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**Towards a Model for
Managing Value Diversity
in the Work Environment**





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Towards a Model for Managing Value Diversity in the Work Environment

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Abstrakt

Värderingsmångfald beskriver den variation av prioriteter som förekommer mellan medlemmar inom en grupp. Värderingsmångfald kan bestå av olika kombinationer av värderingar och därför är det viktigt att förstå vilken värderingsmångfald beskrivs och i vilka situationer den är aktuell. Om individer inom en grupp avviker från varandra i värderingar som representerar motsatta behov har det sannolikt negativa konsekvenser för gruppdynamiken. Många värderingar är dock kompletterande eller så vitt skilda att de inte är relevanta i samma situationer. För att förstå värderingsmångfald är det därmed lika viktigt att beakta dess kontext som vilka värderingar som delar eller enar gruppmedlemmar.

Att man kommer i kontakt med personer vars värderingar skiljer sig från sina egna har traditionellt förknippats med möten mellan kulturer. Forskning visar dock att utvecklingen av värderingar är snarare förknippad med de institutioner man är i kontakt med än den nationella kontexten. Den omedelbara sociala kontext man vuxit upp i eller socialiserats till påverkar ens värderingar och leder till att värderingsmångfald existerar inom nationer.

En intranationell värderingsmångfald är alltså karaktäristisk för det nutida samhället. Detta ser man i bland annat debatten kring immigration och flyktingpolitik. Forskning visar ett tydligt samband mellan attityder om immigration och skillnader i betoningen av trygghets- och jämlikhetsvärderingar. Den pågående automatiseringen av rutinartade och strukturerade arbetsuppgifter skapar en ny situation där en annan typ av värderingsmångfald blir relevant. Avhandlingen beskriver denna värderingsmångfald och utvecklar en modell för att hantera den.

Avhandlingen binder ihop fyra artiklar som visar på värderingsmångfaldens centralitet för organisationer och samhälle. Genom en diskussion om den ontologiska ohållbarheten i användningen av demografiska kategorier betonas vikten av att utveckla ett alternativt perspektiv på mångfald (Långstedt, 2018). I en kvantitativ analys påvisar jag vilken värderingsmångfald blir relevant i och med automatisering av arbete (Långstedt, 2021). De kvantitativa iakttagelserna stärks vidare genom en mångmetod undersökning av värderingar och förändringar i arbete (Långstedt & Manninen, 2020). Till sist presenteras de första stegen mot en modell för att leda mångfald i Långstedt (et al. 2017).

Avhandlingen som helhet bidrar således till värderings- och mångfaldsforskning genom att visa hur och när värderingsmångfald blir relevant. Dessutom tar avhandlingen de första stegen mot skapandet av en modell för värderingsmångfaldsledning baserat på grundläggande mänskliga värderingar.

Abstract

Value diversity entails the differences in priorities between members within a group. Value diversity can consist of many different combinations of values. It is therefore important to understand which value diversity one describes and in what situations the value diversity becomes relevant. Value diversity may have negative consequences for group dynamics if individuals within a group differ in values that represent opposing needs. Many values are, however, complementary or so far apart that they are not relevant in the same situations. Thus, the context of value diversity is as important to understand as which values divide and unite groups.

Meeting people whose values differ from one's own has traditionally been associated with intercultural encounters. The development of values is, however, closely tied to the institutional environment; what institutions one is in contact with and the relationship to those institutions. Differences in values are thus foremost affected by the environment in which one grows up and is socialized to and thus value diversity exists within nations.

Value diversity is therefore characteristic for contemporary societies. Value diversity has emerged in the context of the recent immigration debate and refugee crisis in Europe. There is a clear relationship between attitudes to immigration and security and equality values. The ongoing automation of structured work is a phenomenon that is likely to make different types of value diversity relevant. This thesis focuses on what value diversity is likely to become relevant with regard to automation of work and develops a model for managing it.

The thesis integrates four articles that illustrate the centrality of value diversity for organizations and society. The untenable ontological basis for the use of demographic categories highlights the importance of developing alternative analytical frameworks (Långstedt, 2018). The relevance of value diversity is illustrated through a study of the relationship between values and automation (Långstedt, 2021) and a study of changes in work (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). Finally, the first steps towards a model for managing value diversity are presented in Långstedt (et al. 2017).

Therefore, the thesis as a whole contributes to the fields of values and diversity research by showing when and how value diversity becomes relevant. Furthermore, the thesis takes the first steps towards a model for managing value diversity based on basic human values.

