically explore the idea of value shifts, as prescribed by the new post-war economic order. In this respect, he saw the economic boom following World War II as paving the way for post-modern values. He posited that as economic development accelerates and economic security is taken for granted, people shift their attention away from concerns about wealth accumulation and material goods. Post-material values thus take the place of the latter and are theorised to contour post-modern conceptualisations of good life. Taking a Maslowian perspective (Maslow, 1968), Inglehart thus saw quality of life in the satisfaction of non-basic physiological needs, such as self-expression, self-actualization, freedom of speech, aesthetic pleasure and environmental balance. Although Inglehart's work with the World Values Survey (WVS) is among of the most influential ones on the analysis of value shifts in the context of socio-economic processes, it is not devoid of theoretical and methodological criticisms, which will be addressed at a later section.

A counter-position is that of value determinism (figure 2.2), which postulates that values are the main drivers of economic growth. Max Weber (Weber, 1905) took a sociological approach (with strong social psychological ramifications) in his analysis of the roots and consequences of the capitalist system. His work *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus (The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism)* looked at the impact of religious ideas on the course of economic development. He focused on how Protestantism permeated people's values –focusing on work values- and encouraged ascetic behaviours, regulated by the belief that people must commit themselves to a hard working life exempt from any sort of indulgence. In this context, Weber, promoting a value

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deterministic approach, advocated that it is the puritan work ethic that propels economic advantages by giving rise to the economic man.

$$Values \longrightarrow Economy$$
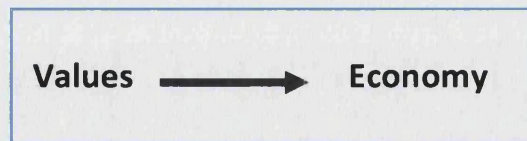
Figure 2. 2: *Value Determinism*

Moving beyond deterministic paradigms, alternative approaches, taking a more nuanced stance, are also present in the debate, which, in effect, appear to be more appealing. In this vein, Wezlel (Welzel, Inglehart *et al.*, 2003) puts forward the T*heory of Human Development* and captures modernisation in relation with political transformations and value changes (figure 2.3). Hence, he lays the syndrome of human development (Sen, 1985), based on which democratisation processes appear to displace traditional values and give way to what he calls 'emancipative values'. These have a liberal focus, and are powered by public concerns about human rights, self-expression and civic liberties.
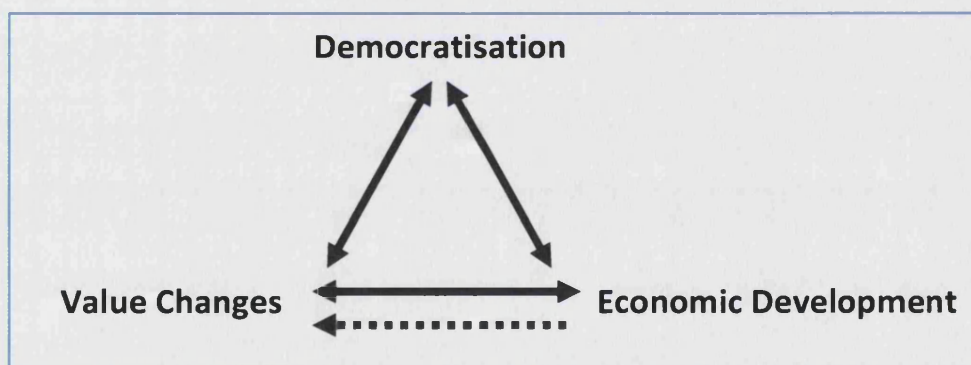
Figure 2. 3: *Wezlel's theory of human development*

By and large, these changes are theorised to be instigated by the political elites of each country, who emerge as the proponents of liberal and anthropocentric values and are theorised to secure an effective democracy in the public sphere. However, this democratic role of the elite (what Wezlel calls 'elite quality') essentially reflects a massive societal shift towards emancipative values, which largely stems from an accumulation of the society's resources (i.e. economic growth). On the whole, Wezlel's understanding of development entangles economic changes with processes of democratisation and value transitions, however he views economic trends as the main driving forces of value changes. His

perspective of human development certainly precludes a deterministic account of the phenomenon, although his view of the relationship between societal values and prosperity bears a close relationship with the Inglehartian perspective.

Richard Florida's discussion of the creative class, which occupies a central role in the current analysis, essentially echoes Wezlel's notion of emancipative public (Florida, 2002b). Florida describes how the nature and context of the knowledge economy enables the emergence of such a public -in his terms, the 'creative class'-, whose creative energy, urge to generate new ideas and idealistic and universalistic values equally drive economic and social progress. Contrary to the Inglehartian approach of (post)modernisation, Florida departs from any deterministic account of the phenomenon by granting a reciprocal character in the relationship between values and economy. Hence, while the creative class appears to be a product of the knowledge-creative economy, their rise is also reflected in social reshufflings of values (figure 2.4). Given the nature of his paradigm, Florida's theory plays a key role in the current thesis. In parallel, the utility of his theory stems from its relevance to the transitional phase of the modern economy, which needs to be addressed and explicated before proceeding into the specificities of his framework.

Figure 2. 4: *Florida's theory of the creative class*

2.3 Creative Economy

Drawing on the economics literature, growth theorists identify long term economic growth in the value of technology and human capital (Bowman, 1966; Glaeser, 1998; Jacobs, 1969; Kim, 1999; Lucas, 1988; Maslow, 1968; Mushkin, 1962; Romer, 1986, 1990; Schultz, 1962). The combination of human capital and technology plays a pivotal role in the course of economic progress, by strengthening the domain of research and development (R&D). Since human capital comprises skills, education and ideas, which are all key factors for the creation of technological knowledge, it is rendered a determinant of technological development. However, the notion of human capital has come to be criticised for being too simple and restrictive given that it equates human potential with institutionalised knowledge and formal education (Florida, 2002b). On the contrary, in an environment

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where ideas become the economy's asset, educational qualifications can no longer be the sole measure of economic growth. Creativity instead becomes the leading force of progress. Hence, the rise of creative capital is very closely linked to the emergence of the 'knowledge or creative economy'.

Serving the needs of the creative economy, creativity is geared towards generating new ideas, knowledge, products and services and fostering innovative activities, which are inextricably linked with organisational and economic profits. Beyond its economic function, creativity is also linked with the social sphere. Putnam (Putnam, 1993) was among the first to examine the role of social capital in the economic processes. In this respect, social elements such as social bonds, community ties, social cohesion, social trust and all those values and norms that promote interpersonal and social efficiency as well as strong communication networks are closely tied to creativity (Simonton, 2000). All these have been gaining increasing attention by economists and policy makers in the context of the knowledge-creative society.

It is both the economic and the social ramifications of creativity and their connection with values that Florida touches upon, thus rendering his theory a valuable framework for the current analysis. Florida's work is unique in that it embraces concepts and ideas from various disciplines –including social psychology- to investigate the trends of the creative economy and society. In light of his inquiry, he reviews the role of the creative class and their values and how the latter are shaped and conversely shape this new economic culture. My aim is to extract and expound the key social psychological implications of his theory for the current thesis.

2.3.1   The Creative Class

Florida (Florida, 2002a, 2002b, 2005) looks at how developments in the creative economy are reflected in the proliferation of certain job categories. He distinguishes between three major occupational groups with each one retaining a distinct place in the creative economy: the creative, the service and the working class. Before proceeding in the description of the groups, I should point out that I am not considering, in this section, the conflicts or the problems that arise out of his logic. These will be addressed at a later point. Hence, the description that follows is a reflection of Florida's claims and should, thus serve as an introductory guide to his theory.

In his book *The Rise of the Creative Class*, the creative class is broken into two categories: the *super-creative* and the *creative professionals* (Florida, 2002b). The *super-creative core* includes people coming from the art, entertainment, design and the wider cultural field (actors, designers, cultural figures, directors, film producers), the educational sector (professors, teachers), the research, scientific and high-tech sector (researchers, scientists, engineers, architects) and the writing industry (writers, editors). Their task is to create new knowledge. Their creative energy and their need to generate new ideas propel the creative economy. In parallel, the group of *creative professionals* consists of individuals working in the health-care system, legislative, financial, business and management and high-tech sector. Their responsibility lies in finding ways to integrate, synthesise, mould, adapt and apply the ideas of the former group. In counting their numbers, there is notable growth since 1900, when the creative class totalled 10% of the American workforce in comparison to their proportion today, which has reached 30-35% of the workforce (Barley, 1996), thus corroborating claims about the expansion of the creative sector.

Alongside the creative class, the *service class* is the largest group in the creative economy (55%) and it includes lower wage individuals employed in clerical, office, health services jobs (i.e. clerks, service workers, shop, market and sales workers). Their role is seen as providing support to the creative members, thus ensuring a successful operation of the creative economy. Florida asserts that the boundaries between the two groups are fluid and mobile, since it becomes increasingly easier for workers to move from industry to industry. Last but not least, Florida identifies the members of the *working class*, such as trade workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers and individuals working in elementary occupations. Their number is noted to be declining due to the nature of the economy. Their socioeconomic role within the creative society is not sufficiently accounted for in his theory, possibly due to his choice to confine his analysis solely to the creative class.

2.3.2   The Creative Values

In recognition of the social transformations within the knowledge-creative society, an entire syndrome of values emerges, which is reminiscent of Wezlel's theory of emancipative values (Welzel, Inglehart *et al.*, 2003). Florida, thus posits that similar values contour the profile of the creative class. In this respect, the creative members are theorised

to ascribe to a set of values that displace conservative and traditional elements and give way to human diversity, individuality and meritocracy.

For creativity to flourish and unfold, a socio-cultural environment, open to external and alien influences, ideas, ideologies and cultures, is required (Amabile, 1998; Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Maslow, 1968; Ryan & Deci, 2000). For this purpose, a set of liberal and emancipative values need to pervade the environment. According to Florida, the creative class is most likely to be the carrier of such values, who are claimed to be 'tolerant' towards human diversity and receptive of everything diversity entails. The rationale behind their universalistic beliefs is that each individual is considered a source of new stimuli, freshness and intellectual, social and cultural stimulation.

In tandem with their respect for human diversity, the members of the creative class are also distinguished for their individualistic values. Florida uses the term 'individualism' not in the sense of 'prime orientation to the self' (Parsons & Shils, 1951) but in the context of a dual devotion to the self and the group. They can be autonomous and self-contained but also collective, cooperative, social, extrovert and relational. For, while social capital is crucial for social solidarity and reinforcing interpersonal bonds, it can also obstruct new stimuli (i.e. people and ideas) from entering and enriching a certain space (Florida, Cushing *et al.*, 2002). In this respect, individuality is viewed as a shield towards conformity and stagnation. Therefore, the creative class is theorised to seek an environment (whether it is a social or organisational) that combines weak social ties with openness to change. Only in such context can new and different ideas, cultures and people be welcome and enable quick adaptation and evolution.

Moreover, the members of the creative class are claimed to invest their full energy in actualising themselves through cultivating their talents and mastering new skills. They feel committed in what they do because they draw genuine satisfaction and enjoyment through their work. Yet, despite the internal locus of their ambitions, external factors seem to also exert a strong influence on their aspirations. As such, their interest in innovation, diversity and intellectual challenge is also elicited by external rewards, such as social recognition and money. This shows that their material values are far from eroded. Notably, this argument is incompatible with Inglehart's postulations about post-materialism, according to which post-materialists are not characterised by material aspirations (Inglehart, 1997).

2.3.3 The 3 Ts – Florida's 'Recipe' for Growth

Through the examination of the occupational trends and the role of creativity and values within the creative economy, Florida puts together a formula that is claimed to bring cities closer to his 'Garden of Eden': economic growth. As such, he proposes three elements that cities must secure, in order to achieve prosperity. These are *Technology*, *Talent* (i.e. human capital) and *Tolerance*. The role of human capital, technological expertise and emancipative values in the creative society has been outlined in previous sections. This part will provide an overview of how these factors bind together to reflect Florida's idea about the interrelationship between values and economic processes.

Challenging the traditional accounts of economic growth, Florida moves to a new direction and advocates that it is no longer the people that follow the industry but the reverse. As a result, a culture of a 'global competition for talent' is created (The Economist, 5 October 2006). Focusing on the creative class, he asserts that its members are better attracted by places that are 'tolerant'. As it has already been argued, 'tolerance' occupies a core place in their values system, thus driving them to flock to places, which are cultural and social melting pots. They are aware that in such diverse environments, opportunities for broadening their knowledge and horizons are ample. Furthermore, creativity is better mobilised, where there is unlimited flow of people and ideas. The economic success of regions with high concentrations of gay people and migrants, according to Florida, exemplifies his argument (Florida, 2002a).
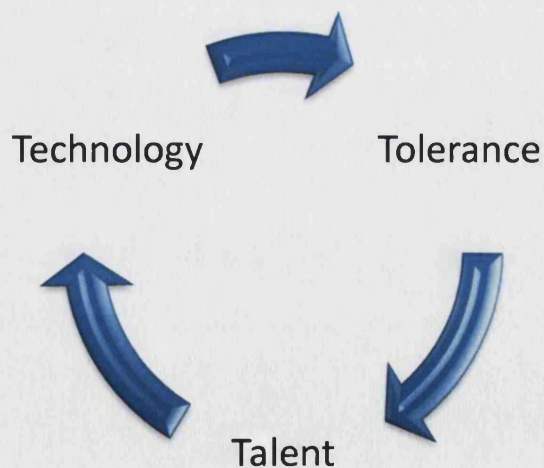
Figure 2. 5: *The 3 Ts circular relationship as a key to economic growth*

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As such, 'tolerance' becomes a magnet for the creative class. Once they are attracted to 'tolerant' places, they carry with them everything a place needs to thrive economically: Talent[8] and Technology[9]. Talent is equated with knowledge and ideas which are the new economy's assets, which in turn become catalysts for R&D activities. Hence, it is not possible to evaluate technology without talent. Looking at their relationship, one can understand that talent stems directly from people, who produce and develop scientific and technological ideas. And it is these ideas that play a central role in instigating economic growth in the new economy (Marx, 1867; Romer, 1986; Touraine, 1969).

2.4 Florida Revisited

2.4.1 'Creative Class' or Creative Clash?

Florida's formula of economic growth and theory about the rise of creativity as an economic and socio-cultural value is innovative in many ways. There is no question that Florida's theory provides us with very interesting social psychological ramifications for us to draw upon, in order to pursue a deeper understanding of the ways in which the contemporary employment structure is changing. While his theory has many merits, his quasi-macro level of analysis renders it restrictive and narrow for someone interested in the differences and changes in people's values within the wider social and cultural setting. I am thus taking the opportunity to pinpoint the problems that arise out of his analysis and make an effort to stimulate a social psychological interest in his concepts. Given that the class delineation has particular importance for the current research objectives, I will start by examining its implications and the challenges it presents.

Although the purpose of differentiating between the three classes is to investigate differences in their creative skills and inclinations, at the same time it seems to promote a thesis of better or worse classes in the social setting. By Florida's reckoning, the creative class members are the elite workers, who are supported by the service and the working class members. He asserts that the service class mainly exists "as a supporting

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[8]Talent is measured with the Human Capital Index (number of people that have a bachelor's degree and above) and the Scientific Talent Index (number of researchers and scientists per thousand workers).

[9] Technology measures percentage of GDP spent in R&D and the number of patents applications per million population.

infrastructure for the creative class and the creative economy" (Florida, 2002b:71). It becomes evident that this delineation is built on the contribution of each class to the economy rather than on differences in creativity. Thus, the association between creativity and economic outputs takes us to the wrong direction. Without disregarding the asymmetries and unequal distribution of opportunities pertinent to the nature of the knowledge economy, nonetheless, evaluating people as more or less creative based on their economic roles is an ambiguous way of defining class differences, from a social psychological perspective. Such a claim also poses problems on his conceptualisation of creativity, which will be addressed at a later point.

In parallel, Florida in emphasising the growth of the creative class, he fails to address the question of where its continuous expansion and the shrinking of the working class is likely to lead. The implications of such an omission are twofold: firstly, workers' interest in becoming members of the creative class is taken for granted. Although I acknowledge that his interest remained fixed on the role of the creative class in shaping labour tendencies and the industry's structure, an elaborate examination of the values and aspirations of all groups is nevertheless essential to better understand the intricacies involved in defining the dynamics between values and socio-economic processes in the knowledge society.

Following the above argument, Florida also omits to look at how the economic value of ideas and creativity pervades other occupational fields, beyond the creative sector. Recent research suggests that the economy is faced with an evolution of the manufacturing sector rather than its 'extinction' (Burns Owens Partnership Ltd, 2005). Creating small, practical and flexible products (e.g. IKEA products) that can be accommodated and adjusted accordingly to the market needs are demands that transform the manual sector. Consequently, as creativity and innovation break out of the circle of the economic and cultural elite, they are becoming high ends among the members of the manual sector. Whether this is a result of turmoil in the societal value systems or of the transition in the economy's nature is not currently reviewed, yet it would be an interesting object of further investigation.

The above considerations present the need to redefine the context, in which Florida's class delineation is applied. In this respect, a categorisation that draws on occupational factors facilitating or impinging on creativity, rather than socioeconomic discrepancies between the three classes seems more appropriate. Florida's delineation of classes is indeed in line with the extant theoretical knowledge (Amabile, Collins et al., 1996; Maslow, 1968) about the role of certain environmental dimensions (i.e. autonomy, freedom and flexibility, control over one's work, reduced supervision) in nurturing creativity and the

increased exposure of certain groups -like the creative class- to such elements. However, his use and definition of the term 'class' deters a meaningful social psychological understanding of such differences.

In parallel, the concept of 'class' is deeply embedded in the literature of social stratification, whose signification has been the cause for controversy among various scholars, especially in sociology. In this respect, some sociologists associate the meaning of class with issues of class awareness and consciousness (Savage, 2000), some view it in terms of the predominant norms and values that its members subscribe to (Goldthorpe, Lockwood *et al.*, 1968), while some others prefer examining class in terms of "class practices" rather than identities (Marshall, 1988 327). I have therefore no intention to enter this debate but rather to express my interest in distancing myself from such a multi-dimensional concept, which would entail unintended implications for the present thesis.

In light of the above considerations, the current analysis is not contingent upon a class approach grounded in workers' divergent contributions to the economy. It rather seeks to unravel value differences and similarities based on an occupational distinction. I am therefore detaching myself from the terms creative, service and working class. Instead, I am differentiating between *knowledge, service* and *manual or manufacturing workers*. Henceforth, this is the terminology to be used when referring to Florida's three classes. Having reframed the theoretical underpinnings of the occupational differentiation, I am now turning my attention to the weaknesses arising from Florida's description of the creative ethos, theorised to distinguish knowledge workers from service and manual workers.

2.4.2   Redefining Values: Tolerance and Individuality

From the constituents of the creative ethos -as already expounded- 'tolerance and 'individuality' are two values that deserve further elaboration, due to their central role in the knowledge society and creativity in general. Starting with 'tolerance', I intend to show the elusiveness in its use by Florida and try to reframe it. Tolerance is employed by Florida to demonstrate how knowledge workers firmly subscribe to the essence of accepting human, cultural differences and plurality. He thus describes it along these lines:

"Talented people defy classification based on race, ethnicity, gender and sexual preference or appearance...when they are sizing up a new company and community, acceptance of diversity and of gays in particular is a sign that reads "non standard people are welcome here" (The Rise of the Creative Class:79).

Taking a critical outlook on his definition, 'tolerance appears to be founded on the assumption that knowledge workers regard 'non-standard' people as a prerequisite to the survival of their group (whether this is a company, a community etc). In this context, knowledge workers appear to be intentionally 'tolerant of other people's differences, who are, in turn, constructed as 'non-standard'. Florida's notion of 'tolerance' evidently rests upon divisions of 'us' and 'them', thus disclaiming values of natural solidarity and spontaneous reciprocity. In an attempt to put forward a different conceptualisation of 'tolerance', I am pointing towards terms such as 'emancipation' and 'self-expression' (Bauman, 1991; Welzel, 2002), which are founded on similar premises. Bauman's definition of 'emancipation' nicely encapsulates the underlying meaning pervading all these concepts:

"Emancipation does not mean to avoid humiliating others, but it is about respecting the otherness in the other and their preferences and honouring their uniqueness and their difference. (...) The right of the other to his strangehood is the only way in which my own right may express, establish and defend itself" (Bauman, 1991: 236).

In light of the above, emancipation should be conceptualised in terms of celebrating diversity and plurality and not just accepting or approving these qualities. It is not a deliberate action, which a person consciously chooses to proceed with. It is rather an unconscious process, according to which a person's life becomes so deeply entangled with another person's history, life and values without becoming aware of it (Beck, 2006). Emancipative or self-expression values emphasise the naturalness and spontaneity of reciprocal human exchange. In this respect, it is emancipation rather than tolerance that I theorise knowledge workers to align themselves with.

Moving on to an equally important value, Florida employs the term "individuality" to describe how knowledge workers are driven both by individual and collective concerns when operating in a specific context. Deviating from the typical meaning of self-interest and self-absorption, his definition of individuality raises confusion. For, organisational and cross-cultural psychology traditionally defines individualism in the context of individuals' orientation towards the self or the group (Hofstede, 1980). However, this is not exactly how Florida argues about individuality:

"Members of the Creative Class do not want to conform to organisational or institutional directives and resist traditional group-oriented norms...they endeavour to create individualistic identities that reflect creativity. This can entail a mixing of multiple creative identities" (The Rise of the Creative Class: 77-78).

In evaluating his argument, it appears to be more relevant to the concept of 'singularity' rather than 'individuality'. Striving to develop one's qualities and skills does not imply being self-contained and indifferent to others' and society's needs. On the contrary, it brings the individual closer to her self-constitution. Defending one's private sphere against the invasion of the public protects the individual's autonomy and liberty and vice versa. The public sphere should be used not only as a space for self-constitution but also for empowering community bonds. Knowledge workers thus appear as experiencing the need to enhance their singularity, sometimes through the use of their private sphere and some others though their social embedment (Bauman, 2000).

Referring back to Florida's quote about 'individualism', his conceptualisation also seems to resonate with Beck's paradigm of reflexive modernisation. Ulrich Beck postulates that we are currently experiencing a 'reflexive' redefinition of modern society, which results in a reshuffling of boundaries between different spheres of social life. In such a blending milieu, people increasingly experience a gradual dissolution of borders (whether these are cultural, social, economic etc), which enables the fusion of work, cultural, social and personal identities (Bauman, 1991; Beck, Bonss *et al.*, 2003). Positively affected by these changes are believed to be the knowledge workers, who could be also described as 'surfers' –borrowing a term by Richard Sennett (as cited by Beck, 2003)-, given that they are willing to embrace such changes and act upon them. In the occupational and social terrain, knowledge workers respond to these turbulent changes by creating new networks, connections and bonds, expanding and preserving them as well as imbuing them with their values and vice versa. For, they find the process of 'reflexive individualisation' indispensable for the constitution of their singularity. Hence, while Florida's conceptualisation of 'individualism' touches upon such considerations, the term per se fails to reflect its multiple ramifications. 'Singularity' in conjunction with 'reflexive individualisation' –as they have been sketched out- thus seem more appropriate.

2.4.3 Creativity Revisited

Given the centrality of creativity in the context of creative society and the current research, it is a concept that needs to be accounted on its own right. Florida draws on the psychological concept of creativity and implements it to make sense of economic activities in the knowledge society. While he explicitly recognizes the creative potential in all individuals, only those, who are able to contribute to productivity gains and employment profits, are classified as creative. Although it cannot be denied that creativity is becoming an inextricable component of the contemporary employment structure that is likely to be enjoyed by certain occupational groups due to various external conditions. Yet, its association only with economic accomplishments is not in congruence with the tenets of the present approach.

This thesis looks at creativity in two ways. Firstly, drawing on existential maxims, I am adopting the view that creativity is a natural human propensity rooted in the condition of human existence. In this respect, individuals are naturally inclined to surpass the passivity of their existence and become 'creators' (Fromm, 1959; Lee, 1948; Yalom, 1980). Creation requires love for what one creates and it is through such an act that one the individual can experience purposefulness in life. This position emphasises the importance of happy engagement in activities as a part of everyday experience, which is mediated by different contexts and histories (Dewey, 1958).

The second perspective is dictated by the changing structures of the knowledge society, which pave the way to more fluid careers marked by increased competition, constant changes, less security and stability (increased contingent and project work, part-time and self-employment) (Belous, 1989; Cohany, 1996), more flexibility and mobility across professional roles, levels, organisations, cultural contexts and careers (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). Such employment structural changes inevitably intersect with changes in workers' everyday lives. Creativity, thus emerges as workers need to find new ways to manage their careers and the boundaries between their work and other life domains (Buck, Lee *et al.*, 2002). Bateson speaks of people's creativity in 'composing life' and constructs "life as an improvisatory art...in which commitments are continually refocused and redefine" (Bateson, 1989:3,9).

But given that workers operate in the wider context of societal sphere, they emerge as contingent agents (Giddens, 1994). In this respect, creativity is captured as the process of arranging and re-arranging the surrounding structures that leads workers to visualise and generate new possibilities, confront obstacles, deal with tensions, see different realities and

manage different roles across life domains. This is mediated by social transactions, experiences of contexts through which individuals constantly negotiate and adjust the meaning of creative action (Mead, 1934) and their values.

Departing from the above positions and the recognition of the situated and transactional character of creativity, I will attempt to understand how workers' creative endeavours intersect with their values as these are embedded in the wider societal, political, economic and work contexts. Before actualising the above, a final examination of the methodological tools, which Florida employs in his study of the Creative Class is necessary, in order to bring this critical evaluation to a close.

2.4.4   Measure of Tolerance & Methodological Journeys

In revising Florida's measures of *Talent, Technology* and *Tolerance*, it is beyond my scope to decipher the first two indices, since they reach more into the realms of economics, geography and political science. Conversely, given the centrality of the notion of emancipation for the current study –both from a theoretical and a methodological viewpoint-, it is important to assess Florida's measure of "tolerance". This is based on Inglehart's (1995-1998) scale of post-materialism, a human values scale and a self-expression index. Florida claims to measure human values through questions – as derived from the World Value Survey (WVS)- on attitudes towards religion, ethnicity, authority, family, women's rights, abortion and divorce. Self-expression reveals the extent to which individuals subscribe to the importance of individual rights and self-expression.

However, the conditions, under which Florida employs Inglehart's scale of materialism and the WVS questionnaire, are ambiguous due to an absence of adequate reportage on materials and methods. Because of this, it is not clear whether he is interested in measuring solely 'tolerance' and post-materialism or other values as well. Hence, questions about the actual nature and purpose of his measurements are bound to emerge. The integrity of his methods is further undermined, when he infers causational relationships between his index of 'tolerance' and levels of economic growth based on mere statistical analyses of regressions and correlations (Florida, 2002a). In brief, an absence of methodological robustness is evident in his work, on a number of occasions.

Through employing Inglehart's questionnaire of post-materialism, Florida naturally subjects his research to the critiques that relate to the scale itself (Clarke, 2000; Clarke, Dutt *et al.*, 1997a, 1997b; Clarke, Kornberg *et al.*, 1999; Davis & Davenport, 1999; Davis,

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Dowley *et al.*, 1999; Schwartz, 2002).To begin with, the binary format of the scale's questions poses problems since answers are restricted between two extremes[10] , thus excluding those respondents that do not fall in either category (Braithwaite, Makkai *et al.*, 1996). In addition, the phrasing of the questions is likely to produce ambivalent rankings, because it is not clear whether respondents are asked to think of them in relation to themselves or their country (Schwartz, 2002). Doubts have also been raised over the sensitivity of the scale to existing economic conditions. These have been corroborated by a survey conducted in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which revealed high levels of post-materialism despite the low levels of economic security in the region (Gibson & Duch, 1993b). Essentially, Inlgehart's scale suffers from a variety of methodological limitations, which consequently interfere with Florida's quality of research.

Apart from the shortcomings pertaining to the validity and reliability of his quantitative study, similar weaknesses obscure his qualitative research. In this content, Florida has conducted a series of interviews and focus groups, from which he derives and composes many arguments. However, once again he fails to disclose any information about the procedure, methods and analysis of his qualitative data. In fact, this omission was brought to the attention of one of his critics, who concluded that Florida's book is replete with a total of 43 references to interviews and focus groups of unspecified nature (Marcuse, 2003).

Notwithstanding the above considerations, the main question that remains to be answered is whether Florida's approach is suitable, after all, in supporting a research inquiry into the values of knowledge, service and manual workers within the creative society. As developments suggest (Romer, 1993; The Council of the European Union, 2005), the course towards knowledge society, where creativity and innovation spur economic growth, is undisputable. Apart from constituting an economic element in itself, creativity also becomes an important value immersed in people's philosophies about life quality and well-being (Bauman, 1991; Fromm, 1941; Maslow, 1968). Acknowledging that Florida's approach appears theoretically and methodologically feeble in certain respects, on the other hand it cannot be denied that it describes defining features of the knowledge society. Hence, the existence of the above mentioned methodological and theoretical limitations simply warrants a different approach. I will, thus try to implement a methodology

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[10] The question's format is as follows: "If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important? (first choice)". "And which would be the next most important?" (second choice)

developed explicitly for the study of human values and apply it to Florida's themes (as redefined), in an attempt to expand his theoretical thoughts and their implications on European policy making.

2.5 Summarising and Setting the Context

Ultimately, the *Rise of the Creative Class* has inspired this research. Although Florida's claims may seem plausible in the US American context, it is interesting to expand this investigation to the European setting. The need for such an endeavour becomes even more pressing under the objectives of the Lisbon agenda. Building the knowledge society has been Europe's ultimate goal since 2000, when the European Council met in Lisbon and agreed 'on a new strategic goal for the EU for the next decade: to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion' (Council of the European Union, 2000). A proposal for a new EU programme for research (Seventh Framework Programme, FP7) was launched by the European Commission (6 April 2006). The Seventh Framework Programme aims at propelling European research activities even further, acknowledging the value of knowledge as 'Europe's greatest resource'. As such, new impetuses are increasingly provided to encourage European countries to invest in their R&D activities and reinforce the competitiveness of their industry.

The basis of Florida's argument is that technology and formative education are no longer sufficient for driving economic growth. People's increasing creative propensities need to be leveraged and harnessed. Only those places that are in harmony with their values and allow them to validate their identity, can they act as attraction magnets. The value of his work stems from his indirect and implicit investigation of creativity as a human value, which plays increasingly an important role in people's lives and transforms the concept of well-being and quality of life in multiple directions. Despite several weaknesses in his theory and methodology, which I hope to have captured, Florida −contrary to Inglehart and Wezlel - has pinpointed an important facet of social change that is occurring in the knowledge society.

When Inglehart first formulated his theory, the effects of the knowledge economy were not visible yet. At that time, he was preoccupied with how the post-war economic conditions (of rising educational and income levels) were driving people's values towards post-materialism and green movements. Later on his student, Wezlel, indebted in a similar

notion, attempted to elaborate his model by adding the role of the political element. His theory of human development concentrated on the shift towards emancipative values and how these can play a role in facilitating progress in the 'developing' world. Florida, on the other hand, extended the above ideas by applying them in the contemporary socio-economic setting: the creative society. His 'creative class' is not about an ideologically laden group but a group of emancipative educated materialists, who also identify with a post-material ethic. In his view, creativity is winning an increasingly important role not only in today's economy but also in people's lives. In this respect, there are important analytical objectives in his theory that necessitate answers, but the limitations in his approach lend further support to the thesis of a social psychological refinement and expansion.

As previously mentioned, I part from a distinction between classes and I therefore undertake a research founded on the basis of an occupational classification rather than social stratification. This is the starting point for the present research in order to explore the role of values in different occupational layers and ultimately in the creative society. In this respect, the initial question to be addressed focuses on the types of values that differentiate between the individuals working in different occupational areas. Simply put, which are the values of the people working in the knowledge, service and manual sector? Before moving to examining empirically the above questions, the next section will outline the present methodological proposal and describe its relevance to the current research objectives.

2.6 Section II: Research Aims

To explore the values of European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers, I draw on a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. As exemplified so far, the literature is devoid of a social psychological approach in the study of associations between human values and socio-economic processes, as these are marked by changing conceptualisations of work and quality of life in the European knowledge society. I will now establish the methodological framework for this thesis, which is structured around three main studies and demonstrate how it can provide social psychological insights into the questions presently addressed.

2.6.1 Research Aims and Objectives: Study I

The aim of the first study is to explore the values of European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers with the help of Florida's and Schwartz's frameworks. In employing Florida's theory, I will overcome the shortcomings stemming from his research scope, which is confined to the study only of knowledge workers' values. On the contrary, I will take a holistic approach in my attempt to map the values of all workers, including those working in the service and manufacturing sector. In recognising the lack of social psychological studies in the field, I will employ Schwartz's theory of *Universal Human Values*. Drawing on both theories, the first study is set to address the following questions:

- What are the values of the European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers?
- How do European workers differ from American workers in their values? What are the implications of Florida's theory of the American creative class for the European knowledge society?
- How does Schwartz's delineation of values capture the values of the European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers? What are the implications for Schwartz's theory?

2.6.1.1 *Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) versus Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ)*

To pursue the above questions, I employ Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) as it appeared in Round 2 (2004) of the European Social Survey (ESS). Due to their predictive and descriptive value, surveys are a valuable tool in the context of many social scientific inquiries, especially when shaping social policy measures. In addition, surveys are the most economical (money and time wise) and efficient means of exploring general trends in societies. In recognition of such benefits and since the present research aims at mapping value trends in the European knowledge society, the use of the ESS as a data source seems appropriate. Moreover, in order to justify the choice of the Portrait Value Questionnaire over Schwartz's Value Survey, I intend to compare and contrast the two instruments since both have been used to validate his theory of *Universal Human Values*.

The Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) is the first instrument that Schwartz developed to test his idea of values' circular arrangement (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990).Fifty-seven items compose the SVS to measure the ten value types. Following Rokeach's design

but using a different measurement technique, Schwartz presents respondents with 57 value items and asks them to rate each value as *a guiding principle in their lives,* on a 9-point scale. A value item is theorised to represent a value type when it expresses and leads to the attainment of the main type.

The SVS has been translated into 39 languages and has been tested with 210 samples across 67 countries[11] (1988-2005). Samples mainly include a mixture of teachers, students and adolescents, which actually yields some suspicions with regards to external validity of his survey. Nonetheless, on the whole, the cross-cultural validity of Schwartz's values structure has been confirmed in a large number of countries and has been reported to capture the whole range of values universally (Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Roccas, Savig *et al.*, 2002; Schwartz, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999a; Schwartz & Bardi, 2001; Schwartz & Huismas, 1995; Struch, Schwartz *et al.*, 2002).

Due to the length and inability of the SVS to capture people's values in less literate cultures, Schwartz modified the SVS to construct the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ (Schwartz, 1999a; Schwartz, Meleeh *et al.*, 2001). In essence, the PVQ emerged out of a process of paraphrasing items from SVS and rendering them more specific. As a consequence, the PVQ contains a shorter number of questions (40) and makes it less time-consuming, more specific and simpler for the respondents to complete. It is, thus assumed to be a cognitively simpler questionnaire and consequently suitable for both literate and less literate societies. Multitrait-multimethod analyses have shown that the PVQ is as reliable and valid as the SVS, thus replicating the results from previous studies (Lindeman & Verkasalo, 2005; Schwartz, Meleeh *et al.*, 2001).

The PVQ departs from SVS in that it encompasses verbal portraits of different people, against which the participant is asked to compare himself/herself. Each portrait describes a person's goals, aspirations, or wishes that measure the silence of different values. An example of a portrait would thus be, "it is important for him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them". Each question consists of two different sentences, where the first declares the importance of the value and the second explicates this importance through a behavioural intention or an emotional state. Although there is a risk of incompatibility in the meaning between the two sentences, Schwartz has ensured that both express the same value. Hence, in the PVQ, the respondent is asked to rate how much the description of each person is like him/her or not. Asking respondents to compare the portraits to themselves offers clear advantages in

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[11] His samples comprise people from nations from all continents.

comparison to the SVW, since it forces respondents to focus on their relationship with each portrait, without realising they are having their values measured (Schwartz). In addition, the use of concrete portraits reduces the risk of multiple interpretations as these were associated with general value items included in the SVS.

A revised version of the PVQ was recently employed by the European Social Survey (ESS) as part of their rotating module in Round 2 (2004), which aimed at mapping the values of 24 European countries. Hence, Schwartz modified the original version of PVQ by reducing the number of items from forty to twenty-one, in order to render it more suitable for its integration in ESS. To test the reliability of the revised scale, Schwartz assessed it through two studies in Israel and Germany. These employed students to complete the test, which yielded moderate to high[12] scores, thus affirming the good reliability of the scale (Schwartz). On balance, Schwartz provides us with a good instrument to explore values, which attunes with the research purposes of study I.

2.6.1.2 Doubts over the Circumplex

Overall, the literature is replete with research that validates Schwartz's circumplex. It has been only recently that a few empirical studies have raised doubts over the distances and the order between the ten values thus challenging the circumplex structure (Hinz, Brähler *et al.*, 2005; Perrinjaquet, Furrer *et al.*, 2007). Perrinjaquet *et al.* (2007) in applying MDS and Constrained Factor Analysis to explore the structure through the SVS scale, their findings showed a good graphical representation of the circumplex, which was of unsatisfactory fit. Severe multicollinearity issues between the values also questioned the discriminant validity of the scale. In another study, Hinz *et al.* (2005) similarly tested the fit of the circumplex by examining the correlations between the theoretical structure and their data, which failed to demonstrate adequate fit. Moreover, they investigated the effect of ipsatisation on the circular arrangement of values, which no other study so far has done so, to my knowledge. They used MDS and Confirmatory Factor Analysis using the raw and ipsatised scores of the PVQ (40 item) to explore the structure. In using the raw data, they were not able to replicate the circumplex finding "distortions in the ordering of values"

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[12] Power .84 & .77, security .88 & .70, conformity .86 & .72, tradition .81 & .80, benevolence .82 & .62, universalism .83 & .75, self-direction .66 & .70, stimulation .74 & 76, hedonism .84 & .65, achievement .83 & .82.

(pg.188). PCA with ipsatised data approximated a little bit better the original structure yet without forming Schwartz's perfect circle.

Ispatisation is a controversial technique, which Schwartz employs to create his value indices and consequently the circumplex. Ipsative scores are the differences between the scores and the overall mean of each subject and are employed to compare a certain item (in this case a value) in relation to others in a set. Removing individual differences in the use of a scale or across scales, ipsative scores use each individual as his/her own control (Bartram, 1996). Since ipsative values have equal variance, the mean correlations will depend on the number of variables (i.e. -1/k-1) thus producing negative correlations and affecting factorial solutions (Dunlap & Cornwell, 1994). In the literature, ipsatisation is not recommended to be used unless there is evidence about serious response bias threatening the validity of the scale (Baron, 1996; Bartram, 1996). To this extent, the study by Hinz *et al.* is important in that it raises serious concerns over the contingency of the circumplex structure on the use of statistical methods like ipsatisation.

In parallel, in a recent paper, Schwartz and colleagues (Davidov, Schmidt *et al.*, 2008) tested the adequacy of the Portrait Value Questionnaire included in ESS (round 1) across 20 countries and similar to Perrinjaquet *et al.* (2007), found high correlations between certain values. This finding led them to merge pairs of values, which resulted in obtaining seven or even five values in some countries like Greece instead of ten values. Overall, they found that the "relations among the seven values are not invariant and the pattern of distances between the values is not the same across all countries" (pg.439). To justify this finding they go on and say that "societal factors may influence the strength of opposition and congruence among different values". But rather than pondering the repercussions of such finding over the variability of the Schwartzian structure, instead they become blinded to this plausibility and suggest alternative ways of using the scale to compare values across countries. However, in reading their analysis from a different angle, it highlights the role and importance of societal context in influencing the relationships between values across cultures.

2.6.2 Research aims and objectives - Study II

The research proceeded incrementally with the second study aiming to answer some of the questions raised in the first research part. Consequently, it is the investigation of European workers' values, in study I, that challenged the universality of Schwartz's circular

arrangement of values and prompted the empirical exploration of the idea of value specificity. The idea of values' variant operation in different life spheres, as I demonstrated in chapter one, is dismissed within Schwartz's paradigm and a neglected area in the wider values research. It was only Kluckhohn and Strocbeck (1961), who endeavoured to explore it through the concept of behavioural spheres, yet with limited success. Departing from this, two split-ballot experiments using different methods (web-based and paper-based) were created to investigate the following hypothesis:

- Do values addressed in a general context (not in the context of any behaviour sphere) differ in their importance from values that pertain to the family, occupational and recreational sphere?

Cognitive interviews were performed in order to gain a deeper understanding of the findings from the web-split ballot survey.

2.6.3 Research aims and objectives - Study III

Study III attempted to elaborate and widen our understanding on issues addressed in studies I and II. As I demonstrated in Chapter one, research in values has been largely pursued through a positivist scope, thus establishing values as objective life goals and modes of living. While many scholars lend support to the use of questionnaires as a method to measure values (including the author of this thesis), valid criticisms have been voiced with regards to their potential of capturing the richness and specificity of social life. Considering values as fundamental dynamic constituents of human psyche, societies and cultures, they are individual and social in nature. In this respect, Fiske and his colleagues (Fiske, Kitayama et al., 1998) express their scepticism on "whether questionnaire items can embody and consequently measure the richness of a cultural context, which is connected with a variety of contexts from relationships to institutions and activities; whether average scores can provide insights in the real values of the respondents and whether the items carry the same silence for all cultures across the world" (pg 323). While the quantitative studies (studies I and II) of this thesis were able to capture the value differences between the occupational groups and test the idea of their interconnection with behavioural contexts, they were inapt to enquire into their underpinning mechanisms. In this respect, employing qualitative methods can help examine how and why values may differ across

contexts and second, it will allow the participants, rather than the researcher, to set the agenda.