List of Figures

Figure 1. Schwartz (1992) value structure. p. 45

Figure 2. Schwartz (2017) refined value structure. p. 53

Figure 3. The theoretical link between values and action. p. 58

Figure 4. Change to dynamic work and the process of value activation. p. 61

Figure 5. A visualization of value diversity. p. 73

Figure 6. A visualization of the distance between values collected within the Turku City Research Program project "LIITO" (N=727). p. 79

Figure 7. The focal point of the diversity management model. p. 83

List of Tables

Table 1. Overview of research methods in the articles. p. 24

Table 2. Definitions of Schwartz (1992, 2017) value types. p. 49

Table 3. Correlations between values collected within the Turku City Research Programme project "LIITO" (N=727) p. 78

Table 4. Means, mean ranks, responses, and standard deviations in the Turku sample of employees from the LIITO project p. 80

Contents

1 Introduction	9
1.1 Research environment	12
1.1.1 The field(s) of study	15
1.1.2 Objectives and scope	15
1.2 Research contributions	17
1.2.1 The contributions made in the compilation thesis	17
1.2.2 The contributions made in the publications.....	18
1.3 The choice of theoretical framework	20
1.4 Research design	22
1.4.1 Research methods.....	23
1.4.2 Assumptions when analyzing the data.....	28
1.5 Summary	30
2 Value Diversity Management.....	31
2.1 A brief introduction to diversity management.....	31
2.1.1 Reductionism, social categories, and agency.....	32
2.2 Value diversity	35
2.2.1 The many faces of value diversity	37
2.2.2 A critical note on value diversity research	42
2.3 Summary	43
3 The theory of basic human values	44
3.1 The theories behind the value types and their empirical justification	47
3.1.3 The difference between the 19 value model and the 10 value model	51
3.2 Values and action.....	55
3.2.1 Values and change	59
3.2.2 Values, skills, and the future of work.....	63
3.2.3 Values, work environments, and the future of work.....	66
3.3 Some critical comments of Schwartz's theory.....	69
3.3.1 A critique of the upper-level values openness-to-change and conservation.....	69
3.4. Summary	72

4 Value diversity in light of the theory of basic human values.....	73
4.1 Managing value diversity.....	76
4.1.1 Current approaches to manage value diversity.....	77
4.1.2 Which value diversity to manage.....	78
4.2 Towards a model for managing value diversity.....	83
4.2.1 The Discursive Practice of Value Diversity Management.....	84
4.2.2 The Contextuality of Value Diversity Management.....	86
4.2.3 Managing Value Diversity.....	87
4.1.4 Limitations of the model.....	90
5 Discussion.....	92
5.1 Theoretical and methodological implications.....	94
5.1.1 Defining value diversity through an integrated system of values.....	94
5.1.2 Openness-to-change and conservation dimensions.....	94
5.1.3 Value diversity management.....	95
5.1.4 Methodological implications.....	95
5.2 Practical implications.....	96
5.3 Limitations and recommendations for future research.....	97
Publication contributions.....	99
References.....	100
Original publications.....	115

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¹ Calculated with a 10 month working year, 22 day working month and a 2 cups/day consumption rate. Error margin = unknown.

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Johnny Långstedt

1 Introduction

The challenge managers have is to find a way to integrate team members who differ in underlying but fundamental ways.

(Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002)

Values reflect many of the phenomena that we can see around us today. Perhaps the most prevalent discussion revolves around immigration after the refugee crisis of 2015 and the current COVID-19 pandemic. During 2015, an anti-immigration group called the Soldiers of Odin emerged on the streets of several Finnish cities. In Tampere, however, they were countered by a group dressed as clowns called Loldiers of Odin². The group followed the Soldiers of Odin singing and “spreading joy” – in essence ridiculing the anti-immigration group. The two groups communicated different attitudes to immigration, which reflects different value priorities (e.g. Lassander, 2017). The soldiers and loldiers are likely to differ in how much importance they place on values like equality, security, and conformity and how those values are expressed. The two groups are examples of how value diversity can be expressed in relation to immigration.

Another example of value diversity emergence is observable in the reactions to the governmental regulations during the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic disrupts the lives of many, as governments implement restrictions and pass laws to stop the spread of the virus. A tension between core values such as freedom, concern for others, and safety are evident in the arguments for and against government restrictions. Ideas about safety and concern were used to legitimize the isolation of Uusimaa, while columnists and experts judged this as a violation of individual freedom and questioned the legitimacy of the restrictions placed by the government. While the concern for safety was clearly a means to legitimize the governmental regulations, the importance of individual freedom has emerged as a critique against the regulations. Value diversity emerged in conflicting views of what governmental actions the pandemic legitimizes. Both the refugee crisis of 2015 and the Covid-19 pandemic are examples of situations and questions that make value diversity surface in society.

Value diversity is, however, not restricted to the national context and societal questions. Values are relevant in the professional realm and are connected to different aspects of organizational life, such as attitudes to change (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015), creative and innovative behavior (Lebedeva *et al.*, 2019; Purc and Lagun, 2019), and organizational structure

² <https://www.cbc.ca/news/trending/loldiers-of-odin-finland-1.3410837>

(Sagiv, Schwartz and Arieli, 2011). Value diversity is also relevant for the debate about how intelligent technologies will affect the work environment which is a focal point of this thesis (Långstedt, 2021).