The interdependence between value priorities and behaviour spheres is an important yet neglected research area. Even though values symbolise desired and desirable life goals and modes of living, they are not always activated in the sphere of individual choices and behaviour, as Charles Morris has noted. Hence, by looking at how values take different meanings in individuals' lived realities in the socio-economic, cultural, political, professional and personal sphere and contour their sense of self, I will explore congruities and incongruities between workers' conceived and operative values as they interlock with different behaviour spheres. In doing so, I will conceptualise values both as properties of human psyche and as processes. The former will help us capture the importance of values at a specific time and behaviour sphere. The latter will reflect how people construct value meanings and how they employ them to navigate in life and make sense of their lives, events, their experiences and their relationships with others. The process perspective will thus allow to delve into the reasons underlying certain value endorsements as well as into the latent elements of values as these emerge from the dynamic interlinks between desired-desirable, preferable-preferred (i.e. conceived and operative values) and their relationships with self-concept.

Looking at values as both processes and properties is an approach that has not been given much merit in the literature. Although Rokeach (1973), with his self-confrontation program, and Maio and Olson (1998), with their thesis of cultural truisms, have tried to explore the valuing process and its implications on self-concept, they have pursued this through a positivist lens that promotes an objective understanding of values. Moreover, as researchers have been largely preoccupied with getting a snapshot of values' relative importance in people's lives at a given period -through questionnaires- they have been promoting a static view of values, as properties of individuals' psychological functioning. In sum, study III seeks to bridge theoretical and analytical gaps as these have arisen from research explorations into the relationship between values and socio-economic process as well as into human values per se.

2.6.3.1 Sources

Since the present thesis aims at understanding the mechanics of the relationship between the European knowledge ethos and different socio-economic levels, choosing to

compare Greece and Britain seems relevant. Embarking on a comparative study between two European countries that demonstrate significant variation in industrialisation levels as well as in their employment structures is likely to contribute to a better understanding of how values in different socio-economic and cultural contexts, interplay with the Lisbon objectives. In-depth interviews with Greek and British knowledge and service workers will try to delve into the particular meanings and role of values in their day to day living and how these relate to changing conceptualisations of work and quality of life in the European knowledge society and their implications for the Lisbon agenda.

In all, study III addresses the following questions:

- How and why do service and knowledge workers' values and valuing processes differ as adjacent upon the experienced socio-economic and political, professional and personal spheres in Greece and Britain?

- How is the meaning of work different or similar for British and Greek services and knowledge workers?

- How do British and Greek services and knowledge workers describe similarly or differently what it means to have quality of life?

- How does the relationship between workers' values as conceptions of the desirable intersect with their opportunities to enact them in their lived realities?

- How does the above relationship delineate the knowledge ethos in Greece and Britain?

2.7 Summary

The value of a method does not lie solely in its 'rightness' (i.e. validity and reliability) but also in its fitness for a specific research cause. As I tried to illustrate, it is important to identify the advantages as well as the flaws in the use of a certain method and try to compensate -through other methods- for the problems that hinder the accomplishment of the objectives under question. In this vein, I am integrating quantitative and qualitative methods in the present research endeavour (see figure 2.6), aiming not only at validating the present findings but also at expanding and deepening our understanding of human values and their role in people's lives within the knowledge society. All analytical tools are explained in detail in the relevant chapters.
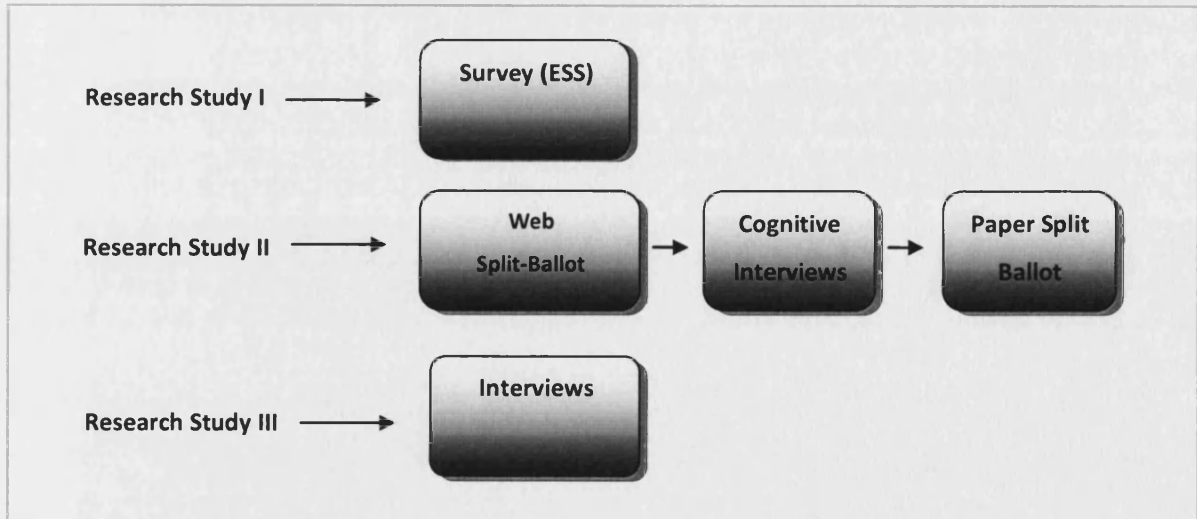
Figure 2. 6: *Research Design*

3. Research Study I – Methods

3.1 Introduction - Overview

The first study employs data from the European Social Survey collected in Round 2 (2004/2005). As mentioned before, surveys are valuable at providing a general representation of the phenomenon under research, allowing the researcher to reveal consistencies and inconsistencies between data and theory. As a consequence, the first empirical study aims to:

- Map the distribution of knowledge, service and manual workers across Europe, in order to gain an insight into the transformations of the employment sector within the knowledge society.

- Explore the values of European workers through Schwartz's theory of values.

Before explicating and fulfilling the above aims, the present chapter is concerned with describing the data sources and measures employed in the analyses.

3.2 Sources

3.2.1 European Social Survey (ESS)

The ESS is a social survey co-ordinated by a team of social scientists based at City University. The aims of the ESS are to capture the changing social, political, cultural and economic trends across Europe. It takes place every two years and it is conducted in more than 20 countries. They use rigorous sampling and questionnaire design methods in an attempt to monitor the complex and changing socio-economic and political realities in the European Union. This allows for researchers, policy makers, think tanks and governmental officials to draw valuable information that enables them to address key issues and concerns on a comparative level. It is the first social scientific project to receive a Descartes Prize[13], which is awarded to teams of researchers that manage to achieve outstanding results in scientific collaborative research and science communication.

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[13] It is a prize created by the European Commission in 2000.

The ESS team uses methodological tools that aim at maximising comparability in the data collected across different countries. To achieve this they employ "workable and equivalent sampling strategies in all participating countries"[14].These are all based on strict criteria of representativeness and probability. In addition, to ensure a reliable translation of the questionnaires in different languages, a group of language experts and people with theoretical , training and teaching expertise are involved in the translation process. The ESS team reviews and reassesses their methodological procedures in order to attain the maximum reliability and validity of the final questionnaire across the participating countries.

The questionnaire is comprised of two modules. The first one is the main questionnaire, which appears in all rounds and covers the following topics:

- trust in institutions

- national, ethnic, religious identity

- political engagement, well-being

- health and security

- social and political values

- demographic composition

- moral and social values

- education and occupation

- social capital

- financial circumstances

- social exclusion

- household circumstances

The second module changes and has a different focus in each round. I am using data from Round 2, which were collected between 2004-2005. This dataset was the most recent at the time I embarked on this project. The new module of this round focuses on three areas: a) family, work and well-being, b) economic morality and c) health and care seeking. In addition to the three rotating modules, there was a supplementary questionnaire, which used the 21 values item scale by Shalom Schwartz. Round 2 includes data from 24 countries: Luxemburg, Norway, Ireland, Iceland, Switzerland, Netherlands, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, the United

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http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=80&Itemid=125

Kingdom, Sweden, Finland, Germany, France, Spain, Greece, Slovenia, the Czech Republic, Portugal, Hungary, Estonia, Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine (N=45,681).

The datasets are available for public access on-line through the ESS website (http://ess.nsd.uib.no/). Since their release, these datasets have proved to be invaluable and reliable sources of information for variety of interest groups from researchers to journalists and the general public. Their use has led to many publications, articles, books and conference papers.

3.3   Measures

3.3.1   Portrait Value Questionnaire: Extraction of Values

The rationale and the nature of the Portrait Value Questionnaire have already been described in the previous chapter. I will now describe the process of extracting Schwartz's ten values from the questionnaire. Towards this aim, I computed the average of the raw scores of those items that index each value. In the table that follows, I briefly outline the items that compose each value together with the reliability scores (Cronbach's Alpha). Tradition, power and self-direction exhibit the lowest reliability scores ($\alpha < .490$). However, this is not surprising, since the current version is composed of twenty-one items in contrast to the older version of 40 items. Schwartz in his report attributes the low scores to the versatile conceptual nature and content of each item that indexes each value (Schwartz, 2002).

Schwartz (2002) notes that one way to improve the reliability is by collapsing the ten values into the four higher-order values (self-enhancement vs self-transcendence, openness to change vs conservation). This way, the indices will include more items, thus enhancing their reliability. However, condensing the ten values will result in losing substantial information. Given that presently the prime research interest is fixed on human values, using the ten value types is preferable.

Values	Cronbach's Alpha	Brief Description of Items
Conformity	.567	- Do what is told and follow rules - Behave properly
Tradition	.402	- Be humble and modest - Follow tradition and customs
Benevolence	.605	- Help people around - Be loyal to friends and people close to him/her
Universalism	.600	- People should be treated equally - Listen to people who are different - People should care for nature
Self-Direction	.487	- Think new ideas and be creative - Be independent and make own decisions
Stimulation	.623	- Look for new things in life - Look for adventures and risks in life
Hedonism	.683	- Have a good time - Have fun and do things that give pleasure
Achievement	.698	- Show one's abilities and be admired - Be successful and have one's achievements recognised
Power	.425	- Be rich and have expensive things - Get respect from others
Security	.613	- Live in safety and secure surroundings - Government should ensure safety against threats

Table 3. 1: *Description of Schwartz's value items that index each value*

3.3.2 Other Value Indices

While the PVQ is good at providing holistic information about the basic human values, it is inadequate when it comes to providing a deeper understanding of those values, which Florida has identified as key in the knowledge society. Taking into account the aims of current project, supplementing Schwartz's list with values, which specifically pertain to the profile of knowledge workers, is essential. It is of utmost importance to comprehend the essence and nature of values that are rendered salient in the context of the European knowledge society.

As Florida describes in the "Rise of the Creative Class" emancipative values, such as openness to change and human diversity are typical of knowledge workers. In his perspective, such values are important for composing an open, diverse and trustful environment that

embraces new people, cultures, ideas and differences and promotes a climate of well-being, prosperity and progress. Universalism, as captured in the PVQ, taps into the above parameters but only to a limited extent. Given the centrality of these concepts, I deemed it necessary to supplement the PVQ items with additional values, as they were extracted from various sections of the ESS questionnaire.

These are *religiosity, social trust, interpersonal trust, subjective well-being, civic protest, social satisfaction, openness to human diversity and openness to change*. All values comprise at least three items (apart from subjective well-being). In addition, all variables have been recoded so that the minimum number signifies absence of the value in question (and/or complete disagreement with the value statement) and the maximum number denotes presence of the value in question (and/or complete agreement with the value statement). The questions were not designed to measure these values explicitly. Hence, while their overt function is to measure attitudes and behaviour, their latent meaning echoes values. For example, *openness to change* is captured through the following questions: a) Would you say it is generally bad or good for [country]'s economy that people come to live here from other countries?, b) would you say that [country]'s cultural life is generally undermined or enriched by people coming to live here from other countries? c) Is [country] made a worse or a better place to live by people coming to live here from other countries? ". A summary of the items that index each value is provided in the table (3.2) that follows.

Values	Cronbach's Alpha	Brief Description of Items
Religiosity	.818	- How religious are you - How often attend religious services apart from special occasions - How often pray apart from religious services.
Social Trust	.895	Trust in: - Country's parliament - Legal system - Police - Politicians - Political parties - European parliament - United Nations
Interpersonal Trust	.764	- Most people can be trusted - Most people try to take advantage of you or try to be fair - People are helpful or look out for themselves
Subjective Well-Being (SWB)	.827	- How happy are you - How satisfied with life overall -
Civic protest	.646	- Contacted politician or government last 12 months - Worked in political party or action group last 12 months - Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months - Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months - Signed petition last 12 months - Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months - Boycotted certain products last 12 months
Social Satisfaction	.822	How satisfied with: - Present state of economy - National government - The way democracy works - State of education - State of health services in country
Openness to human diversity	.766	- Allow many/few immigrants of same race/ethnic group as a majority - Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group as a majority - Allow many/few immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe - Gays and lesbians are free to live the life they wish
Openness to change	.845	- Immigration is bad/good for country's economy - Cultural life is undermined or enriched by immigrants - Immigrants make country a worse/better place to live.

Table 3. 2 : *Description of the items that index the values derived from the ESS.*

An advantage of the ESS values is that the questions are framed in concrete situations, actions and people, thus rendering them specific. In comparison with the PVQ values, which are expressed in a more general and abstract way, the ESS values can thus offer richer and more contextual information. For instance, if we look at the question on religiosity included in the PVQ, it does not constitute a value in itself but is measured as part of the tradition value with the question "religious belief is important to him/her. S/he tries hard to do what his/her religion requires". By contrast, with the supplementary value, religiosity is treated as a distinct variable and measured through three questions that tap into both the intensity and the performativeness of religious beliefs.

To ensure that these value indices are reliable, Cronbach's alpha coefficients were computed, as shown on table 3.2. All scores were satisfactory and ranged from moderate to high levels, indicating good reliability of the indices.

3.4   Identifying the Knowledge Workers

In order to draw comparable conclusions between the knowledge workers and Florida's 'creative class', it is essential that the current classification relies on similar measures. Florida uses occupational data to define the composition of his classes. In particular, he derives his data from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which is a UN specialized agency dedicated to the promotion of international human and labour rights and social justice. Setting the International Standards of Classification of Occupations (ISCO), the ILO ensures that an international standard of occupational comparison is formulated. The ISCO classifies jobs "into a clearly defined set of groups according to the tasks and duties undertaken in the job" (International Labour Organisation, 2007). As a result, it serves as a valuable source of international occupational information to researchers and policy makers and a basis for countries to revise their national occupational standards. Due to its cross-national reliability, it has been increasingly incorporated in social surveys, including the ESS. Fortunately, both Florida and the ESS employ ISCO-88, which is the most up to date version of the occupational classification. Compared to ISCO-68, this version has a better and a more refined classification system without theunnecessary groupings and subgroupings. Two criteria are used for the definition of the ISCO-88 groups, as described in the ILO website:

- <u>Skill level</u>, is defined in terms of the variety and complexity of the tasks involved; the task complexity has more importance over the range; and

- <u>Skill specialisation</u>, "reflects the type of knowledge applied, tools and equipment used, materials worked on, or with, and the nature of the goods and services produced. The focus of ISCO 88 is on the skills required for the tasks and duties of an occupation and not on whether a worker in a particular occupation is more or less skilled than another worker in the same or other occupations" (Hoffmann, 2007).

Listed below are the *major occupational groups* as they appear in the ISCO-88 (see appendix for the full list).

1. *Armed forces*

2. *Legislators, senior officials and managers*

3. *Professionals*

4. *Technicians and associate professionals*

5. *Clerks*

6. *Service workers and shop and market sales workers*

7. *Skilled agricultural and fishery workers*

8. *Craft and related trades workers*

9. *Plant and machine operators and assemblers*

10. *Elementary occupations*

Florida defines the major occupational groups that compose the super creative class, the creative professionals, the service class and the working class based on this classification system. Florida distinguishes between a 'narrow' and a 'broad' definition of the creative class (Florida, 2005). In the 'narrow' definition, he classifies technicians and associate professionals into the service class and in the 'broad' definition, he assigns them to the creative group. I am currently adopting the narrow definition, thus excluding technicians and associate professionals from the creative class (table 3.3). The reason lies in the fact that technicians mostly undertake technical work connected with research and application of operational methods and are not involved directly in the process of knowledge generation. They have a great deal of responsibility in executing their tasks but are mostly working under the supervision of professionals as well as legislators, senior officials and managers. This is not to say of course that their work has less value, but it is important to distinguish it from the types of work that are directly connected with the demands of the knowledge economy: the

development, manipulation and application of new concepts and methods. Besides these are the occupational fields, which are replete with opportunities for autonomy and creative work.

Super creative	• Professionals
Creative Professionals	• Legislators, senior officials and managers • Technicians and associate professionals
Service Class	• Technicians and associate professionals • Clerks • Service workers and shop and market sales workers
Working Class	• Craft and related trades worker • Plant and machine operators and assemblers • Elementary occupations • Skilled agricultural and fishery workers

Table 3. 3: *Content of four classes as defined by Richard Florida*

3.4.1 Classifying workers on the basis of values

A close examination of Florida's classification reveals that his definition of the 'creative class' results from a post-hoc analysis of their values. It arises out of deductive reasoning, according to which specific occupational fields are theorised as better at harnessing creative energy. Hence, departing from the assumption that individuals employed in the knowledge sector are more creative than others, he then goes on to describe their values. Since the present project gives primacy to human values and their role in characterising groups of workers, its interest lies in exploring empirically the potential values have for creating occupational classifications. Besides the general lack of methodological rigour in Florida's work –as demonstrated in chapter two- reinforces the need for such an endeavour. In addition, Florida does not specify under what circumstances one should use the wide (including technicians) or the narrow (excluding technicians) definition of creative class. In this context, I conducted a cluster analysis to detect groups sharing similar values and to decide whether technicians need to be treated as part of the service or the knowledge sector. I will not describe the specific values that compose each occupational group. I am rather concerned with

replicating Florida's classification from an empirical point of view through a social psychological lens.

Cluster analysis is a multivariate procedure for detecting similarities between groups of data based on a common characteristic. It is a useful method to measure the distance (proximity) between all pairs of objects. It is also an appropriate tool to simplify the data into cluster units and then use these clusters for further analyses. There are two methods of cluster analysis: hierarchical and non-hierarchical. I will use the hierarchical cluster analysis because I am interested in tracing the process and stages at which objects are brought together to form clusters. In hierarchical methods, the clustering process engenders a hierarchical structure, according to which objects are clustered initially together and are joined by more objects in the next levels and soon until all objects form one cluster. Once two objects or clusters are joined, they remain together until the final step of the analysis.

There are different ways of employing hierarchical methods, such as nearest neighbour and furthest neighbour, centroid, ward's and median methods. In simple terms, their differences lie in how the distance between clusters is measured (i.e. taking distance between the nearest clusters, the furthest cluster, between the averages of clusters or sum of squares etc) Bartholomew and his colleagues (Bartholomew, Steele *et al.*, 2002) strongly recommend that the researcher applies a variety of methods, in order to make sure that there is consistency of results obtained by the different methods. I will use all four methods in order to substantiate my results.

The clustering steps are graphically represented in the dendrogram. The dendrogram illustrates which occupations are grouped together in clusters along with the distances between these clusters. This way it is easier to identify those patterns that interest the researcher. "This is achieved by cutting the dendrogram at a point where a vertical line through the graph intercepts the desired number of horizontical lines left from the cut-off point" (Kuha, 2006).This is used to initially to extract our first clusters. It should be noted that in cluster analyses, there is no unique or true solution. The researcher should look for clusters that are interpretable and useful for her research and theoretical objectives. Hence, the choice of clusters is the result of subjective judgements, which are based on a number of common characteristics among the objects. Schwartz's ten values were used as the basis to extract occupational groups. Branches that hang from the same stem are assumed to form a cluster.

I am currently using the major occupational sectors as defined by ISCO-88. These are:

1. Legislators, senior officials and managers } *Knowledge Workers*
2. Professionals
3. Technicians and associate professionals }
4. Clerks   } *Service Workers*
5. Service workers and shop and market sales workers
6. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers }
7. Craft and related trades workers   } *Manual Workers*
8. Plant and machine operators
9. Elementary occupations

Based on Florida's description of the three classes, the first three categories would form his 'creative class'; clerks and service workers would form the 'service class'; and agricultural, craft workers, plant operators and those working in the elementary sector would form his 'working class'. Bearing this in mind, the purpose of the current analysis is to explore whether Schwartz's values – and consequently values in general- can serve as an occupational classification tool.

Since there is no best method, I will compare clusters obtained with various methods in order to search for a recurring pattern. Nearest neighbour, further neighbour, centroid, media and ward methods yielded almost identical clusters. I will present the dendrogram produced by the Ward method[15], because it yielded the most distinctive clusters. Various scholars also agree on the ability of this method to produce the best results (Bartholomew, Steele *et al.*, 2002).

It is clear that by cutting the above dendrogram at point 5 (see figure 3.1), three distinct clusters emerge. The first cluster comprises clerks, service workers, technicians and associates and craft and related trades workers. Corroborating my initial hypothesis, this cluster leads me to treat technicians as part of the service group. The second cluster includes the knowledge professionals with the super knowledge workers. These two groups merge together at a fairly early stage, which denotes a good degree of similarity between them. This similarity between the knowledge and the service group is an interesting finding, which I will revisit in further analyses. The third and last cluster is defined by plant and machine operators and workers in elementary occupations, which is also joined at a later stage by agricultural and fishery workers. This cluster joins the other cluster, which comprises the service and knowledge group,

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[15] Ward's method considers all pairs of clusters and asks how information would be lost if a pair is to be merged with another one. Hence, it chooses the pair which looses the least possible information. Information is measured by a sum of squares.

at a much higher distance point. This signifies a higher values divergence between these two groups. Overall, we can say that the cluster analysis replicated the three occupational groups according to Florida's delineations.

```
           H I E R A R C H I C A L   C L U S T E R    A N A L Y S I S


                                                        Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine

                      C A S E                     0         5        10        15        20        25
    Label                                        Num +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

    clerks                                        4   ┐
    service workers                               5   ┤
    technicians and associate professionals       3   ┤
    craft and related trades workers              7   ┘
    knowledge professionals                       1   ┐
    super knowledge professionals                 2   ┘
    plant and machine operations                  8   ┐
    elementary occupations                        9   ┤
    agricultural and fishery workers              6   ┘
```
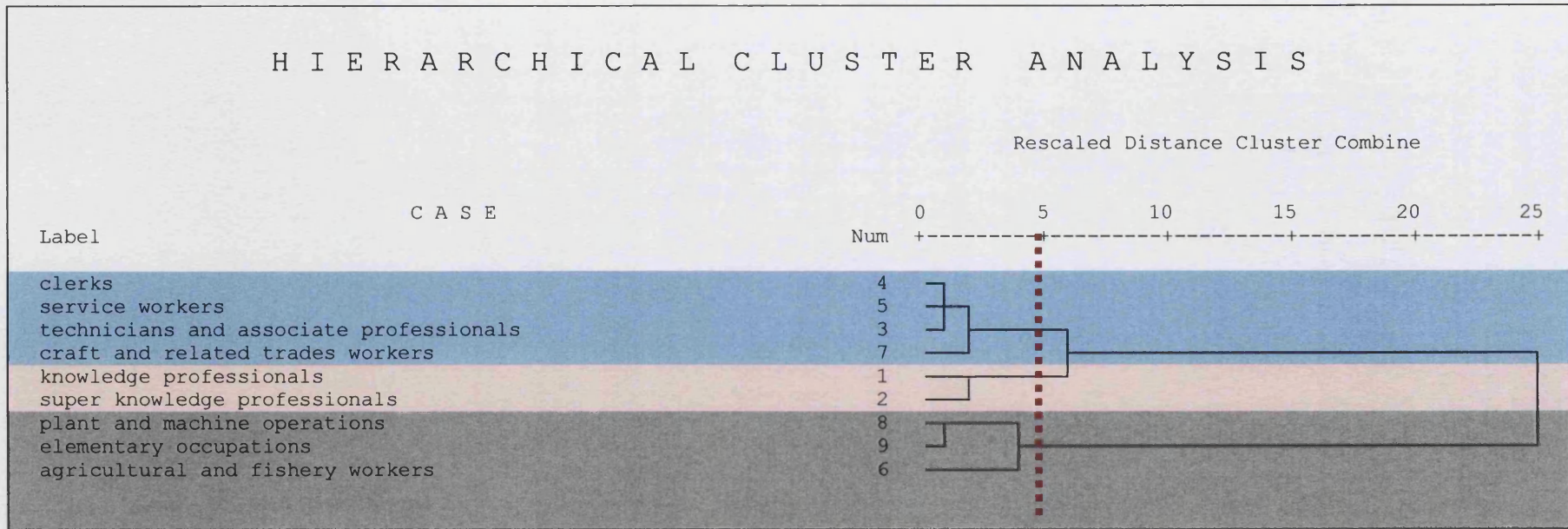
Figure 3. 1: *Dendrogram of major occupational groups using Ward Method.*

3.4.2 Re-identifying Knowledge Workers

Florida's classification can be problematic in the sense that his definitions of classes are rather general (Flew, 2004; McGranahan & Wojan, 2007). For this reason and given that knowledge workers constitute a focal point in this thesis, I deemed it necessary to examine more rigorously the specific occupations, which compose their group. I thus performed another cluster analysis by employing the same ten values, but this time using the *sub-major occupational categories* of the ISCO-88 for knowledge workers only. These are the following:

1. *Major Group 1: Legislators, Senior Officials and Managers*
1.1 senior officials
1.2 corporate managers
1.3 production and operation managers
1.4 other specialist managers
1.5 managers of small enterprises
2. *Major Group 2: Professionals*
2.1 physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals
2.2 mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals
2.3 computing professionals
2.4 architects, engineers and related professionals
2.5 life science and health professionals
2.6 health professionals
2.7 nursing and midwifery professionals
2.8 college, university and higher education teaching professionals
2.9 secondary education teaching professionals
2.10 primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals
2.11 special education teaching professionals
2.12 other teaching professionals
2.13 other business professionals
2.14 legal professionals
2.15 archivists, librarians and related information professionals
2.16 social science and related professionals
2.17 writers, creative and performing artists

As expected, the analyses[16] produced two distinctive groups: the knowledge-professionals and the super-knowledge workers. Yet, each grouping was defined in a slightly different way from Florida's measures. The following table (3.4) summarises the occupations found to compose each of the two knowledge groups and figure 3.2 shows the relevant dendrogram.

Super-Knowledge Workers	Knowledge Professionals
1. Senior officials	1. Legislators
2. Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals	2. Legal professionals
	3. Corporate managers
3. Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals	4. Production and operation managers
	5. Other specialist managers
4. Computing professionals	6. Managers of small enterprises
5. Architects, engineers and related professionals	7. **Nursing and midwifery professionals**
6. **Life science and health professionals**	8. Secondary education teaching professionals
7. Other business professionals	
8. Archivists, librarians and related information professionals	9. **Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals**
9. Social science and related professionals	10. **Health Professionals**
10. Writers and creative and performing artists	
11. **College, university and higher education teaching professionals**	
12. **Special education teaching professionals**	
13. Other teaching professionals	

Table 3. 4: *Re-defined knowledge group based on cluster analysis*

What arose from the present analyses is that Florida fails to take into account contextual factors that may limit or spark the creative spirit on a micro-level. Specifically, there are two groups, whose differences are not addressed in his classification. These are the healthcare and

[16] Nearest, Furthest, Median, Centroid and Ward methods were used.

education professionals. Starting with the former, in his theory he does not distinguish between *health professionals* and *nursing/midwifery professionals*, whereas according to the present analysis, the former were classified as super-knowledge workers and the latter as knowledge-professionals. A possible explanation may be that the profession of health professionals requires higher credentials and is linked with the creation of new knowledge, in comparison to midwifery professionals, whose task is mainly associated with knowledge application.

Furthermore, Florida's classification does not recognize differences among various *education teaching professionals*. However, in light of the cluster analysis, teaching professionals are divided into those teaching elementary (primary and secondary) education and those teaching higher and special education. According to the dendrogram, elementary teachers were grouped together with knowledge professionals whereas higher and special education teachers were classified as super-knowledge workers. This distinction could be read in terms of the differences in teaching strategies across educational levels. In this respect, it might be the case that teaching in special and higher education requires domain-specific knowledge and a wider pool of skills, which are essential to stimulate knowledge generation and creative thinking (Stenberg, 1999).

Finally, *senior officials*, a missing category from Florida's measure, whose work is associated with creating, formulating, advising and directing governmental policies, were classified as super-knowledge workers and were grouped together with creative artists.

Looking at the dendrogram (fig 3.2), there is also the possibility of a further subdivision of the group of knowledge workers. If the dendrogram was cut at point 10 we would distinguish three sub-groups. The first group includes artists, legislators and government officials, the second group includes scientists and researchers and the third group encompasses knowledge professionals. This group distinction is interesting in reminding us of Bourdieu's use of capitals (economic, cultural, social, symbolic) to define classes (Bourdieu, 1987, 1997). On the basis of these categories, he draws a distinction between the cultured wealthy intellectuals -this class would be equivalent to the 2nd group in the dendrogram- and the bourgeois uncultured technocratic executives, who are represented by the 3rd group in the dendrogram. This distinction may be interesting to researchers exploring in more detail the composition of knowledge workers in relation to their values. However, insofar as the present thesis aims at testing Florida's theory, it is not appropriate to use this three group classification.

With these cluster analyses, I aimed to confirm Florida's occupational classification on an empirical basis by using human values as categorisation tool. The first analysis replicated Florida's groupings and led me to treat technicians as service workers. It also revealed a close relationship between knowledge and service workers, which could have interesting implications for the empirical analyses in the next chapter. On the other hand, the revisions in the group of knowledge workers could potentially benefit researchers, who are interested in further exploring the distinctions between super-knowledge workers and knowledge professionals. Having demarcated knowledge, service and manual workers on the basis of common values and potentially of similar interpretations of work experiences, the next step is to delve into the underlying mechanics of such commonalities and differences to better understand and explore their socio-psychological composition.

HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Rescaled Distance Cluster Combine

```
                    C A S E                                    0         5        10        15        20        25
Label                                                 Num      +---------+---------+---------+---------+---------+

secondary education teaching professionals             15
primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals 16
health professionals                                   12
production and operation managers                       4
managers of small enterprises                           6
legislators                                             1
nursing and midwifery professionals                    13
corporate managers                                      3
other specialist managers                               5
legal professionals                                    20
senior officials                                        2
writers, creative and performing artists               23
 life science and health professionals                 11
college, university and higher education teaching professionals 14
archivists, librarians and related information professionals 21
mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals 8
architects,engineers and related professionals        10
other business professionals                           19
computing professionals                                 9
other teaching professionals                           18
social science and related professionals              22
special education teaching professionals               17
physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals 7
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Figure 3. 2: *Dendrogram of sub-major occupational groups of the knowledge domain using the Ward Method*

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4. Research Study I – Findings

4.1 *Overview*

Having described the measures to be employed for the first study of this thesis, in this chapter, I will try to answer the following research questions:

- What are the values of European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers?

- How do European workers differ from American workers in their values, as they have been delineated in Richard Florida's theory (*Chapter 2*)? What are the implications of Florida's theory of the American 'creative class' for the European knowledge society?

- Can Schwartz's typology be employed to identify and describe Florida's three occupational groups?

- How does Schwartz's delineation of values capture the values of the European knowledge, service and manufacturing workers? What are the implications for Schwartz's theory?

Before investigating these questions, I will provide a brief overview of their demographic composition and distributions across the European terrain. I will then move to an in-depth examination of workers' values through a series of multivariate analyses. In light of the findings, I will explore the limitations of Florida's theory in addressing the variability of the European knowledge ethos and will re-examine Schwartz's main premises about the psychological structure of values. I will illustrate the limitation of Schwartz's circumplex theory in reflecting the heterogeneity of workers' values, which will lead me to integrate the concept of plurality in theorising about values.

4.2 Workers' Characteristics

4.2.1 Socio-Demographics[17]

Having identified the structure of the three occupational groupings in the previous chapter, in this first part, I will focus on workers' demographic features and their concentrations across the European society. By looking at figure 4.1 we can observe that knowledge workers take up 20% of the total workforce, with 1.7% belonging to the super-knowledge sector. Their numbers in industrial countries have grown significantly since the beginning of the 20^{th} century, when the workforce was shifting towards the service sector and 'mental' labour was becoming increasingly significant (Bell, 1973). It was during the 70s that technological production started booming (Touraine, 1969) leading knowledge workers to occupy almost 20% of the workforce today (or 30%, if we were to include technicians). In comparing European with American knowledge workers (figure 4.2), the former seem to occupy a smaller percentage of the total employment than the latter. This is because Florida includes technicians in his measure, whereas they were excluded from the present grouping following the findings from the cluster analysis.

Although we would expect the difference in the measures to be reflected in the proportions of service workers between Europe and U.S. there is a transatlantic similarity in their distribution across the workforce. Being the largest group of all, service workers occupy 42% of the European and 44% of the American employment sector. This is mainly because the service sector is inextricably linked with the nature of the knowledge economy, which is largely operational. However, as mobility across occupational boundaries and roles becomes a defining feature of the changing employment structure in the knowledge society, the boundaries between the service and knowledge sector are rendered permeable thus making it easier for workers to move between and across industries and professional fields (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996). In support of this argument, Florida (2002) provides the example of people, whose work in the service sector offers them the opportunity to launch their career or constitutes a transitory sphere for shifting to a different occupational field adjacent to the knowledge sector (e.g. technicians, educated migrants or students, who work temporarily in

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[17] Given the absence of report of miscellaneous categories, the total percentages do not always equal 100%.

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the service domain). Although, in practice, to act independently and self-manage one's career is far from being an easy task (Hirsch & Shanley, 1996; Pringle & Mallon, 2003).

Last but not least, European manufacturing workers are shown to take up a 38% of the total employment, whereas their American counterparts total 25% of the workforce, according to Florida. The number of workers in the manufacturing domain has certainly changed since the 1920s, when the organisational principles of Taylorism and Fordism were beginning to shape the industry and economic systems across Europe and U.S. In the context of such developments, the manufacturing sector was an inextricable part of the industrial economy until the 70s, when Taylor effects started fading and the economy was entering its post-industrial phase (Bell, 1973). According to Florida, after 1970, when manual workers covered 36% of the American workforce, their numbers declined significantly to make up 25% today. However, the waning importance of the manufacturing domain in the European knowledge economy was not corroborated through the present data. Its role has been in fact controversially discussed in the literature, encountering -on one side of the debate- theorists like Florida (Florida, 2002b), who claim that the manufacturing domain is waning, while there are also views that emphasise the symbiotic relationship between manufacturing and knowledge domains, claiming that the former is undergoing transformation, with innovation increasingly pervading the manufacturing process (Burns Owens Partnership Ltd, 2005).
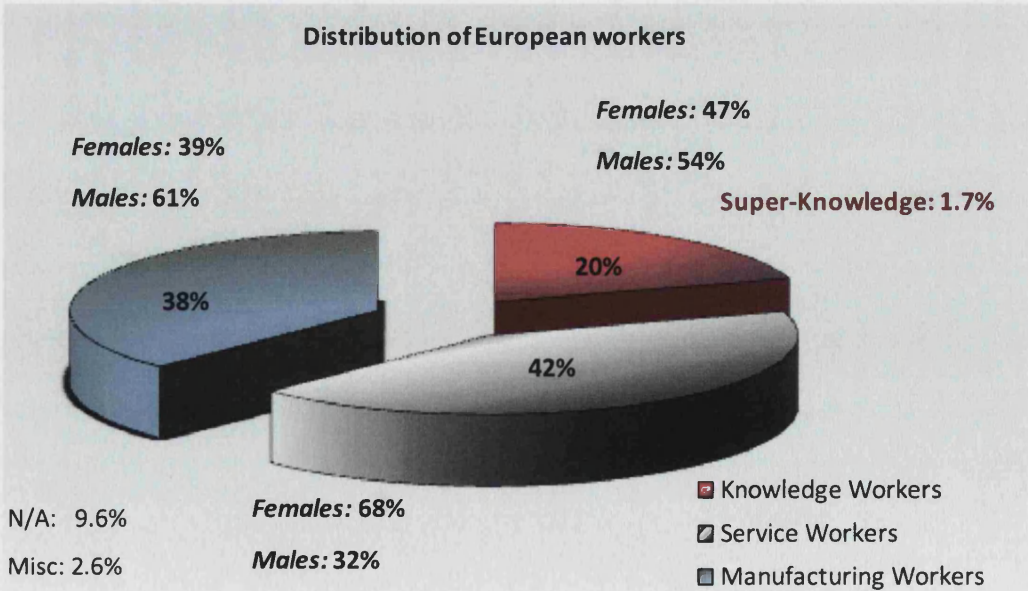
Figure 4. 1: *Distribution of European workers employing data from ESS*

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Distribution of American workers

Super-Knowledge: 12%

25%

30%

44%

■ Knowledge Workers
▨ Services Workers
■ Manufacturing Workers
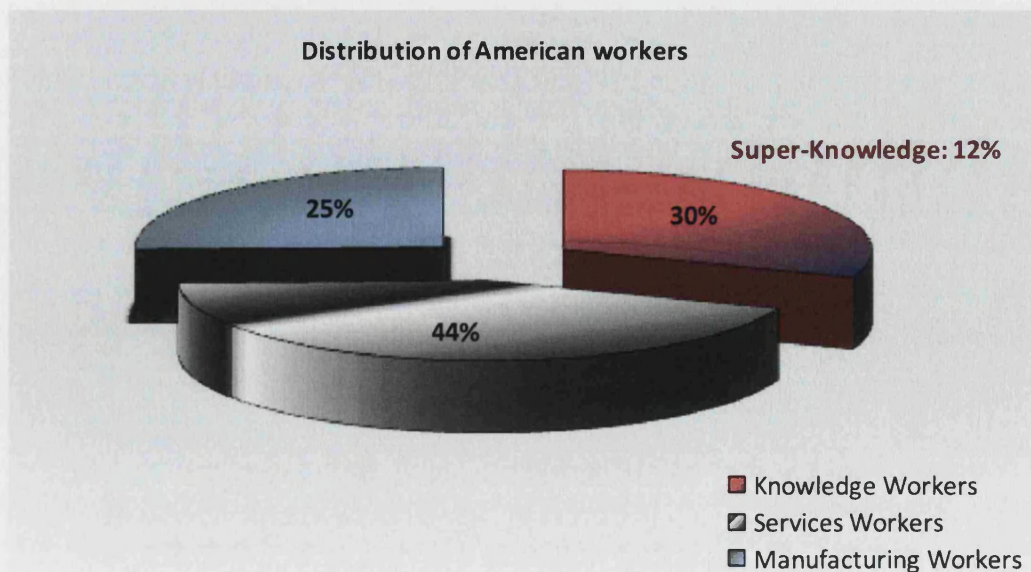
Figure 4. 2: *Distribution of American workers according to Richard Florida (2002)*

Moving to the educational profile of workers, given that the workers' groupings reflect the level of conceptual tasks involved in each sector, the educational composition of each domain is expected to be analogous to the nature of responsibilities. Hence, looking at figure 4.3, it is evident than 57% of knowledge members have received education at the university level. From the service sector, 18% of its workers hold graduate and post-graduate qualifications whereas 21% have been educated at the lower secondary level. The majority of manufacturing workers have received primary, lower and upper secondary education (with an overall percentage of 85%). This is because people working in the manufacturing sector come from lower socio-economic strata, who usually lack or do not take advantage the opportunities and resources for gaining an education at the university level. Moreover, the nature of tasks involved in the manufacturing sector whilst based on expertise does not require a high level of technical qualifications.
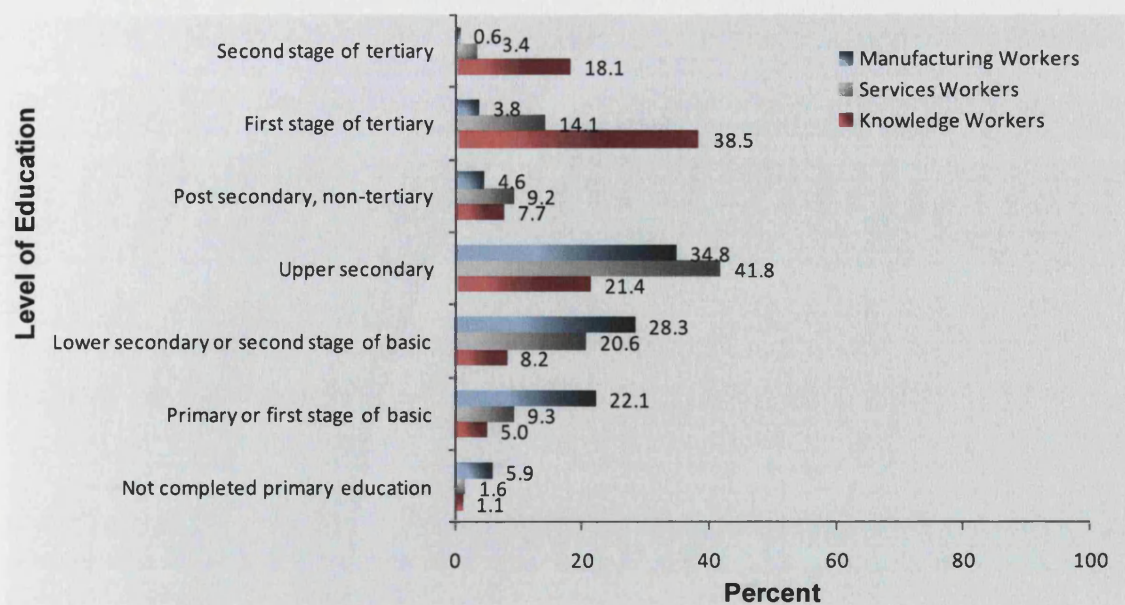
Figure 4. 3: *Percentages of workers by level of education.*

Finally, when examining the mean age of workers no marked differences are found between groups. The mean age for knowledge workers is 50.2 years (SD=15.7), for service workers 47.6 years (SD=17) and for manufacturing workers 52 years (SD=18.2). In sum, the descriptives provided a preliminary picture of the socio-demographic composition of workers in the European knowledge society. Going a step further, I will now take the analysis to the national level to explore how the three groups are distributed across Europe.

4.2.2   Europe of Knowledge?

Looking at concentrations of knowledge, service and manufacturing workers across 24 European countries (including Ukraine), we can gain valuable insights into how the effects of the knowledge economy on the workforce structure extend to each country. Examining the percentages from figure 4.4, it is obvious that the Scandinavian countries (Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland) together with the traditional industrial economic powers such as Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands represent the largest concentrations of knowledge workers. The results of the Irish economic miracle are also evident, exhibiting one of the largest groups of knowledge workers in Europe (22.7%). On the other hand,

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Mediterranean countries as well as eastern European nations have the lowest concentrations of knowledge workers, with the Greek knowledge sector representing only 11% of its total workforce. With the Greeks lagging behind the British, this discrepancy presents interesting implications for the qualitative part of this project, where I will be exploring the values of the two national groups.

Presenting a high concentration of knowledge workers, scoring even higher than Germany, Ukraine constitutes an interesting case, which poses the question of how a country exhibiting a weak economy[18] demonstrates such an extensive knowledge sector. The answer lies in the examination of the knowledge sector in light of the two remaining sectors, which Richard Florida disregards in his analysis. This is essential in order to get a more holistic picture of the employment sector and thus become more capable of making valuable observations about a country's state of economy.
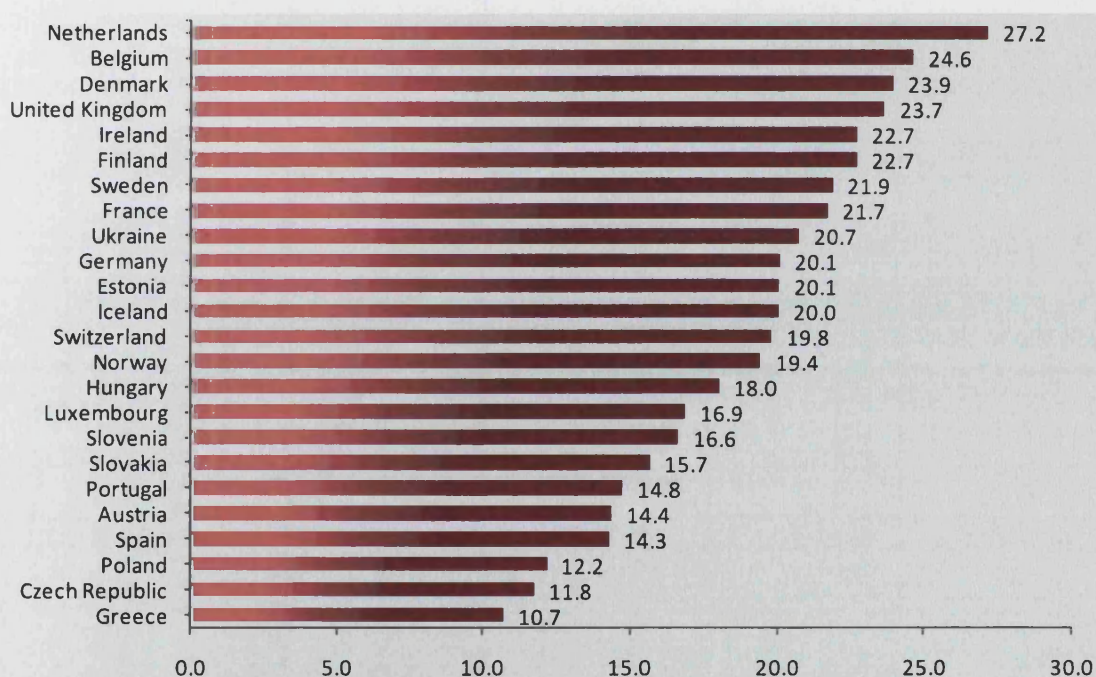
Figure 4. 4: *Knowledge workers as percentage of total employment in 24 European countries*

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[18] If we take GDP in US dollars as a first indicator of economic development, in 2004 Ukraine's GDP was 64,828 (source: World Bank)

As a consequence, looking at the growth of the knowledge sector in comparison to the service and manufacturing sector, one can obtain a more comprehensive representation of a country's economic transformation. In this respect, while Ukraine demonstrates a strong knowledge sector, its manufacturing sector is also large, representing 45.5% of its total employment. Similar observations apply for other countries, such as Estonia and Hungary. All exhibit manufacturing sectors, which are more extensive than their knowledge sectors. On the contrary, countries, which have accomplished progress in terms of their transition to the knowledge economy, have a stronger services domain in comparison with the manufacturing sector. Of course, an analysis of a country's economic development cannot be reduced simply to the role of its employment growth but it would require a deeper enquiry into the network of social, political and cultural factors pertinent to each national context, which is not presently plausible. Overall, by examining the size of the three sectors across Europe as indicators of the growth of the knowledge economy, we could make claim that in relation to the United States, it is mainly the cluster of Scandinavian and Northern European countries that seems to constitute a challenge to the competitiveness of the American knowledge economy.
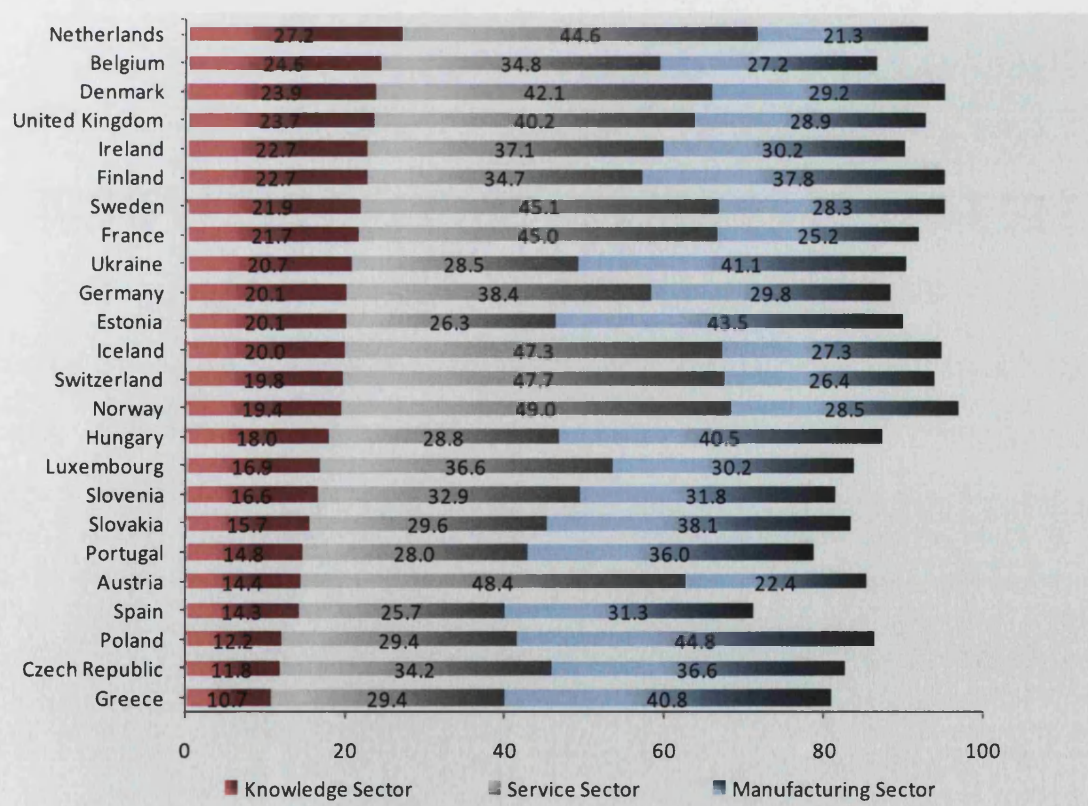
Figure 4. 5: *Knowledge, service and manufacturing sector as a percentage of the total employment*

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I will now redirect the focus of analysis away from the country level to the aggregate level to commence a comparative evaluation of the values of the knowledge, service and manufacturing workers in the European terrain. This way, I hope to obtain an understanding of the ways, in which the emergence of the European knowledge society reflects and is reflected through workers' values.

4.3 Exploring the Values of European Workers

To begin with, comparing the mean values of the three groups serves as a starting point to explore interesting trends in the data and provides a preliminary picture of how the three groups endorse Schwartz's ten values. Figure 4.6 shows the average scores of workers' values together with their standard deviations. A first look at the scores reveals that there are no considerable differences between the three groups in their espousal of values. Because of this and in combination with the large sample size, all mean differences are found to be statistically significant at least at the level of $p \leq .001$. In this respect, any test of statistical significance becomes a meaningless exercise, which does not demonstrate any practical significance (Ziliak & McCloskey, 2004). Instead, acting on an approximate basis, I will take a 0.3 point difference as a basis to explore the importance rather than the 'significance' of these preliminary value divergences.
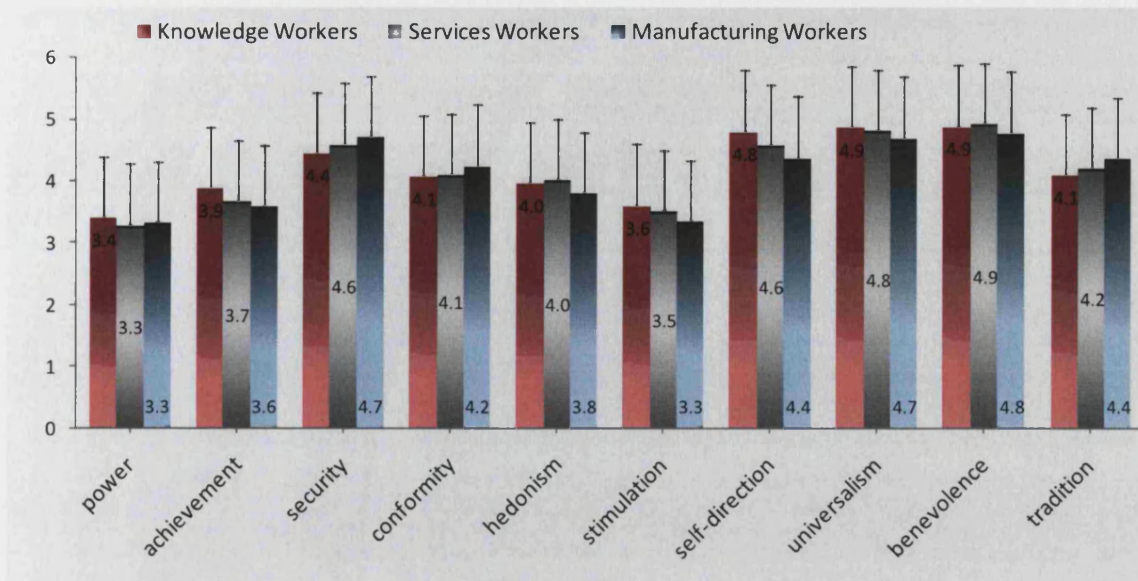
Figure 4. 6: *Mean scores of Schwartzian values for knowledge, service and manufacturing workers.*

On this basis, the comparison between knowledge and manufacturing workers yields more notable differences, with the latter favouring tradition and security and placing less emphasis on the pursuit of achievement, self-direction and stimulation as life priorities. If the values of manual workers could allow a comparison with working class values, as delineated and studied by Melvin Kohn, the present results seem to echo his argument that the latter emphasise obedience and acceptance of authority more than self-direction and autonomy, which is rooted in the exposure of specific socialisation processes and parenting styles (Kohn, 1969).

Looking at the differences in the scores between knowledge and service workers it is worth noting that they are found to be below the cut-off point of 0.3. As a result, with a 0.2 difference, the two groups seem to diverge in their espousal of achievement, security and self-direction. In this context, while knowledge workers are found to be less interested in the idea of living in a secure economic and social environment (4.4 vs 4.6), they seem to value success, achievement (3.9 vs 3.6) and self-direction (4.8 vs 4.6) in their lives. This undoubtedly fits the profile of Florida's 'creative class', but not fully. Being willing to understand different people and showing interest in the protection of human rights as well as in experiential and adventurous modes of living are evidently not priorities that appeal to knowledge workers only. Service workers seem to also embark on these values more or less in a similar way.

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Another paradox emerges when comparing service with knowledge workers, on the conservation axis (i.e. security, conformity, tradition). Both groups embark on values of tradition and conformity, appearing to be inclined towards protecting traditions and customs as well as acknowledging the need to conform to social rules and norms of 'appropriate' behaviour.

In parallel, examining the differences and similarities between workers drawing on the ESS values (10-point scale), we find that religiosity does not appear to be a salient value among European workers. In this respect, there are no notable differences between the three groups, although a cross-cultural examination would undoubtedly reveal wider variation. On the other hand, in comparing the workers on openness to human diversity and openness to change, the results show considerable differences between the groups. While Schwartz's measure of universalism failed to detect any distinctions between workers, knowledge workers are more prone to be open to human diversity and change in comparison to service and manual workers. In the context of emancipative values, civic protest also appears to distinguish knowledge workers (5.9) more from manual workers (5.4) than from service workers (5.7). Although the differences may seem negligible, it is important to emphasise that the items included in civic protest have been converted from a 2-point to a 10-point scale. Taking the rescaling into consideration, the importance of civic protest as a group discriminant may therefore be stronger. This remains to be explored through more robust statistical methods.

Looking at social and interpersonal trust, figure 4.7 indicates that of all workers manual workers are the least trustful in people and the social and political system. In a way, we could say that this is also reflected in their scores on social satisfaction and well-being, which are much lower than those of knowledge workers. Less noticeable differences arise between knowledge and service workers on values of social and interpersonal trust, well-being and satisfaction.
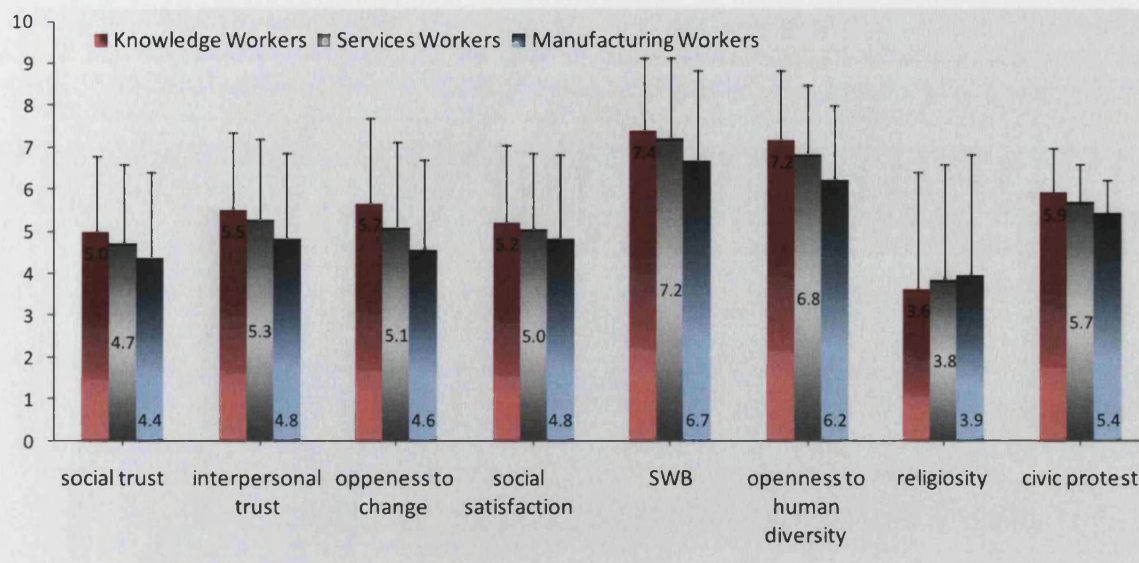
Figure 4. 7: *Mean scores of ESS values for knowledge, service and manufacturing workers.*

In all, knowledge workers seem to be creative, ambitious, open to other people and change and satisfied with life overall in tandem with valuing tradition and conformity. Yet these values do not seem to compose an ethos, which is uniquely embodied by them, as Richard Florida advocates. If the values of knowledge workers are similar to those of service workers, what is so unique about the knowledge ethos? Is it possible that the knowledge ethos is delineated differently in Europe in comparison with the U.S.? Could this be read as a transatlantic divide in the values between European and American workers? These points of convergence and divergence on values are worth investigating. Hence, before answering these questions, a more rigorous analysis is necessary in order to tap into the subtle value differences of the three groups.

4.4 Which Values Predict Group Membership?

4.4.1 Model Building

To examine thoroughly these values, which increase or decrease the likelihood of being a member of the knowledge, service and manufacturing group, I conducted polynomial regressions. In an attempt to derive a model that has the best possible predictive power, I built

four different models, including a different set of values each time. In logistic regressions, parameters are reported using odds ratios [Exb (B)]. An odds ratio describes the 'odds of a categorical outcome at one level of a categorical predictor relative to the odds of the outcome at a comparison level (i.e. reference category)' (Kilpatrick, Acierno et $al.$, 2000). In all analyses, the likelihood of being a member of the service and the manufacturing group was compared to the group of knowledge workers, which was the reference category. All analyses were performed with the enter method. The parameter estimates for the first three models are available in appendix B. Variables that were not found significant are marked with a strikethrough.

To assess the goodness of fit and the improvement of the models, I focus my attention on the likelihood ratio (-2Log). This "reflects the significance of the unexplained variance in the dependent variable" (Garson, 2008). As the model becomes better -2Log should decrease in magnitude. I started my exploration by investigating the contribution of socio-demographics towards predicting group membership. These included country membership, age, gender and income level. The full model was significantly better than the intercept-only model (-2Log= 48874.44 x^2, df (52)=4543.194, p≤.001) and predicted 16% of the variance estimated by the Nagelkerke R^2.

Keeping socio-demographics in model II, I sought to examine whether adding Schwartz's values would contribute to the fit of the model. The full model was significantly better than the intercept-only model (-2Log= 50308.32 x^2, df (72)= 5154.355, p≤.001) and predicted 20% of the variance estimated by the Nagelkerke R^2. In adding Schwartz's values, this model demonstrated adequate fit levels.

To test the predictive power of the ESS values, model III combined these with socio-demographics. The full model was significantly better than the intercept-only model (-2Log=38770.37 x^2, df (68)= 4359.933, p≤.001) exhibiting satisfactory fit levels and predicting 22% of the variance, as estimated by the Nagelkerke R^2. In comparison with model II, the present model showed evidence of better fit with -2LogL decreasing from 50308.32 (model II) to 38770.37. Finally, model IV, holding socio-demographics constant, combined both sets of values incurring the largest increase in the goodness of fit. I will thus take this opportunity to describe the parameter estimates in detail and analyse the implications of the results.

4.4.2 Model IV: Values & Socio-Demographics

The full model was significantly better than the intercept-only model (-2Log= 34317.08 x^2, 88= 4471.296, p≤.001) and predicted 25% of the variance as estimated by the Nagelkerke R^2. The fit of the present model improved in comparison with the model III, with -2Log decreasing from 38770.37 to 34317.08. Hence, the level of fit of model IV justifies its selection as being the most appropriate in order to examine the group membership based on values. Parameter estimates are presented in table 4.1. However, due to the number of variables the table can be difficult to decipher. To demonstrate the results in a simpler visual way, the odds ratios of all values are also represented graphically (see figure 4.7) Significant differences are marked with an asterisk.

In detail, controlling for country membership -and consequently the size of each sector in each country-, gender, age and income level, when service workers were compared against knowledge workers conformity, stimulation, universalism, tradition, social trust, interpersonal trust, social satisfaction and religiosity lost their predictive power in distinguishing between the two groups. Conversely, *power, achievement, security, hedonism, self-direction, openness to change, civic protest, subjective well-being* and *openness to human diversity* appeared as significant markers of group membership.

With reference to service workers, knowledge workers are distinguished for their materialistic (i.e. power, achievement), autonomous (i.e. self direction) and emancipative (i.e. civic protest, openness to human diversity and openness to change) values. Among these self-direction, achievement, openness to change and civic protest were the strongest predictors of group membership, with each value increasing the odds of belonging in the knowledge sector, by 21.3%, 18.2%, 18% and 12.18%, respectively. Power and openness to human diversity also increased the odds of being a knowledge worker by 11.7% and 11.3% accordingly. It is interesting to note that hedonism —a value proclaimed by Florida to uniquely characterise knowledge workers- actually reduced the odds of belonging to the knowledge sector by 21.7%. At the same time, knowledge workers were likely to feel happier than service workers by 12%. These results in combination with the absence of stimulation as a significant group marker raise interesting questions with regards to how the two groups conceptualise quality of life. These are explored through the interviews of this project. Finally, the absence of religiosity, tradition and conformity as significant differentiators between the workers is interesting to note in that

it reveals the implausibility of contrasting knowledge against service workers on the basis of secular versus traditional values.

The picture is clearer when comparing the values between the manufacturing and the knowledge group. The likelihood of being a manual worker was reduced dramatically, when embarking on self-direction (29.3%), civic protest (24.1%), openness to human diversity (25.6%) and openness to change (24.1%). In parallel, security, hedonism, tradition, religiosity and social satisfaction were values that characterised manual workers more than knowledge workers. Among these, security and social satisfaction appeared to have the biggest impact on group membership, with the former increasing the chances by 29.4% and the latter by 13.6% of working in the manufacturing rather than the knowledge sector. However, conformity again fails to discriminate between knowledge and manual workers.
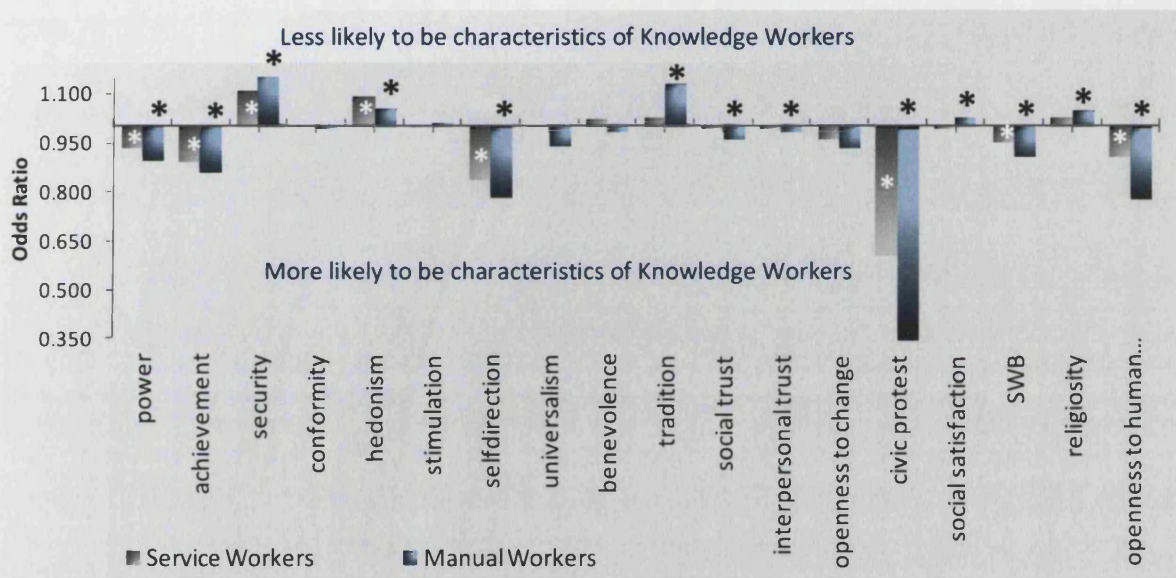
Figure 4. 8: *Odds Ratios of values predicting membership in the service and manufacturing sector with reference to the knowledge sector. Significant differences are marked with an asterisk.*

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Variables	Service Workers			Manufacturing Workers		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
Intercept	**31.1**	**.000**		**9.657**	**.003**	
Power	-.125	.000	.883	-.172	.000	.842
Achievement	-.200	.000	.818	-.239	.000	.787
Security	.157	.000	1.170	.258	.000	1.294
~~Conformity~~	~~.031~~	~~.248~~	~~1.031~~	~~.032~~	~~.260~~	~~1.033~~
Hedonism	.196	.000	1.217	.177	.000	1.194
~~Stimulation~~	~~-.004~~	~~.895~~	~~.996~~	~~.028~~	~~.339~~	~~1.028~~
Self-direction	-.239	.000	.787	-.347	.000	.707
~~Universalism~~	~~.000~~	~~.974~~	~~.999~~	-.065	.030	.937
Benevolence	.063	.028	1.065	~~.013~~	~~.676~~	~~1.013~~
Tradition	~~.024~~	~~.382~~	~~1.024~~	.108	.000	1.114
Social Trust	~~-.061~~	~~.051~~	~~.941~~	-.195	.000	.823
~~interpersonal trust~~	~~.008~~	~~.773~~	~~1.008~~	~~-.056~~	~~.052~~	~~.946~~
Openness to change	-.198	.000	.820	-.276	.000	.759
Civic protest	-.129	.000	.879	-.303	.000	.738
Social Satisfaction	~~-.031~~	~~.356~~	~~.969~~	.127	.000	1.136
SWB	-.128	.000	.880	-.252	.000	.778
Religiosity	~~.020~~	~~.437~~	~~1.020~~	~~.054~~	~~.050~~	~~1.055~~
Openness to human	-.120	.000	.887	-.296	.000	.744
Income	-.083	.000	.921	-.091	.000	.913
Age	-.019	.000	.981	-.012	.000	.988
[gender=male]	-.746	.000	.474	.706	.000	2.025
[gender=female]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Austria=.00]	-	.000	.166	-.417	.024	.659
[Austria =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Belgium=.00]	-.860	.000	.423	~~-.011~~	~~.948~~	~~.989~~
[Belgium =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Switzerland=.00]	-	.000	.206	-.565	.002	.568
[Switzerland =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Czech Rep=.00]	-	.000	.208	-.671	.000	.511
[Czech Rep =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Germany=.00]	-	.000	.252	~~-.293~~	~~.076~~	~~.746~~
[Germany =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Denmark=.00]	-	.000	.268	~~-.370~~	~~.050~~	~~.691~~
[Denmark =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
~~[Estonia=.00]~~	-.472	.019	.624	~~.163~~	~~.380~~	~~1.177~~
[Estonia=1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Spain=.00]	-	.000	.236	-.504	.010	.604
[Spain =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.
[Finland=.00]	-	.000	.302	~~-.350~~	~~.051~~	~~.705~~
[Finland =1.00]	0^b	.	.	0^b	.	.

Variables	Service Workers			Manufacturing Workers		
	B	Sig.	Exp(B)	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
[France=.00]	-	.000	.302	-	~~.092~~	~~.739~~
[France=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
[U.K.=.00]	-.969	.000	.379	-	~~.555~~	~~.903~~
[U.K. =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
[Greece=.00]	-	.000	.169	-	.000	.377
[Greece =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Hungary=.00]	-.718	.000	.488	-	~~.143~~	~~.761~~
[Hungary =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
[Ireland=.00]	-	.000	.215	-	.001	.546
[Ireland =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Iceland=.00]	-	.000	.159	-	.000	.369
[Iceland =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Luxemburg=.00]	-	.000	.186	-	.002	.542
[Luxemburg =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Netherlands=.00]	-	.000	.344	.41	.017	1.518
[Netherlands =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Norway=.00]	-	.000	.196	-	.006	.613
[Norway=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Poland=.00]	-	.000	.276	-	.000	.485
[Poland =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Portugal=.00]	-.912	.000	.402	~~.22~~	~~.216~~	~~1.250~~
[Portugal =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
[Sweden=.00]	-	.000	.203	-	~~.113~~	~~.748~~
[Sweden =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
~~[Slovenia=.00]~~	~~-.435~~	~~.039~~	~~.647~~	~~.25~~	~~.188~~	~~1.295~~
~~[Slovenia =1.00]~~	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~	0[b]	~~.~~	~~.~~
[Slovakia=.00]	-	.000	.216	-	.000	.324
[Slovakia =1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Ukraine=.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.
[Ukraine=1.00]	0[b]	.	.	0[b]	.	.

Table 4. 1: *Parameter Estimates for model* IV. *Non-significant estimates have been marked with a strikethrough.*

* The reference category is: knowledge sector.

b This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

4.4.3   Summary and Implications

To briefly summarise the findings, it was shown that knowledge workers are goal achievers with strong professional and material aspirations. Interestingly, this finding is in accordance with Florida's claims whilst challenging Inlgehart's postulations, who sees the post-modern educated public shifting towards post-material values, insofar as they enjoy economic comfort and material needs are no longer of major concern to them. Furthermore, self-direction along with values that stress issues of environmental sustainability, social inequalities and human rights were also found to be central in the value pool of knowledge workers. On the whole, these values seem to compose an ethos that resonates with Florida's argument.

However, a paradox emerged when examining hedonism and stimulation -as representing having a good time and innovation- with regards to predicting group membership. As such, stimulation did not appear to be a significant marker of group membership, whereas hedonism characterised both service and manufacturing workers more than knowledge workers. Hence, with the current results demonstrating an absence of hedonism and stimulation from the values repertoire of knowledge workers, Florida's delineation of the 'creative ethos', in terms of a mixture of work and bohemian-hedonistic ethics, is called into question. In parallel, traditional values (tradition, conformity and religiosity) did not seem to play an important role in differentiating knowledge from service workers. This finding coupled with the relatively high significance of tradition and conformity, as it arose from the mean scores, (see figure 4.7), leads to an intriguing observation about the amalgamation of liberal and conservative values pointing towards the significance of plurality in value systems.

In light of these notes, we could claim that Florida's creative class does not characterise the European reality or perhaps that the knowledge ethos is constituted differently in Europe. This ethos seems to allude to a lifestyle underpinned by a work ethic that stresses hard work but not enjoyment and stimulation. Understanding these results better would require delving into the specific meanings of these values, which will be attempted in the qualitative part of this thesis.

A third and final plausible explanation touches upon Schwartz's measures, which may lack the efficiency to tap into the contextual elements of hedonism and stimulation[19]. Given

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[19] *Hedonism is measured through the following questions: a) Having a good time is important to him/her. S/he likes to "spoil" himself and b) S/he seeks every chance s/he can to have fun. It is important to him/her to do things that give him pleasure. Stimulation includes the following two questions: a) S/he*

that Schwartz's questions are formulated in a general way, allowing the respondent to take different paths in her/his understanding, these results may thus point to this interpretation. It needs also to be noted that Schwartz's theory was further undermined when power, achievement, self-direction and universalism were found to co-exist in the value system of knowledge workers[20] thus challenging the circular structure of values, according to which we would expect power and achievement to oppose self-direction and universalism. In this respect, the present findings entail interesting ramifications on Schwartz's theoretical arguments, requiring further investigation.

4.5 Exploring Value Relationships

Schwartz speculates about the relationships between values on the basis of the circumplex model as follows:

"The conflicts and congruities among all ten basic values yield an integrated structure of values. This structure can be summarized with two orthogonal dimensions. *Self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence*: On this dimension, power and achievement values oppose universalism and benevolence values. *Openness to change vs. conservatism.* On this dimension, self-direction and stimulation values oppose security, conformity and tradition values" (Schwartz, 2002: 269).

Departing from the observation that the values of knowledge workers do not correspond to the Schwartzian model, I will turn my attention to the ways, in which Schwartzian values associate. To explore the perspectives that dominate the debate, I am starting by examining the associations between the ten values.

While some circumplex models assume positive correlations among items (e.g. Costa and McCrae's measure of positive and negative affectivity), some others observe contradictory correlations between opposite positions on the circumference of the circle. To resolve this issue ipsatisation is used as a way of generating negative correlations (Hinz, Brähler *et al.*,

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likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. S/he thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life and b) S/he looks for adventures and likes to take risks. S/he wants to have an exciting life.

[20] Universalism was only found to differentiate between knowledge and manufacturing workers.

2005). However, the use of ipsative measures, as explained in chapter 2, is a controversial technique, which is not justified in the literature unless there is a serious problem of response bias (Bartram, 1996) (Dunlap & Cornwell, 1994)Baron, 1996). Insofar as there was no reason to assume that there are problems of response bias in the data, the raw data were used for all analyses.

Schwartz explicitly hypothesises that the values that compose the self-enhancement domain correlate negatively with the values that compose the self-transcendence value orientation. Similarly, we should anticipate negative correlations between the values that delineate openness to change and the values that characterise the conservation domain. Schwartz, in his proposal for the ESS, finds and presents the negative correlations between values that are theoretically opposed and the positive correlations between adjacent values, as measured by the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) and the longer PVQ version (see Schwartz, 2002: 276).

Presently, although all correlations were found to be significant at the 0.01 level, my interest lies in whether values correlate in the same strong and distinctive way as postulated by the circumplex model. The correlations shown on table 4.2 focus on the aggregate level and are controlled for country membership, occupational group, age, and gender. Values that are conceptualised as opposites according to the circumplex (see figure 4.9) have been highlighted in bold.
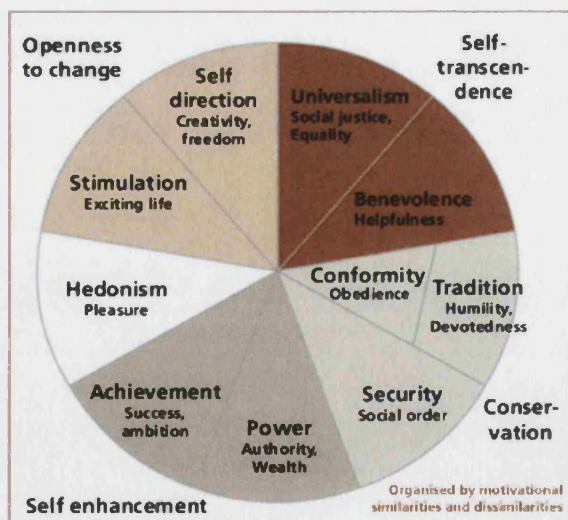
Figure 4. 9 : *Schwartz's theory of circumplex (from the European Social Survey website;*(European Social Survey Education Net, 2005)

I am particularly interested in the values theorised to be salient among knowledge workers. Hence, looking at power and achievement, although Schwartz hypothesises them to correlate negatively with benevolence and universalism, their associations appear to be positive. The correlation coefficient between power and universalism is $r=.06$ and between power and benevolence $r=.14$. Achievement also correlates with universalism at $r=.18$ and with benevolence at $r=.24$. Similarly, self-direction correlates positively with security ($r=.18$), tradition ($r=.09$) and conformity ($r=.09$), whereas we would anticipate a clear negative association between self-direction and security, tradition and conformity. These correlations may not be high enough to denote a strong positive relationship, nonetheless they are not related in clear contradictory ways, as Schwartz postulates. Overall, there are no negative correlations between the ten values that would indicate a circular arrangement of values.

Pearson Correlations on the aggregate Level

	Power	achievement	security	conformity	hedonism	stimulation	self-direction	universalism	benevolence	tradition
power	1.000	.534**	.271**	.243**	.292**	.272**	.237**	**.064****	**.143****	.139**
achievement	.534**	1.000	.291**	.197**	.363**	.393**	.359**	**.178****	**.239****	.119**
security	.271**	.291**	1.000	.444**	**.148****	.055**	**.185****	.362**	.340**	.397**
conformity	.243**	.197**	.444**	1.000	**.043****	.035**	.092**	.309**	.301**	.436**
hedonism	.292**	.363**	**.148****	**.043****	1.000	.480**	.363**	.190**	.246**	**.088****
stimulation	.272**	.393**	**.055****	**.035****	.480**	1.000	.409**	.199**	.210**	**.022****
self-direction	.237**	.359**	**.185****	**.092****	.363**	.409**	1.000	.349**	.338**	**.095****
universalism	**.064****	**.178****	.362**	.309**	.190**	.199**	.349**	1.000	.540**	.359**
benevolence	**.143****	**.239****	.340**	.301**	.246**	.210**	.338**	.540**	1.000	.358**
tradition	.139**	.119**	.397**	.436**	**.088****	**.022****	**.095****	.359**	.358**	1.000

Table 4. 2: Partial correlations between values controlling for gender, age, occupational group and country membership.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

To further explore these relationships, I will examine how the anticipated antagonistic values correlate for knowledge workers controlling for country membership, gender and age (see table 4.3). Self-direction was found to occupy a central position in their values system. Given that self-direction echoes facets of creativity, drawing on the literature on creativity as well as Florida's theory, we would expect it to correlate positively with universalism, security and achievement. For creativity, as a socially-constructed process, which unfolds through conversation and interaction (Steyaert, Bouwen *et al.*, 1996) can flourish when there are no strict and formal boundaries inhibiting the willingness to communicate and engage with new ideas, people and cultures. In parallel, creativity is fostered only when one feels secure and safe to take risks, challenges and be playful (King & Anderson, 1995). With this in mind, I pose the question: how are the relationships between these values reflected in the correlations matrix?

Self-direction is found to correlate positively with achievement (.31), security (.13) and universalism (.32) in contrast to the theoretical model. Furthermore, achievement correlates positively with universalism (.12) and benevolence (.20). Despite the moderate strength of the relationship, it does not suffice to support an antithetical association between conformity and universalism-benevolence. It is also worth noting that the anticipated negative correlations between power and universalism and between stimulation and security-conformity are not statistically significant. Once again, the associations unfold in the opposite direction from that prescribed by the circumplex.

In sum, the findings from the correlations increased scepticism towards the circumplex theory. While the associations between values were found to resonate with Florida's framework, they did not appear to support the circular structure, which organises individuals' values on the basis of clear trade-offs and precludes the co-existence of conflicting values. Implying that individuals should anticipate experiencing only specific dilemmas between their values, the absolute nature of the circumplex paradigm is not only challenged by the present findings but also by the contemporary societal circumstances. As individuals' lives revolve around different domains forcing them to undertake a plurality of roles, heterogeneity and ambivalence are defining features of their living (Beck, Bonss *et al.*, 2003; Luckman, 1975; Moscovici, 1990). In a context marked by ambiguity and constant change, is it possible to predetermine people's value structures? Further analyses are needed to empirically corroborate the present propositions and further examine the Schwartzian value relationships.

In this respect, the next step is to attempt to replicate the circumplex by conducting analyses, which Schwartz has employed to establish his theory.

Correlations for Knowledge Workers

	power	achievement	security	conformity	hedonism	stimulation	self-direction	universalism	benevolence	tradition
power	1.000	.544**	.277**	.255**	.271**	.235**	.229**	.005	.127**	.102**
achievement	.544**	1.000	.280**	.187**	.300**	.321**	.308**	.120**	.199**	.065**
security	.277**	.280**	1.000	.460**	.152**	.009	.129**	.276**	.285**	.405**
conformity	.255**	.187**	.460**	1.000	.046**	-.001	.070**	.243**	.264**	.424**
hedonism	.271**	.300**	.152**	.046**	1.000	.446**	.288**	.162**	.230**	.111**
stimulation	.235**	.321**	.009	-.001	.446**	1.000	.383**	.187**	.197**	.001
self-direction	.229**	.308**	.129**	.070**	.288**	.383**	1.000	.317**	.317**	.051**
universalism	.005**	.120**	.276**	.243**	.162**	.187**	.317**	1.000	.515**	.300**
benevolence	.127**	.199**	.285**	.264**	.230**	.197**	.317**	.515**	1.000	.323**
tradition	.102**	.065**	.405**	.424**	.111**	.001**	.051**	.300**	.323**	1.000

Table 4. 3: *Partial correlations between the values of knowledge workers controlling for country membership, gender and age.*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

4.6 Replicating the Circumplex?

4.6.1   Multidimensional Scaling (MDS)

To test the structure of basic values, Schwartz applies a variety of multivariate methods, among which multidimensional scaling (MDS) is listed. I will seek to find how values occupy a two dimensional space, in an attempt to see how they form patterns of correlations based on their similarities. The PROXSCAL algorithm is efficient with both proximity and distance measures (Garson, 2007). Similarity matrices were used for the present SPSS analyses. MDS analysis is a good way of providing a visual representation of the distances of values set on a plane of two dimensions. This will enable me to get deeper insights into the underlying structure of the ordering of these distances (Euclidean distances) and pinpoint any divergence from the Schwartzian circumplex.

To start with, a two dimensional PROXSCAL ordinal MDS was performed on the aggregate level using the value averages to create distances. The solution provided very good fit to the data s= .04109[21]. Hence, this denotes that the proximities represented on the plot are very good approximates of the input distances. When examining a plot, there are two things that a researcher should focus on: firstly, items that are closer to each other and secondly their distance from the dimensions (Bartholomew, Steele *et al.*, 2002). Bearing in mind the purpose of this specific analysis, we are mainly interested in the distances as well as the ordering of the items.

Focusing on the extreme items of each dimension, stimulation opposes tradition on dimension 1 and power opposes universalism and benevolence on dimension 2. In this respect, the structure seems to replicate Schwartz's dimensions of openness to change versus conservation and self-enhancement versus self-transcendence. However, the clusters that compose each dimension are different from the theoretical model. We would thus expect security, tradition, conformity, stimulation and self-direction to describe the openness to change versus conservation axis; and hedonism, achievement, power, universalism and benevolence to load on the self-enhancement versus self-transcendence axis. Yet on the present space, power, conformity, achievement oppose benevolence, universalism and self-direction on dimension 2; and dimension 1 is defined by security and

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[21]'Stress' indicates how well distances are preserved. Zero Stress indicates a perfect fit.

tradition –on the positive part- and hedonism, stimulation and achievement, on the opposite side.

Another important observation arising from the present factorial structure is that the ten values do not form a circle. If we look at their positionings, we can observe power and achievement being distant from security, tradition and conformity, whereas, according to the theoretical model, they are situated next to each other. Hinz *et al*. (2005) have also replicated this finding in their investigation of the circumplex structure. The multinomial regression yielded similar results where knowledge workers were found to embark on power and achievement while rejecting security.

In addition, universalism is presently closer to security than anticipated. Moreover, while conformity is located next to benevolence and universalism on the circumplex, the distance between them on the present MDS structure is large. We would also expect to find benevolence right next to tradition and conformity, yet the MDS did not confirm this order. Furthermore, while on the theoretical model, self-direction and security diametrically oppose each other, the current plot, in line with the correlations, does not seem to suggest a complete antithesis between these two values.

Object Points
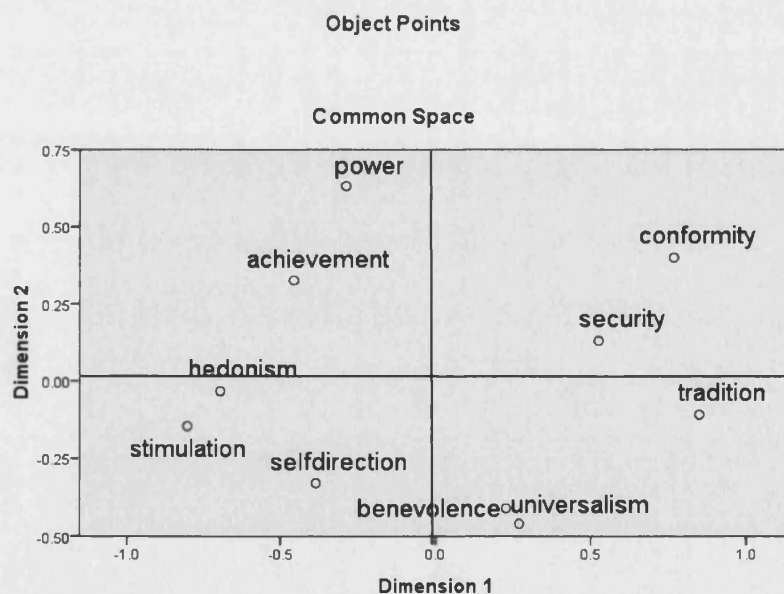
Figure 4. 10: *MDS structure for aggregate data*

In sum, the dimensions derived from the present MDS structure bear similarities with Schwartz's groups of values. Nonetheless, we cannot disregard the differences in the ordering of value items. In this respect, values do not seem to occupy a two-dimensional space in a circular way according to the original order. Looking at how the values of knowledge workers spread on a two dimension space, do we obtain similar or different results?

4.6.2   MDS for knowledge workers

A two dimensional PROXSCAL ordinal MDS was performed, employing the values of knowledge workers to create distances. The solution provided very good fit to the data s= .048. In comparison with the previous plot, similar value patterns emerged but the distances between the values diminished, rendering it more difficult to pinpoint extreme items on the dimensions. By implication, all ten values were brought closer to each other thus bridging the gaps between them. For this reason, it becomes less clear which values determine dimension 2. The reduction in the distances seems to provide support for a structure that is characterised by a synthesis rather than an antithesis of values.

Object Points

Common Space
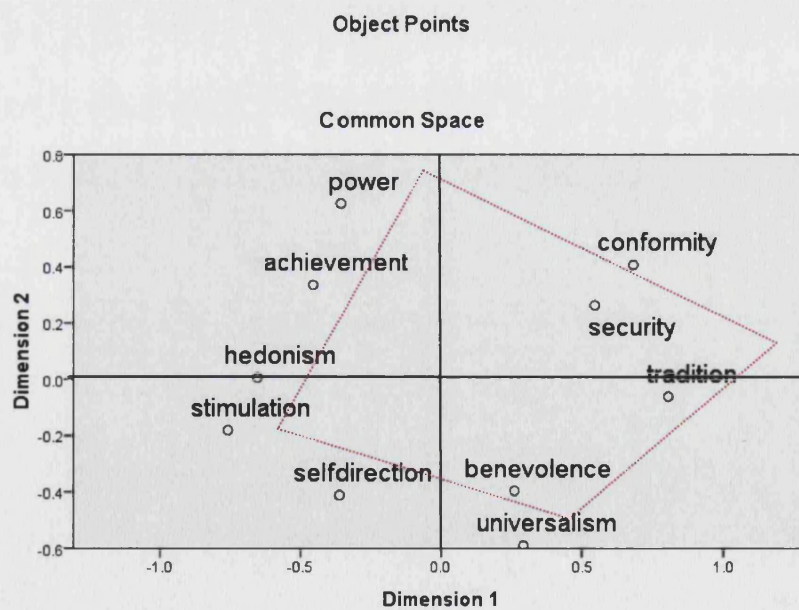
Figure 4. 11: *MDS structure for knowledge workers*

In all, MDS can be a very useful technique in uncovering hidden dimensions in the items under investigation. However, since the current dimensions had been identified beforehand, MDS was mainly utilized as a confirmatory tool for Schwartz's theory mainly serving to corroborate the circular structure of values. It was observed that values may have clustered in meaningful Schwartzian ways but the patterns and ordering of values did not fully replicate the original structure of the circumplex.

4.6.3   Cross tabulating conflicting values

Another way of exploring Schwartz's circumplex and the relationships between his values is through cross-tabulations. In creating two-way contingency tables, I will inspect the distribution of workers, who demonstrate value linkages in the predicted theoretical direction. In this respect, we would expect the majority of respondents to score low on one value (e.g. self-direction) and high on an antithetical value (e.g. security) or average on both values (see table 4.4).

		Value B		
		Low	Medium	High
Value A	Low			X
	Medium		X	
	High	X		

Table 4. 4: *Prescribed value relationships according to the circumplex*

Since contingency tables make sense only when a variable contains few categories, I collapsed the scale from 1-6 to 1-3 [22]. I cross-tabulated those values, which presented particular interest throughout the analyses. These are self-direction against security, universalism versus power and universalism against achievement. Through the first cross-tabulation, I address the following question: Controlling for occupational group, how many respondents endorse self-direction while rejecting security? Table 4.5 provides information on the proportion of workers, who endorse self-direction while dismissing and/or endorsing security.

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[22] 1= not like me, 2= somewhat like me, 3=very much like me