Intelligent technologies are believed to change work fundamentally because they are able to perform relatively complex tasks as long as they can be divided into clear sequences. Consequently, as advanced digital technologies such as AI are integrated to work it is expected to become more creative and social – in contrast to routine and structured (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2014; Hodgson, 2016; Frey and Osborne, 2017). If the expected shift towards more creative work is realized it leads to a situation where current values and future work requirements represent opposite motivational goals (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020; Långstedt, 2021). In terms of skills and abilities that are associated with values, the values of automatable occupations indicate a disadvantage compared to non-automatable occupations (Långstedt, 2021). Alleviating the misalignment between values and the new work requirements is important to facilitate the transition to a work environment augmented by intelligent technologies. The alignment between values and work is important for both workers and employers because research indicates that job satisfaction and organizational commitment is positively related to the alignment of values and work (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005). The relevance of value diversity management is likely to surface when work environments change because people with different values are attracted to different kinds of work and experiences the change differently (Sagiv, 2002; Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004; Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015; Arieli, Sagiv and Cohen-Shalem, 2016; Långstedt and Manninen, 2020) and because different values are prioritized in automatable and non-automatable occupations (Långstedt, 2021).

Values are cognitive representations of basic human needs and therefore they provide motivational goals with which we strive to align our actions (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). This *function* of values is evident in the work setting. We tend to choose occupations where we can pursue our values, because work is a central venue for achieving meaning and enact our values (Ros, Schwartz and Surkiss, 1999; Sagiv, 2002). Moreover, researchers have found that job and values alignment correlate positively with job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005), which supports the idea that jobs are an important venue for pursuing values.

Within the field of diversity management, value diversity has received considerably less attention than demographic diversity. However, in a recent call for bridging the boundaries between diversity and cross-cultural psychology, Ferdman and Sagiv (2012) convincingly argue that research from cross-cultural psychology can benefit diversity research by providing a range of specific constructs by which groups can be diverse. Such constructs relate to “deep-level” diversity that comprises psychological constructs such

as values – that are the focus of this thesis. Further research on this particular aspect of diversity has been called for recently (Klein *et al.*, 2011). An idea that demographic attributes, such as gender or ethnicity, reflects psychological attributes seem to prevail in the field of diversity (Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002). The field as such seems to assume that there are certain differences between social categories that can be exploited to increase performance or managed to avoid performance loss. Thus, the field is characterized by an essentializing logic that assumes that demographic groups share certain attributes and differ from other groups in other attributes (Holck *et al.*, 2016). Essentializing provides little support for the practical management of groups as it diverts attention from challenges based on situational and individual factors that are more manageable (Långstedt, 2018).

The aim of this compilation thesis is to present a model for managing value diversity based on Schwartz (1992/2017) theory of basic human values. To achieve this, current studies of value diversity are reviewed, and the theory of basic human values presented and its implications for the conceptualization of value diversity management is discussed. Thereby, it integrates the cross-cultural construct of values to the field of diversity management and produces a nuanced view of what value diversity can entail. The final part of the thesis discusses the value diversity that is likely to be relevant for managers in Finland and provides some guidelines for managing it based on the theoretical framework presented below and discussions with managers during my fieldwork.

1.1 Research environment

As any research project, mine has taken some sudden turns and involved making significant choices that have affected the research process and objectives. Much of my research has been directed at contributing to problems outside the traditionally academic field. The focus has not been to create theory, but rather to use theoretical frameworks and research methods to solve and explain challenges in organizational life – and improve it. The work has been by far multidisciplinary and multicultural. The research projects I have worked in have involved engineers, lawyers, economists, and people of many different national origins. This environment has enriched my views in many ways. This is perhaps best noted in the questions I ask in my studies and the data I have had available for my research. Traditional gap spotting or theory-driven approaches that are sought after in many high-status journals are absent in my research because the driving factor for the research is derived from practitioner demand. It was also an experience that took me further away from “typical” topics within the study of religions – bearing in mind that our department has a tendency to extend its scope every now and then (e.g. Nynäs, 2001; Illman, 2004).

Långstedt (et al. 2017) is an example of what can be achieved by collaboration across disciplines, what has been referred to as functional diversity (Haas, 2010). The benefits of such collaboration are reciprocal. Much like the business case of diversity promises (Thomas and Ely, 1996a), our team was able to produce a solution drawing on our different knowledge-bases. Had it not been for the collaboration with the Laboratory of Industrial Management, I would not have been exposed to the problem we attempted to solve with the stakeholder method. Had it not been for the collaboration with our department (the study of religions), the values-based approach would have been overlooked. More important, however, a shared respect towards each other resided within the team and it enabled discussions and throwing around ideas about research topics and solutions for practical issues. The experience of working with colleagues (that later became friends) whose professional and national backgrounds differ from mine affected my view of diversity and the importance of social categories. Reflections on working in a diverse team led to some of the central thoughts in Långstedt (2018).

The value-based stakeholder management method and software that we describe in Långstedt, Wikström, and Hellström (2017) is an example of the choices that had to be taken during the research process. The research we did was mainly driven by a need of our collaborator, not by a theoretical gap in the literature that we sought to fill. A survey or line of interviews would perhaps have resulted in different kind of data. However, that would not have had the immediate practical relevance that the development of the software had, and thus would not have served the purpose of the research program.