By looking at the table, it seems that 44% of service workers and 46% of manufacturing workers reject self-direction while endorsing security. The percentage is smaller for knowledge workers (32%), given that self-direction has been found to be more salient for them. A different picture emerges when observing the distribution of respondents, who favour both values: 50% of the knowledge workforce, 58% of the service workers and 67% of the manufacturing group, give importance to self-direction and security in tandem.

			Security			
			not like me	somewhat like me	very much like me	Total
Knowledge Workers	Self-Direction	not like me	22	91	53	166
			13%	55%	**32%**	100%
		somewhat like me	223	1789	1308	3320
			7%	**54%**	39%	100%
		very much like me	361	1920	2275	4556
			8%	42%	50%	100%
		Total	606	3800	3636	8042
			8%	47%	45%	100%
Service Workers	Self-Direction	not like me	65	269	264	598
			11%	45%	**44%**	100%
		somewhat like me	397	3907	3427	7731
			5%	**51%**	44%	100%
		very much like me	390	2773	4291	7454
			5%	37%	58%	100%
		Total	852	6949	7982	15783
			5%	44%	51%	100%
Manufacturing Workers	Self-Direction	not like me	108	388	426	922
			12%	42%	**46%**	100%
		somewhat like me	316	3224	3868	7408
			4%	**44%**	52%	100%
		very much like me	218	1645	3729	5592
			4%	29%	67%	100%
		Total	642	5257	8023	13922
			5%	38%	58%	100%

Table 4. 5: *Contingency table of self-direction vs security controlling for occupational group. Percentages are within rows.*

Similar results arise when cross tabulating universalism against power and achievement. As table 4.6 shows, the percentages of respondents adopting power in parallel with universalism, across all three groups, are very high. In fact, these are larger than the proportions of those, who score high on power and low on universalism. In detail, 62% of the knowledge workers, 63% of the service workers and 63% of the manufacturing workers are found to embrace both values.

				Universalism		
			not like me	somewhat like me	very much like me	Total
Knowledge Workers	Power					
		not like me	33	803	1291	2127
			1.6%	37.8%	**60.7%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	51	2327	2768	5146
			1.0%	**45.2%**	53.8%	100.0%
		very much like me	14	283	488	785
			1.8%	36.1%	**62.2%**	100.0%
		Total	*98*	*3413*	*4547*	*8058*
			1.2%	*42.4%*	*56.4%*	*100.0%*
Service Workers	Power					
		not like me	72	2315	2728	5115
			1.4%	45.3%	**53.3%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	86	4374	4846	9306
			.9%	**47.0%**	52.1%	100.0%
		very much like me	26	500	885	1411
			1.8%	35.4%	**62.7%**	100.0%
		Total	*184*	*7189*	*8459*	*15832*
			1.2%	*45.4%*	*53.4%*	*100.0%*
Manufacturing Workers	Power					
		not like me	149	2097	2103	4349
			3.4%	48.2%	**48.4%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	150	4187	3823	8160
			1.8%	**51.3%**	46.9%	100.0%
		very much like me	30	509	919	1458
			2.1%	34.9%	**63.0%**	100.0%
		Total	*329*	*6793*	*6845*	*13967*
			2.4%	*48.6%*	*49.0%*	*100.0%*

Table 4. 6: *Contingency table of power vs universalism controlling for occupational group. Percentages are within rows.*

We obtain similar findings when achievement is cross-tabbed against universalism (see table 4.7). Notwithstanding the large percentages of workers, who reject achievement while endorsing universalism, at the same time we find the majority of respondents

embarking on achievement in tandem with universalism. These findings altogether constitute clear indications of the co-existence of theoretically antithetical values.

			Universalism			
			not like me	somewhat like me	very much like me	Total
Knowledge Workers	Achievement	not like me	31	590	812	1433
			2.2%	41.2%	**56.7%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	45	2090	2453	4588
			1.0%	**45.6%**	53.5%	100.0%
		very much like me	21	731	1281	2033
			1.0%	36.0%	63.0%	100.0%
		Total	*97*	*3411*	*4546*	*8054*
			1.2%	*42.4%*	*56.4%*	*100.0%*
Service Workers	Achievement	not like me	79	1766	1912	3757
			2.1%	47.0%	**50.9%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	78	4293	4433	8804
			.9%	**48.8%**	50.4%	100.0%
		very much like me	26	1131	2104	3261
			.8%	34.7%	64.5%	100.0%
		Total	*183*	*7190*	*8449*	*15822*
			1.2%	*45.4%*	*53.4%*	*100.0%*
Manufacturing Workers	Achievement	not like me	159	1941	1599	3699
			4.3%	52.5%	**43.2%**	100.0%
		somewhat like me	138	3959	3397	7494
			1.8%	**52.8%**	45.3%	100.0%
		very much like me	32	884	1838	2754
			1.2%	32.1%	66.7%	100.0%
		Total	*329*	*6784*	*6834*	*13947*
			2.4%	*48.6%*	*49.0%*	*100.0%*

Table 4. 7: *Contingency table of achievement vs universalism controlling for occupational group. Percentages are within rows .*

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, I attempted to cast light on the ways in which the European knowledge society is transforming drawing on Florida's theory. I began by inquiring about the work ethos that epitomizes the European employment terrain through exploring the

values of knowledge, service and manual workers. The first stages of analysis showed negligible differences in the values of the knowledge and service workers and stronger differences between the former and manual workers. In recognition of this, I moved on to examine in more depth which values can predict group membership. Using multinomial regressions, self-direction, power, achievement, civic protest, openness to change and openness to diversity and subjective well-being were identified as defining values of knowledge members with reference to the service and manual workers. This finding bears a representational relationship with Florida's thinking about the values of the creative class.

Knowledge workers were, thus found to be proponents of emancipative values. Their openness to human diversity and change was associated with concerns about human rights, social, environmental, political and ethical issues relevant to policies, laws etc. and accompanied by the tendency to express such interests through civic protest. This is reminiscent of Wezlel's thinking about the role of the educational elites in embodying and promoting liberal values (Welzel, 2002), which is challenged when a fusion of religious and liberal values was unveiled, thus supporting the presence of pluralism within value systems. And while Florida also notes the strong co-existence of religious and liberal values in the American society, he adopts an Inglehartian perspective in his explanation, characterising the U.S. simply as an "outlier among other economically advanced nations" (Florida, 2005:150). Furthermore, it was found -contrary to Florida's postulations- that hedonism is more likely to typify service and manual workers than knowledge workers and that stimulation cannot be employed to distinguish between the three groups. This raised questions about the differences between the American and the European knowledge ethos as well as the delineation of the bohemian-hedonistic work ethos theorised to uniquely mark knowledge workers. The underpinning meaning of these findings will be investigated in the qualitative part of this thesis.

In parallel, the co-occurrence of self-direction, achievement, power and emancipative values in the value pool of knowledge workers called the theory of the circumplex into question. To examine closely the circular structure of values, I performed correlations and followed Schwartz's methodological line of enquiry by conducting MDS analyses. The correlations between oppositional value items were not found to be in the predicted direction. These findings oppose Schwartz's theoretical and empirical claims about the negative relationships between oppositional value domains. On the MDS plots, although values seemed to form Schwartz's groups of values, their ordering on the 2-dimensional space does not correspond to the same circular structure.

To broaden the scope of my analysis, I performed cross-tabulations between theoretically antagonistic values, which revealed three alternative value structures. These supported the co-existence of theoretical conflicting values, the absence of antithetical values (the Schwartzian type) and ambivalent positions, whereby respondents oscillated between two values without subscribing firmly to either of them.

The analyses seem to highlight two important issues. Firstly, they highlight the effect of ipsatisation on Schwartz's circumplex theory. In the present analyses, the raw values were used and the findings did not provide strong evidence in favour of the universality of Schwartz's circumplex model. These findings are in accordance with the analyses performed by Hinz et. al. (2005), who, in comparing analyses with raw and ipsatised data, found that the MDS structures obtained with raw data were different and more arbitrary as opposed to the MDS structures obtained with ipsatised data, which were more similar to Schwartz's MDS circumplex.

And secondly, the findings illustrate the shortcomings of using Schwartz's model of ten values. Other studies, (Davidov, Schmidt *et al.*, 2008; Verkasalo, Lönnqvist *et al.*, 2008) have similarly shown that that the two broad value dimensions model has better predictive power and fits the data better than the full ten value model. According to Versakalo *et al.* (2008), this is because "individuals with high scores on opposing values will end up with an average on the Conservation value dimension". However, since Schwartz's theory and scale purports to measure values, one needs to weight the costs of using the general value domains model when studying human values. The present study is a study of social values, hence a generalised measure of values was deemed inappropriate, since it would lead to a loss of substantial information.

In sum, recognising that MDS techniques are designed for exploratory data analysis, a series of different analyses were performed, which together failed to replicate Schwartz's invariable universal value relationships. The distortions in the ordering of values, the positive correlations between theoretically conflicting values and the three alternative ways of endorsing values (see cross-tabulations) revealed the limitations of conceptualising values in terms of two oppositional dimensions.

By implication, the current results seem to allude to the existence of value systems, with plurality and heterogeneity are inherent in their organisation, structure and operation. With this proposition we could reformulate Schwartz's idea of placing values on opposite ends of a single dimension to view each value as a single continuum, whereby a range of value levels and combinations is plausible. For instance, in evaluating the importance of two values, a person could be expected to score high on both universalism and power, low

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on both values, high on power and low on universalism or low on power and high on universalism (see figure 4.12).
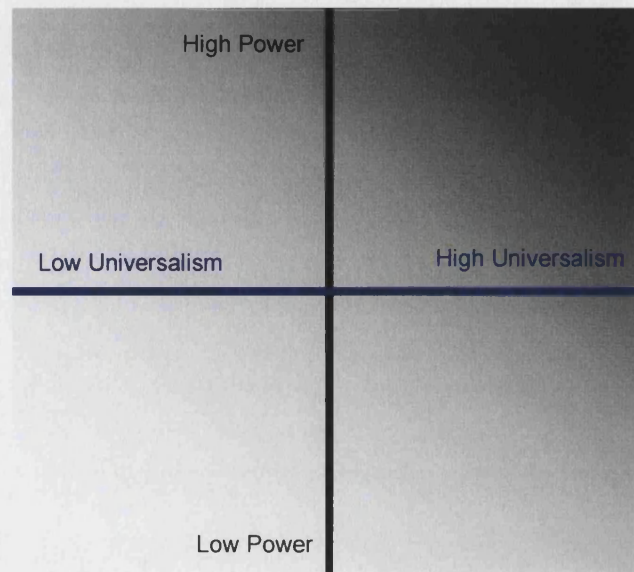
Figure 4. 12: *Values as complimentary single continuums*

Given that the concept of value heterogeneity and variability has not been given much attention in the literature it would be interesting to explore this idea further. As noted in chapter one, the variable importance of values as this is informed by the multiplicity of milieus, which individuals inhabit, was studied by Kluckohhn and Strodtbeck (1961) but failed to influence subsequent research. On this basis and taking into consideration Davidov's *et al. (2008)* claim that "the strength of congruence/opposition among values –on the circumplex- is expected to vary across cultures because of the effect of different societal factors" (pg.439), it is interesting to investigate the effects of life spheres as integral elements of institutional spheres and evocative of socio-cultural differences or similarities, on value salience.

5. Research Study II - Exploring Values In Context

Analyses from Study I did not corroborate the universality of the circumplex, contrary to Schwartz's postulations. Values were shown to be relating with each other in multiple heterogeneous ways. This led to the claim that values are not permeated by fixed and invariable structures subtracted from the contexts in which they operate. Moving beyond the idea of personal values, as been dominated by intrapsychic cognitive structures (Rohan, 2000), they should be rather conceptualised as social in nature embedded in different socio-cultural spheres, whereby a plurality of social relationships emerges leading individuals to undertake a mixture of roles (Hermans, 2001; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Luckman, 1975; Moscovici, 1990).

As noted in chapter one, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961) are unique in studying the variation of value priorities across activity types and societies. Considering value variation as a prerequisite for societies' successful functioning they pursued their idea empirically through fieldwork in five Spanish-American native cultures. They posit that the common human activity classification is based on institutional differentiation around the economic-occupational, the religious, the intellectual-aesthetic, the recreational, the political and the familial domains. Persuaded over the link between value orientations and the variant activity types –which they labelled *behaviour spheres*– they focused their attention on values within the economic-occupational, religious, recreational and intellectual-aesthetic domains.

However, as it was noted, their work did not influence subsequent research. With this study, I aim to extend their idea to explore empirically the role of life domains over the variation of value priorities. On this basis, the present study aims at pursuing further the nature of interdependence between values and life spheres, as informed by the knowledge society. This research proceeded incrementally. A web based split-ballot experiment generated findings, which could only be explained through cognitive interviews. As such, cognitive interviewing was conducted in Greece and revealed interesting observations about errors pertaining to the web experiment. Hence, the findings led a second split-ballot experiment. In sum, the present chapter presents the results from three studies: a) web split-ballot experiment, b) cognitive interviews and c) face-to-face split-ballot survey, all exploring values *in* context.

5.1   Split Ballot

5.1.1   Rationale, Materials and Process

A split-ballot experiment is a useful method allowing the researcher to explore the extent to which variation in the wording of questions can have an effect on participants' responses (Cantrill, 1944). For the split ballot, I constructed a short and easy to administer on-line questionnaire, incorporating Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's concept of behavioural spheres (economic/occupational, religious, recreational, intellectual and familial) and Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire. Using the twenty-one questions from Schwartz's Portrait Value Questionnaire, the general introductory question was rephrased to set a context of one of the three different behavioural spheres: the familial, occupational and recreational sphere. Schwartz's original questionnaire was the fourth and the control condition, which was devoid of any reference to any behavioural sphere (see appendix D). The context is the independent variable in the experiment with the dependent variable being the priority in values. Hence, I am testing whether changing the behavioural sphere leads to different value ratings.

The choice of these spheres is justified through their relevance to the knowledge ethos and the transformation of work ethic in the knowledge society (Greenhaus & Foley, 2007). Hence, instead of simply asking the respondents *how much is this person like you*, the introductory question was rephrased as follows: *thinking about you and your family life (or occupational life, or recreational life), how much is this person like you?* Each of the three versions of the questionnaire focused on a different life domain each time.

Sound experimental research, of course, requires the absence of relevant contaminating differences between experimental and control groups. I sought to achieve this by random assignment of respondents[23]. Schwartz's PVQ is based on female and male portraits, so in the initial page of the survey respondents had to choose between two options depending on their sex in order to start completing the appropriate version of the questionnaire. In choosing their sex, they were randomly assigned one of the four versions. Each respondent completed one version only. Participants in the general (original) version operated as the control group.

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[23]Ly Dong and Steve Bennett (Institute of Social Psychology, London School of Economics) were responsible for setting up the on-line survey. The survey delivery was performed by a Perl script, and utilised the Perl built in random function.

The number of respondents was predetermined in order to ensure that equal number of slots would be allocated across the two sexes and the four conditions. Hence, it was thought that fifty respondents per condition with an equal distribution of males and females would be sufficient for the present analysis. After completing the questionnaire, there were four questions on socio-demographics asking respondents about their age, ethnic group, education and occupation.

To secure as many responses as possible, instructions and the survey were kept short. In the initial page, there was also a short introduction describing the aims of the survey, which were presented as focusing on "people's life philosophies and worldviews". Respondents were assured that their answers would be treated as anonymous and confidential. As an incentive and reward for participating in the survey, there was a prize draw for choosing to win either a bottle of champagne or an Amazon voucher. The web survey ran between October 2007 and January 2008.

5.1.2 Participants

Since the overarching aim of this thesis is relevant to the delineation of the knowledge ethos, efforts focused on recruiting active working members to participate in the survey. A convenience sample was employed. Respondents were contacted by email, which invited them to participate in this online short survey and forward the message to any, potentially interested in the survey, parties. As such, taking advantage of social networks, snowball sampling was utilised, which attracted a mixture of knowledge and services workers and very few postgraduate –mainly research- students. Overall, the majority of the respondents belonged to the knowledge sector with only a small proportion being employed in the services domain.

In total, 210 people completed the web survey. Approximately equal number of participants was assigned to each version. Detailed frequencies of respondents and distribution of sexes across the four versions are available on table 5.1. 94% of the respondents were between 20-45 yrs old and 92% had at least a university degree.

CONDITION	GENDER FREQUENCY		TOTAL
	Female	Male	Female/Male
Family	27	27	54
Recreation	27	24	51
Occupation	26	27	53
Plain	27	25	52
Total	**107**	**103**	**210**

Table 5. 1: *Frequencies of male and female respondents by conditions*

5.1.3   Pilot Study

The questionnaire was piloted with 6 participants. No problems were reported. Results from the pilots were not included in the analyses.

5.1.4   Data Analysis

The data obtained were analysed in two different ways. Firstly, a multinomial logistic regression was performed in order to compare the varying importance of values in each of the three behavioural spheres with reference to the control sphere. And secondly, multidimensional scaling techniques were applied to identify whether value relationships change or remain the same across all four conditions.

5.1.4.1   Preliminary exploration of mean differences

To explore the differences in the values between the control group and the three experimental groups, I looked at the means of each value across all four conditions. Table 5.2 shows the means of values in the general sphere and their difference from the corresponding means in each of the three conditions. Hence, four values seem to have been evaluated differently in relation to the general version. Taking a 0.3 difference as a

basis to explore the strength, hedonism, universalism, security -not when embedded in the occupational sphere- and power seem to diverge the most from the general sphere.

MEANS IN GENERAL SPHERE		DEVIATION FROM GENERAL SPHERE		
	General	Family	Recreation	Occupation
Hedonism	3.9	0.3	-0.4	-0.4
Universalism	4.5	0.3	0.5	0.5
Security	3.7	-0.3	-0.5	-0.1
Power	3.4	-0.4*	-0.3	-0.3
Self-Direction	4.7	0.1	-0.1	-0.1
Stimulation	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Benevolence	4.7	0.0	0.1	0.1
Conformity	3.1	0.0	-0.2	-0.2
Tradition	3.3	0.0	0.2	0.2
Achievement	4.5	-0.2	-0.2	-0.2

Table 5. 2: *Mean Differences between values in the general context and the three behavioural spheres.*

5.1.4.2   Relative importance of values across four contexts – Multinomial Logistic Regression

To rank more precisely the relative importance of values across the four behavioural contexts, I conducted logistic polynomial regression. I am not currently providing any background information on the specific statistical method, since it has been already been fully explicated in chapter four. The aim of the present analysis was to examine which values increase or decrease the likelihood of being salient in the general, familial, recreational and occupational context, controlling for sex and age. Taking the general version as the reference category, the full model was significantly better than an intercept-only model (-2LL= 518.932 x^2, df(30)=63.216, p≤..0001) and predicted .277 of the variance estimated by Nagelkerke R^2.
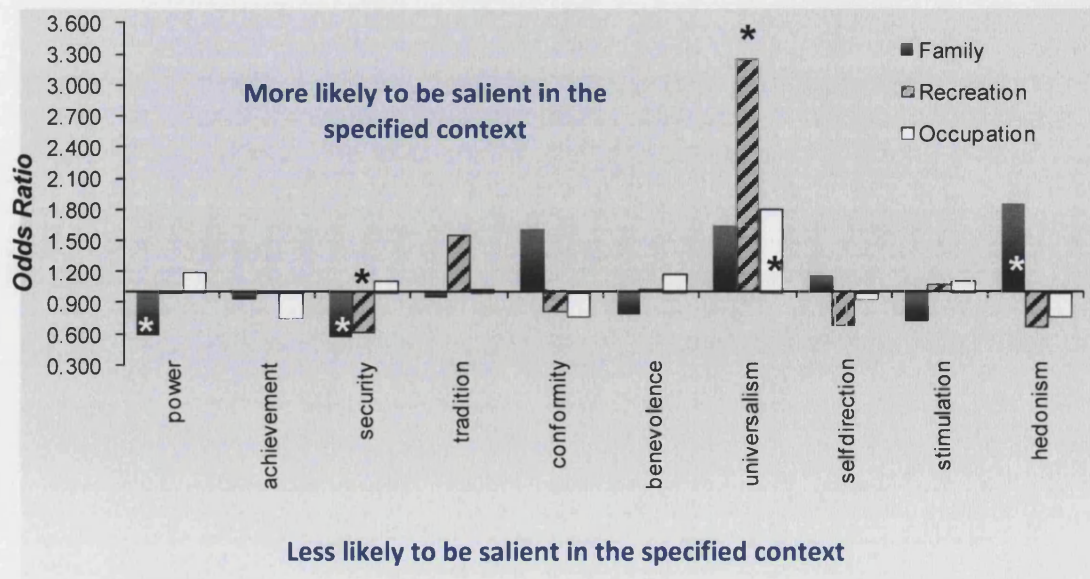
Figure 5. 1: *Odds Ratio of values predicting the familial, recreational and occupational sphere against the general context.*

Note: The Reference category is the General Version
*p≤.05, Nagelkerke R^2=.277

In accordance with the first observations (table 5.2), it was found that power, security, universalism and hedonism were significant contextual discriminators. In comparing the family with the general context, power and security were less likely to be salient in the family context in contrast to hedonism. In detail, respondents were 42.1% and 42.2% less likely to place importance on power and security respectively in the family life. With regards to hedonism, respondents were 84.6% more likely to consider it an important value as pertinent to the family sphere in relation to those who rated it in a general context.

Moving on to comparing the recreational sphere with the general context, security and universalism were found as significant predictors. Security reduced the likelihood of been chosen as a significant value in the recreational sphere in contrast to the general context by 38.6%. As such, security was more likely to be important when framed in a general fashion. In contrast, respondents—as it is also evident from the graph- were extensively more likely to characterise universalism as an important value when integrated in the recreational sphere versus the general sphere. A similar observation arose when comparing the occupational against the general context, where universalism was 79.8% more likely to be deemed salient when applied in the professional field. In other words, universalism was less likely to be viewed as a significant value when framed in a general fashion.

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In all, not all ten values varied in their importance across the three behavioural spheres in relation to the general version. Nevertheless, the fact that four values were attributed a different level of salience seems to indicate that values can operate in divergent modes when conceptualised in different behavioural spheres. Although, it would be interesting to delve into the underpinnings of the present findings, this is a difficult endeavour since such an explanations would only be ad-hoc and speculative. To overcome this shortcoming and become able to furnish more insightful and accurate answers it would probably require conducting cognitive interviews as means of gaining a deep understanding of the reasoning behind specific choices to the survey questions.

5.2   *Cognitive Interviews*

Cognitive interviewing is a frequently employed tool for investigating-among other reasons - the comprehension of a question in a survey (i.e. meaning of terms) (Tourangeau, 1984). The reason for applying cognitive interviewing was not directly related to improving the design of Schwartz's questionnaire but rather to explore the meanings that his questions elicited in respondents' minds when contextualised in specific spheres. Drawing on the split ballot results, I conducted cognitive interviews in an attempt to delve into the particular meanings of security, when framed in relation to the recreational and family spheres and universalism, as embedded in the recreational and occupational sphere.

5.2.1   Models of Cognitive Interviews

Although there is flexibility in the way cognitive interviewing can be applied, there are two major techniques: the *think-aloud* and the *probing* method (Willis, 2005). Starting with the former, it is used by the interviewer to follow the path that respondents take in answering a question, who are instructed, at the beginning, to "think-aloud" as they answer the question. The interviewer interferes as little as possible, usually when the respondent pauses, by using probes like "what are you thinking now". It is a straightforward method, which reduces the possibility of biasing the respondent's answers due to the minimal interference of the interviewer, often leading to unforeseen results. However, the respondents need to be quite communicative and open, thus frequently necessitating training in the thinking-aloud exercise. In this vein and given that people are not

accustomed to think aloud, it is more likely that they struggle, resist and even lose their way from the process. Finally, in encouraging them to think more intensely than they would normally do in the context of a survey, this could also introduce bias in the information processing.

Probing methods appear as an alternative to the think-aloud techniques, which seem to be quite popular among scientists. The rationale behind probing is that there is a dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent. The interview starts with the interviewer reading the question and then the respondent answers followed by the interviewer asking for more information on the basis of the answer. Depending on how articulate the respondent is, the interview can take the format of a "think-aloud" process. Given the dialogic nature of the interview, it does not require specific training on behalf of the respondent and the interviewer is able to control the flow of conversation. However, this can potentially bias the respondents' thinking process and consequently his/her answers, thus requiring a careful selection of probes.

Interviewers follow two main approaches in their probing: the first one is called *concurrent*, which builds on the "here and now" exchange of information between the respondent and the interviewer; and the second one is the *retrospective* method, according to which the interviewer addresses all the probes at the end of the interview (Willis, 1999). However, with this method the respondent risks to forget what s/he said earlier or the thinking process s/he followed. Irrespective of the probing approach, there are two main types of probes: *scripted* and *spontaneous*. The former include probes that the interviewer has prepared in advance (i.e. "you took a while to answer the question. what were you thinking?" Or "you seem a little unsure. Why is that?"). These types of probes are used in the context of a *proactive* model of interviewing. On the contrary, spontaneous probes emerge during the course of the conversation with the respondent thus allowing the researcher to examine unanticipated issues. Resonating with a *reactive* approach to cognitive interviewing, the importance of spontaneous probes is reflected through Oppenheim's note: "fatal ambiguities may lurk in the most unexpected quarters" (Oppenheim, 1966:26). A balanced combination of both probing types is advised to ensure the consistency in the process while also living room for surprises.

5.2.2 Sample

Twelve interviews were conducted with Greek participants in Athens, which were organised on the basis of spheres. Hence, four interviews were conducted for each of the three spheres. Since this was a qualitative endeavour, sample size was not important. The purpose was not to gain statistical estimates but to obtain a diversity of answers, which can be achieved through interviewing a variety of individuals (Willis, 1999). That is why I sought to interview people of different age groups and both sexes.

5.2.3 Process

I conducted the cognitive interviews by applying both think-aloud and probing methods. The interviews started by explaining to the respondents that my interest lied in how they understood the questions and asked them to think-aloud while answering each question. After reading each question, I allowed respondents time to explicate their thoughts on the meaning of each sentence. I made sure to remind them of the particular context to which they had to relate their responses, when they seemed to forget it. Some respondents were more articulate thus requiring less probing than others, who had a harder time to communicate their thinking process and thus needed more interference.

In my probing I combined standard-scripted probes (i.e. in periods of silence I asked them "why are you having a hard time to answer the question?", "I notice that you are hesitating, what are you thinking?" or general probes like, "was it hard or easy to answer the question and why?") and spontaneous probes, which resonated with a reactive interviewing approach. These drew on particular aspects of the response, which were thought needed further elaboration. By combining different probes and following a think-aloud and a probing approach, I allowed the respondents to set the agenda by interfering only when necessary in order to release the pressure off the respondent and make the interview more relaxing, interactive and interesting. The following table describes the method applied in the cognitive interviewing.

Interviews took place in informal settings either in the respondents' domiciles or public spaces (such as cafés). Depending on the questionnaire version, which contained different number of questions, the duration of each interview was between 15-35 minutes.

	Think-Aloud Technique	Probing Technique
Concurrent Reactive Probing	-	Emergent/ Spontaneous Probes
Concurrent Proactive Probing	Scripted Probes	Scripted Probes

Table 5. 3: *Model used for the cognitive interviews*

5.2.4 Analysis

The analysis of data from cognitive interviews is not constrained to a particular type. There are different ways of analysing the data some being more formal than others (Willis, 2005). These would include reviewing written notes taken during the interview, listening carefully to the recordings and transcribing them, assembling results from all interviews or focusing on the exact answer to each question for each respondent. The approach I followed was based on listening carefully to each recording while transcribing it. Rather than fully transcribing each interview, I kept detailed notes on the responses on each question for every respondent. These were then reviewed to reveal dominant meanings across the interviews for each value in the respective sphere.

5.2.5 Findings

Although the logistic regression revealed that power, hedonism, security and universalism were rated differently in one of the three conditions in relation to the general sphere, for the purpose of this analysis, it presents greater interest to focus the attention on the definitions of security and universalism. This way we can compare the specific meanings of the same value in two different spheres.

Starting with security, it was assessed differently in the recreational and family sphere. Before describing the meanings that dominated each context, it was important to remind the questions that measure it. These were the following:

1.   *It is important to him/her that the government ensures his safety against all threats. S/he wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.*

2.   *It is important to him/her to live in secure surroundings. S/he avoids anything that might endanger his safety.*

Interviewees in the *recreational* sphere understood security in relation to interpersonal security (i.e. interacting with familiar people) and the role of police in reinforcing their feeling of safety during recreational activities. However, policing issues were also framed in the context of restrictions on civic liberties. When security was discussed in the *family* sphere, it took different meanings. Respondents understood security in relation to an implicit contract between the state and the citizens, whereby the state is obliged to protect its citizens through a good educational, health and justice system and vice versa; citizens need to abide by the laws and pay their taxes. The second question involved comments on the importance of financial security as a basic constituent of family well-being as well as the role of the family in constituting an emotional buffer for its members when taking risks, which are necessary for one's personal growth (i.e. emigrating) or improving the family's quality of life (i.e. taking mortgages, launching a new business) .

Security		
	Recreational	Family
Question 1	• Interpersonal security	• Political trust • Social satisfaction (system)
Question 2	• Role of police – personal safety • Civic liberties	• Financial security as a constituent of quality of life • Emotional security (parenting styles, taking risks to improve family QOL)

Table 5. 4: *Meanings of security in the recreational and family sphere*

Moving to universalism, it was measured by the following items:

1. It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when s/he disagrees with them, s/he still wants to understand them.

2. S/he strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him/her.

3. S/he thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. S/he believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.

Universalism in the *recreational* domain reflected the unconditional openness to friends' views and debates with them as well as exposure to different teaching styles and interests. It was also framed in the context of civic responsibilities vis-a-vis nature through undertaking activities pertinent to preserving, protecting and learning more about the

environment. Finally, access to recreational activities was described as an inalienable human right, which the state needs to secure and promote for everyone (i.e. immigrants, different social classes and people with disabilities).

When universalism was framed in relation to the *occupational* sphere, a different meaning emerged. Openness to others' views was framed in relation to colleagues, which was contingent upon interpersonal trust and respect. It was also explicated in light of their personal growth and professional progression in their work. With regards to the second question, universalism was framed in terms of corporate responsibilities towards the environment and employees' initiatives to introduce green schemes to the organisations. Finally, corruption in the Greek society seemed to frame respondents' understanding of the third question, where issues of employment rights and meritocracy were prevalent.

Universalism		
	Recreational	Occupational
Question 1	• Exposure to new interests • Importance of dialogue with friends	• Achievement • Power • Respect / interpersonal trust
Question 2	• Civic Responsibilities	• Corporate responsibility • Employees' responsibility
Question 3	• Universal right to rest and leisure • Institutional role / Responsibility of state access/user rights	• Meritocracy • Employment rights (corruption)

Table 5. 5: *Meanings of universalism in the recreational and occupational sphere*

5.2.6 Discoveries

Apart from reporting commonalities across interviews, Willis (1999) argues that it is equally important to disclose information on unexpected surprises, what he calls *discoveries* that may have marked single answers or interviews. Through reflecting on specific responses and reactions to items in some of the interviews, I became aware of issues that potentially affected the completion of the questionnaire in the split-ballot experiment. In this respect, two main discoveries arose from the cognitive interviews. The first concerned the obviousness of the context to the respondent. I thus noticed that some respondents had the tendency to forget the sphere they had to relate their answers to. The use of the verbal probing approach proved particularly useful in that it allowed me to bring

their attention back to the context, when they seemed to stray from it. The second discovery also touched on the role of context in the answering process yet in a different way. Specifically, some respondents expressed their difficulty in associating their answers to the context such as the recreational sphere.

In an attempt to explain these discoveries, I draw on the work by Tourangeau and Rasinski (Tourangeau, 1984; Tourangeau & Rasinski, 1988), who provide a model on the process of answering attitude questions. Similar to attitudes, values can be viewed as components in the memory that entail recollections of beliefs, actions and experiences, thus making their model appropriate to use. As such, according to Tourangeau and Rasinski, the answering process includes four stages: 1) the interpretation of question by accessing the relevant attitudes/beliefs 2) the retrieval of the attitudes/beliefs (usually the most accessible), 3) the use of the retrieved material to make a decision and 4) the positioning on the scale by selecting an answer.

In interpreting the *discoveries* from the cognitive interviews, they seem to be relevant to the first two stages. Respondents' dismissal of the context in their answers or difficulty to relate their answers to the context could be explained in terms of the amount of effort invested in accessing relevant beliefs during the retrieval stage. As such, there are two plausible explanations: either respondents did not reflect enough on the questions, which is partially expected in web-administered questionnaires; or they did think carefully through the questions but in attempting to retrieve relevant beliefs or behaviours they dismissed the context because they found it irrelevant to the questions.

The interpretation of the items could also have affected their answers. According to Tourangeau and Rasinski, if respondents found the task of interpreting the questions in light of the specific context ambiguous or novel and thus difficult to transfer this interpretation to memory relevant attitudes, it is unlikely that the context was employed as an interpretative framework for their responses. At the same time, values by nature comprise implicit elements (McLaughlin, 1965) and operate as 'truisms' (Maio & Olson, 1998b), which are taken for granted and are rarely challenged, thus making it difficult for respondent to discuss. With these issues in mind, it can be argued that the split-ballot results may reflect a certain degree of measurement error. In order to deal with the questionnaire problems detected, it was decided to re-run the experiment.

5.3 Follow-up Split Ballot

5.3.1 Process

Motivated by the above concerns, a second split-ballot experiment was designed, which employed a face-to-face method. This was done in order to obtain more control of the survey completion process and increase the respondents' engagement with the questions. Research has shown that allowing respondents to spend more time on questions, raises their awareness of the importance of the questions, increasing their attention and depth of thought (Cannell, Oksenberg *et al.*, 1977). In addition, in order to tackle respondents' difficulty to relate the items to the respective context, three questions about the relevant sphere were introduced at the beginning of the questionnaire. These are called 'priming' questions, which 'serve to activate relevant episodes or experiences in the respondent's minds as well as focusing his/her effort on the task' (Gaskell, O'Muircheartaigh *et al.*, 1994:245). These questions were open-ended and asked the respondents to write down three memorable experiences in relation to their recreational/family/occupational sphere that made them happy and three experiences that made them unhappy. The third priming question asked them to describe what the relevant sphere meant to them.

A final element of this design that differentiated it from the web questionnaire was the insertion of the main introductory question (i.e. thinking about you in relation to your recreational/family/occupational life, how much is this person like you?) in the beginning of each new page. This aimed to serve as a reminder of the sphere, which respondents had to anchor the items in.

The face-to-face administration was conducted in two phases, in the experimental conditions. Respondents were asked to answer the priming questions and notify me when they finished. They were then requested to read carefully the introductory question of the main questionnaire. Once reading it, I emphasised the importance of answering each question only in relation to the respective sphere. Bearing in mind that the PVQ questions have been designed to measure values as 'abstract guiding principles' and also taking into account the concerns raised from the cognitive interviews, respondents were warned about the general and abstract character of some questions and were prompted to think about them only in relation to the relevant context and not as general statements. Being aware the difficulty of the task, they were encouraged to ask me if any questions arose throughout the completion.

5.3.2 Sample

Taking advantage of social networks, a convenience sample was employed. In total, eighty people (twenty in each condition) completed the survey in London. It was attempted to assign equal number of male and female participants to each version although this was not always possible. Distribution of sexes across the four versions are available on table 5.6. 94% of the respondents were between 20-45 yrs old and 92% had at least a university degree.

CONDITION	GENDER FREQUENCY	
	Female	Male
Family	10	10
Recreation	14	6
Occupation	13	7
Plain	13	7
Total	50	30

Table 5. 6: *Frequencies of male and female respondents by conditions*

5.3.3 Findings

5.3.3.1 Mean Differences

To test for normality, the Shapiro-Wilk's W test indicated that the distributions of most values in the control group were not normal. For this reason and taking into account the small size of the sample, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was used. The aim was to determine the differences in the means of values between the general sphere and the three behavioural spheres. Mann-Whitney tests showed statistical significance for conformity (p= .04) and achievement (p=.03) only when comparing the family and the general sphere. No other statistical significance was found. This may be due to the sample size, insofar as in samples of small size, differences are often not sufficient to be statistically significant.

Nevertheless, the data presently showed interesting trends worth reporting. Firstly, in comparison with the data derived from the web-experiment, more values exhibited a 0.3 difference from the control mean. And secondly, the maximum difference between the general mean and any of the experimental means increased to 0.8 as opposed to 0.5, which was found in the web-experiment. To this extent, more values exhibited value specificity in relation to the web experiment.

MEANS IN GENERAL SPHERE		DEVIATION FROM GENERAL SPHERE		
	General	Family	Occupation	Recreation
achievement	3.9	0.8*	0.4	-0.6
conformity	2.8	0.7 *	0.6	-0.1
power	3.0	0.5	0.3	-0.3
hedonism	4.0	0.5	0.4	0.4
stimulation	4.2	-0.4	0.2	0.2
universalism	5.0	-0.3	-0.1	-0.3
self-direction	4.9	-0.3	0.0	-0.1
tradition	3.6	0.1	-0.1	-0.3
benevolence	5.0	-0.1	0.0	-0.4
security	3.5	0.1	0.6	-0.3

** p≤..05

Table 5. 7: *Mean Differences between values in the general context and the three behavioural spheres.*

In comparing the direction of mean differences between the first and the second experiment, we encounter several discrepancies (table 5.8). Focusing the attention only on those values that exhibited a ≥0.3 deviation from the general sphere in the first split-ballot, the differences of *hedonism* in the recreational and occupational sphere, *universalism* in all three spheres, *security* in the family sphere and *power* in the family and occupational sphere appeared to be in the opposite direction. These results pose further questions about undesirable effects caused by the nature and design of the web-experiment. To the extent that the second split-ballot experiment was revised and improved, based on observations from the cognitive interviews, it is thought that the quality of data collected was higher.

Therefore, it can be argued that there is more confidence in the results from the second experiment. Of course, it needs to reiterated that the nature of the sample provides restrictions on the results.

In explaining the reasons behind the specific ratings, based on cognitive interviews lower ratings of universalism in the recreational sphere potentially mean that respondents do not consider civic responsibilities, the human right to recreation and the state's role in ensuring equal participation in recreational activities to be that important. In addition, the lower ratings of security in the recreational sphere, may be related to negative views of police presence during recreational activities and its impact on civic liberties.

		MEANS IN GENERAL SPHERE		DEVIATION FROM GENERAL SPHERE		
			General	Family	Recreation	Occupation
EXPERIMENT 1	Hedonism	3.9		0.3*	-0.4	-0.4
	Universalism	4.5		0.3	0.5	0.5
	Security	3.7		-0.3	-0.5	-0.1
	Power	3.4		-0.4	-0.3	-0.3
EXPERIMENT 2	Hedonism	4.0		0.5	0.4	0.4
	Universalism	5.0		-0.3	-0.3	-0.1
	Security	3.5		0.1	-0.3	0.6
	Power	3.0		0.5	-0.3	0.3

Table 5. 8: *Comparison of directionality of values between the first and the second split-ballot experiment*

*Grey numbers indicate that the directionality of deviations from the general sphere in experiment 2 is similar to that in experiment 1.

5.3.3.2   Value relationships across contexts

Apart from examining the differences of means between the control and the experimental groups, it was interesting to investigate whether the relationships between values change or remain the same in the different spheres. To this aim, MDS analyses for each sphere were performed. Ordinal MDS was applied to similarity matrices. The solutions provided moderate fit to the data. In detail, the stress obtained for the general sphere was

0.1, the family sphere, 0.1, the occupational sphere, 0.1 and the recreational sphere, 0.9. The two-dimensional configuration plots of the values for each context are available on figure 5.2.

General Sphere

Recreational Sphere

Family Sphere

Occupational Sphere
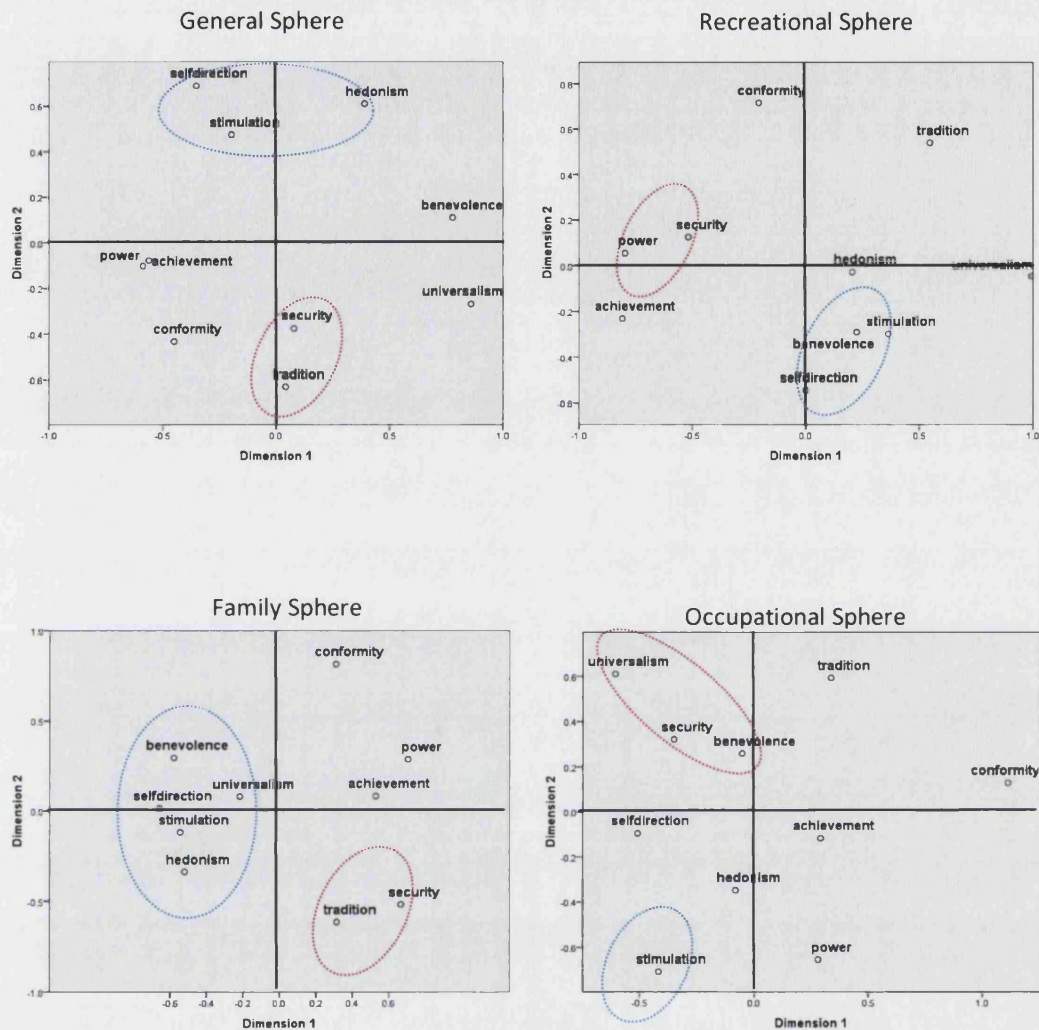
Figure 5. 2: *Two-dimensional configuration plots of values in the four spheres*

The following remarks arose from the plots. Values appeared to change positions across the four spheres, forming different patterns. For example, in the family sphere, security seemed to be close to tradition while in the occupational sphere, security was adjacent to universalism while in the recreational sphere, close to power. Another interesting example was stimulation. In the general sphere, it seemed to cluster together with self-direction and hedonism, while in the recreational sphere, with self-direction and benevolence and in the family sphere, it was close to universalism, benevolence, self-direction and hedonism. In the occupational sphere, stimulation appeared to be isolated

from other values, with power being the closest of neighbours. By implication, the distances between values were altered. In light of the findings from the cognitive interviews, we could speculate that a different position could suggest a different understanding of the value, which results to multiple value systems, challenging the Schwartzian idea of a universal value system.

5.4   Summary

In investigating the effect of behavioural spheres on the salience of values, I employed three different methodologies: a web split-ballot experiment, face-to-face cognitive interviews and a face-to-face split-ballot experiment. By moving between these methods, I inductively developed a deeper understanding not only of the intersection between values and behavioural spheres but also of the cognitive processes involved in answering the PVQ items in the context of behavioural spheres.

Hence, the web experiment demonstrated that power, as attached to family life, security, as embedded in the familial and recreational sphere, universalism in relation to the occupational and recreational sphere and hedonism, as applied in the family life, were rated differently when contrasted against the general sphere. Given that split-ballots impose restrictions on the nature of researchers' explanatory efforts (Sniderman & Grob, 1996), cognitive interviews were conducted to shed light on the meanings of the findings.

Cognitive interviews unveiled that universalism in the recreational sphere was understood in terms of friendships, civic responsibilities and rights to leisure, while in the occupational sphere its meaning was constructed in relation to power, achievement, interpersonal trust, meritocracy and corporate responsibilities. In addition, security in the recreational sphere was understood in terms of civic rights, policing and interpersonal trust, whereas in the family sphere its meaning pertained to issues of emotional and financial security, political trust and social satisfaction. Hence, while the cognitive interviews revealed the variant meanings of values, they were also informative of problems pertinent to the measurement quality of the web experiment.

As a result, to improve the experiment it was re-designed and conducted employing a paper-based method. Because of the opportunistic nature of the sample and its small size, it was difficult to find statistical significance between the means. However, the data showed interesting trends, which supported a stronger and more frequent value specificity in comparison with the first experiment. In addition, the MDS analyses showed that the

introduction of behavioural sphere had an effect on the relationships between values. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to shed light on the reasons behind the variant value groupings across the spheres, due to the nature of the split-ballot design, which permits only post-hoc explanations of the results (Sniderman & Grob, 1996). Nevertheless, it was suggested that that different value systems emerged in different contexts probably due to the variation in the interpretation of values.

Although more research is necessary to further investigate the intersection between values and behavioural sphere –limitations and issues of further research will be covered in more detail in the discussion of this thesis-, what needs to be highlighted from the present experimental study is that many Schwartzian values exhibited contextuality. To date, this is the first endeavour in this area, which empirically establishes the viability of conceptualising and researching values in the context of behavioural spheres, as originally suggested by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck.
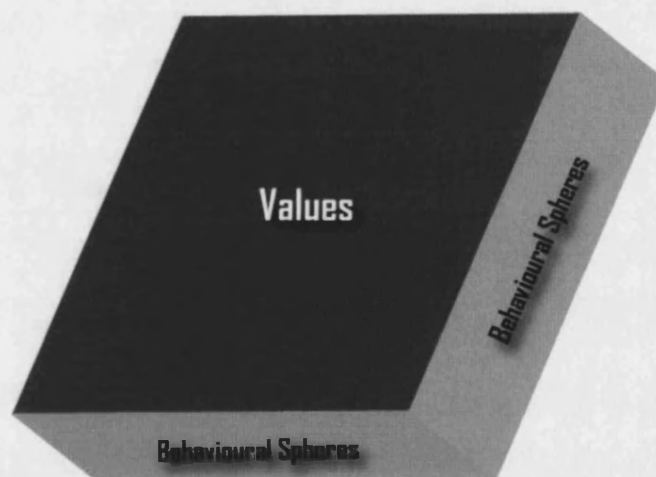
Figure 5. 3: *Values in the context of behavioural spheres*

With the present data highlighting the importance of interdependence between values and behavioural spheres (figure 5.3), their relationship is explored in more detail in the third part of this thesis. The final research study purports to investigate their intersection as informed by two different socio-cultural contexts as well as expound on how values become constructs of particular personal and social significance.

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6. Research Study III – Methods

6.1 Values and the Knowledge Society: A Qualitative Approach

'The scholar's endeavour must be first to give clarity and precision to our concepts, so that we may be enabled to formulate the problems of livelihood in terms fitted as possible to the actual features of the situation in which we operate; and second to widen the range of principles and policies at our disposal through a study of the shifting place of the economy in human society' (Polanyi, 1977:54). Polanyi's demands about delving into a *man's livelihood* as a precondition for better understanding economic processes is the starting point for this qualitative study.

As demonstrated in Chapter One, research on human values has been dominated by quantitative attempts to measure their importance and map their inter-relationships. While positivistic methodological approaches have instituted an understanding of values as finalised truthful representations of life goals and modes of living, the different meanings and connotations values take across life spheres have not been adequately researched. In addition, to the extent that scholarly efforts have focused on values at a single time point isolated from any context, they have failed to pay attention to the dynamic nature of values as it is marked by a process of reflecting, interpreting, experiencing and enacting one's values in relation to others' across different behavioural contexts and over one's life course. In many ways, how people 'construct', transform and make sense of their values in different spheres of their lives has not been understood. Considering the current research objectives, examining how the notion of 'context' is ingrained in the construction of the knowledge ethos becomes an important task. Moving beyond the idea of a universal value, I am interested in extracting the particular meanings of values as they emerge in variant life spheres. Qualitative methodology thus seems an amenable approach for achieving such an understanding.

A fundamental difference between qualitative and quantitative methods lies in the issue of who sets the agenda, the researcher or the respondent (Farr, 1993). Since this thesis aims at studying values as these are understood and constructed by the respondents, it is important that the researcher does not impose his/her values on the respondent. Interviews are essentially an appropriate means for acquiring access to the workers' reality. Sartre (Sartre, 1948) describes the need to understand people only through understanding

how they exist. In this vein, I am aiming to understand those elements workers use to create specific value meanings that contour the diversity of their realities and behavioural spheres. This chapter presents the methodology adopted in conducting and analysing the interviews.

6.2 Comparing Greece and Britain

The European Union continues to grow, thus becoming a place of contradictions and shifting socio-economic equilibriums, which essentially challenge the implementation of the Lisbon Agenda. In this respect, embarking on a comparative study between two European countries that demonstrate significant variation in industrialisation levels as well as in the structure of their employment sectors seems to be a good way to document the diverse experiences and meanings of the work ethos, as underpinned by values and how these attune or clash with the Lisbon objectives.

As a consequence, exploring the values of knowledge and services workers in Greece and Britain is considered a relevant research endeavour. On one hand, Greece represents a country with low industrialisation levels, which only recently started exhibiting a fast rate of economic development (Cordis Europa, 2003). On the other hand, Britain has long demonstrated its performance in research and innovation activities, thus using effectively its opportunities to generate and cultivate knowledge and talent. The choice of interviewing knowledge and service workers is premised on the findings from study I, which suggested interesting similarities between the two groups, thus inviting the question about the roots of such convergence. This is not of course to say that an investigation into the values of manual workers does not present any research interest. On the contrary, such an inquiry would certainly contribute to a more rounded understanding of the multidimensionality of the work ethos in the knowledge society. However, beyond the discovery of resembling value systems between knowledge and service workers, my efforts are also sustained by the awareness of the challenging nature of such an endeavour, which would generate an impossible amount of qualitative data for analysis in the context of this PhD project.

Keeping the above in mind, this qualitative exploration is organised around two main aims. Firstly, to examine the contextual underpinnings of the knowledge ethos in Greece and Britain. And secondly to sketch the differences and similarities between Greek and British knowledge and service workers in their construction of the knowledge ethos. An

investigation into workers' values and how these interconnect with their experiences of the socio-economic, political, cultural and professional spheres is anticipated to yield insights into the challenges and implications the pursuing of the Lisbon strategy entails for countries with different performances in the knowledge-based economy.

6.3 Interviews

Choosing to do interviews is guided by the assumption that through spoken language (dialogue, conversation) it is possible to gain access to people's dynamic and flexible constructions, perspectives and worldviews (Moscovici, 1984). Language is "what allows us to have the world we have' and 'makes possible the disclosure of the human world" (Taylor, 1995: p.9). Interviews, often characterised as conversations, albeit with a purpose (Glazier & Powell, 1992; Rubin & Rubin, 1995) are particularly useful to examine people's shared beliefs in a social context.

Focusing on participants' discourses provides the opportunity to explore in depth how individuals use stories to construct different versions of reality, reach a certain understanding of it and deal with the tensions pertinent to the divergent realities (Antaki, Billig *et al.*, 2002). Following an open-ended format in the interviews also encourages participants to explore and negotiate their own views, as each topic is raised and they can later be asked to elaborate.

6.4 Quality Assessment

Positivist approaches claim quality assurance on the basis on reliability, validity and representativeness. However, these criteria do not apply in qualitative inquiries, whose main objective focuses on the contextuality and heterogeneity of knowledge (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). Hence, in qualitative research there are different factors of excellence. Bauer and Gaskell (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000) describe quality in qualitative endeavours in terms of two public accountability criteria: *relevance* and *confidence*. Relevance refers to whether the research is both significant and useful in practical and/or theoretical terms. Confidence is a measure that ensures that the outcomes of the analysis, far from being a result of the researcher's imagination, are grounded in solid foundations and transparency that render them open to critical debate. It encompasses triangulation and reflexivity.

I have therefore combined different methodologies (i.e. survey, experiment, cognitive interviews and in-depth interviews) in this research to validate the findings. In doing so, apart from ensuring greater credibility of the data analysis (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000; Flick, 1992), the use of triangulation also operated as a means for achieving an in-depth understanding through an integrated examination of different angles and dimensions of the complex phenomena under study (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). Moreover, transparency and procedural clarity are ensured through the detailed descriptions of the research procedures (as well as through the appendices). Finally, the use of thick description shows how e.g. codes and quotations occur in their original contexts.

Triangulation is also a vehicle for "institutionalising the process of reflection in a research project" (Bauer, 2000; 345). Combining different methods is bound to reveal contradictions in the data thus forcing the researcher to reflect on their roots and look for interpretations. Examining a problem from multiple perspectives and struggling with such multiplicity thus fosters a reflective process, which needs to be reported. In this research, I have attempted to reflect not only on the process of constructing my analytical framework and analysing the data but also on my relationship with the interviewees.

Another confidence marker is corpus construction, which, Gaskell and Bauer (Gaskell, 2000b) argue that it is functionally equivalent to representative sampling and sample size, which aims to maximise the access to a variety of representations. This I attempted to achieve through selecting a variety of knowledge and service workers employed in various professional contexts. Since sample size is less important than evidence of 'meaning saturation' few interviews distributed across a wide range of strata are preferable over the absolute number of interviews (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). The sample was also segmented and interviews were analysed until there was evidence of saturation.

Applying alternative assessment criteria, qualitative methodologies clearly offer a valid and sound strategy for conducting social research. I hope that throughout this qualitative research endeavour I have achieved both clarity and transparency, and thus opened the door to public accountability. However, deciding on a particular methodology always brings with it its own benefits and limitations. The decisive factor is that each method needs to be consistent with the assumptions and underlying principles of the theory. In relation to the present research objectives, I hope I have shown how four different methodologies were suitable for their pursuit. The following section outlines the research procedures for the qualitative part of the thesis.

6.5 Research Procedure

6.5.1   Participants

To pursue the current research aims, I conducted twenty interviews in each country (40 in total). Each country set includes ten interviews with service and ten with knowledge workers. The selection of number of interviews was guided, as I have already mentioned, by the notion of "corpus construction" (Bauer & Gaskell, 2000). Both sexes were equally represented in each set and the mean age of workers was approximately 45 yrs. Participants were chosen from a variety of professional backgrounds on the basis of Florida's as well as my delineation of workers, derived from the cluster analysis (see chapter 3).

Knowledge workers were selected to belong both to the super-knowledge and the knowledge-professional sector. Service workers were chosen from a broad range of jobs that deal with everyday services and customer service and require on average higher education studies. Overall, I tried to segment participants based on their involvement with different professional domains of both sectors in order to "explore the range of opinions, the different representations of the issue" rather than simply " count opinions or people" (Gaskell, 2000:41). I attempted to match the occupations between the two country sets as closely as possible, although this was not always feasible. However, this does not impose any problems to the comparability of the data since the cross-cultural comparison is concerned more with sectors (knowledge versus services) than specific occupations. A detailed description of the occupations is available on table 6.1.

INTERVIEWEES' PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND	
United Kingdom	**Greece**
Service Workers	
1. Admin Assistant 2. Research Technician 3. Accountant 4. Bookshop Sales Manager 5. Bank Employee 6. Barman 7. Events Organiser 8. Sales Manager 9. Hairdresser – Owner of a salon 10. Porter	1. Admin Assistant 2. Research Technician 3. Accountant 4. Bookshop Sales Assistant 5. Bank Employee 6. Barman 7. Public Employee 8. Sales Manager 9. Owner of a newspaper kiosk 10. Retail Sales Assistant
Knowledge Workers	
1. Biochemist – Post Doc Researcher 2. Executive Director of Research Consultancy – Geneticist and Molecular Biologist 3. Economics Journalist 4. Furniture Designer 5. Entrepreneur & Consultant 6. Entrepreneur/ Managing Director of IT Company 7. R&D Manager 8. Architect 9. Corporate Lawyer 10. Musician & Osteopath	1. Biochemist – Academic Researcher 2. Microbiologist 3. Financial Manager 4. Artist 5. Entrepreneur/ Managing Director of a Diagnostics Lab - Immunologist 6. Chemical Engineer 7. R&D Manager 8. Microbiologist 9. Corporate Lawyer 10. Musician

Table 6. 1: *Occupational titles for British and Greek workers*

Of particular interest is the fact that the two bookshop employees both in Greece and the UK apart from their main job were also involved in professional activities of the knowledge sector whereby their main interests resided. Thus, their discourses exhibited elements that were adjacent more to those of knowledge than service workers. This finding lends support to Florida's thesis about the increasing permeability of boundaries between knowledge and service sector.

6.5.2 Topic Guide

The design of the topic guide is grounded in the definition of values as *guiding principles to the modes of conduct and states of existence*, the notion of behavioural spheres and Florida's theory about the knowledge ethos. The interviews followed a

biographical structure, asking participants about their professional background, their personal life, current work and future plans. Based on the premise that people use stories to think, talk about things and make sense of the world (Freeman, 1997), extracting narratives was seen as a useful approach to gain a deep understanding of the human predicament and its underpinnings. Acknowledging the multi-dimensionality inherent in social experience and lived realities (Mason, 2006), the purpose of the interviews was thus to offer the opportunity to the participants to talk about their lives and reflect on their position in the changing British or Greek realities respectively.

Specifically, questions targeted their views on a variety of issues ranging from the social, economic, cultural and political situation in their country, the European Union, the EU enlargement, immigration trends to well-being, job satisfaction and careers (see appendix for topic guide). The Greek and the British topic guides were slightly modified to address certain issues that were relevant to each cultural context. The interviews followed an in-depth and semi-structured format to allow the interviewees to talk about the issues that were most salient to them. However, the topic guide was followed fairly consistently to increase the comparability of the data.

6.5.3   Procedure

Interviews in Greece took place between July-September 2006 and between October 2006-April 2007 in the UK. Participants were contacted directly via email or telephone or through referral. In some cases, taking advantage of social networks, snowball sampling was used. During these contacts the identity of the researcher was clearly presented and the research aim was rephrased in order to avoid referring directly to the term "values". Hence, the interview was presented as an informal chat about the participants themselves, their jobs, their worldviews and how they see themselves in today's world affairs.

The interviews were conducted in London and Athens and took place in different locations (i.e. workplace, public spaces, respondents' houses etc) according to the interviewees' preference and convenience. Any questions with regards to the research were answered after the interview. Interviewees were thanked for their participation and the possibility of sharing the research results with them was offered. The duration of the interviews was between 35-100 minutes, depending on each interviewee's level of engagement. Interviews were digitally recorded, fully transcribed and analysed with the assistance of Atlas.ti qualitative analysis software.

To minimise the anxiety of the participants and establish a rapport with them (Gaskell, 2000a), I emphasised -before the interview- the casual nature of our conversation and the absence of any judgemental or evaluative attitude on my behalf to what they had to say. They were informed that they should not worry about right or wrong answers, as it was boldly noted that the interview aimed at what they had to say about themselves, their views and personal experiences. Confidentially and anonymity were assured and consent to the use of the recorder was obtained.

Due to participants' different cultural backgrounds, British participants were approached in a slightly different way at the outset of the interviews. Being aware that the culture of political correctness is very common and salient in the British society in contrast to Greece[24], to minimise politically correct answers as much as possible, I explicitly emphasised the casual nature of the interview and urged them to "speak their minds" without worrying how their answers may sound to me. Keeping this in mind and acknowledging the fact that participants were going to entrust me with their life stories, I tried to enhance their feeling of security during the interview as a precondition for the truthfulness of our relationship. In this respect, I kept expressing my interest and communicating my attention and unconditional recognition to what they were saying through verbal and non-verbal communication.

Reflecting on the interviewees' reactions to our conversation, it was interesting to observe a key cross-cultural difference. When thanking them for their effort and time at the end of each interview, while British workers responded in a normative polite way (i.e. you're welcome, my pleasure etc), Greek workers, on the other hand, reciprocated by also thanking me for offering them the opportunity to speak about themselves and voice their opinions. In a sense, the interview constituted a source of empowerment for them and this reaction essentially resonates with the content of their narratives, as I will exemplify in the next chapter. Perhaps, my Greek background may also have accounted for such a response.

6.5.4   Pilot study

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[24] The absence of political correctness was reflected in the blunt way in which workers told their stories.

Three pilot interviews were conducted with Greek workers to ensure that the topic guide was creating "an easy and comfortable framework for discussion, providing a logical progression through the issues in focus" (Gaskell, 2000a): 40). Changes to the topic guide were not necessary. Given the similarity of the topic guide, only one pilot interview was conducted with the British workers just to confirm the cross-cultural relevance of the questions.

6.5.5   Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines as outlined by the British Psychological Society (1999) regarding research with human participants were followed. The present study did not require any further ethical considerations beyond confidentiality and informed consent. When selecting interviewees full information about their role and contribution to the project was provided.

6.6 Analytical Objectives

The analysis was based on the assumption that a value is not an unproblematic given and that it is actively constructed by people as embedded in different socio-cultural contexts. The level of the analysis focused on the diversity of values and the plurality of contexts in which they operate. The main purpose was to uncover the different forms and multiple meanings of values and the ways in which they connect with each other. The key questions that guided the analysis were:

- What are the differences in the content and meaning of values between knowledge and services workers?

- How do workers legitimise and express their values through their discourse? What are the differences between knowledge and service workers?

- How does the notion of behavioural spheres intersect with value meanings and permeate workers' endeavours to enact them?

6.6.1   Analytical Process : Developing a Coding Frame

Atlas.ti. qualitative software was used to achieve these research objectives and explore the particularities of values in the workers' discourse. Atlas.ti is a useful tool for exploring and analysing qualitative data, enabling the researcher to build codes and code hierarchies as well as compare codes and quotations across different documents. Therefore, it contributes to a quicker, more efficient and transparent coding process which can be fully recorded. In addition, it facilitates the conceptual and analytical process through the creation and retrieval of memos attached to codes or quotations (Barry, 1998). In all, it is a tool that simplifies rather than substitutes the process of thinking, coding and analysing the data.

Using Atlas.ti I created two Hermeneutic Units (HU)[25], each one encompassing the interviews from each country (GR & GB). All interviews were imported in the respective HU, which were then divided into two different families (Primary Documents Families). These represented the two occupational groups: knowledge and service workers. This was done in order to increase flexibility in the searching process -at a later stage- thus enabling me to focus my attention only on a specific group if I wished to. Greek and British groups were coded separately but applying the same coding framework. However, there were slight differences in the salience of some codes which will be analysed later.

The goal of the analysis was the same for both groups and aimed at documenting the varied forms, contexts and meanings of values embedded in the narratives of knowledge and service workers. The topic guide was driven by the concept of behavioural spheres. Hence, the questions targeted human values indirectly through asking the interviewees to provide their insights on the social, political, cultural and economic situation of Britain and Europe in general and to reflect on their occupational and personal lives.

The first stage of exploring the data entailed a repeated reading of my interview transcripts, which was an essential task in order to familiarise myself with the data and their preliminary connections with my objectives (Schmidt, 2004, pg253). After this initial engagement with the interviews, I started coding my transcripts. The coding process was informed both by my theory but also from the first two studies. Hence, during the first step of the coding process my coding frame was based on the ten universal values proposed by Schwartz, on Florida's theory about the creative ethos and the values derived from the ESS dataset. These were my *principal codes*. However, I soon realised that these three typologies were restrictive in capturing the different meanings and forms of values. Hence,

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[25] A Hermeneutic Unit (HU) is like a container where all qualitative data are stored. Essentially, it refers to everything that is relevant to a research project (primary documents, codes, families, networks, memos etc).

my coding started obtaining a more detailed focus by including specific topics and value statements that composed the meaning of a general value (principal code).

For instance, the code 'achievement' incorporated sub-codes such *as achievement, national achievement, love for work, work satisfaction, professional autonomy, meritocracy, capable, mobility, motivation, passivity, sacrifices, balance between work and personal life, collaborations, hard work.*

When I started analysing the interviews I focused my attention on the specific meanings that values had in the narratives. Given that Atlas.ti allows the researcher to assign unlimited quotations to one code and vice versa (one quotation can be assigned unlimited codes), I realised that the values were interwoven within multiple behavioural contexts. For example, *openness to diversity* was a code that was created to examine 'how open or resistant interviewees were towards new and different ideas, people , trends, countries, cultures, jobs, careers etc. As a result, it was very difficult to detect all those reference frames that contoured the construction of value meanings in an insightful and meaningful way. After reading and re-reading my interviews and reviewing constantly the coding framework, establishing general groups of codes (*families*) that were based on the notion of behavioural spheres came to me like *a flash (Bude, 2004:).*

Reflecting back on the process of building the present coding framework, I realise that the idea of creating *families* from the standpoint of behavioural spheres was in my mind long before the interviews given the centrality of the concept in the previous chapters and studies as well as its role as an organising principle in the topic guide. This process of realisation alludes to Bude's thinking about the art of interpreting qualitative data, based on which he observes that 'there is such a thing as 'timing' in the interpretative process, according to which one might be too early but also too late: too early because the relevant reference contexts have not yet all been traced and too late because the associations disperse in a useless infinity' (Bude, 2004, pg). Thus, moving beyond value typologies, I organised the *families* around the notion of life spheres within which values were found to be operating and constructed differently. These were the following:

- Socio-Economic Sphere ⎫
- Cultural Sphere   ⎬   SECP
- Political Sphere   ⎭
- Professional Sphere
- Personal Sphere (SWB)

I decided to merge the first three spheres into one, the SECP (socio-economic-cultural-political) sphere, because political, economic and socio-cultural issues as these were being described and narrated by the interviewees were interlocked with each other. Following the segmentation of the codes into behavioural spheres, I explored the main themes that arose in each coded text through addressing the following three questions: a) *what* is the interviewee saying through this utterance, b) *how* is the message communicated and c) *why* is the message communicated in that way. While *what* focuses mainly on the content of the theme communicated, *how* and *why* allude to the underlying parameters contouring the workers' narratives. Answering to these two questions led me to locate the implicit value dimensions, which compose the dynamic nature of workers' valuing processes. A description of the coding framework is provided on figure 6.1.
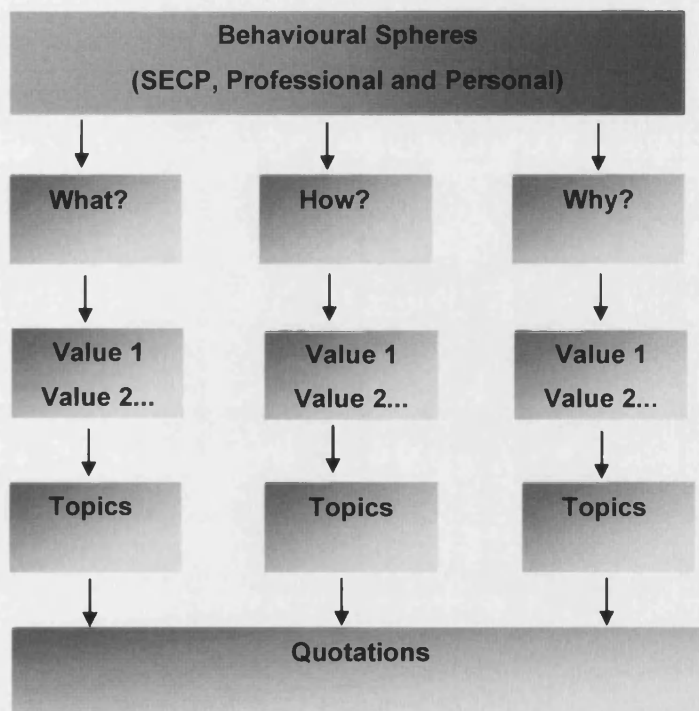
Figure 6. 1: *Coding Framework*

In sum, the analysis started from focusing on thematic utterances within each interview and was then expanded to investigate thematic utterances across interviews and in particular between occupational groups. From the textual and thematic level, I finally moved on to the conceptual and interpretative level. As a result, the analysis moved beyond the individual stories of the interviewees and attempted to locate patterns across

the discourses of the two groups and the two countries. The exploration of patterns and connections was facilitated with the use of memos and comments in Atlas.ti.

Before drawing a comparison between the services and knowledge group, I will be first presenting the results from each set of narratives. As already noted, given that values operate on both explicit and implicit levels, I will start by sketching the themes workers' narratives touched on. This brief summary of the explicit level will be useful in providing a first general picture of *what* the interviewees talked about in the context of each of three specified behavioural spheres. The results show the complex and dynamic character of values, which operated in plural ways. This type of analysis will then be followed by an inquiry into the ways (*how*) in which value statements were constructed and communicated in an attempt to understand the driving forces (*why*) behind workers' valuing processes.

7. Interviewing British Workers - Findings

7.1 Explicit Level: What do workers talk about?

7.1.1 SECP Sphere

Starting from the themes that dominated workers' discourses about the SECP sphere, both knowledge and service workers discussed similar issues but sometimes from different perspectives. To begin with, **knowledge workers** were concerned about *social and economic inequalities* in the British society, which were examined in light of social, educational, religious, cultural and political changes. Inequalities were seen as inevitable consequences of Britain's orientation to *openness to change and diversity* (i.e. immigration), which was acclaimed as an important personal and social value. Discourses about immigration had two sides. On the one hand, migrants were described in a favourable way, perceived to be bringing their skills, talents, customs and food habits to the British society (and especially London) thus making it an exciting place to live. On the other hand, some referred to the pitfalls of immigration in terms of space resources and social tensions. This last point was analysed in some cases in the context of extremism.

Regarding their views on the current economic situation, knowledge workers expressed their pride in Britain's *economic achievements* which were constructed as distinct from any other European achievements. However, they saw a gloomy economic future. As such, apart from social concerns their discourse was also marked by the fear of a looming *economic recession* (in the properties and pensions domain). Last but not least, *environmental issues* (i.e. recycling, global warming, pollution, sustainability) occupied an important role in their discussion about the future.

The discourse of **service workers** also touched upon issues of *social inequalities* and *social segregation*, which were analysed in the context of class divisions, immigration trends but also regional differences (i.e. South versus North England, London versus rest of England). Unemployment was discussed as a serious implication of immigration. *Everyday crime* and *terrorism* seemed to preoccupy service workers to a great extent and in particular their effects on the British cultural life and social institutions (i.e. education and family). When the discussion moved to the wider geo-political context (i.e. European enlargement, Turkey's integration in EU) some responses revealed a complete lack of engagement and interest in such topics. In general, future was envisaged in an unsettling way through the prism of racial tensions, identity alienation and constrained space and

work resources, due to *immigration*. Environmental issues were absent from their narratives.

7.1.2 Professional Sphere

Knowledge workers' discourses about the professional sphere explicated the constituents of their *passion* for what they do and their future career plans. To start with, *fascination and enthusiasm* about their jobs emerged as key themes in their narratives. These were communicated with reference to different aspects of their jobs, mainly associated with processes of problem solving and sense making (of situations and people), which were characterised as creative, exciting and challenging. Their short career biography also revealed their frequent *mobility* over the years across organisations and countries, which was motivated by the pursuit for new and exciting experiences.

When reflecting on their future, some were clear and explicit about their goals (i.e. becoming a partner or a freelance consultant, writing a book, teaching, writing music that reaches out millions of people etc); some others emerged with no plans but with a strong awareness of their needs and priorities (i.e. doing something challenging and fun). Moreover, the presence of different layers in their professional passion entailed sometimes their engagement with *voluntary professional activities*, which was rooted in the love for what they do and in the value of universalism.

In some cases **service workers'** discourse about their professional lives conveyed their *satisfaction* but not their fascination about their jobs. This was evident by non-verbal communication as well as the linguistic terms they employed to talk about their jobs. Most of the interviewees seemed to draw satisfaction mainly from the *social networks* established within their work sphere rather than from the nature of the work per se. *Convenience* (i.e. proximity of their house to work), *remuneration,* but also *work atmosphere* (i.e. meeting interesting people, having fun with colleagues) emerged as important elements of their satisfaction. In envisaging their future, some workers expressed their desire to *do something different* from their current job, whereas some others identified with their work and were not keen on switching careers. In these cases the need for professional advancement in their field characterised their narratives about their future. For all workers -knowledge and service- *succeeding* in their work was deemed important illustrating their *eagerness* to materialise their professional aspirations.

7.1.3   Personal Sphere – Quality of Life

The narratives about professional life were closely intertwined with the narratives about quality of life and well-being. **Knowledge workers** emphasised the importance of *balance between professional and personal life*, which was examined in the context of work schedules. While *social networks* were mentioned as contributing significantly to their quality of life, some also referred to the importance of *recreational activities* like sailing, gardening, exercising etc. Their *job* appeared to be an indispensable constituent of their well-being given its role in cultivating feelings of fulfilment and excitement.

Likewise, work emanated as a salient factor of quality of life in the **services workers'** discourse. *Social networks* and *interpersonal relationships*, which comprised their friends and family (e.g. health and happiness for family members), were also congenial the idea of 'good life'. *Travelling, shopping* and *cultural events* were discussed among those recreational activities that contributed to their well-being. *Financial autonomy* was mentioned as providing the basis for enjoying all the above, thus becoming a key constituent of quality of life.

7.2 Tacit Level: 'What' do workers talk about and 'how' do they say it?

The previous section presented a description of the content of the workers' discourses, which unveiled only sparse differences between the two groups. This was due to the fact that all discourses unfolded in multiple, conflicting and contradictory ways thus making it difficult to pinpoint divergences. Such 'abnormality' in the narratives is of course inevitable, as Marotzki also observes, since the world of human meanings, processes and thoughts is by nature heterogeneous and embedded in a diversity of individual values and lifestyles (Marotzki, 2004). As a consequence, looking for specific types of values or patterns of contradictions that differentiated the two narratives was found to be a limiting analytical scope.

Shifting the attention to 'how' stories about values were being narrated within the various contexts proved to be more useful. For it allowed to unravel the underlying meanings of values in the various spheres and examine the contextual processes in which these were produced. Looking at the "what" in the context of "how" revealed that the discourses were being constructed along the time continuum: the past, the present and the future. From this viewpoint, differences between knowledge and service workers were

found to be rooted in the ways in which each group was employing the concept of *time* to articulate their positions about their values. The role of time in revealing differences in the narratives of the two groups was more salient in value statements referring to the SECP context.

7.2.1 Time & SECP Context

Before delving into a comparative examination between service and knowledge workers, I am noting the meanings of values in the discourses of both groups about the SECP sphere in relation to time. In reflecting upon the *past*, while some workers integrated the values of *tradition, universalism, openness to diversity and change* into claims of resentment and regret about the colonial past, some others embedded these into nostalgic statements about the waning glory of the British Empire. Thus, feelings of shame about the colonial past co-existed with feelings of unease about the unwanted effects that colonialism has brought to British people today. In this respect, interviewees oscillated between universalistic and segregating discourses. Based on the former, they discussed the benefits arising out of immigration and human diversity. In the latter context, they referred to immigration as impeding their present and future as British citizens. Beyond immigration, *openness to diversity* and *change* together with *achievement and power* were framed in terms of Britain's relationship with Europe and the role of the latter in the British socio-economic trajectory. In this respect, some discussions were fraught with feelings of contempt about Britain's estrangement from the EU, while others conveyed feelings of pride about Britain managing its economy without the Europeans emphasising the benefits arising from such separation. Last but not least, stories about the political past of Britain (e.g. Margaret Thatcher's policy) and its impact on its economic and social progress were also found important in shaping the meanings of *power, achievement* and *universalism*.

Discourses about the past were thus interlocked with discourses about the *present*. Values like *universalism, openness to diversity* and *change, benevolence* and *power* were articulated through narratives on immigration and social inequalities in Britain. These intertwined with stories about *conformity* and the role of the media in fuelling moral panics and guiding people's thoughts and attitudes about terrorism, crime and racism. *Power* and *achievement* were also enunciated through narratives about politics and economic policy convergence or divergence between Britain and other countries (i.e. US, India, China etc). Last but not least, workers in discussing these issues demonstrated their nostalgia about

the waning importance of communities and family values, thus alluding to the importance of *tradition*.

Finally, discussions about the past and present were extended to the *future*, which produced concerns about racial tensions as contingent upon phenomena of extremism. Their impact on perpetuating ethnic segregation in Britain was examined in the context of social and educational inequalities. In a similar vein, with reference to the long-term effects of immigration influx, discourses were divided between those that focused on the restrictions imposed on house and work resources and those that associated immigration with enrichment of the work and social life of Britain thus forging multiple meanings for *universalism, openness to diversity* and *change* and *security*. Values of *power, security* and *achievement* appeared also to reside in scenarios about the British economic life, thus foreseeing an economic recession due to the extant crisis in the properties and pensions domain. The future of politics in Britain was examined in the context of changes in the leadership of the British Labour party (Gordon Brown replacing Tony Blair) as well as in relation to political changes and the economic situation in other countries (i.e. India, China, America). Last but not least, values of *security* and *universalism* were framed in the context of environmental concerns about the planet's future.

VALUES	PAST	PRESENT	FUTURE
• **Tradition** • **Universalism** • **Openness to Diversity & Change**	• Immigration • Colonialism – British Empire		
• **Power** • **Achievement** • **Openness to Change**	• Europe - Britain		
• **Universalism** • **Power** • **Achievement**	• Political Changes (e.g. Margaret Thatcher)		
• **Universalism** • **Openness to Diversity & Change** • **Benevolence** • **Power**		• Immigration (tensions, extremism, racism) • Social divides and inequalities • Class Division • Role of Media	
• **Tradition**		• Waning of family values & social capital	
• **Power** • **Achievement** • **Openness to Change**		• Europe- Britain • British political and economic trajectory within the wider geo-political arena	
• **Conformity** • **Universalism** • **Openness to Diversity & Change** • **Security**		• Role of Media	• Ethnic segregation • Terrorism • Immigration • Social divides and inequalities • Space Resources (i.e. housing)
• **Universalism** • **Security**			• Environmental Concerns
• **Power** • **Security** • **Achievement**			• Economic Recession • Economic and Political changes in other countries

Table 7. 1: *Values contextualised along the time continuum.*

7.2.2 How do Knowledge Workers use Time to construct and justify their values in comparison to Service Workers?

Taking the analysis to the comparative level, I am now turning my gaze at how British knowledge and services workers' values within the SECP context (as illustrated on table 7.2) were enunciated through their utterances about time. Hence, time was employed differently by the two groups to express and justify their values. While discourses about *openness to human diversity* co-existed with discourses about *security* in both groups, they justified their values by drawing on the past, present and future in different ways. **Service workers** when trying to create meanings about the present social and cultural situation in Britain, they seemed to take little notice of the role of past events and historical changes in shaping and contouring the present. For instance, when reasoning about openness to human diversity and change through the lens of immigration, they discussed about the risks and benefits (i.e. immediate effects) that influence their current way of living and how these are likely to extend to the future.

"Yeah it (immigration) has positives and negatives. I think... I don't know... I suppose... it is sort of difficult to say really without feeling a bit rude you know... I think sometimes it has gotten to the point where it is a very big issue and I think eventually possibly the more people come in over the years puts a restrain on certain resources like health and education and things like that... when you have to accommodate... things like housing and... I think a lot of people leave the city because it is getting busy and people like to move out of the country and I think it has an effect because it brings house prices up and it creates this sort of... but I think it has a lot of positives about it and I think it is a lot more noticeable nowadays... I think every time you sit down and talk with certain people it crops up you know... it is a very big thing" *(SW, Research Assistant)*

Their process of creating meanings of values did not extend from the past, to examine its role in shaping the present and the future. Thus, their stories about values of openness to diversity were characterised mainly by references to the *Present*, thus taking a less integrative approach in constructing and justifying their values about the SECP context.

On the contrary, **knowledge workers'** reasoning about SECP related values seemed to be more integrative of the past, the present and the future. They were aware of how all three time dimensions bind together shaping their views and their values. Their stories about immigration, diversity and geo-political changes showed a greater engagement with the past in order to think about the present and the future. For example, references to the

social structures of Victorian times, colonialism, Thatcher's reforms, past immigration trends were present in their discourses about issues of immigration and diversity.

"Well immigration has affected the UK very very positively. You will be very hard pushed to find someone who is a native Celt. There are almost no native Celts left. There is a few people who are left who are actually of the earliest stock that we know of as English that are left in the far corners of Wales and Cornwall. Most people don't remember that. They say 'oh immigration is people who came after I was born and so this lot of people are evil immigrants that are stealing our jobs'. Whereas the fact that my family came here two hundred years ago, that wasn't immigration? In fact we even have politicians who trade on that. You make people feel scared by something then we can make laws to give us more power". (KW, R&D Manager)

This difference between the two groups should not be understood in terms of knowledge deficits. The difference is rather grounded in the willingness of certain workers to be involved in a continuous self-observation, which would require a systematic reflection of their life trajectory and the contexts in which it unfolds (Giddens, 1991). Such an endeavour encompasses a reflection of the past, how it affects the present and how it opens out to the future.
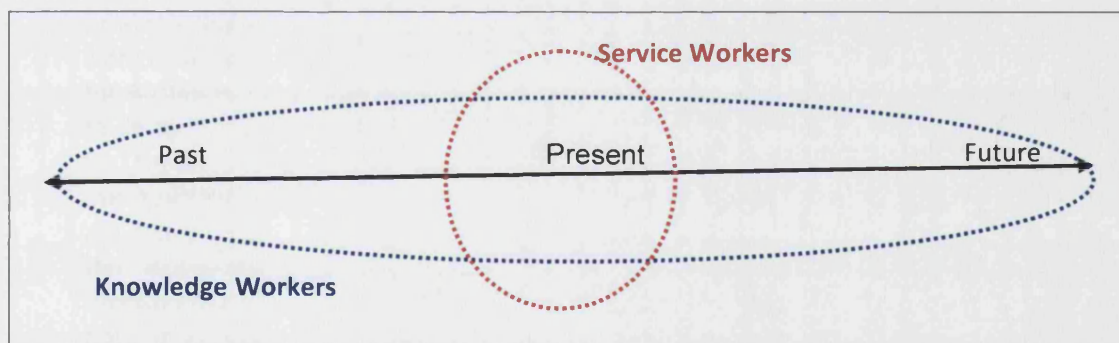
Figure 7. 1: *How workers position themselves along the time continuum to talk about SECP values.*

In line with the above, when workers were asked to frame their insights about the future of the British society service workers' discourse appeared unequivocal in the following manner. While they articulated their fears about the future as extensions of their stories about the present, these declarations did not involve accounts of plausible interpretations and solutions to the concerns they voiced and were thus limited to a mere expression of emotions (i.e. worries, fears, anxiety etc).

*"- **How do you see Britain in 10 years time?**
- I would say it will... it will still have its problems but on balance as a society it's umm... it's still a very good society. And it will maintain its etiquettes and standards even after ten years. Ten years from now I think it will maintain its good humanitarian laws and the way it looks after its citizens who are less fortunate. But the imbalances will always remain. The mistakes made by governments... like for example with the Iraq crisis and the decision to go to war. Due to human nature ... ten years from now I think there will be a lot of controversy... in England and there always will be...I would say for example that ... politically speaking there are a lot of shortcomings... I am not in conflict with the country I am living in... in England... it is a very good place to live...so to summarize your question I would say I don't... I see a lot of progress will be made in ten years time as there has been in the last twenty years. There will be a lot more progress but I think basically as a nation the country will maintain its dignity and its general goods sense of... the well being of its citizens".* (SW, Portier)

On the other hand, knowledge workers were more open to constructing alternative scenarios and solutions to their fears and worries. In establishing their suggestions and views of the future, they drew heavily on their professional contexts.