More importantly, had the approach not been applicable to the context of the core activities of the case organization we would perhaps not have had access to as many informants as we did. To develop the “tool” in Långstedt (*et al.* 2017) we used a research method called design action research (Sein *et al.*, 2011). Like action research, design action research is closely related to collaboration with the community and feedback from the community. The community in the action design research setting consists of the users of the solution. The aim of action research is to bridge the gap between theory and practice (Greenwood and Levin, 2008; Sein *et al.*, 2011). The “tool” that we developed in the research project was based on workshops with experienced project managers that tested the software and pointed to flaws or improvements. The workshops created an iterative loop where they served as both insights into the challenges that managers faced in stakeholder management and how the software could be developed. By doing so, the work bridged the gap between academia and practice, rendering the knowledge from academia at practitioners’ disposal and *vice versa*.

The collaboration with practitioners has of course affected my research fundamentally and guided the questions I have asked and what methods I have used. The practitioners have participated in the research voluntarily at their own expense. This means that the research needs to be interesting to them and serve at bare minimum their curiosity while minimizing the requirement of their resources. This limited the framework within which I could do research, the research needed to be framed and designed in a way that provided my collaborators with something of value with minimum effort³. Such approach necessarily excludes something worth pursuing at the same time as it limits the depth at which something can be pursued (e.g., time constraints during interviews and survey response rates). Yet, I believe that this practical approach to knowledge creation is the strength of this thesis. There is not a question of whether the studies are relevant outside academia and whether they have had an impact beyond potential readers – the involvement of practitioners in the projects bears testimony of that. The many discussions with managers and employees have had reciprocal benefits. The managers have been exposed to an additional framework through which they can view organizational life. Simultaneously, I have received an insight into their organizations and perspectives on the issues they face.

I have continuously been surprised by the amount of management, social psychological and psychological studies that use student samples. A way of defending this trend is to assert that “[student samples] are considered legitimate for research that focuses on fundamental characteristics of human nature” (Kirrane, Kramer and Lasseleben, 2019: 4). This trend is quite prevalent in value diversity research. In many cases, the use of student

³ Which was not to develop a theoretical detail.

samples is treated as an unproblematic sampling strategy. I agree with the notion that student samples are valid if you are studying fundamental processes of human nature. However, they are not ideal since students represent a specific demographic group that are privileged in relation to non-students (Bello *et al.*, 2009; Ford, 2016). One central condition for the use of student samples is that the researched problem relates to fundamental aspects of human nature that are *context-free* (Bello *et al.*, 2009). One must ask whether organizational or management studies are fundamental, that is context-free, enough to warrant the use of student samples. I contend that group functioning is highly contextual, because it is situated in a larger social environment that affects the actions that group members perform. For example, the institutional environment (Scott, 2014) has been suggested to affect the development of values (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). Moreover, a professional organizational context is likely to pose very different (and real) pressures compared to a student context because choices have real-life consequences that can have long-term effects on a variety of central aspects of life. Perhaps most obviously on employment, the work community etc. In student samples, these pressures and consequences end when experiments end, and the subjects of those experiments are aware of that, which makes the effects of their actions temporary and relevant for a shorter time-period.

Survey research on value diversity and relationship conflict consistently report that value diversity increases relationship conflict (e.g. Jehn and Mannix, 2001). In contrast, a mixed-methods study of a crew in a Mars simulation, Sandal and Bye (2015) found that the crew members actively sought methods to avoid relationship conflicts. The different findings can be attributed to research designs. However, it is also a testimony of the contextual nature of the effects of value diversity that quantitative methods do not capture. The strength of an experimental model is, of course, that the researchers can reduce the effects of other variables. This way, the internal validity of the experimental approach is achieved at the expense of external validity. Given that working life events are situated in a context that regulates and enables actions to great extent, my research has focused on external validity and relevance.

The focus on problem solving and collaboration with non-academics does not mean that the thesis would not produce theoretical insights. However, those insights are grounded in the observations that my colleagues and I made in the field. Thereby, the theoretical contributions of the articles are problem-driven and strongly related to “how the wider world works” (Corley and Gioia, 2011) rather than “gap-spotting” (Sandberg and Alvesson, 2011). The observation that managers use nationality to defend their colleagues and as a scapegoat (Långstedt, 2018), and the question of whether values actually represent openness to change and conservation (Långstedt & Manninen, 2020) are grounded in observations from the field. They were not derived from spotting gaps in the literature but problematizing the literature based

on empirical observations. The latter of which has been recommended as a more relevant approach because it creates new knowledge rather than extends existing knowledge incrementally (Whetten, 1989; Sandberg and Alvesson, 2011).

1.1.1 The field(s) of study

My research can be viewed as primarily relevant for management and organizational scholars and secondarily value scholars. However, I believe that the reason that I have contributed to these fields is my background in the study of religions. The study of religions comprises the study of worldviews that increasingly acknowledges the importance of understanding secular and non-religious worldviews as well as understanding religious worldviews (e.g. Dahl *et al.*, 2019). Worldviews are based on certain ways to perceive the world that are related to value hierarchies (Rohan, 2000). Values, in turn, can be strongly related to religion and religiosity (Roccas, 2005) and are a central concept in the study of religions. In this thesis I have applied this central concept in the study of religions to the context of organizations. This is not to say that I have not been affected and guided by organizational and management research traditions. Working with managerial issues as early as my master's thesis has affected the choices I have made during my research and the problems that I incorporate into my research. The context and the research questions are not perhaps what are traditionally expected from a thesis within the study of religions. However, this thesis is a good example of the versatility that a background in the study of religions provides and the utility of the field's methods and theories beyond the realm of studying religious phenomena, which itself is a fluid construct.

1.1.2 Objectives and scope

The primary objective of the thesis is to integrate Schwartz (1992/2017) theory of basic human values into the value diversity framework. The integration of the theory refines approaches to value diversity by considering the compatibilities between different values. The second objective is to build a model for managing value diversity from the perspective of the theory of basic human values and provide an example of what value diversity becomes relevant if work changes due to technologies as much as has been predicted (e.g., Frey & Osborne, 2017). The final objective is to provide a brief overview of current value diversity research.

To build a model, first one needs to understand what a model is and is not. A model can be a physical, such as a miniature, or abstract, such as theoretically informed relationships, or a visualization of the object it models (Mäki, 2001). Importantly, a model is something that represents particular aspects of a phenomenon. A map in 1:1 is not a useful representation of the terrain although it is very exact, a useful map consists of *purposeful* information, rather than *all* information. Similarly, a model is restricted in its

representation and focuses on the information that is purposeful in relation to the aim of the model (Mäki, 2001). Thus, the model presented in this thesis is restricted to representing the integration of Schwartz (1992/2017) theory of values to the study of value diversity. Doing so, it necessarily excludes some aspects, such as norms and institutions, that regulate and affect human agency.

Current research in the value diversity field has used a variety of different approaches to study values. The many conceptualizations of values and methodological approaches to studying values reduces the comparability of research results and as a result, the reliability of the studies suffers. Therefore, one of the aims of this compilation thesis is to show how Schwartz' (1992/2017) theory could be used in value diversity research and what benefits it would have. In comparison to other value perspectives, his theory provides a value structure that explains the relationship between different values (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). The value structure indicates that it is most likely that value diversity has adverse effects on group functioning when it involves incompatible values and when certain conditions are met. This is expanded in chapter 4.

Few value diversity studies provide suggestions for managing value diversity. Therefore, the model in this thesis provides guidelines for managing value diversity that are applicable in an organizational setting. The example in section 4.2 focuses on stability and dynamism related values because these are prominent in the context I have studied (Långstedt and Manninen, 2019) and an important challenge in the future workplace if it becomes automated as predicted (Långstedt, 2021; Långstedt and Manninen, 2020).

1.2 Research contributions

1.2.1 The contributions made in the compilation thesis

The overall contribution of this compilation thesis is to theorize⁴ about managing value diversity from the perspective of Schwartz' (1992) theory of basic human values. The process of developing a model for value diversity management requires a review of current research and an investigation of what value diversity means in terms of Schwartz' theory. The following sub-contributions and observations were made during this process:

1. The value diversity management field is fragmented and lacks a shared operationalization of values, which limits the reliable comparison of results from different studies, which, in turn, hinders the accumulation of knowledge about value diversity. Thus, one of the theoretical contributions of this thesis is to present Schwartz's (1992/2017) theory of basic human values as a valid option for research on value diversity management. The theory has been used internationally to study a variety of organizational phenomena that shed light on issues related to value diversity management (see Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020 for a recent review). The body of literature using Schwartz provides a strong background for understanding and interpreting results of value diversity research. Hence, the use of Schwartz as a framework for value diversity research advances the study of value diversity by providing a broad range of studies to draw from when attempting to understand value diversity.

2. Value diversity management from the perspective of Schwartz' theory relates to opposing motivational goals that values represent. That is, value diversity is not necessarily a source of conflict, as is suggested in value diversity research. If value diversity relates to differences in importance placed on adjacent values conflicts are less likely than if members of a group vary in prioritizing opposing values in the structure.

⁴ Karl Weick (1995) argued in an influential paper that "the process of theorizing consists of activities like abstracting, generalizing, relating, selecting, explaining, synthesizing, and idealizing." The central difference between presenting a theory and theorizing, according to him, is a question of freezing the theory and doing the theory.

1.2.2 The contributions made in the publications

The first paper, *Culture, an Excuse?* (Långstedt, 2018), problematizes the use of social categories as a causal explanation for challenges in international project work. The paper focuses on how the cross-cultural management field legitimizes an essentialist discourse through its focus on cultural difference as a causal explanation. The diversity management field has been criticized for similar issues related to essentializing gender, age and other social categories (Holck *et al.*, 2016). The paper highlights the practical issues related to an essentializing view of national diversity, arguing that the view makes culture a convenient scapegoat that can be blamed for managerial challenges. Following the critique of the essentialist conceptualization of culture an alternative conceptualization is presented.