"I think it would be interesting to see what becomes of the health system in this country. If that keeps going or whether if there is a backlash against a lot of private medicine, I don't know. I think we will adopt the American system. I can see that happening. Especially if you have more of an aging population that is going to bring about big changes. Other than that I think it is hard to predict I think medical advances in terms of things that people would've died from or died earlier from, aging diseases, I think they will probably find a cure for Alzheimer's in the next ten to twenty years I am sure or at least something to delay it. Spinal injuries... I am sure they will find a way to get around that. So I think that will be interesting to see. I think the climate change does worry me. Yeah but although I think something is going in a good way. I think people are more aware of it but that is one thing that will worry me all the flooding the extremes of temperature.   Oh! and I suppose also the sort of fundamentalist terrorists that I find a bit worrying because it has such a big hold on people. Well I do think it is not really fear.. it is what will happen with China and India because they are... particularly China is getting more and more powerful in terms of the market where they never really had that influence before.   So I think that will really be interesting to see". (KW, Executive Director and Molecular Biologist)

7.3 Boundaryless and Bounded Universalism – Local versus Global Boundaries

Time was not the only factor that marked the process of creating and justifying value meanings. Space, not in the form of behavioural spheres but in the form of perceived cultural boundaries, was found to be another important element in the valuing processes.

Specifically, the notion of cultural boundaries reflects the extent to which workers' stories about values pertinent to the British SECP context integrated or excluded stories about changes occurring in other cultures and countries that transcend the British reality. In comparison to services workers, **knowledge workers'** positions about the British social, cultural, economic and political situation were embedded in discourses about global changes. For instance, the distinction between the British Labour and Conservative party was compared with that between the Republicans and Democrats in the USA or the British social welfare system was contested through its contrast with the Swedish model.

"I think what we should do as a country is learn more from Europe and look at, you know, take case studies of what I see is becoming a modern European nation...particularly Scandinavian countries and Holland , Germany but Holland and Scandinavia perhaps most of all... But I relate to the way that another thing that is wrong in England which is perhaps also an American thing is the way that supermarkets become so big. And I think they break down communities because they kind of kill off small shops like obviously the butchers and fish markets.... The way forward would be look at John Lewis. I think John Lewis seems more like the kind of company you get in Scandinavia. It is more like the Swedish bus department or company in terms where they put their staff in well fitting nicely made clothes that fit them and make them look presentable and they seem happy and are always knowledgeable". (KW, Furniture Designer)

On the other hand, **services workers** talked about the same issues in a national framework. Hence, descriptions of British rather than global conditions were more likely to contour their narratives and forge their meaning of universalism. Bearing this in mind, the present findings suggest that the importance an individual assigns to openness to change and diversity is not the only constituent that defines the meaning of universalism. Further to this, universalism was found to be bound to a process of constructing and situating its meaning within a spatial symbolic context that is demarcated by tendencies to rely upon and/or transcend one's immediate sphere of experience and interests. In this respect, the process of positioning oneself in the local and the global reality mediated the configuration of the meaning of universalism.

7.4 Discourses of Control: Conformity & Security in Context

Given that stories about openness to diversity and universalism appeared to interweave with discourses about security, it is interesting to investigate how interviewees constructed the meaning of security as embedded in different behavioural spheres. *Security* was primarily regarded, implicitly or explicitly, a *sine-qua-non* for having a good life by all interviewees and was discussed in relation to control and conformity, which appeared to be functioning in a relational and pluralistic way. Starting with their contextualisation in the *SECP* sphere, **service workers** were explicit about their dissatisfaction about the inadequacy of governmental measures regulating the influx of immigrants and emphasised the government's obligation to increase control in this domain.

"I think immigration has affected the UK positive and negative really. I mean if you talk to my parents, it is generally negative as far as they are concerned. But I don't think we planned very well for immigration I think that if you are going to have quite an extensive immigration you have to have the infrastructure to deal with it and I don't think we did that very well. Well things like there is not enough school places in London, you know. In all the places that immigrants want to live, you know all the big cities and stuff like that there is not enough school places… there is not enough money to keep them going… not enough housing… there is not enough… do you know what I mean? It has not been planned for very well". (SW, Admin Assistant)

The need for further control also emerged in the context of their fear of crime (mainly pertinent to phenomena of terrorism). The crime situation in Britain and specifically in London was characterised as volatile, which led some services workers to declare their anxiety and defend the need for tighter laws and measures. At the same time, feelings of pride about the ability of Britain to remain autonomous from the European Union and thus preserve its identity framed their views about the relationships between Britain and the EU.

" I don't say I am European… and when the euro thing came out and we stayed with the pound… I quite liked that! I'd rather stay and convert and… I think the whole euro thing… and sort of being told by the higher authorities that this is how you have to be according to the rest of Europe… I like the fact of being an individual and in this country you can still be an individual you don't have to be affected by this by this overall thing. I don't think of myself as a European". (SW, Research Assistant)

This last point was also present in the **knowledge workers'** discourses about the EU and while they also found security –in relation to the fear of terrorism- to be very

important, they embarked on discourses that contested the essence of control and conformity. And they did this through discussing the media's power to market and control people, delving into the role and ability of the latter to confront the media's tendencies to manipulate the public opinion. Commentaries about Britain's tendency to adjoin the American model of doing politics and producing culture were also part of these discourses.

"Now everybody is saying that Christmas is under attack. Politically correct people say... it is not under attack that is ridiculous but people like to think that they are under attack you know..there is a campaign that says people are banning Christmas decorations people are banning... people like to think... but nothing has been banned. But the seduction of an argument of what you hold dear is being attacked it is so strong and people always respond to that anybody will respond to that...Partly because everybody loves being a victim and even if you have a nice house in Surrey and a dog and a nice job and a big 4x4... the idea of being attacked is very powerful. I think it is a very powerful thing that strikes your soul. I think it is a combination of things. ..well our newspaper culture in Britain is very cynical. They don't really worry about what is true, they kind of worry about scaring people and inspiring fear....I know one thing it is particularly bad in Britain. They really fabricate stories like the classic story that the Christmas decorations have been banned because they offend the minorities". (KW, Journalist)

An equally important facet of their discourse on security and conformity touched upon the essence of institutional control. This was perceived to be impinging on people's civil rights and freedom of expression through a continuous propagation of laws and various regulations, which was seen as enslaving people.

"One of the things I find not so good about Britain... I think we see this things like in the office I work which is too rules and regulations and complexity through rules and regulation... your life gets tied down and it gets impossible to move.. it is like you get tied in a kind of stray jacket and you can't move and I feel like that about Britain and I think that is why I would like to go live abroad.... when I went to Georgia in the former U.S.S.R on a working holiday... it was fantastic... I was on the Chechnya border and a friend of mine, who was for a charity there said you have to see the...it is like the Alps before they got spoiled. There were no footsteps not rules no shops no tourists... no rules nothing.. it felt for us in our luxury positions on our working holiday this incredible freedom, for the women in that country there wasn't but for us there was. We were ridding without a riding hat... driving without a seatbelt... it was like whoopee I can breath and make your own decision about how security and how risky you want to be and feels a bit like being a grown up". (KW, Architect)

Meanwhile, both groups discussed the essence of control and security in relation to social capital and family. Without making explicit claims about the need for control, their references to the waning importance of communities and families that once used to serve as arenas for the cultivation of a shared sense of social responsibility evoked feelings of nostalgia for the past. These were understood as emphasising the significance of social ties as means of social control. As such, family and communitarian values occupied a prominent role in the British discourses of control and security in the SECP sphere.

When the discourse moved to the *professional sphere*, the notion of behavioural sphere interplayed with that of time to produce different stories of control. These were rooted in the workers' views of satisfaction in their current jobs and visions of their future careers. Satisfaction was implicitly linked with the abundance or shortage of opportunities for control in the workplace. By control, I refer to the workers' sense of power and agency over influencing job parameters that arose as important to them (i.e. controlling time schedule, managing supervisors and colleagues, workflow etc).

Insofar as many **service workers** appeared to be enjoying fewer opportunities for control than knowledge workers, their *openness to changing careers* and/or *occupational roles* in the future was found to be rooted in their need to obtain more control of those factors contributing to their satisfaction as well as in the wish to progress and succeed professionally. On the other hand, **knowledge workers** seemed to be more in control of their professional lives. To this extent, their openness to change (mainly between *roles* and *organisations* but not careers) echoed their interest in remaining stimulated, inspired and challenged by their work but also, like service workers, in actualising their aspirations.

> "I don't know still making music, much more refined osteopath still don't want to be too refined of a musician I like to have still an edge make rough music not stuff that is so polished but the exact opposite in osteopathy incredibly smooth and refined osteopath. Uhh a lot more fun...Fun in a sense that I don't get too bored. Like a lot of people say in ten years from now I will be pushing 40 and all the people I know that are pushing forty are like so boring very dull".
> (KW, Osteopath and Musician)

Hitherto, despite the variances in the discourses about control and conformity, all workers sought to preserve or enhance their feeling of security. When contextualised in the SECP sphere, both groups defended the importance of control and security but knowledge workers also protested against the hidden risks of enhanced institutional control. In the professional sphere, the interaction between the notion of time and behavioural sphere produced different meanings of control adjacent to values of achievement, power,

stimulation and hedonism. In all, the meanings of control and security were forged in relation to different behavioural spheres and values, thus establishing multiple meanings.

DISCOURSES OF CONTROL	
SERVICE WORKERS	KNOWLEDGE WORKERS
• Openness to human diversity and change • Security and conformity/control as important constituents of good living	
• Fear of losing control over their lives with reference to crime and immigration trends • Pride over Britain's independence from EU	• Demands for less control on civic liberties, such as freedom of expression and thinking (Political Correctness) • Demands for less conformity to the media • Less conformity to the American model • Pride and regret over Britain's independence from EU
• Importance of family and social capital	• Importance of family and social capital
• Open to change careers, professional roles and organisations to obtain control over factors, which contribute to their job satisfaction and secure success.	• Open to change professional roles and organisations to secure success and preserve their professional stimulation.

Table 7. 2: *Discourses of control.*

7.5 Argumentative Talks: Answering the Why?

7.5.1   Openness to human diversity and change in Britain

Openness to diversity was another value that distinguished the two groups. In this case, the difference originated in the arguments workers mobilised to exemplify their endorsement. Hence, all workers -to a large extent- emerged as proponents of the idea of having their national borders open to migrants but their discourses revealed a distinctive argumentation underpinning their support for openness. Specifically, in talking about the benefits of immigration, the enrichment of social and cultural life in London occupied a central role in the rhetoric of both knowledge and services workers. With this rhetoric, they emphasised the importance of meeting people from different cultures and enjoying multi-ethnic cuisine. In some cases, the economic value of immigration constituted an important

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argument in the discourses. And this became the theme about which the workers argued in distinctive ways.

In **service workers'** stories, this argument was diluted in claims about Britain's economic development through cheap labour. Notwithstanding the salience of such contention in the narratives of **knowledge workers**, they also justified their openness to new and different people by concentrating on the value of immigrants as ontological beings. From this perspective, immigrants where seen as carrying with them new skills and talents which enrich the economic and cultural life of Britain beyond food and cheap labour. In parallel, they recognised the universal nature of the right to work and identified migration to Britain as a legitimate action and an inalienable human right. Admittedly, the discourse of knowledge workers about openness was driven by individualistic arguments. However, it was also founded on meritocratic and egalitarian premises.

> "London has all that history and it will always change. It will always be full of people... you know... everyone goes all about all the Polish people coming in but that has always been like that... and that's what... that's what I think makes it interesting. But that's what makes it survive; because all those people are bringing in new skills and they get everybody on their toes. It is no different... it has been like that for thousands of years...I think they have improved it. I think they have brought in new skills and you can look back over centuries and see when they brought in the weavers, the Flemish weavers, and then the gold dealers and all the different skills that have come in have just added to it. I think it is... it can only be a good thing". (KW, Executive Director & Biologist)

Here one might note that the discourse about openness to diversity and change nicely explicates the intricacies involved in the dialogic processes of making sense of the world and one's position in it, as outlined in chapter one (Hermans, 1996, 2001). To illustrate this, **service workers** constructed the meaning of openness by connecting immigration with benefits that extend to themselves and their country. In this respect, they failed to take account of the migrants' subjectivities embodied in the reasons, choices and rationales of their mobility. As a consequence, the meaning of openness emerged as 'talking' about immigrants in a way that excluded their perspectives, which implied their depersonalisation and reiterated a dynamic of 'us' and 'them'.

> "I think you know the more right wing argument is yes but that there is a huge demand for immigration that means there are less jobs and we don't have. And so I was going to say that I am lucky that I am... it doesn't affect me in a

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way that I get jobs but actually even if it did because it is you know... each for their own, you know". *(SW, Events Organiser)*

On the other hand, knowledge workers' discourse generated similar claims but these were compounded with arguments that seemed to recognise migrants' voices and understand the reasons underpinning their mobility towards Britain. In doing so, they were allowed to think and reflect upon the ontology of the immigrants (i.e. their experiences). To this extent, knowledge workers arose as more prone to position themselves *in* dialogue with immigrants and their experiences, thus establishing a multidimensional perception of them as individuals. Conversely, service workers' definition of openness was mostly characterised by a reasoning that associated migrants with personal benefits.

"Well, my parents immigrated here after completing their studies there in India both of them are doctors so they did their MD's out there then came here for work and job opportunities. I know that like for me to work anywhere else it is like taking a pay cut. So working in London means you have power". (KW, Osteopath & Musician)
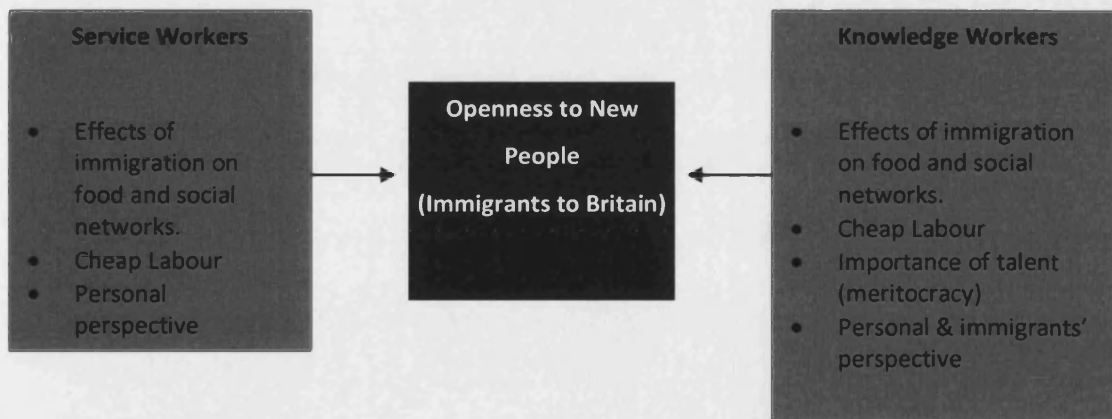
Figure 7. 2: *Meaning of openness to human diversity in relation to immigration*

7.5.2 Openness to human diversity and change – EU enlargement & Turkey

When *openness* to change and new people was evaluated with reference to the *European Enlargement* and *Turkey's* integration into the European Union, the discourse was

framed in two ways: a) through declarations about human rights and b) through a lack of engagement with the topic. In the first case, the human rights situation in Turkey was mentioned by both groups as a standing block in the country's integration in the EU. The recognition of the difficulties in Turkey's integration was signalled as an opportunity to urge and reinforce significant progress in the human rights field in which Turkey was found to lag behind. While this discourse of humanism and universalism was promoted by both groups, in some of the interviews with services workers I encountered resistance in obtaining their insights on the topic. After addressing the questions relevant to the European terrain, they expressed their reluctance to disclose their views on the specific topic claiming that they had no interest in such issues and thus no prior knowledge. I had to remind them of my intention to explore their thoughts and not their knowledge levels and probe them continuously to finally instigate some discussion. When they managed to frame their views, they did so though very brief comments . To this extent, a lack of engagement in reflecting on the ramifications involved in geo-political transformations that transcend the British society contoured these services workers' meanings of openness to diversity and change.

"-**What do you think of Turkey's potential integration into the European Union?**
-To be honest I haven't really thought about it. But I know that in Turkey.... (pause)
-**Please take your time...**
-I know in Turkey they have got a big population... but apparently England is like... certain age groups are declining and they need people of a younger age to come in and lift or refuel the population...
-**What are the ways in which you think it might affect Turkey or the European Union ...**
(Pause) I don't know probably... (pause)....Well maybe if the European Union decides they are going to do that I am not going to be one of those people protesting against that". *(SW, Bank Employee)*

Figure 7. 3: *Meaning of openness to human diversity in relation to EU enlargement and Turkey's EU membership*

7.6 Professional Sphere – Values as transforming energies

Leaving the SECP context behind and moving on to examine values in the professional sphere, workers used their stories to construct variant meanings by incorporating them into different life domains. *Achievement* and *power* are nice examples that explicate this variation. Both **service and knowledge workers** forwarded power and achievement, in terms of being good at their jobs and receiving recognition from their peers and managers, as important values. However, these values had different connotations and served different goals when integrated and conceptualised in different contexts.

In some cases, achievement operated as a means of enabling one's family to afford holidays, having fun and enjoying life or, in cases where workers did not identify fully with their work, achievement gave them the time and space to think and decide what they really wanted to do in their lives. When workers were employed in two jobs, achievement was evaluated in different ways. In the case of George, who worked as a manager in a bookstore but was also a theatrical director and a teacher, achievement in his bookstore job was regarded as a vehicle for securing his living (i.e. paying bills); whereas achievement in his role as a director and a teacher was connected with inspiring his students and constituted the main source of fulfilment and satisfaction in his professional life. For other workers, being good at their jobs was framed in relation to the wider socio-cultural sphere. Helen saw achievement in her role as an architect in designing places that subvert and challenge people's thinking; whereas for Timothy being a furniture designer was associated with the creation of class-free pieces of furniture. Others associated their achievement with teamwork, as a basis for success, (or with developing new skills. In essence, achievement in the professional milieu was found to serve different goals in the family, recreational and socio-cultural spheres, reminding us of Rokeach's (1973) distinction between values as means (instrumental) and as ends (terminal).

> "I enjoy coming to work so I really like the fact that I have a part time job that works and means that gives us, I suppose, fun and money. Really... because if I didn't do this then we would have no fun. There would be no holidays... you know... go eat food... wouldn't be able to go out... so my working means that we have fun and money". *(SW, Admin Assistant)*

When exploring what work denoted for service and knowledge workers, there were differences as to how each group conceptualised the *essence* and *meaning* of work. When **service workers** were asked to describe the constituents of their professional satisfaction, in most cases the discourse revolved around the end-product of their endeavours, residing mainly in the final delivery of services rather than the process of reaching a particular outcome. For instance, Jessie, who was involved in organising cultural events, drew satisfaction by seeing an event being launched. Furthermore, work arose as a vehicle for achievements and activities in different life domains. In other words it functioned as a means for 'doing other things' with family and friends. To this extent, service workers' discourse about job satisfaction was not bound to stories about the object of work per se but rather to elements like work atmosphere, proximity to work, earnings and compatibility with personal lifestyle (i.e. allowing to share time with family and friends). Routine and repetition in the context of their work were judged to be detrimental to their satisfaction. The relationship between work and their becoming was also another feature of the meaning of work. Some workers thus talked about how through work they discover themselves, what they want from life and who they want to become, reminding us in this way Heidegger's conceptualisation of being, according to which people make sense of their existence through doing and interacting with others (Dreyfus, 1991) . Hitherto, the meaning of work for service workers was premised on the importance of job outcomes, interpersonal relationships in and outside the work sphere and their own becoming.

"-I suppose the money is quite good when you get to a certain level and it is good fun.
-**What level?**
-Certain bars and certain tests within the bar like cocktail tests. I just got the best cocktail prize. I make the best cocktails. I just passed that and I got a very high... so... if there is a best aspect it is just coming up with cocktails. Actually on Monday I was in the world finals for a whisky competition in which I came fifth in and that was really cool cause it was people from the Ritz, the Winchester and all these other famous bars. But it is the people from the nothing bars like barmen who have to shout a lot as opposed to just making a drink in a classy way because being a barman is so many things". *(SW, Barman)*

"Well it is generally pleasant dealing with the public. They are all right most of them. Some of them are obnoxious...It is reasonable... we do about 6 million a year, which is all right. I just happen to chat with them and I have people that follow me around. I used to work in Edmonton and now I work in Totland and I have my customers who come to see me. I have a little chat and you know it is pleasant". *(SW, Sales Manager)*

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In line with the belief that work operates as a means of becoming, in cases where workers perceived their efforts to actualise their professional values to be constrained by social and economic trends, they were ready to adjust their meaning of work. For instance, Mat who had a degree in genetics described that he graduated a year later after the big technology boom thus making it difficult for people, without a really good genetics degree, like himself, to get a job. Recognising what the obstacles were, he thus embarked on a variety of different jobs in the service sector and today he is the manager of a big supermarket branch. He re-oriented himself towards the meaning of work interpreting it as a means to an end, thus dealing effectively with the fact that he did not manage to land a job in genetics.

> "A job is just a means to get money for me. It's not... I would be lucky if I had a great job that I liked and that I really enjoyed but...
> **And what would that be?**
> Probably carpentry or something like that. I enjoy working in the lab as well but... it has always been... working has always been about getting money and enjoying myself the rest of the time. I wanted to work in genetics but it is not the end of the world. I will do whatever to get paid". *(SW, Sales Manager)*

The rhetoric employed by **knowledge workers** when describing their jobs was noted to be more enthusiastic and passionate. This was evident through the use of words like "love", "fascination", "amazing" and "satisfying". While the value of good interpersonal relationships in the work sphere was equally heralded as important, their satisfaction also drew on elements directly associated with the nature and processes of their job. Their passion for their work was heavily connected with the process of sensing problems, formulating hypotheses, making guesses, exploring potentials, resolving problems as well as upsetting the *status quo* and making a social impact.

> "I sort of grew up looking underneath furniture in the house and I was interested in how it was made. And then I use to work... the friend that my dad worked for when I was a kid... I use to go there and work there sometimes on the weekends and on holidays... It was just by watching this guy called Angel, just watching what he did and how he did things and just learning an awful lot about using tools and how to put things together. And then as I got older I think because I had this other interest alongside kind of more straightforward kind of woodwork on furniture sort of thing...And I think from all that kind of activity combined with an interest in how things are put together and the knowledge of how to put things together in woodwork terms made me interested in how things are made, How do you make something into glass and that is I think still the core of what I do. It is the fascination of how

stuff is processed. How that starts out from sand dug out of the ground and then melted into this kind of liquid and then had it shaped and held in that shape and then had it engraved. That is how I started getting interested in it and how I became a designer". *(KW, Designer)*

"I am interested in a way of creating of theatrical spaces. So I like the idea when you walk down a stairwell that there will be surprises. There will be a surprise view... there will be a thing that makes you stimulated or excited or happy or calm and that it will actually add something to your experience... I think it is the idea of surprises. I am looking at things from a different perspective. So it is the element of surprise...I mean I do think we like stimulation we like things to provoke our ideas and our thoughts". *(KW, Architect)*

Thus, creativity, captured as the human's natural inclination to engage with his/her acts (Fromm, 1959; Yalom, 1980), did not seem to be reserved only for knowledge workers. Differences between the two groups were rooted in the ways in which it was perceived. **Service workers** placed emphasis on the outcomes of their creations. In addition, creativity was grounded in their efforts to craft a career that accords with their values in the professional sphere as well as in other life spheres. In a way, this tendency to self-manage their careers echoes Weick's and Belinger's perspective of the active subjectivity, which is anchored in workers' abilities to create their own sense and meaning of career in today's ambivalent and precarious settings (Weick & Berlinger, 1989). On the other hand, **knowledge workers** were concerned more with the process of sense-making, problem finding, and interpretation of events and situations, which lead to an end-product. This distinction resonates with traditional psychological theories on creativity, which have been described it in relation to products and the processes (Drazin, Glynn *et al.*, 1999), although the element of novelty and originality as defined in this literature is not presently taken as a reference point.

In parallel, **knowledge workers** were found to express and implement their values and ideologies through their jobs. Aligning their ideological principles with their professional roles reinforced their passion and love for work, thus distinguishing them from service workers. For instance, designing for Timothy was a class-free process which aimed at challenging the traditional elitist views of design. Alexandra, whose first steps in the IT field were hindered due to her sex, decided to transform her own experiences into opportunities for others through voluntary teaching young women how to make their way into the IT world and manage a successful IT. In this context, values functioned as energies which enabled knowledge workers to fully identify with their jobs and transform these

values into professional and social visions and blueprints for social becoming. Once again, the intersection between professional and socio-cultural context seemed to contour the process of constructing and implementing their values in the professional sphere.

> "I want to reach out to like millions and millions of people in the world through my music and meet them and influence them or show them what I have and what I have experienced and give them the opportunity if they choose to look into it. You know? Like a lot of the values human values that I've learned or appreciated or come across...And in my life what I'd like to do is to reach out to millions not just hundred of thousands but literally millions". *(KW, Osteopath and Musician)*
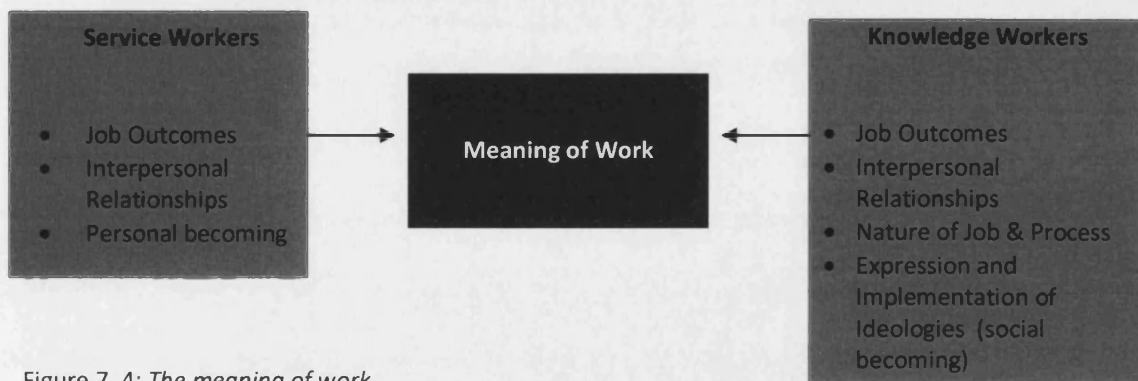
Figure 7. 4: *The meaning of work*

7.7 Quality of Life

With the interviews, I also had the opportunity to explore the foundations of workers' reasoning about what it means to have quality of life. Premising quality of life on the fulfilment of material and non-material aspirations, both groups held rather simple concepts of it. All workers associated their *joie-de-vivre* with spending time with friends, enjoying food, wine and music, travelling and living in a nice home. Health for themselves and those they love was considered a cornerstone of quality of life and financial security a *sine-qua-non* for essentially enjoying all the above.

Knowledge workers' well-being was found to be deeply embedded in their professional lives. As I already explicated in the previous section, their lives were so intertwined with their professional roles that the professional sphere operated as a plateau for implementing and enacting their values and ideologies. This experience of free and unbounded expression thus represented a unique source of meaning for them, which

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however was found to be equally constraining in the following manner. For their love for work arose as posing a threat to the balance between their personal and professional lives. Without expressing deep discontent or frustration about the impact of professional demands, given that work was thought to be something to be enjoyed, they nevertheless assigned to social life an equally important place in their descriptions about quality of life.

> **"What does it mean to you to have a good quality of life?**
> Quite a lot yeah. There is nothing worse than not wanting to come into work or not enjoying where you are living. I think you have to have a decent quality of life to do your job properly actually.....I think a good social life for me is important because I don't just want to be working and going home. A relatively easy journey to work that is not too... and having a job that is challenging and sort of stretches you because otherwise you get bored and you get now frustrated. I think if you can get that combination that sort of work and home balance for me that is a good thing for me". *(KW, Biologist)*

Service workers delineated the role of work in their well-being in a different way. While, in most cases, concerns about time constraints and balance were absent from their discourse, at the same time they considered work to be a critical component of life quality. To this extent, they were explicit about the importance of work as a source of financial security but also of recognition, accomplishment and achievement. In other words, the need to establish a purpose in life and a sense of self-worth through work was viewed as integral of life quality.

> "Quality of life means...mostly being happy, happy in your work, happy in your social life, general well-being, being healthy, you know, probably lots of friends, family, all being in touch and happy with their lives as well...also definitely having a partner there, I associate it with having a happier life... think probably, yeah, it has to do with the quality of job, you know its all tied in with money as well...so a well-paid job is important as well, but then if you are not happy in your job you won't be able to stretch that job and its going to take you nowhere". *(SW, Accountant)*

Overall, workers' narratives about well-being were motivated by the same need for experiencing authenticity in their professional life. And authenticity was construed by both groups in terms of fulfilling the values of power and achievement through their occupational roles. However, for knowledge workers it took an additional meaning which was tied to the process of mobilising their jobs towards the expression of their ideologies.

Having said that, work did not appear to be transformed into a substitute for social and recreational activities. On the contrary, enjoying life outside work was hailed as fundamental to good living, although for some knowledge workers work and recreation were mutually inclusive.

7.8 Summary

In sum, when examining the narratives in relation to the SECP context, the concept of *time* played a pivotal role in differentiating the two groups. Service workers unfolded their stories mainly around the present, in contrast to knowledge workers whose stories spanned across the whole time continuum. In addition, the role of perceived cultural boundaries in workers' valuing processes accounted for differences between them insofar as knowledge workers justified their values within a global framework. Engaging with *local and global* SECP circumstances, they produced 'wider' meanings of values, which were characterised as *boundaryless* and *transcendent*.

The role of *life contexts* in producing different meanings of security was also evident in the narratives about control. While values of security and conformity, framed by discourses on immigration and terrorism, were emphasised by both groups, knowledge workers also touched upon the negative ramifications of excessive control permeating the British social and political life. When security was conceptualised in the professional context, it was associated with elements that compose their satisfaction and achievement. Paradoxically, security was linked with a willingness to experiment with professional identities by changing careers, roles and organisations for service workers, while knowledge workers were more open to changing only roles and organisations. In this sense, security was embedded in the need for success, stimulation, exploring different professional paths and re-inventing oneself.

The discussions about immigration and Turkey's integration into the EU also revealed differences in the *why* that underpinned the endorsement of openness to human diversity. The findings suggested that although both groups declared their support for openness to human diversity, the argumentation forwarded by service workers in comparison to knowledge workers addressed immigrants in a more anonymous and depersonalising fashion. Interestingly, some service workers did not show any engagement to the topics around the EU such as Turkey's integration, which relates to their openness towards human

diversity . I claimed that openness to human diversity in this case was framed in terms of uninterest and not knowledge deficit in the wider geo-political transformations.

The discourse about professional lives consisted of stories that constructed work as a source of self- exploration, self-worth and fun experiences in and outside their work. Self-exploration was pursued through mobility patterns and the need for stimulating experiences illuminated the role of interpersonal relationships for service workers. Knowledge workers embraced work as a meaningful life experience which embodied in some instances their aspiration to participate actively in the public sphere. In this vein, for knowledge workers, work arose as a 'life project' which became the context in which they sought to diffuse and implement their ideologies. Nevertheless, all workers revealed in their discourse about quality of life the importance of the congruence between their values and their professional milieus and the need to fulfil their professional aspirations.

The concept of good living was dissected between engaging with one's work and enjoying social and family life. This essentially blends with the debate about workers' orientation to either of the two models: 'living to work' or 'working to live' (Guest & Sturges, 2007). However, the findings seem to suggest that both groups leaned towards the importance of life within and outside work. The lack of fit between endorsing one's values and being able to implement them was thought to undermine their efforts to become who they want and their quality of life. Yet at the same time this incompatibility instigated a process of looking for a new meaning of living and working through professional mobility, thus resonating with Emmy Van Deurzen's suggestion that *good life needs to be created in action* and *not through thinking whether it is possible or what it consists of* (Van Deurzen, 2009:54).

In all, the choice of analysing workers' valuing processes generated interesting insights into the parameters that underlie the construction, endorsement and implementation of values. To this extent, the discourses revealed the dynamic character of values, showing that values are more than psychological components that people simply 'have', 'endorse' or 'adopt'. On this basis and given the ontological foundations of values, they could be paralleled to life trajectories as continuous processes of making sense of one's existence, reflecting on life as well as experiencing and living it. Likewise workers' valuing endeavours encompassed processes which were grounded in *behavioural spheres*, *time* and *space* and the different ways of reflecting on these elements. The concept of self-observation and reflection emerged as pivotal in understanding how valuing processes are organised and how workers establish the connections between their various value components to enact them and create meanings. Before delving into these thoughts, I will

turn my attention to the discourses of the Greek workers in order to gain comparative insights and understand how the knowledge ethos is taking different or similar forms in the Greek lived realities.

8. Exploring the Greek Knowledge Ethos

8.1 Coding Process

To ensure comparability between the British and the Greek workers, the same coding framework was applied when analysing the Greek interviews. The three behavioural spheres (SECP, professional and personal sphere) functioned as basis for organising the code families. However, insofar as values emerge, operate and shift in connection with individual, societal and temporal forces, differences were bound to arise with respect to the salience of certain codes. Greek discussions placed an emphasis on issues of *corruption, bureaucracy, meritocracy, trust* (interpersonal, social and political trust), *unemployment* and *economic hardship*, which were absent from the British discourses. Their salience therefore necessitated a different analysis of the Greek valuing processes.

As such, the essence of the *knowledge ethos* was shaped against different SECP, professional and personal environments. To this extent, values pertinent to the meaning of work and quality of life were not only defined but communicated differently by the Greeks. My starting point is the delineation of workers' values as embedded in the SECP sphere. I will then try to connect these descriptions to the values that contoured their conceptualisations of quality of life and defined the meaning of work.

8.2 Setting the Context at the time of the interviews

The establishment of the public enterprise sector in Greece happened gradually during the twentieth century through 'successive waves of state consolidation' (Pagoulatos, 2005). The first wave occurred after the end of World War II until the 1960s and the second wave occurred after 1974, with the re-instatement of democracy. The Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK-ΠΑΣΟΚ) governed Greece between 1981 – 2004, with a break between 1990-1993, when New Democracy (Νέα Δημοκρατία) came to power. The PASOK governments tried to constrain the governmental expansion and control, especially in the context of EU pressures, by promoting some privatisation programmes. Yet these were "moderate' and

'gradualist in their pace" (Pagoulatos, 2005). For more than twenty years, in their attempts to modernise Greece, their focus was more on restructuring rather than privatising the public sector, which was marked by increasing phenomena of clientelism and favouritism (Close, June 2005). When New Democracy came to power in 2004, the new government openly expressed its priority to combat corruption phenomena by implementing major privatisation policies across the public sector not only in the enterprises domain but also in the educational services and the public administration. This provoked a mixture of public reactions. The interviews took place in 2006, two years with the new government already in power.

8.3 Explicit Level: What Knowledge and Services Workers talk about?

8.3.1 Corruption

In light of the above, it is not surprising to find Greece –along with a few Eastern European countries- scoring the highest in corruption levels between twenty-two other democracies (Transparency_International, 2007). The ubiquity of corruption as a source of concern, frustration and anxiety was explicated through workers' narratives about the values permeating the structure of public administration and political practices and their effects on institutions, social, cultural and economic life as well as on their personal realities. It was largely on these grounds that they expressed strong support but also their scepticism for the social reforms initiated by the new government. Hence, their stories analysed the repercussions of disorganisation, low ethical standards and the absence of economic, social and political control over institutional and interpersonal trust. The problem was more than a mere absence of trust; it was actually a whole culture of deception and deeply rooted *distrust* that was revealed through their stories, which also served as the main platform for expressing their values. The narratives about corruption revolved around its roots and implications.

8.3.2 Roots – Absence of control

Asked to comment on what has changed in their lives since the election of the new government, workers initiated their narratives by discussing the effects Greece's introduction

into the Economic and Monetary Union (the Euro-Zone), which occurred while the previous government was in power. Their discourse criticised the incompetence of the responsible governmental bodies to regulate and control the prices of consumer services and products, which resulted in increasing the cost of living without any upward pay developments. In effect, economic discomfort was claimed to be experienced in all facets of everyday life.

> "The Euro has had a negative impact on us, it has harmed us because we have many racketeers here and there is no control; generally in Greece there is no such thing as control". (SW, Admin Assistant)

> "We used to be able to live only with 10,000 drachmas in our pocket, which was enough to eat, drink and go to the cinema. Now with 30 Euros you cannot even go out for a coffee. So we have the same expenses with Europeans but our salaries are the same...right?" (SW, Barman)

Given their continuous exposure to such experiences, the concepts of *control* and *accountability* came to dominate their narratives about the new government and its agenda of reforms, which were discussed in the context of the breeding grounds for corruption. Despite expressing their eagerness to witness an improvement in the Greek social and economic reality in view of the new governmental reforms, the memories of past political mistakes and failures reinforced their scepticism over their successful implementation; not because they doubted the appropriateness of the measures per se, but because they were not convinced if politicians are capable enough to fulfil their promises and plans in a non-transparent system. Political corruption was thus associated with the perception that there was no liability system at place.

> "There is neither control nor meritocracy whatsoever in the public sector... and I think...that's why things are the way they are." *(SW, accountant)*

In this respect, politicians were seen as promoting "their" own people to key positions of the public sector on the basis of favouritism rather than meritocracy. As a consequence, people, who lacked the skills and the energy to promote public interests, were seen obtaining key positions in the public sector and becoming its gatekeepers. The absence of control was viewed as contributing to the emergence and perpetuation of an unfair and pathogenic system. The interviewees explicitly placed their expectations on politicians to initiate radical changes in

this domain but were yet to be convinced whether the current party could actually do things differently than the previous one.

8.3.3 Implications – Crisis of Trust & Dysfunctional Institutions and Lives

A crisis in political, social and interpersonal trust was a natural concomitant of corruption, which was perceived to have serious ramifications on the economic and social development of Greece but also on the workers' professional and personal lives. Referring to the funds Greece has received over the years from the European Union in the context of different lending and development programmes, interviewees expressed their mistrust regarding the absorption and investment of these funds. The concealment of information regarding the allocation of these funds but also the absence of any visible changes in everyday life were taken as indications of their misappropriation. As such, justice was thought to operate on sketchy grounds.

"Europe has helped us a lot. The question is what we do about it. Because these people have given us some funds, we misused them and noone went to prison for that. This is why there is currently a general feeling of mistrust....So you see, these racketeers haven't been held responsible for their crimes against the nation and the state. And that is why there is this whole public mistrust." *(SW, Research Assistant)*

Realising that political behaviours were driven by motives of self-interest at the expense of Greece's social change and progress, a deep sense of injustice and frustration arose in the workers' discourses.