The second paper *How will our values fit future of work?* (Långstedt, 2021), shows how value diversity management becomes relevant if the work environment becomes more dynamic following the implementation of intelligent technologies. It does this by illustrating how the occupational values of automatable occupations correlate negatively with the skills and work environments that are anticipated to become relevant in the future. The predicted lack of work that corresponds to the need of stability underlying the conservation values creates a new situation where people are not necessarily able to find work that aligns with their values. Thus, the ability to manage value diversity becomes increasingly important.

The third paper, *Basic Values and Change* (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020), illustrates the challenges of changes at work. The paper shows how the contradictions between values and work environments can manifest in an organizational context. The major challenges reported in the study concerns challenges to implement routines in work units where openness-to-change values are more important than conservation values. The second challenge reported in the paper relates to implementing proactive ways of working in units where conservation values are prioritized more than openness-to-change values. Thus, the paper highlights the micro-level consequences of the transition from routine to dynamic work expected to follow from the implementation of intelligent technologies.

The fourth paper, *Leading Human Values in Complex Environments* (Långstedt, Wikström and Hellström, 2017), describes how values-based management could look like and why it is needed in an international setting. The main argument is that values can be used by project managers as decision-support when managing projects and choosing stakeholder strategies. The paper describes a pilot study where we tested the use of values as an assessment framework. In essence, the paper exemplifies how values can be contextualized to support management practices.

Together, these papers contribute to current approaches within value diversity research and cross-cultural management. They indicate the importance of managing values that are prevalent in an organization and how

values are associated with different situations. The importance of value diversity management may arise only in relation to some situations, like the politicized tensions related to immigration, which were briefly mentioned in the introduction. In organizational life some events are more relevant for value diversity than other events. In what situations value diversity surfaces depends on what values it is associated with. In an organizational setting, changes in the characteristics of work can make value diversity surface. This, however, depends on what type of changes are made and what values the members of the organization prioritize (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). The changes brought about by intelligent technologies are related to work that corresponds to opposing values (Långstedt, 2021). The technological changes are expected to make work more creative and social (Frey and Osborne, 2013). This type of work relates to values that oppose the values prevalent in occupations that perform structured work (Knafo and Sagiv, 2004). Therefore, a value diversity related to openness-to-change values and conservation values emerges if the work environment becomes more dynamic following the implementation of intelligent technologies. If the predictions are realized, the relevance of value diversity management competencies are likely to increase in the future.

1.3 The choice of theoretical framework

Which stream of research scholars build their work on has a strong impact on the results of the research and what assumptions are made while doing that research. A word on my choice of theory is thus in order. I will here present some of the reasons why I have used Schwartz theory throughout my research. Schwartz theory of basic human values (1992/2017) is not the only value theory available, but it has many advantages compared to other theories. In this section I will shortly outline how Schwartz theory differs from other value theories.

The first criteria that I sought to fulfill was the question of problem solving and pragmatism, achieving a status of what Greenwood and Levin (2008) calls “knowing how”. That is creating knowledge through action. As a bare minimum the value theory needed to be actionable for the stakeholders that participated in the studies. This limited the choice of theory to the individual level since my stakeholders were mainly managers and their employees. This excludes the commonly used framework of Hofstede (1980) who argued that his theory cannot be used on the individual level – although it is not difficult to find studies that use his theory on the individual level. Another potential theory of values is Ronald Inglehart’s theory of post-materialism and materialism values. According to Inglehart (1977), the values in “the West” changed after the second world war as prosperity and education increased. The economic stability following the wars, led to the next generation being less concerned with their basic survival and instead prioritize self-expression (Inglehart, 1971). I did not choose Inglehart’s theory because compared to Schwartz theory it is quite broad (4 value items).

Rokeach (1973) theory of values is highly relevant for the purpose of the study. According to Rokeach, values are representations of basic needs that vary in their relative importance. He categorized values as instrumental and terminal. The former representing acceptable means to attain the goals that the latter represent. The theory does not discuss the relationship between the values, but is rather a list of values that are not linked to each other (Rohan, 2000; Helkama, 2015). The lack of a relationship between the values is a considerable shortcoming for the purpose of understanding the dynamics of value diversity. The conceptualization of value diversity benefits from understanding how the different values are related to each other. This is exactly what Schwartz (1992/2017) theory of values provides. As will be described in section 3, he was able to validate a universal structure of values (figure 1.) that shows which values are compatible and which values oppose each other. Furthermore, the theory has been updated recently (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012) and a vast body of research in organizational settings has used the theory recently (see Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020 for a review). The body of research on Schwartz values in organizational settings provides analytical support and background to the interpretation of my material. Furthermore,

overviews of value theories have lauded Schwartz theory for its comprehensiveness (Rohan, 2000; Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004).

1.4 Research design

Each of the articles included in this thesis are independent research efforts from different research projects and with different purposes. Therefore, they necessarily involve different methods of data collection and analysis. The articles involve interviews, workshops, surveys, and mixed methods. If paradigmatic lines were drawn based on methods, the thesis would be a compilation of incompatible epistemological perspectives.