"Ok, so they received these European subsidies and instead of doing what they had to do, they bought jeeps and built villas, ok? This is what happened!" *(SW, Barman)*

Beyond the political arena, corruption was also thought to permeate institutional life. Interviewees expressed their dissatisfaction about the lack of clear and transparent rules that prescribe the practice and performance of professionals across institutions, from health to

educational and fiscal services. Narratives were replete with references to bribery stories, which described phenomena of arbitrariness and power abuse.

"In order to get a public document, like a certificate of your tax return, you need to go to five different bodies and bribe all five of them. These things do not happen anywhere else." *(SW, Accountant)*

A bureaucratic and unwieldy social organisation was thus seen to be emerging, cultivating a culture of institutional passivity and idleness. While the status-quo legitimised values of *stability* and *security* in the public sector, at the same time, it rendered security a compelling value for the workers themselves, constructing themselves as exposed to a weak and apathetic state, which neglects its citizens. Enforcing control measures -through privatisation processes- was envisaged as creating the necessary conditions for undermining, on one hand, the culture of permanence, apathy and eternal security of public professionals and increasing on the other hand, transparency in decision making as well as restoring feelings of security and trust among the public. Hence, the quest for conformity and security sustained workers' evaluation of justice, egalitarianism and meritocracy.

8.4 Social Reforms and Citizenship – How do workers support their values in the SECP sphere?

In articulating their views about the new reforms, both groups unfolded various arguments regarding the emerging benefits and risks. Overall, they bestowed their hopes on privatisations as means of promoting values of conformity and security thus establishing a climate of fairness. As for the risks, both groups called into question the repercussions of the privatisation agenda on social welfare and social inequalities. Whilst the two groups did not differ in terms of endorsing specific value types, it was mainly the variant argumentation strategies underpinning their value statements that distinguished, to an extent, knowledge from service workers.

In discussing the consequences of privatisation processes, **knowledge workers** narrated personal stories of frustration with the system in tandem with problematising the link between privatisations and democracy (and the notion of capitalism) in Greece. To reason about privatisations, they questioned the efficiency and the free character of public health and

educational services. In this respect, they asserted that insofar as these are endowed with dysfunctional mechanisms, their social nature is essentially undermined, thus infringing upon fundamental democratic ideals. Arguing about the difficulty to translate socialism into practice, they talked about the existent Greek welfare system in the context of social inequalities, democracy and partitocratic tendencies that essentially steer public and institutional life. In this vein, they pondered the essence of preserving the "social character" of these services, which some thought it only exists in theory.

> "...I think the situation is getting worse in universities. Because today you can see that there are students or student societies that influence academic elections and have the power to decide who will become the dean. These things did not happen in the past...and I don't see any signs of greater democracy in relation to what we had fifteen years ago. I don't see it, I mean what is democracy... to smash windows and do graffiti on walls? Is this what democracy has become to be?" *(KW, R&D Manager)*

On the other hand, most **service workers** narratives reflected a different positioning of themselves vis-à-vis the system. In emphasising values of universalism, achievement, conformity and security in the SECP sphere, they gave more primacy to how the degradation of such values has affected their own lives than the transformation of political and social ideals. Their memories of repeated political failures and mistakes were crucial in shaping discourses about privatisations. This feeling of a-priori distrust was accentuated through rhetorics about personal experiences of social and economic insecurity. As such, their accounts of governmental changes were mostly dominated by stories about their everyday tensions with unemployment, economic adversity and injustice in their personal and professional lives. Their claims about power abuses, violations and mistreatment by the system evoked strong feelings of disappointment, frustration and disempowerment and in many cases fatalism with regards to the solution of such problems.

> "What I don't like is that there is no justice, there is no protection of human rights...this affects my job...firstly the government does not grant me the right to professional premises...to protect me... to provide me with security for twelve years...I mean with normal stores you are allowed to rent the premises for twelve years without being touched by the law...but with my kiosk things are different...the licence is valid for five years and if they like you, they will renew

it...the problem is that you will have to bribe the services in order to remain here, to make them ignore you... There is no tight regulation to make the people conform to the laws." *(SW, Owner of a newspaper kiosk)*

In this respect, discourses about universalism, security, conformity and achievement in the SECP context explicated the different conceptualisations of self-direction in the public sphere. **Service workers** mainly reflected on the role of societal and political structures rather than on their personal agency in reinforcing the above values. Their distrust coupled with their daily experiences of socio-economic crisis did not allow them to problematise the transitional nature of the Greek society and polity and their role as citizens in the context of such changes. While their discourses revealed an internal dialogue between themselves as traumatised *individuals* (victims of the system), this was not accompanied by a parallel negotiation of their values as traumatised *citizens.* On the contrary, **knowledge workers** while they similarly employed their own personal experiences to pronounce their fierce criticisms about the disorganisation of the Greek state and their strong social dissatisfaction, they also acknowledged their potential as both traumatised individuals and citizens in transforming the current and future socio-economic and political reality rather than simply reacting and adapting to it. For them, the memories and consciousness of the past were constitutive of the making of today's SECP reality in a different way (Sztompka, 1991).

" Greeks care more about themselves than the collective. For example, if they have a paper in their hands they will throw it on the ground... the younger generations do not act as much like this as the older ones ...I think that this is due to our mentality... I think that the Greek has this drawback of doing his/her own thing...I mean we say that "the Greek cannot be restrained" and this creates a pretext for doing things...so s/he thinks that it is to his/ her advantage not to do things, to do whatever s/he wants to...but this behavior does not lead us forward because while we enjoy our freedom and we want to act independent, we also need to respect some things inherited by previous generations. And...in terms of good things, for example you are told that you need to recycle and you don't do this because someone else tells you to but because you really understand that this is the right thing to do."*(KW, Chemical Engineer)*

"The government needs to inform its citizens more about everything. I mean at this moment we are not aware of our rights as European citizens. I mean it would be only 2 out of 100 that know their rights and that is because they looked out for

information on their own initiative. There have been no educational initiatives in anything. It is up to you to educate yourself." *(SW, Barman)*
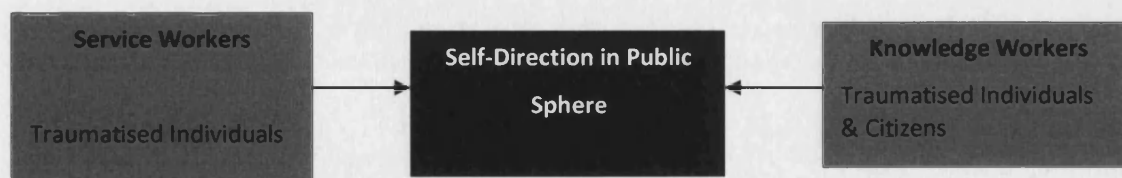
Figure 8. 1: *Self-Direction in the public sphere*

8.5 Discourses of relatedness, change & security

8.5.1   Loyalty to Europe

In their discourses about the Greek SECP sphere and the role of the European Union in its transformation, workers constructed themselves in relation to the EU in a different way than the British. While the latter created a distanced and independent self in relation to the EU, the former followed a different type of reasoning. In line with their discourses of crisis, Greek workers constructed the European Union as a socio-economic and political ally, whose role in the trajectory of Greece was deemed invaluable. In the context of their demands for greater regulation, security, power, and achievement in the Greek reality, interviewees appeared to bestow their hopes and trust on the EU, which emerged as a *saviour* and *a role model*.

As such, achievements in the economic field were largely attributed to the European contribution, despite the misappropriation of funds by Greek politicians. Europe was also constructed as a positive model *of* social values. To this end, workers extolled Northern Europeans for their universalism and conformity as reflected through their respect towards the environment, their compliance with laws and rules, their driving conduct and their ethical professional practices. Underpinned by values of meritocracy and equality, the European professional arena was, thus differentiated from the Greek professional reality. In parallel, claims about low remuneration standards and long working hours in comparison to other European countries reinforced feelings of unfairness and led Greek workers to construct themselves as *victims*. To the extent that the average number of working hours in Greece is

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among the highest in Europe (45 hours when the average working week consists of 38.5 hours), according to the Eurostat Labour Force Survey (Anderson, Mikuliç et al., 2009), it is not difficult to understand why workers perceived themselves to be in such a disadvantaged position.

"Before joining the EU we had no culture, no road infrastructures, nothing...we received a lot of money and then we started building a few things. Northern Europe set an example for us. Europe imposed many laws and legislations; for example in the area of consumer rights. We had no clue about consumer protection and consumer rights and we had never seen the consumer as a subject with rights. These are obligations that came from Europe". (KW, Corporate Lawyer)

"The Euro has destroyed us...because we have a very low standard of living in terms of salaries. We work longer hours than all Europeans...and we have the lowest salaries in Europe. While the minimum wage in Greece is 600-650 euros, it is 900 euros in Europe. Of course they have different living standards... things are different and everything plays a role". (SW, Bank Employee)

8.5.2   Boundaryless Values – Contestation and Ambivalence of European values

The notion of boundaryless values also emerged in workers' narratives about the Greek SECP sphere as contingent upon the EU. Hence, greeting the role of Europe in the trajectory of Greece with enthusiasm, workers' discourses revealed the search for an external authority that would impose solutions to the problems of economic progress, political corruption and social injustice. In doing so, **knowledge workers** also embarked on discourses of contestation about the changes the European values of achievement and power would entail for the Greek SECP values. Bounded to a hidden agenda of geo-political and economic interests, some knowledge workers thus pinpointed the operation of EU within a wider globalised context of bias and vested interests. The EU and consequently globalisation processes were perceived as leading to the creation of a *mass consciousness*. Particularly they saw the propagation of western and global ideas of consumerism, mass production and institutionalisation as corroding values of singularity (e.g. locality of neighbourhoods, local shops and products, independence of thinking) and tradition (i.e. close social ties, security by virtue of social capital).

"What happened in the States a hundred years ago artistically ... in becoming economically stronger, they wanted to obtain artistic power as well.... They achieved that by reinforcing and creating institutions and spaces that frame and create certain artists, but this is fake...this is driven by economic and political games... and this is what also is slowly happening in Greece. On the other hand, was it better when nothing was happening? At least now...hypothetically speaking, with these movements, you feel there is a greater interest in art and culture...but things are losing their...value...like a super market to be honest. Yes that's it, in a word like a super market: a big super market...everything will be marketed, high, low art, everything in a bag...we will be selling and buying everything". *(KW, Artist)*

As such, their narratives equated globalisation processes with processes of de-personalisation and de-humanisation, wherein ideas and individuals become dispensable. On the other hand, in discussing the benefits of globalisation they referred to the value of cultural exchange and knowledge mobility. In this respect, a co-occurrence of tendencies to preserve the traditional and the local without rejecting the global permeated the discourses of the knowledge workers. Values of singularity, tradition and stability seemed to go hand in hand with universalism and openness to change.

On the other hand, in generating meanings about the EU values, **service workers** failed to embed these within the context of wider (global) socio-economic processes and changes and their association with the transformation of the Greek socio-cultural reality. In their discourse of change and relatedness with the EU, service workers idealised the European principles of achievement, organisation, meritocracy and control and their potential in influencing Greece's re-construction. Specifically, England, Germany and Sweden were employed in their narratives as examples of organisational, professional, economic and social excellence. These echoed workers' *openness* towards a western European know-how of doing things in the socio-economic and political domains. Placing these European values at the centre of their vision about Greek transformation, they served as unproblematised guidelines of action. It was only the bookshop employee, who diverged from service workers' positioning by calling into question the route towards a European model of development.

"Ok, so we are finding ourselves in a phase now, where we are trying to reach Europe and become Europeans and do all these things...which in essence they might be superficial ...I am worried that we are spending all this money just to justify its availability from the EU" *(SW, Bookshop Sales Assistant)*

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In parallel with the discourses of convergence, **service** and **knowledge** workers promoted a rhetoric of divergence from European values that explicate what it means to have a good life. In this vein, workers framed *social capital* and *hedonism* as distinctive values of the Greek SECP sphere and Greek identity. While they constructed Europeans as excellent professionals and law-abiding citizens, they admitted their preference for the Greek mode of life despite its adversities. This was described in the context of warm climate, close interpersonal relationships, family ties and people's spontaneous and outgoing temperament. Nonetheless, there were also a few references —mainly by young workers- to the negative impact of social capital on personal autonomy and development as well as on Greece's progress. Hitherto, workers' discourses of relatedness with Europe echoed a co-existence of tradition, as contoured by hedonism, singularity and social ties, and openness to change, as embedded in values of universalism, security, conformity and achievement.

> "Social networks offer you a lot of things. Greece may be bad in so many ways, as we have already discussed, but it is also good in many other ways. The nice weather, this mentality we have of going out anytime and doing whatever we want; things have also improved from a cultural and artistic perspective and you can now notice a vibrant cultural movement, contrary to the past when things were much more limited. You can do anything you want today. I mean depending on what you like, your taste and your personality, you can do it here. You don't need to go abroad to see or enjoy some things …I mean personal relationships are as important as professional ones." *(KW, Biochemist and Academic Researcher)*

8.5.3   EU Enlargement - Specificity of Universalism & Benevolence

Drawing on the contribution of the European Union to Greece's modernisation, both groups identified similar benefits for the new member states (i.e. Slovenia, Slovakia, Roumania). As such, both groups shared their openness to the expansion of the EU on the grounds of *benevolence* and *universalism*. In their arguments, they talked about the importance of providing these countries with opportunities to improve their standards of living. In this respect, there were no differences between service and knowledge workers' justification about their openness to change in the context of the EU enlargement.

When the question was extended to address Turkey's potential integration, the long and controversial history of relations between the two nations was a catalyst for shaping workers'

discourses of relatedness and openness. Due to the salience of history in all stories, it was difficult to disentangle differences between knowledge and service workers. However, two distinctive lines of argument arose within and between groups.

The first one was crafted on the basis of *security, power* and *tradition*, thus constructing Turkey as a threat over Greece's territorial integrity –due to the Aegean disputes- as well as over its national identity. In this respect, they saw its presence in Europe, due to its population size, as potentially assimilating the European culture and hampering the economy. At the same time, workers associated its integration with a potential resolution of the tensions and disagreements between the two countries. The second rhetoric was founded on values of *universalism, benevolence* and *power*, which led to Turkey's characterisation as an under-developed country. Such claims were addressed in the context of stories about violations of human rights, low poverty levels, religious and cultural differences and cultural deficits. While for some workers, these arguments functioned as reasons for supporting its exclusion from the EU, for some others they reinforced their scepticism over the difficulties inherent in the process of its integration but without withdrawing from their agreement on its membership.

"It is religion, culture, science and philosophy that unite European countries. Now, these Mongols have no business there. These are political games and I think it is mainly the USA that supports the integration of this barbarian thing into the EU. I think that Russia should take Turkey's place." *(SW, Research Assistant)*

"In my opinion, Turkey is not ready yet to join...for various reasons. Their standard of living is low.., let's not look at Istanbul... there is a lot of religious fanaticism, there is fanaticism against the Greeks...and their education... on the other hand, they are many millions and you can't have all of them...you can't compare them with Greece; but I think they need to resolve their internal problems with regards to human rights, freedom of will, freedom of women and children and then we can discuss about their EU membership. I mean their integration is very...very difficult...there is great deal of fanaticism that is not that common in western countries...of course all Islamic countries are like that but... I don't know their integration is important for the EU, for us, for Turkey, for Cyprus and for other countries." *(SW, Bank Emloyee).*

It was only a few **knowledge** workers, who diverged from such claims by engaging in *identification* and *humanisation* discourses. They embedded values of *universalism* and

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benevolence into worries about the consequences of human rights violations, gender inequalities and illiteracy on the Turkish people. In this respect, they hoped that its membership would pave the way for a better life for them. At the same time, in identifying cultural communalities between the two countries, they tied Turkey's integration to a stronger socio-economic and cultural exchange, revealing in this way their openness to change and diversity

> "We will come closer to each other; how can I say this? We will come closer to each other. I mean I have Turkish friends and they are very similar to us." *(KW, Artist)*

8.5.4   Immigration – Negotiations of Universalism

Discourses of change and relatedness produced negative meanings of change in the SECP sphere, when it was associated with interacting with people from economically weak countries in Greece. This view was reflected in narratives about immigration trends. Taking into account that with the fall of the Soviet Union a large number of Eastern Europeans flocked to Greece, workers saw immigration as incurring unwanted consequences on the social and cultural life of Greece.

While **service workers** talked about the economic benefits of immigration (i.e. cheap labour), they did not identify any social and cultural advantages. Immigrants were mostly associated with phenomena of crime and unemployment and were held responsible for downgrading the quality of school education. In light of Greek demographic problems, their reproductive activity was thought to constitute a serious caveat over the creation of an alternative population and social reality. Their discourses about openness to human diversity were woven into present and future worries about the alienation of national identity and the corrosion of Greek social life.

> " Look at what they did. They came in, they brought their families, the give birth to children, who are tomorrow's generation and they will have the right to call themselves Greeks, what are you going to do then? At some point, you will have to give them the keys from your house and you will have to leave. These are our mistakes, we deserve this ok?" *(SW, Research Assistant)*

Although these were rhetorics forwarded mostly by service workers, some **knowledge workers** also promoted discourses of marginalisation and exclusion. Yet, these emerged within plural and heterogeneous meanings of universalism and openness to diversity. They openly associated immigrants with the pathology of public space. Annoyed by their increased presence on the Greek streets and neighbourhoods, they expressed their uneasiness about their 'invading' and colonising the public life and its effects on social identity.

> "Ok, they are here...I mean if you go now to the centre of Athens, you will not hear any Greek being spoken. I don't like this... I don't like this that much. On the other hand, I mean Greeks no longer do certain jobs, so immigrants do them instead. I mean you don't see a Greek...in the villages most of the people, who work are foreigners, because we don't do these jobs anymore... I don't like this.. But what can we do?" (KW, Chemical Engingeer)

To counter-balance their narratives about 'bad' immigrants, they also forwarded stories about 'good' immigrants. These encompassed images of immigrants, who are *quiet, hard working* and *family* oriented and do not create any 'problems'. In this respect, openness to human diversity was constructed on the basis of immigrants' invisibility in the public social and cultural Greek life. In essence, as long as immigrants were not thought to engender any socio-cultural changes in the Greek lifestyle, their presence was to be "tolerated".

> "It is very hard nowadays to find a Greek electrician. I mean if you want to have your house built...my husband owns a construction company and they have no Greek workers. Absolutely none! They are all foreigners. Albanians, Polish and I don't know what, various ethnicities. On the other hand, there are different immigrants. There are some very good immigrants, who appreciate everything, who offer you things and do you good and those who are ill intentioned, who are nothing let's say... who aim only at exploiting you, at getting their money and then going back home or killing you and stealing your property. I think this influx was uncontrollable. And there are also problems at schools". *(KW, Biochemist and Academic Researcher)*

be underpinned by a lifestyle that stresses hard work and emancipative values but not enjoyment, pleasure and stimulation. However, questions as to how these values were conceptualised and enacted in workers' personal everyday lives remained to be answered. Hence, the property perspective was useful in demonstrating how *certain* values –as Florida and theorists from the field of positive psychology would advocate- can delineate on an explicit level the concept of good life. Yet, as the interviews revealed, by delving into the valuing processes it was possible to examine how *all* values – including those of security, tradition, conformity- are used in real life and in the context of different life spheres to conceptualise good living and reinforce workers' sense of well-being.

Admittedly, the majority of scholars, who study subjective or objective well-being comes from the field of positive psychology (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996; Diener, 1995; Diener & Oishi, 2000; Diener & Seligman, 2004; Seligman, 2002). For example, Seligman (Seligman, 2002) talks about wisdom, courage, love, justice, temperance and transcendence as bringing people closer to happiness. Csiksentmihalyi describes the role of 'flow' - the experience of enjoying fulfilment when concerns such as food, ego-self and time are ignored- in creating a sense of optimal experience (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996). But these theories appear problematic because in promoting the ideal of a good life they only focus on its positive side and ignoring reality, which living is marked by constant difficulties, tensions, obstacles, discontents (Van Deurzen, 2009). The way in which people experience, resonate about and deal with such stimuli is not accounted for.

In the qualitative section, the essence of good life was described in terms of a transition from conscious to self-conscious valuing, which was claimed to be an agonizing, difficult but also creative and empowering process. Such a process entails dealing with plurality, constraints, conflicts, paradoxes as they emerge out of a person's multiple positionings vis-à-vis the four value elements. Workers' navigation and motion in between these elements demonstrated how the Floridian knowledge ethos is compounded and multidimensional. For, the transition to self-conscious values as a creative experience and practice that contours good life emerged to be more than a personal matter. Workers' valuing processes unfolded within and through societal, cultural, economic and political structures that were experienced, lived and understood differently across the two cultural and occupational groups as well as within in them and had variant repercussions on their sense of selfhood and authenticity.

Hence, on an explicit level when comparing the scores of Greek and British workers on the Floridian values (chapter 9), the former scored higher than the latter. Hence, if the analysis was restricted simply to pinpointing the values that are associated with higher well-

being, the Greeks would certainly come first. However, it is apparent from the interviews these high scores reflect Greek workers' projections of their ideal selves and conceived rather than operative values. On an explicit level, they extolled the Greek way of life. But in examining their valuing processes, it appears that this discourse about the Greek cult of having a good time operated as a value habit, which is embedded in the collective (sub)consciousness and perpetuated on a discursive level but not reflected in workers' actual everyday lives. Implicitly, it operated as a defence mechanism that helps them to insulate themselves from the experience of social and economic adversities and reinforce their collective identity, ultimately leading to pathological forms of agency, social isolation and traumatised selves. Hence, the good life for Greek workers appeared more in the context of a *default* discourse, as opposed to the British, who appeared to do good living in a *deliberate* way.

British workers appeared more able to integrate plurality, embark on multi-perspective valuing processes, organise the boundaries between different spheres (i.e. personal and professional) to suit their values and find alternative ways to enact values through different life roles. Of course, it needs to be said that British workers experienced different levels of access to economic, social and cultural capital. In this respect, Florida fails to engage with the broader societal contexts of working life, which play an essential part in moulding workers' understanding and experiences of 'doing' the good life. Analysing workers' valuing processes opened up an understanding of work as an experience and not as a task and how these different experiences inform workers' thinking of and doing good living.

Florida's theory seems to be limited to the level of the individual in the sense that it ignores the specifics of social life that impart the existing forms to workers' attempts to create meanings in various life spaces and do good living. He assumes workers' agency over their values, valuing processes and acts and control over social relations, institutions, structures etc. thus promoting a false sense of fulfilment, authenticity, happiness, creativity but also democracy. To this extent, social differences and inequalities are considered to be personal matters. Florida thus confounds human capital with social status without acknowledging that professional attainment is often the result of social status, accessibility to resources and capital (Ratner, 2000; Shearmur, 2006-07) and sense of self-efficacy (Ibarra, 1999).

10.5.2 Good Living, Social Change and Citizenship

Given that doing the good life needs to be translated into action rather than simply thinking of what constitutes its essence (Van Deurzen, 2009), creating and finding meanings across life spaces –as contingent on valuing processes- had intriguing implications for social change and participatory practices of citizenship. Seeing knowledge workers not only as workers but also as citizens has not been given enough attention in Florida's theory. However, in the current research, civic and emancipative values occupied a central part in the British and Greek knowledge workers' valuing processes. The former negotiated their meanings in conjunction with their participation in the public sphere through their professional identities and practices. In the Greek situation, the notion of citizenship was constructed against a backdrop of adverse economic, political, societal and employment conditions, which was woven into experiences of cultural trauma, self-fragmentation and disempowerment.

Admittedly, as Zabusky and Barley (Zabusky & Barley, 1996) point out, "the social context in which the career takes place...serves as both a blueprint and a filter". It directs the paths that people forge through their lives while providing symbols and interpretations for separating meaningful from meaningless identities and activities" (p.187). In this respect, the Greek culture of passivity, resignation and emphasis on the cult of having a good time in the private sphere (*values as habits*) was rooted in the workers' negative experiences of institutional infrastructures and the absence of a meaningful membership in society. Characterising their relationship with the government as unfair, distant and obscure, they felt discouraged from transforming their values, pertinent to the Socio-Economic, Cultural Political (SECP) and professional sphere, into action. Their private and in some cases the professional arena was the main terrain over which they felt able to exert influence and from which they could assert themselves and feel authentic.

According to Manville and Ober (Manville & Ober, 2003) issues of citizenship are critical in the knowledge era. In their reckoning, empowering people both as individuals and members of society is fundamental towards leveraging talent and skills in the knowledge society. Empowerment through the realisation of the power of individual and collective action is also an important component of social change (Freire, 1974). Manville and Ober envisage empowerment through the creation of relational structures that underpin people's values of autonomy, achievement and security (through ensuring control and transparency in decision making) and allow their enactment in different life spheres. As such, it is crucial to build structures that align with values and thus encourage engagement

with work practices but also with decisions of the societal community. But it does not suffice to translate values into structures or vice versa, it is also about 'doing' values. As I have already tried to illustrate, 'doing' values is not only pertinent to the surrounding structures but it also relates to the individual process of valuing, that is critically engaging with the various value constituents in order to develop a situated understanding of how one's existence and actions connect with the making of reality.

However, creative experiences (i.e. transition to self-conscious mode of valuing) as forms of agency go hand in hand with learning. And learning relies on participatory systems of relations (Linehan & Maccarthy, 2000). As long as that structures that promote such learning are absent on an institutional, societal and political level it is difficult for people to engage in such practices. Dialogue between individuals and communities of practice and participation in meaningful and supportive social relations and structures are thus the starting points for agency. Even in the case of Greek workers, who saw that such relational communities were absent on the societal level and consequently lacked such learning experiences, they nevertheless constructed their conversations with me as a safe space, in which their voices could be heard. In this way, they participated in a 'public discussion'[27] and in the public sphere. For, it was the first time that they were given the opportunity to communicate their views about various facets of their lives and talk about their daily struggles as pertinent to the SECP sphere directly to a researcher. For many of them, our dialogue was constructed as a resource from which they could draw some answers to the different demands of the everyday. It was evident that for most of them the interviewing process operated as a medium of empowerment. This further justifies why it is vital to feed the findings of this research back to them, which unfortunately has not been done so far.

Given that valuing processes are relational processes, individuals can find other communities, which support agency and permit the passage from a conscious to a self-conscious evaluation of themselves, others and the environment. This can have implications on organisational leadership, learning its links with personal growth. To the extent that wealth and power are inherent in the notion of agency (Ratner, 2000), organisational leaders can have more influence over creating such participatory communities, whereby workers can learn how to embark on a self-conscious evaluation of themselves in relation to 'others' through undertaking different roles; 'others' can comprise colleagues, supervisors, customers, the organisation or the wider social environment and institutional structures. The work sphere can be an appropriate space for learning new

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[27] Given that their interviews were going to be made public through publications and the present thesis.

ways of being, knowing, relating with others through undertaking short term goals (Baumeister, 1991) that can allow workers to feel creative, steer their own destiny, balance individuality and community responsibility and realise that their being and becoming is linked with the making of the wider reality (McCowan, 2006). The challenge for organisational leaders, but also policy makers, should not be about imparting to structures specific values and ideals but rather to create spaces that enable and encourage creative rather than merely automatic valuing processes. In other words and in connection to the Lisbon Strategy, the knowledge society beyond Florida's 3Ts (Talent-Tolerance-Technology) needs a conducive political system before workers' creativity and talents are realised.

10.5.3 Final Remarks on Florida

In the knowledge society, human potential goes beyond learning how to use our heads and hands. Work comes to be associated not only with expertise and knowledge but also with human values, identity and needs. Florida, in speculating over the structure of the knowledge society, sees in knowledge workers a new spectrum of values that emphasises not only what sort of work they want to do but also where they are prepared to live. Although many strands have pointed to the transformation of the economy in connection with culture, Florida's theory extends this discussion and suggests further explorations in this area. He does this in two ways. Firstly, he ties values to everyday living and advocates their mutual connection with economic trends. And secondly, he recognises that power, achievement, stimulation, as pertaining to the work sphere, go hand in hand with emancipative values in the knowledge society, departing, in this respect, from other theories of growth and socio-economic development and particularly from Inglehart's theory of post-modernisation. Denouncing the divide between these values, Florida emphasises the importance of going beyond 'outdated conservative moralities'. This is a very important addition to the debate over the relationship between culture and economic growth, which has been dominated by Inglehart's binary thesis of materialism versus post-materialism.

Under the same argument of outdated moralities, Florida (2005) however diminishes the importance of traditional values in the new economy, as enunciated through family and social ties and draws a distinction between traditional and secular values. Conversely, the current results pointed towards the salience of the above values in the value systems of

knowledge workers. This finding broadens Florida's description of value plurality, which needs to be embedded in his agenda of plurality for the creative age.

In all, while this thesis, in congruence with Florida, supports the importance of integrating values plurality in discussions about their role in economic development, it also parts from it in that it moves beyond the values of knowledge workers and brings evidence beyond the Anglo-Saxon culture. Recognising that creativity is inherent in everybody, which is expressed in the joy of becoming a creator (Fromm, 1959), bringing things into being and relating to them in meaningful ways (Yalom, 1980), leveraging skills and creativity, in the knowledge society, means paying attention to workers' needs and values irrespective of their social status. Florida puts forward a similar statement, yet he does so with the creative class as a point of departure. In essence, he promotes a view and understanding of creativity on the basis of this small proportion of the working population. However, as this thesis has demonstrated, workers in different cultures have different understandings authenticity. It has also revealed that the process of aligning one's values with work is bounded in many different ways, especially in the Greek context, whereby workers perceived a systemic failure of governmental and institutional structures and were found to suffer from cultural trauma.

In sum, two main remarks are to be made in relation to Florida's theory. Firstly, Florida's assumptions about the creative class and their ethos should not be treated as universal and need to be pursued cautiously in different cultural contexts. And secondly, it is indispensable to explore the values of all workers, in order to find ways to allow them to bring a plurality of values that underpin their creative experiences into the work sphere rather than try to infuse organisational structures with the values of a minority elite and encourage policy makers to compose policies on the basis of their lifestyle. Hence, rather than separating 'good' from 'bad' values, it needs to be questioned how dynamic realities of heterogeneous and plural values can be included in policy making and what purposes do and can they serve and for whom in different knowledge societies.

10.6   Implications for a Societal Psychological Study of Values

Insofar as the present thesis is about values in the knowledge society, it raises some general issues. Value systems operate in plural and heterogeneous ways. Values intersect with general behavioural contexts. And last but not least, examining values as processes provides insights into the bases of values, their functions and links with self-concept, good

life and citizenship. These points have important repercussions for values conceptualisation and research.

In contrast to Schwartz, who advocates universality and stability in value structures, I emphasise the importance of integrating the notion of variability and change in our understanding of value relationships. The implausibility of placing human values in pre-determined and absolute positions in relation to one another was corroborated in all three studies, supporting in this respect the few studies that have cast doubts over the circumplex structure (Hinz, Brähler *et al.*, 2005; Perrinjaquet, Furrer *et al.*, 2007). It was hypothesised and shown that the symbiosis of different values serves different goals in life spheres, which overall respond to the dialogical nature of the self (Hermans, 2001), the compartmentalisation of social life and existence (Luckman, 1975; Moscovici, 1990) and the complexity of reality, which is inherently marked by change, conflicts and diversity. Hence, while Schwartz promotes a theory values bychotomies, I presently put forward a theory of values synthesis.

To this extent, rather than trying to promote positions of 'either-or' and conceptualise certain values as invariably incompatible, it is essential to investigate the workings of plurality. I proposed that such an inquiry is possible when values are understood and studied in the context of behavioural spheres. The present findings establish that values can operate meaningfully and in variant ways across life spheres, in which individuals handle their social relationships and roles differently (Fiske, 1991; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). While Schwartz moves along the same line with Rokeach and theorises values as abstract and transcendent concepts, I stress the importance of value specificity. Reviving the concept of behavioural sphere from Klukchohn and Strodtbeck's work on value orientations proved valuable at yielding insightful information into the nature and function of values and their interrelationships. In essence, this thesis illustrates the need to integrate the interdependence between values and behavioural spheres in future theorisations and research endeavours.

Values were also investigated as processes, from a discursive perspective, through the qualitative part of this thesis. The analyses suggest that values are more than just repositories of experiences, desires, needs, norms, beliefs and emotions and traits of people's psyches (values as properties) that act as explicit guiding principles (on a conscious level) in their lives, which we can capture through experiments, questionnaires and surveys. With the exception of Milton Rokeach (1979), who, in his theoretical and research project of self-confrontation, attempted –with limited success- to examine the nature and function of overt and implicit values through exploring valuing processes, on the whole, most

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theorists have treated values, in their empirical endeavours, as explicit and conscious components of a person's mind (Kluckhohn, 1951a; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Asking participants to assess the importance of their values as 'guiding principles in life' implies a conceptual clarity of the nature of the end state. While sometimes this might be true, most of the times we do not maintain a clear view of what goal we wish to attain, why, what are the means for achieving it. Insofar as the positivist paradigm —evidenced in Rokeach's and Schwartz's work- has dominated for a long time the study of values and pursued it through cross-sectional research designs, it has promoted a static, detached, objective, 'cold' and purely descriptive view of values, which assumes stability, conscious awareness of them and ignores issues of change and development. However, considering issues of dynamically changing interactions between values and the cultural, economic and social environment, it is reasonable to think of the process of values formulation, operation and modulation as a fluid one that also involves automatic (latent) mechanisms (Maio & Olson, 1998a, 1998b; Rohan, 2000; Seligman & Katz, 1996). Hence, in allowing workers to talk about their values – indirectly- through their own voices, I was able to explore the subjective dimension of values as well as what mechanisms workers use, how and why to express, negotiate and justify their values and establish different meanings.

Given that values are tied to continuous processes of meaning making that guide living and what it means to have a good life, values were conceptualised as ongoing processes of being and navigating oneself in life (consciously and self-consciously). Seeing values as lifelong, open and constant processes of being and becoming, it was possible to examine the role of dualities and their inter-relationships, the role of space and time and how workers employ, combine and navigate between these dimensions to construct various value identities, feel authentic and self-efficient, do good life and establish a dialogical relationship with the world. In a sense, these components acted as intermediary devices that sit between ongoing valuing processes and constructions of selfhood. In this respect, I was able to examine the linkage between values and workers' self-concept, self-efficacy and authenticity, an area that Rokeach touched upon through his program of behavioural change, which was restricted mainly to the motive of self-esteem. This is a very important research area if we wish to understand why certain links between values exist and how they change or remain stable. As Turner postulates 'self-conception starts with values and aspirations and continues to be represented in value and aspirations terms (Turner, 1968:97).

Bringing this rumination to an end, it is often said that we live in a post-modern society. Although the term post-modernity is rooted in many definitions and meanings, a

feature that stands out is that the configurations of daily existing are so many that their structure and relationships can no longer be taken for granted. Individuals' operation in a certain mode under specific situations and circumstances cannot be conceived to be given and self-evident anymore. By virtue of such plurality, individuals are inclined to combine different values to guide the particular requirements of living in different spheres. The existence of the 'whirling individual', as Moscovici (1990) postulated, therefore necessitates a different understanding of values and value systems that is not limited to predetermined and universal oppositions between values.

Departing from this and the findings of this thesis, I suggest that rather than focusing on the relative importance of values as static ideals at a given time and space, giving primacy to valuing processes can allow to explore the psychological, historical, social and cultural bases of values and how they tie to workers' everyday lived realities, which are marked by pluralities, tensions, conflicts and obstacles. I understand that I have left many shadows behind in the study of value elements but I am convinced that researching values as processes can enhance our understanding of how systems of values are co-constituted with spatial, temporal, socio-political, cultural, interpersonal contexts and individuals' being in them. For, it is this very same co-constitution that echoes the importance of situating issues of plurality and contextuality at the centre of our investigations of values and value systems, whether we choose to study them either as properties or processes. I hope that this research provided evidence in support of the importance of this type of understanding.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A: CLASSIFICATIONS ISCO-88 (COM) Coding framework for ESS2-2004

Compiled by: Norwegian Social Science Data Services on the basis of *ILO* International Standard Classification
of Occupation: *ISCO-88 (International Labour Office, Geneva 1990)* and the *Establishment of Community-Wide
Occupational Statistics ISCO-88 (COM) A Guide for Users (Peter Elias and Margaret Birch 1994).*
0 Armed forces
01 Armed forces
010 Armed forces
0100 Armed forces
1 Legislators, senior officials and managers
11 Legislators and senior officials
111 Legislators and senior government officials
1110 Legislators and senior government officials
114 Senior officials of special-interest organisations
1141 Senior officials of political-party organisations