Survey and interview research is a good example of methods that are traditionally viewed as based on different epistemological traditions. The former is associated with a (post)positivist tradition and the latter with a constructivist tradition (Bryman, 1984). Such division of methods is of course arbitrary. As researchers have pointed out, the compatibility of methods is not an issue, but rather the differences in epistemological and ontological assumptions that accompany the schools of thought that prefer different research methods (Bryman, 1984; Morgan, 2007; Johnson and Gray, 2015). A pervasive difference is between a mechanical ontology and a social ontology where the former seeks to *explain* phenomena by identifying *causes* while the latter seeks to *understand* a phenomena through *intentions* and *reasons* (Biesta, 2015). I will return to the discussion of causes and reasons below.

Another way that the quantitative and qualitative approaches differ are the quality criteria they apply to research. According to the influential work of Lincoln and Guba (e.g. 2005), qualitative research in the constructivist tradition uses authenticity and trustworthiness as central criteria for quality. In contrast, quantitative research tends to view questions of external and internal validity, reliability, and objectivity as central quality criteria. In the constructivist or interpretivist tradition, these criteria are misplaced since the epistemological tradition rests on the premise that knowledge is created in the research process in the interaction with the research subject. For example during interviews in the interaction between researcher and informant or environment, rather than collected from an objective reality (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The main quality criteria is how well the research subjects (e.g. informants, respondents) are *re-presented* rather than how *objective* (i.e. how distant the researcher is from the subject) the results are (Lincoln and Guba, 2005).

With these diverging assumptions in mind, it is hardly surprising that qualitative and quantitative methods are considered difficult to combine (Bryman, 2007). Furthermore, employing multiple methods in research projects is likely to evoke criticism from both sides as the research approaches can be assessed based on several conflicting criteria (Bryman, 2007). However, the technical research methods can be viewed as complementary rather than incompatible (Bryman, 1984). In fact, recent scholars have suggested that mixed-methods research can draw from a

pragmatic epistemology to bridge conventional rifts between different epistemological stances (Morgan, 2007; Biesta, 2015). I have not discriminated against the use of any particular method but rather maintained a pragmatic approach to knowledge creation where the research question and environment have guided the choice of method and material. Table 1 provides an overview of the research methods and research questions in each article.

1.4.1 Research methods

Two articles in the thesis build on interviews. Interviews as such are basic modes of data collection, or creation, depending on what role the researcher is attributed in the process (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The interviews that I have performed have a broad theme and are best described as semi-structured. Details about the interviews are available in the original publications (Långstedt, 2018; Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). The observations are based on patterns that emerged when analyzing the collected material. As such the interpretation of the interviews follows what Ellingson (2013) describes as the typical qualitative approach that inductively identifies patterns from the data and creates an interpretation based on them. For example, the topic of change in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) emerged from inquiring about challenges that the managers faced in their work. Similarly, the discussion of the underlying assumption regarding the use of “culture” in international projects (Långstedt, 2018) emerged from a broader theme of studying project management challenges in boundary-spanning international construction projects, which involved topics such as leadership issues, collaboration, and legal frameworks and contracting.

That the informants themselves raised the question of culture and change indicates that the topics were central to the informants’ experiences of the challenges they faced. As similar topics were brought up in several interviews a pattern emerged that was then presented and discussed in the publications with the aim to *understand* and *re-present* the patterns and what they could be indicative of (e.g., an essentialist understanding of culture).

Article	Culture, an excuse?	How will our values fit future work?	Basic values and change	Leading Values in Complex Environments
Method	Discourse analysis	Statistical methods: correlations, ANOVA	Multi-level mixed methods analysis	Action research
Data	Project manager accounts of intercultural encounters and collaboration in international projects	European social survey round 8 (PVQ21)	Interviews and surveys (PVQ57)	Workshops
Research Question	How is the concept of culture used to make sense of intercultural encounters?	What is the relationship between values and the automatability of occupations?	How does changing ways of working relate to value priorities in work units?	How can the theory of basic human values support stakeholder management?

Table 1. Overview of research methods in the articles

The approaches are of course restricted to the interview situations where the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewed are central in the creation and interpretation of statements (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). This means, that the description of, for example, the intercultural encounters is could differ if the researcher would have represented a different ethnicity. However, non-Finnish informants did not shy away from discussing the stereotypical Finns and their ways of working. The way *how* the informants described cultural others were perhaps more salient as I was a researcher, and the interviews were performed under non-disclosure agreements. Had it not been for the confidentiality of the interview situation, the interviewees may have described the encounters differently because of different stakes in the situation. As an interviewer I have followed the basic interview principles and guided the discussion without leading questions. Regardless, the interview is always born in the interaction between researcher and interviewee where various expectations and power structures are inevitable and affect the interaction (Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 1994; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). To research *how* intercultural encounters are described by managers or what challenges managers face at work is best achieved by interviewing them as this provides them an opportunity to choose their own words when they describe a situation.