1142 Senior officials of employers', workers' and other economic-interest organisations
1143 Senior officials of humanitarian and other special-interest organisations
12 Corporate managers
121 Directors and chief executives
1210 Directors and chief executives
122 Production and operations managers
1221 Production and operations managers in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing
1222 Production and operations managers in manufacturing
1223 Production and operations managers in construction
1224 Production and operations managers in wholesale and retail trade
1225 Production and operations managers in restaurants and hotels
1226 Production and operations managers in transport, storage and communications
1227 Production and operations managers in business services enterprises
1228 Production and operations managers in personal care, cleaning and related services
1229 Production and operations managers not elsewhere classified
123 Other specialist managers
1231 Finance and administration managers
1232 Personnel and industrial relations managers
1233 Sales and marketing managers
1234 Advertising and public relations managers
1235 Supply and distribution managers
1236 Computing services managers
1237 Research and development managers
1239 Other specialist managers not elsewhere classified
13 Managers of small enterprises
131 Managers of small enterprises
1311 Managers of small enterprises in agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing
1312 Managers of small enterprises in manufacturing
1313 Managers of small enterprises in construction
1314 Managers of small enterprises in wholesale and retail trade
1315 Managers of small enterprises of restaurants and hotels
1316 Managers of small enterprises in transport, storage and communications
1317 Managers of small enterprises of business services enterprises
1318 Managers of small enterprises in personal care, cleaning and related services
1319 Managers of small enterprises not elsewhere classified
2 Professionals
21 Physical, mathematical and engineering science professionals
211 Physicists, chemists and related professionals
2111 Physicists and astronomers
2112 Meteorologists
2113 Chemists

2114 Geologists and geophysicists
212 Mathematicians, statisticians and related professionals
2121 Mathematicians and related professionals
2122 Statisticians
Appendix A2 3
213 Computing professionals
2131 Computer systems designers, analysts and programmers
2139 Computing professionals not elsewhere classified
214 Architects, engineers and related professionals
2141 Architects, town and traffic planners
2142 Civil engineers
2143 Electrical engineers
2144 Electronics and telecommunications engineers
2145 Mechanical engineers
2146 Chemical engineers
2147 Mining engineers, metallurgists and related professionals
2148 Cartographers and surveyors
2149 Architects, engineers and related professionals not elsewhere classified
22 Life science and health professionals
221 Life science professionals
2211 Biologists, botanists, zoologists and related professionals
2212 Pharmacologists, pathologists and related professionals
2213 Agronomists and related professionals
222 Health professionals (except nursing)
2221 Medical doctors
2222 Dentists
2223 Veterinarians
2224 Pharmacists
2229 Health professionals (except nursing) not elsewhere classified
223 Nursing and midwifery professionals
2230 Nursing and midwifery professionals
23 Teaching professionals
231 College, university and higher education teaching professionals
2310 College, university and higher education teaching professionals
232 Secondary education teaching professionals
2320 Secondary education teaching professionals
233 Primary and pre-primary education teaching professionals
2331 Primary education teaching professionals
2332 Pre-primary education teaching professionals
234 Special education teaching professionals
2340 Special education teaching professionals
235 Other teaching professionals
2351 Education methods specialists
2352 School inspectors
2359 Other teaching professionals not elsewhere classified
24 Other professionals
241 Business professionals
2411 Accountants
2412 Personnel and careers professionals
2419 Business professionals not elsewhere classified
242 Legal professionals
2421 Lawyers
2422 Judges
2429 Legal professionals not elsewhere classified
243 Archivists, librarians and related information professionals
2431 Archivists and curators
2432 Librarians and related information professionals
244 Social science and related professionals
2441 Economists

2442 Sociologists, anthropologists and related professionals
2443 Philosophers, historians and political scientists
2444 Philologists, translators and interpreters
2445 Psychologists
2446 Social work professionals
245 Writers and creative or performing artists
2451 Authors, journalists and other writers
2452 Sculptors, painters and related artists
2453 Composers, musicians and singers
2454 Choreographers and dancers
Appendix A2 4
2455 Film, stage and related actors and directors
246 Religious professionals
2460 Religious professionals
247 Public service administrative professionals
2470 Public service administrative professionals
3 Technicians and associate professionals
31 Physical and engineering science associate professionals
311 Physical and engineering science technicians
3111 Chemical and physical science technicians
3112 Civil engineering technicians
3113 Electrical engineering technicians
3114 Electronics and telecommunications engineering technicians
3115 Mechanical engineering technicians
3116 Chemical engineering technicians
3117 Mining and metallurgical technicians
3118 Draughtspersons
3119 Physical and engineering science technicians not elsewhere classified
312 Computer associate professionals
3121 Computer assistants
3122 Computer equipment operators
3123 Industrial robot controllers
313 Optical and electronic equipment operators
3131 Photographers and image and sound recording equipment operators
3132 Broadcasting and telecommunications equipment operators
3133 Medical equipment operators
3139 Optical and electronic equipment operators not elsewhere classified
314 Ship and aircraft controllers and technicians
3141 Ships' engineers
3142 Ships' deck officers and pilots
3143 Aircraft pilots and related associate professionals
3144 Air traffic controllers
3145 Air traffic safety technicians
315 Safety and quality inspectors
3151 Building and fire inspectors
3152 Safety, health and quality inspectors
32 Life science and health associate professionals
321 Life science technicians and related associate professionals
3211 Life science technicians
3212 Agronomy and forestry technicians
3213 Farming and forestry advisers
322 Health associate professionals (except nursing)
3221 Medical assistants
3222 Hygienists, health and environmental officers
3223 Dieticians and nutritionists
3224 Optometrists and opticians
3225 Dental assistants
3226 Physiotherapists and related associate professionals
3227 Veterinary assistants

3228 Pharmaceutical assistants
3229 Health associate professionals (except nursing) not elsewhere classified
323 Nursing and midwifery associate professionals
3231 Nursing associate professionals
3232 Midwifery associate professionals
33 Teaching associate professionals
331 Primary education teaching associate professionals
3310 Primary education teaching associate professionals
332 Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
3320 Pre-primary education teaching associate professionals
333 Special education teaching associate professionals
3330 Special education teaching associate professionals
334 Other teaching associate professionals
3340 Other teaching associate professionals
34 Other associate professionals
341 Finance and sales associate professionals
Appendix A2 5
3411 Securities and finance dealers and brokers
3412 Insurance representatives
3413 Estate agents
3414 Travel consultants and organisers
3415 Technical and commercial sales representatives
3416 Buyers
3417 Appraisers, valuers and auctioneers
3419 Finance and sales associate professionals not elsewhere classified
342 Business services agents and trade brokers
3421 Trade brokers
3422 Clearing and forwarding agents
3423 Employment agents and labour contractors
3429 Business services agents and trade brokers not elsewhere classified
343 Administrative associate professionals
3431 Administrative secretaries and related associate professionals
3432 Legal and related business associate professionals
3433 Bookkeepers
3434 Statistical, mathematical and related associate professionals
344 Customs, tax and related government associate professionals
3441 Customs and border inspectors
3442 Government tax and excise officials
3443 Government social benefits officials
3444 Government licensing officials
3449 Customs, tax and related government associate professionals not elsewhere classified
345 Police inspectors and detectives
3450 Police inspectors and detectives
346 Social work associate professionals
3460 Social work associate professionals
347 Artistic, entertainment and sports associate professionals
3471 Decorators and commercial designers
3472 Radio, television and other announcers
3473 Street, night-club and related musicians, singers and dancers
3474 Clowns, magicians, acrobats and related associate professionals
3475 Athletes, sportspersons and related associate professionals
348 Religious associate professionals
3480 Religious associate professionals
4 Clerks
41 Office clerks
411 Secretaries and keyboard-operating clerks
4111 Stenographers and typists
4112 Word-processor and related operators
4113 Data entry operators

4114 Calculating-machine operators
4115 Secretaries
412 Numerical clerks
4121 Accounting and bookkeeping clerks
4122 Statistical and finance clerks
413 Material-recording and transport clerks
4131 Stock clerks
4132 Production clerks
4133 Transport clerks
414 Library, mail and related clerks
4141 Library and filing clerks
4142 Mail carriers and sorting clerks
4143 Coding, proof-reading and related clerks
4144 Scribes and related workers
419 Other office clerks
4190 Other office clerks
42 Customer services clerks
421 Cashiers, tellers and related clerks
4211 Cashiers and ticket clerks
4212 Tellers and other counter clerks
4213 Bookmakers and croupiers
4214 Pawnbrokers and money-lenders
Appendix A2 6
4215 Debt-collectors and related workers
422 Client information clerks
4221 Travel agency and related clerks
4222 Receptionists and information clerks
4223 Telephone switchboard operators
5 Service workers and shop and market sales workers
51 Personal and protective services workers
511 Travel attendants and related workers
5111 Travel attendants and travel stewards
5112 Transport conductors
5113 Travel guides
512 Housekeeping and restaurant services workers
5121 Housekeepers and related workers
5122 Cooks
5123 Waiters, waitresses and bartenders
513 Personal care and related workers
5131 Child-care workers
5132 Institution-based personal care workers
5133 Home-based personal care workers
5139 Personal care and related workers not elsewhere classified
514 Other personal services workers
5141 Hairdressers, barbers, beauticians and related workers
5142 Companions and valets
5143 Undertakers and embalmers
5149 Other personal services workers not elsewhere classified
516 Protective services workers
5161 Fire-fighters
5162 Police officers
5163 Prison guards
5169 Protective services workers not elsewhere classified
52 Models, salespersons and demonstrators
521 Fashion and other models
5210 Fashion and other models
522 Shop, stall and market salespersons and demonstrators
5220 Shop, stall and market salespersons and demonstrators
6 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers

61 Skilled agricultural and fishery workers
611 Market gardeners and crop growers
6111 Field crop and vegetable growers
6112 Gardeners, horticultural and nursery growers
612 Animal producers and related workers
6121 Dairy and livestock producers
6122 Poultry producers
6129 Animal producers and related workers not elsewhere classified
613 Crop and animal producers
6130 Crop and animal producers
614 Forestry and related workers
6141 Forestry workers and loggers
6142 Charcoal burners and related workers
615 Fishery workers, hunters and trappers
6151 Aquatic-life cultivation workers
6152 Inland and coastal waters fishery workers
6153 Deep-sea fishery workers
6154 Hunters and trappers
7 Craft and related trades workers
71 Extraction and building trades workers
711 Miners, shotfirers, stone cutters and carvers
7111 Miners and quarry workers
7112 Shotfirers and blasters
7113 Stone splitters, cutters and carvers
712 Building frame and related trades workers
7121 Builders
7122 Bricklayers and stonemasons
7123 Concrete placers, concrete finishers and related workers
Appendix A2 7
7124 Carpenters and joiners
7129 Building frame and related trades workers not elsewhere classified
713 Building finishers and related trades workers
7131 Roofers
7132 Floor layers and tile setters
7133 Plasterers
7134 Insulation workers
7135 Glaziers
7136 Plumbers and pipe fitters
7137 Building and related electricians
7139 Building finishers and related trade workers not elsewhere classified
714 Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers
7141 Painters and related workers
7143 Building structure cleaners
72 Metal, machinery and related trades workers
721 Metal moulders, welders, sheet-metal workers, structural-metal preparers, and related trades workers
7211 Metal moulders and coremakers
7212 Welders and flamecutters
7213 Sheet-metal workers
7214 Structural-metal preparers and erectors
7215 Riggers and cable splicers
7216 Underwater workers
722 Blacksmiths, tool-makers and related trades workers
7221 Blacksmiths, hammer-smiths and forging-press workers
7222 Tool-makers and related workers
7223 Machine-tool setters and setter-operators
7224 Metal wheel-grinders, polishers and tool sharpeners
723 Machinery mechanics and fitters
7231 Motor vehicle mechanics and fitters

7232 Aircraft engine mechanics and fitters
7233 Agricultural- or industrial-machinery mechanics and fitters
724 Electrical and electronic equipment mechanics and fitters
7241 Electrical mechanics, fitters and servicers
7242 Electronics mecanics, fitters and servicers
7244 Telegraph and telephone installers and servicers
7245 Electrical line installers, repairers and cable jointers
73 Precision, handicraft, printing and related trades workers
731 Precision workers in metal and related materials
7311 Precision-instrument makers and repairers
7312 Musical instrument makers and tuners
7313 Jewellery and precious-metal workers
732 Potters, glass-makers and related trades workers
7321 Abrasive wheel formers, potters and related workers
7322 Glass-makers, cutters, grinders and finishers
7323 Glass engravers and etchers
7324 Glass, ceramics and related decorative painters
733 Handicraft workers in wood, textile, leather and related materials
7331 Handicraft workers in wood and related materials
7332 Handicraft workers in textile, leather and related materials
734 Craft printing and related trades workers
7341 Compositors, typesetters and related workers
7342 Stereotypers and electrotypers
7343 Printing engravers and etchers
7344 Photographic and related workers
7345 Bookbinders and related workers
7346 Silk-screen, block and craft textile printers
74 Other craft and related trades workers
741 Food processing and related trades workers
7411 Butchers, fishmongers and related food preparers
7412 Bakers, pastry-cooks and confectionery makers
7413 Dairy products workers
7414 Fruit, vegetable and related preservers
7415 Food and beverage tasters and graders
Appendix A2 8
7416 Tobacco preparers and tobacco products makers
742 Wood treaters, cabinet-makers and related trades workers
7421 Wood treaters
7422 Cabinetmakers and related workers
7423 Woodworking machine setters and setter-operators
7424 Basketry weavers, brush makers and related workers
743 Textile, garment and related trades workers
7431 Fibre preparers
7432 Weavers, knitters and related workers
7433 Tailors, dressmakers and hatters
7434 Furriers and related workers
7435 Textile, leather and related pattern-makers and cutters
7436 Sewers, embroiderers and related workers
7437 Upholsterers and related workers
744 Pelt, leather and shoemaking trades workers
7441 Pelt dressers, tanners and fellmongers
7442 Shoe-makers and related workers
8 Plant and machine operators and assemblers
81 Stationary plant and related operators
811 Mining and mineral-processing-plant operators
8111 Mining plant operators
8112 Mineral-ore- and stone-processing-plant operators
8113 Well drillers and borers and related workers
812 Metal-processing plant operators

8121 Ore and metal furnace operators
8122 Metal melters, casters and rolling-mill operators
8123 Metal-heat-treating-plant operators
8124 Metal drawers and extruders
813 Glass, ceramics and related plant operators
8131 Glass and ceramics kiln and related machine operators
8139 Glass, ceramics and related plant operators not elsewhere classified
814 Wood-processing- and papermaking-plant operators
8141 Wood-processing-plant operators
8142 Paper-pulp plant operators
8143 Papermaking-plant operators
815 Chemical-processing-plant operators
8151 Crushing-, grinding- and chemical-mixing machinery operators
8152 Chemical-heat-treating-plant operators
8153 Chemical-filtering- and separating-equipment operators
8154 Chemical-still and reactor operators (except petroleum and natural gas)
8155 Petroleum- and natural-gas-refining-plant operators
8159 Chemical-processing-plant operators not elsewhere classified
816 Power-production and related plant operators
8161 Power-production plant operators
8162 Steam-engine and boiler operators
8163 Incinerator, water-treatment and related plant operators
817 Industrial robot operators
8170 Industrial robot operators
82 Machine operators and assemblers
821 Metal- and mineral-products machine operators
8211 Machine-tool operators
8212 Cement and other mineral products machine operators
822 Chemical-products machine operators
8221 Pharmaceutical- and toiletry-products machine operators
8222 Ammunition- and explosive-products machine operators
8223 Metal finishing-, plating- and coating-machine operators
8224 Photographic-products machine operators
8229 Chemical-products machine operators not elsewhere classified
823 Rubber- and plastic-products machine operators
8231 Rubber-products machine operators
8232 Plastic-products machine operators
824 Wood-products machine operators
8240 Wood-products machine operators
825 Printing-, binding- and paper-products machine operators

8251 Printing-machine operators
8252 Bookbinding-machine operators
8253 Paper-products machine operators
826 Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators
8261 Fibre-preparing-, spinning- and winding-machine operators
8262 Weaving- and knitting-machine operators
8263 Sewing-machine operators
8264 Bleaching-, dyeing- and cleaning-machine operators
8265 Fur- and leather-preparing-machine operators
8266 Shoemaking- and related machine operators
8269 Textile-, fur- and leather-products machine operators not elsewhere classified
827 Food and related products machine operators
8271 Meat- and fish-processing-machine operators
8272 Dairy-products machine operators
8273 Grain- and spice-milling-machine operators
8274 Baked-goods, cereal and chocolate-products machine operators
8275 Fruit-, vegetable- and nut-processing-machine operators
8276 Sugar production machine operators

8277 Tea-, coffee-, and cocoa-processing-machine operators
8278 Brewers-, wine and other beverage machine operators
8279 Tobacco production machine operators
828 Assemblers
8281 Mechanical-machinery assemblers
8282 Electrical-equipment assemblers
8283 Electronic-equipment assemblers
8284 Metal-, rubber- and plastic-products assemblers
8285 Wood and related products assemblers
8286 Paperboard, textile and related products assemblers
8287 Composite products assemblers
829 Other machine operators not elsewhere classified
8290 Other machine operators not elsewhere classified
83 Drivers and mobile plant operators
831 Locomotive engine drivers and related workers
8311 Locomotive engine drivers
8312 Railway brakers, signallers and shunters
832 Motor vehicle drivers
8321 Motorcycle drivers
8322 Car, taxi and van drivers
8323 Bus and tram drivers
8324 Heavy truck and lorry drivers
833 Agricultural and other mobile plant operators
8331 Motorised farm and forestry plant operators
8332 Earth-moving and related plant operators
8333 Crane, hoist and related plant operators
8334 Lifting-truck operators
834 Ships' deck crews and related workers
8340 Ships' deck crews and related workers
9 Elementary occupations
91 Sales and services elementary occupations
911 Street vendors and related workers
9111 Street vendors
9113 Door-to-door and telephone salespersons
912 Shoe cleaning and other street services elementary occupations
9120 Shoe cleaning and other street services elementary occupations
913 Domestic and related helpers, cleaners and launderers
9131 Domestic helpers and cleaners
9132 Helpers and cleaners in offices, hotels and other establishments
9133 Hand-launderers and pressers
914 Building caretakers, window and related cleaners
9141 Building caretakers
9142 Vehicle, window and related cleaners
915 Messengers, porters, doorkeepers and related workers
9151 Messengers, package and luggage porters and deliverers
9152 Doorkeepers, watchpersons and related workers
Appendix A2 1 0
9153 Vending-machine money collectors, meter readers and related workers
916 Garbage collectors and related labourers
9161 Garbage collectors
9162 Sweepers and related labourers
92 Agricultural, fishery and related labourers
921 Agricultural, fishery and related labourers
9211 Farm-hands and labourers
9212 Forestry labourers
9213 Fishery, hunting and trapping labourers
93 Labourers in mining, construction, manufacturing and transport
931 Mining and construction labourers
9311 Mining and quarrying labourers

9312 Construction and maintenance labourers: roads, dams and similar constructions
9313 Building construction labourers
932 Manufacturing labourers
9320 Manufacturing labourers
933 Transport labourers and freight handlers

APPENDIX B: PARAMETER ESTIMATES FOR MODELS I, II AND III AS OBTAINED FROM MULTINOMIAL REGRESSIONS

Variables	Services Workers					
	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Intercept	19.026		22.202		30.436	
Power			-.075	.928		
Achievement			-.195	.823		
Security			.219	1.245		
Conformity			.029	1.030		
Hedonism			.175	1.191		
Stimulation			.008	1.008		
Self-direction			-.258	.773		
Universalism			-.103	.902		
Benevolence			.043	1.043		
Tradition			.068	1.070		
social trust					-.058	.944
Interpersonal trust					.021	1.022
Openness to change					-.229	.795
Civic protest					-.155	.856
satisfaction					-.035	.966
happiness					-.115	.891
religiosity					.044	1.045
Openness to human diversity					-.117	.889
Income	-.084	.919	-.088	.916	-.078	.925
Age	-.011	.989	-.016	.984	-.015	.985
[gender=male]	-.944	.389	-.806	.447	-.866	.421
[gender=female]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Austria=.00]	-1.106	.331	-1.373	.253	-1.602	.201
[Austria =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Belgium=.00]	-.337	.714	-.447	.640	-.874	.417
[Belgium =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Switz=.00]	-.885	.413	-1.106	.331	-1.511	.221
[Switz =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Czech =.00]	-1.192	.303	-1.246	.288	-1.535	.216
[Czech =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[German=.00]	-.902	.406	-1.080	.340	-1.323	.266
[Germ =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Denm=.00]	-.552	.576	-.769	.463	-1.247	.287
[Denm =1.00]	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.	0ᵇ	.
[Estonia= .00]	-.254	.776	-.302	.739	-.522	.594

[Estonia=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Spain=.00]	-.838	.433	-.936	.392	-1.531	.216
[Spain =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Finland=.00]	-.482	.617	-.618	.539	-1.194	.303
[Finland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[France=.00]	-.870	.419	-.894	.409	-1.340	.262
[France=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[U.K.=.00]	-.524	.592	-.687	.503	-.916	.400
[U.K. =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Greece=.00]	-1.474	.229	-1.598	.202	-1.681	.186
[Greece =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Hungary=.00]	-.761	.467	-.839	.432	-.736	.479
[Hungary =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ireland=.00]	-.872	.418	-1.051	.349	-1.422	.241
[Ireland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Iceland=.00]	-1.153	.316	-1.256	.285	-1.975	.139
[Iceland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Luxemb=.00]	-1.012	.363	-1.055	.348	-1.774	.170
[Luxemb =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Netherl=.00]	-.525	.592	-.722	.486	-1.012	.363
[Netherl =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Norway=.00]	-.891	.410	-1.083	.339	-1.570	.208
[Norway=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Poland=.00]	-.755	.470	-.937	.392	-1.153	.316
[Poland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Portugal=.00]	-.638	.528	-.760	.468	-.835	.434
[Portugal =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Sweden=.00]	-.879	.415	-1.000	.368	-1.619	.198
[Sweden =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Sloven=.00]	-.054	.948	-.097	.908	-.437	.646
[Sloven =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Slovakia=.00]	-.574	.564	-.707	.493	-1.386	.250
[Slovakia =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ukraine=.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ukraine=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.

* The reference category is: knowledge sector.

b This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant

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Variables	Manufacturing Workers					
	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Intercept	-6.892		1.246		7.194	
Power			-.067	.936		
Achievement			-.255	.775		
Security			.366	1.442		
Conformity			.047	1.048		
Hedonism			.140	1.150		
Stimulation			.026	1.026		
Self-direction			-.412	.662		
Universalism			-.241	.786		
Benevolence			-.009	.991		
Tradition			.211	1.235		
social trust					-.190	.827
Interpersonal trust					-.038	.963
Openness to change					-.304	.738
Civic protest					-.352	.703
satisfaction					.123	1.131
happiness					-.247	.781
religiosity					.116	1.123
Openness to human diversity					-.319	.727
Income	-.040	.961	-.062	.940	-.072	.930
Age	.006	1.006	-.005	.995	-.006	.994
[gender=male]	.391	1.478	.555	1.741	.579	1.785
[gender=female]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Austria=.00]	.471	1.602	-.122	.885	-.061	.940
[Austria =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Belgium=.00]	.712	2.038	.346	1.413	.059	1.060
[Belgium =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Switz=.00]	.505	1.657	-.041	.960	-.340	.712
[Switz =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Czech =.00]	-.191	.826	-.398	.672	-.569	.566
[Czech =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[German=.00]	.588	1.800	.077	1.080	-.105	.900
[Germ =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Denm=.00]	.756	2.131	.186	1.205	-.192	.825
[Denm =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Estonia=.00]	.257	1.293	.021	1.022	.192	1.212
[Estonia=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Spain=.00]	.257	1.293	-.008	.992	-.563	.569
[Spain =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Finland=.00]	.607	1.834	.300	1.350	-.322	.725

[Finland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[France=.00]	.340	1.405	.027	1.027	-.371	.690
[France=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[U.K.=.00]	.590	1.805	.199	1.220	.031	1.031
[U.K. =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Greece=.00]	-.746	.474	1.073	.342	-.713	.490
[Greece =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Hungary=.00]	.231	.794	-.552	.576	.196	.822
[Hungary =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ireland=.00]	.278	1.320	.019	.981	-.475	.622
[Ireland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Iceland=.00]	.170	1.186	.118	.889	-1.123	.325
[Iceland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Luxemb=.00]	.136	1.146	.106	.900	-.669	.512
[Luxemb =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Netherl=.00]	1.244	3.470	.751	2.119	.564	1.758
[Netherl =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Norway=.00]	.632	1.881	.188	1.207	-.384	.681
[Norway=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Poland=.00]	-.300	.741	-.552	.576	-.542	.581
[Poland =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Portugal=.00]	.277	1.320	.093	1.097	.322	1.380
[Portugal =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Sweden=.00]	.910	2.483	.564	1.757	-.291	.748
[Sweden =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Sloven=.00]	.722	2.059	.502	1.651	.299	1.348
[Sloven =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Slovakia=.00]	.341	.711	-.520	.595	-.960	.383
[Slovakia =1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ukraine=.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.
[Ukraine=1.00]	0[b]	.	0[b]	.	0[b]	.

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN WEB-SPLIT BALLOT
EXPERIMENT - FAMILY SPHERE

Win a Bottle of Champagne (Duval-Leroy Fleur de Rosé)!

Thank you for agreeing in participating in this short survey. This questionnaire is part of a European research project on life philosophies and aims to explore the extent to which people converge or diverge in their worldviews.

The completion of the questionnaire will take no more than 5 minutes. Your answers will be strictly treated as **anonymous and confidential**.

Do not forget to enter your name and email address, at the end of the survey, to enter the draw to win a bottle of *Duval-Leroy Fleur de Champagne Rosé Non Vintage*. The last entry date for the prize draw will be 30/9/07. The winner will be contacted by email.

Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Thanks you in advance for your time and effort.
Stavroula Tsirogianni

Please, click here if you are a **female**   Female

Please, click here if you are a **male**   Male

MALE RESPONDENTS

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you, in relation to your <u>family</u> life. Tick the box to the right that shows how much the person in the description is like you.

Thinking about you in your <u>family</u> life how much is this person like you?

	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. It is important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. He believes that people should do what they are told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. It is very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Just few questions about you, which will only be used to help with the statistical analysis. The answers you give will be treated as **confidential and anonymous**.

What is your age?

☐ Less than 20

☐ 20 to 45

☐ 46 to 60

☐ 60 or over

What is the highest level of education you have achieved, or you are about to achieve?

☐ No qualifications

☐ Primary education or first stage of basic education

☐ Lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education (up to 16 years, GCSE)

☐ Upper secondary and post-secondary education (non tertiary – AS, A Levels)

☐ First stage of tertiary education (not leading to an advanced research qualification)

☐ Second stage of tertiary education (leading to an advanced research qualification)

☐ Don't Know

☐ Other specify_____

To which of these ethnic groups do you consider you belong?

☐   White – British

☐   White – Irish

☐   White – Other White Background

Please write_____

☐   Mixed – White and Black Caribbean

☐   Mixed – White and Black African

☐   Mixed – White and Asian

☐   Mixed – Any Other Mixed Background

Please write_____

☐   Asian or Asian British – Indian

☐   Asian or Asian British – Pakistani

☐   Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi

☐   Asian or Asian British – Other Asian Background

Please write_____

☐   Black or Black British – Caribbean

☐   Black or Black British – African

☐   Black or Black British – Other Black Background

Please write_____

☐   Chinese

☐   Other_____

What is the title or the name of your main job?

_____

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN PAPER SPLIT BALLOT
EXPERIMENT - FAMILY SPHERE

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing in participating in this short survey. This questionnaire is part of a European research project on people's worldviews. The completion of the questionnaire will take no more than 10 minutes. Your answers will be strictly treated as **anonymous and confidential**.

Thanks you in advance for your time and effort.

Stavroula Tsirogianni

s.tsirogianni@lse.ac.uk

• *Write down three memorable experiences of you in relation to your family that made you feel happy:*

Positive

1.

2.

3.

• *Write down three memorable experiences of you in relation to your family that made you feel unhappy:*

Negative

1.

2.

3.

• *What does the term 'family' mean to you?*

MALE RESPONDENTS

Here we briefly describe some people. Please read each description and think about how much each person is or is not like you, in relation to your <u>family life</u> .Tick the box to the right that shows how much the person in the description is like you.

Thinking about you in your <u>family</u> life how much is this person like you?

	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in family life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. It is important to him to show his abilities. He wants people to admire what he does.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life .	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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Thinking about you in your <u>family</u> life how much is this person like you?

	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. He believes that people should do what they are told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12. It is very important to him to help the people around him. He wants to care for their well-being.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. Being very successful is important to him. He hopes people will recognise his achievements.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14. It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Thinking about you in your <u>family</u> life how much is this person like you?	Not like me at all	Not like me	A little like me	Some-what like me	Like me	Very much like me
	1	2	3	4	5	6
15. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting family life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16. It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18. It is important to him to be loyal to his friends. He wants to devote himself to people close to him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
19. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the customs handed down by his religion or his family.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21. He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Just few questions about you, which will only be used to help with the statistical analysis. The answers you give will be treated as **confidential and anonymous**.

What is your age?

☐ Less than 20

☐ 20 to 45

☐ 46 to 60

☐ 60 or over

What is the highest level of education you have achieved, or you are about to achieve?

☐ No qualifications

☐ Primary education or first stage of basic education

☐ Lower level secondary education or second stage of basic education (up to 16 years, GCSE)

☐ Upper secondary and post-secondary education (non tertiary – AS, A Levels)

☐ First stage of tertiary education (not leading to an advanced research qualification)

☐ Second stage of tertiary education (leading to an advanced research qualification)

☐ Don't Know

☐ Other specify_____

To which of these ethnic groups do you consider you belong?

☐ White – British

☐ White – Irish

☐ White – Other White Background

Please write_____

☐ Mixed – White and Black Caribbean

☐ Mixed – White and Black African

☐ Mixed – White and Asian

☐ Mixed – Any Other Mixed Background

Please write_____

☐ Asian or Asian British – Indian

☐ Asian or Asian British – Pakistani

☐ Asian or Asian British – Bangladeshi

☐ Asian or Asian British – Other Asian Background

Please write_____

☐ Black or Black British – Caribbean

☐ Black or Black British – African

☐ Black or Black British – Other Black Background

Please write_____

☐ Chinese

☐ Other_____

What is the title or the name of your main job?

_____

APPENDIX E: TOPIC GUIDE FOR BRITISH INTERVIEWS

Questions

Social Values and Economy

1. Looking at the present how do you see things in the UK? Where are the Brits now?

2. How have you seen GB changing over the years?

3. Looking into the future, how do you see GB in ten years time? Where are you going?

4. What kind of changes do you see coming? Positive or negative? Cultural, social, political ones?

5. Would you feel happy with these changes?

6. How do you think GB should be like in ten years time? What are your hopes?

7. How do see/ envisage modernisation in GB?

8. Where do you picture yourself in the future?

9. What do you hope for you and your family?

EU and GB

10. How has the EU affected GB since 1973 when it first joined the EU?

11. How has the EU contributed to the GB wealth levels/modernisation?

12. What do you think of EU's enlargement (Turkey's plans of European integration)? Also Bulgaria and Romania, are scheduled to join the EU in 2007. What do you think?

13. In what ways do you think immigration has influenced the UK and the Brits?

Work and Values

1. What do you think of the European contribution to the sector of work development in GB (eg. job growth)?

2. What kind of changes have you noticed –if any- in your job area?

3. Can you describe your job? Describe a typical working day

4. What is it that like/dislike most about your job?

5. How important is it for you to have balance between your work and your private life?

6. How does your occupation influence your lifestyle ?

7. If you had to change job career what would that be?

8. Have you ever changed a job/position? What were the reasons that drove your decision?

9. What does it mean for you to have quality of life?

APPENDIX F: TOPIC GUIDE FOR GREEK INTERVIEWS

Questions

Social Values and Economy

1. How has (your) life changed over the past few years (since the last elections)?
2. Why did people vote for the labour party, in the last elections? What do you think these people were hoping for?
3. Why are we where we are now?
4. What do you think of the economic and political reforms of the new government (ie. privatisation of education and public sector, introduction of technologies to the public sector, taxation, unemployment, social welfare reforms etc)
5. Which reforms do you find important? Why?
6. Looking into the future, how do you see GR in ten years time? Where are we going?
7. What kind of changes do you see coming? Positive or negative? Cultural, social, political ones?
8. Would you feel happy with these changes?
9. How do you think GR should be like in ten years time? What are your hopes?
10. Where do you picture yourself in the future in 10 years time?
11. What do you hope for you and your family?

EU and GR

12. What role do you think EU has played in GR's modernisation?
13. What does the term "modernisation" signify for you?
14. Do you see any changes in GR since she entered the EU (1981)?
15. What do you think of EU's enlargement (especially Turkey's European integration)?
16. How has immigration affected GR?
17. (What do you think of the new immigration reforms eg giving immigrants outside EU the right to vote?)

Work and Values

18. Can you describe your job? Describe a typical working day

19. What is it that like/dislike most about your job?

20. How important is it for you to have balance between your work and your private life?

21. How does your occupation influence your lifestyle ?

22. If you had to change job career what would that be?

23. Have you ever changed a job/position? What were the reasons that drove your decision?

24. What does it mean for you to have quality of life?

APPENDIX G: EXAMPLE OF A CODED FRAGMENT FROM AN INTERVIEW

GB Interview - ATLAS.ti

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P-Docs P14: Rich_13. ▾   Quotes 14:3 o how di ▾   Codes achievement {i ▾   Memos ME - 04/12/07 {1-Me} - Super

009 So what did you like most about living in Cambridge?
010 Actually knowing the people in town. The college I was at was (Rich exhales loudly) 20% medics and then the rest of the college was 20% lawyers. So, that made for a certain load of the population and also one of the things about Cambridge is that it is still very very elite. People come from very wealthy privileged backgrounds; people come from the top end of schooling and so on. And I find that frankly, I didn't get long very well with the people... the people in my own college. So I ended up with some other people I knew in other colleges. Most of the people I knew were mostly the people from in town. Most people who come to university in Cambridge hardly meet anyone from town at all except possibly people who finish university and are still living there. I had, in my university experience, I was spending a lot of my time in the kind of places the universities say, (Rich changes the tone of his voice), *oh no no no university students shouldn't go there*. But that's where my friends were.
011 So what are the things that you dislike about living in Cambridge? Would you consider going back there?
012 I thought about it a bit. I know a lot of people up there but one of the things...
013 It is not very far?
014 It is not far but one of the things about living in London is it spoils you. When you realize that you can get anything you like in London. I mean where I live is in Harringate which is currently the most ethnically diverse place on the planet. It has people from everywhere. Our local primary school a few years back had 900 pupils and 180 languages. We can pretty much eat food from anywhere on the planet just by walking a little bit further around the corner. If you want to buy a vegetable from anywhere around the earth let's go down to that road there... if Yasser Hakim doesn't have it the next place down will so it is a very nice area and I live there now for 10 or 12 years and I kind of... I know the area very well... I know people there and I am sort of... the other thing if I move to Cambridge or anywhere outside London that makes working here difficult and that's what I do primarily, so...
015 Since you have lived here for 12 years how have you seen London changing over the years?
016 Transport has gotten better. I think that is the most noticeable thing.
017 Many people moan about transport has gotten worse.
018 Well I remember when I first came to London I traveled ... basically I was an adult, I had very little money and public transport was how I got around. And it was... it worked but it was pretty terrible. It was very hard to find it and it was very hard to know what was going on and hard to know where it was. The prices changed seemingly and suddenly by night the buses doubled in cost and that sort of thing. Now we actually seem to have... the public transport of London seems to have an idea of what they are doing. And that I think has made a big difference in living here because it just means that you can find out when things are happening and where trouble is and so on. Umm... I don't know to say how else London has changed

Codes (right margin):
segregation and isolation~
social capital-social networks
ME - 27/11/07 [5]
openness to diversity~
changes~
housing
transportation

GB Interview - ATLAS.ti

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001 I want to know some things about you in general. How old are you?
002 36
003 Have you been living in London your whole life?
004 I moved out to London... I did my degree in Cambridge. I got a degree in math and a diploma in computer science which is basically the whole computer science studies in one year. I was lucky enough to do that... I was lucky enough to do that when the computer science courses were still being taught by the people who invented computing. So we had lectures from these guys going (Rich changes the tone of his voice), *when we built the first computer like this...* so that was really really impressive stuff. Then once I had done that I moved down to London actually to work with Shadow. I had known about Shadow since when I first met Richard Greenhill that set up Shadow originally back in the mid 80's, so I had known about it before I went to university. Umm... and I used to come down to London... from Cambridge to London to do stuff here at the time when I used to work on Shadow stuff actually. When I finished my degree I moved out to London moved in with some mates who just lived around the corner. I have pretty much been working here full time... well doing stuff here ever since. I didn't start to get paid here until 1997-98 so I had to make do by other means in between.
005 So you were born and raised in Cambridge?
006 No, I was born in... my family is from Derbyshire which is in the Midlands. Most people know it as where the A38 meets the M1 when you drive around in England. I went to school in Derbyshire and then I went to university in Cambridge.
007 So how did you decide to study at Cambridge? What was the whole journey?
008 Well there are two good universities in the UK, Oxford and Cambridge, and basically I did my ?2:01 in a good quality day school in Nottingham High School for boys and I think and they had a tradition typically getting 40-50 pupils a year into either Oxford or Cambridge. It was a fairly big load for a very good school. I was good at math, physics and chemistry... kind of the classics sciences and I realized if I wanted to, I could probably get into Cambridge doing math in the back of that at Oxford. I sort of looked around and checked my options and discovered that one of my math teachers had been at this college here and so one of the other teachers had been at the same college and that college had some other interesting... and I went and applied and I got an offer that I was able to make. So I went to Cambridge. I also looked at leagues in Nottingham... no... leagues in the South Hampton and a couple of other places... I can't remember. And South Hampton was quite interesting because they were doing research in areas that very much interested me but it was just the other end of the... I didn't fancy that. Cambridge is a nice city, it's just the resources there... I mean the fact that it has a copyright library on the side actually was a big factor because I knew that any book I ever wanted to read I could walk over to the library and it would be there.
009 So what did you like most about living in Cambridge?

Codes (right margin):
education~
internal motivation~
achievement~
capable~
learning new things/stimulation~
segregation and isolation~

trouble is and so on. Umm… I don't know to say how else London has changed because to be honest where I live I don't feel it has… the only thing that has happened is more, sort of inevitably, there is a lot more of that new gruddy flat housing where they throw up a block of housing in 6 months at the lowest possible cost to develop it and you look at the stuff and you think that is going to fall down in 20 years… it is going to fall down before your mortgage finishes.

019 **So are there any things that you don't really like about living in London?**

020 Well there is the cars. I mean I am not a driver and I normally cycle everywhere and the cars are a constant source of irritation. I think London also suffers form the… it both benefits and it suffers from this vast disparity in wealth across the city. You've got people who are being given a couple of million by their employer as a (Rich changes the tone of his voice), *"well done old chap nice one this year"*. And then you have people who are struggling to make ends meat. They are working full time and they simply can't afford to maintain their property. They can't afford property. I find that to be the fact that most people I know can't afford to buy a house in London and will never be able to. It is not going to happen it is just no way. There is no point to even saving up to buy a house because the cost of housing will go up faster than you can possibly save. So unless you have a windfall you will never be able to own property anywhere near your work and that either forces them to live a way away and travel constantly to get to work or to live in rented accommodation where you are going to end up with something small and gruddy. So I find that aspect of London does annoy me.

021 **Do you think this kind of disparity exhibiting itself on other levels apart from the housing?**

022 Well if you look at something like..

023 **And that annoy you?**

024 One of the reasons why I stopped pretty much reading the papers apart from the Google news is because of the weekend style supplements. Where you have huge chunks of people going (Rich makes a mocking sound and changes the tone of his voice), *and here is a 200 pound hand bag… everybody must buy this 500 pound job* and you look at it and you are thinking okay you've got people with 200 pounds to use up for an entire week and a half and that is all they have and then you have got this class that is essentially continuously promoting the idea of conspicuous consumption… *spend a lot of money on stuff* and it doesn't… if you have a lot of money you can't say to somebody (Rich changes the tone of his voice), *you can't spend so much money on frivolous things*. But then on the other hand the entire culture around that are promoting it and are saying you have to… and I find that very unhelpful and I suspect that the way you have those two things close together you've got a mass media that is saying constantly to people if you are not able to spend a couple of hundred of pounds on a handbag to go out for one evening and 500 pounds to go out to a night club and so on then you are a failure and a large population of

transportation

economic problems~
equality/equal opportunities~
housing

control~
frustration~
materialism/mat aspirations
media quality~
ME - 27/11/07 [6]