The approach that I have taken in analyzing the interviews resemble closely the middle-ground qualitative approaches described by Ellingson (2013). According to Ellingson (2013 p.421), the middle-ground consists of research that concerns the “construction of patterns, e.g., themes, categories, and portrayals, as well as practicalities, e.g., applied research, recommendations for action...”. The process has been described by Denzin and Lincoln (2008: p. 6-7) as “bricolage” or creating a “quilt” where the researcher puts together the pieces and creates “psychological and emotional unity in the interpretation”. I did this in the following way: The coding of the data started with reading the interviews and forming a first impression and building a coding structure that relates to themes that were identified in the interviews. This does not mean that my research was based on an empty slate. My background in intercultural communication and the study of religions guided my attention to “cultural issues” in Långstedt (2018). The topic of change in Långstedt and Manninen (2020), in contrast, was not of particular interest to me, but emerged from the interviews as I read, interpreted, and finally coded them.

The portrait values questionnaire (PVQ21/57) is used in two of the articles. Despite the questionnaire’s abundant validations (e.g. Davidov, Schmidt and Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz *et al.*, 2012), it does have some weaknesses. In general, one can argue that surveys provide a limited range of knowledge in relation to interviews as the items designed by the researcher limits them, the PVQs are not exceptions in this matter. The main issue with Schwartz value theory and the PVQ is that they are specifically

designed to provide a *universal* structure of values (Schwartz, 1992, 2017). This means that cultural particularities are excluded from the analysis, which in turn means that some locally meaningful values are excluded from the results (e.g. courage (Helkama, 2015)). The strength of the measure is, however, that it has been widely used and its theoretical foundation validated in many contexts in relation to many different subjects (Schwartz, 2010; Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020). Thus, there is a considerable body of literature that supports the interpretation of the results in different contexts.

The change topic that emerged from the interviews with managers in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) inspired the second paper regarding occupational automatability and values (Långstedt, 2021). The paper is solely based on data from the European Social Survey (ESS), as such I did not participate in the data collection. However, reviewing the methodological guidelines and the interview guides gave me confidence that the data collection follows high-quality principles⁵. The main work related to the data was to match the occupational classification of ESS data with that of the automatability assessment in Frey and Osborne (2013).

Because the assessment of automatability is on the level of occupations, the values of occupations were aggregated to represent occupational value tendencies. Otherwise, the constructs would have been relevant at different levels, obscuring the results (Ostroff, 1993). The analysis followed the same principles that Knafo and Sagiv (2004) use to compare the value priorities of occupations. Despite the concurrent reports of correlations between occupations and values (Sagiv, 2002; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004; Gandal *et al.*, 2005; Arieli, Sagiv and Cohen-Shalem, 2016; Tartakovsky and Walsh, 2018), the strength of the relationship between occupations and values is not such that one could assume homogeneity within occupations. Thus, the results in Långstedt (2021) should be viewed as an indication of occupational value tendencies and their relationship to automatability, rather than a direct link between basic values and the automatability of a job. The automatability framework used in the paper has also been criticized for overlooking the heterogeneity of tasks within occupations (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). To study the direct relationship between personal values and the automatability of specific jobs requires an individual level approach that catches the heterogeneity of jobs and values within occupational groups.

The mixed-methods approach taken in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) is built around the multi-level sampling technique described in Tashakkori and Teddlie (2015). The method involves collecting data on one level qualitatively (e.g. by interviews) and on another level quantitatively (e.g. by

⁵ A thorough description of the data collection procedures are available at the ESS webpage:

https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/methodology/methodological_research/methods_of_data_collection/

surveys). In the article, we interviewed managers about the challenges they face at work while we surveyed their work units' values using the PVQ-57. Thus, we were using different types of data collection and analysis on the manager and employee level. Such approaches have been utilized in contexts that involve nested units such as schools and organizations (Tashakkori *et al.*, 2015). The choice of this approach was mainly based on the notion that it is less than ideal to inquire about the values of the employees from their managers, while it is equally irrelevant to inquire about managerial challenges from employees. This approach enabled us to compare the challenges that managers faced with the values of their work units.

Långstedt (*et al.* 2017) takes an action research approach to stakeholder management with the aim to build a "stakeholder management tool" based on Schwartz (1992) value theory. Action research differs from other research principles as it does not attempt to sever the relationship between the researcher and the subject. Instead, the researcher attempts to work closely with the subject in order to develop a solution to a problem (Greenwood and Levin, 2008). Action research is thus strongly related to the context in which the research is done. Greenwood and Levin (2008) express the process of action research as a collaboration between researchers and their stakeholders where both the problem and the solution is defined *with* stakeholders. In the case of Långstedt (*et al.* 2017), the context was managing international construction projects and the problem to be solved was how to improve stakeholder management and increase "soft skills" in the organization. We co-created the definition of the problem with senior directors of the company and together worked on solving it. The aim was therefore not to merely describe the problem, but to solve it. The validity of such approach is then a question of the stakeholder's assessment of how well the problem was solved (Greenwood and Levin, 2008). As reported in Långstedt (*et al.* 2017), the stakeholders found the "tool" we developed to be quite useful.

To conclude, the thesis takes a multimethod approach in its exploration of value diversity. Each method provides insight into how and why value diversity is relevant in the work environment. The everyday challenges that managers face are explored through the interviews and action research. This approach provides a contextualized perspective on the relevance of value diversity. Mixing surveys with interviews indicates how value tendencies can emerge in different contexts while it enables the use of a vast research base to support the interpretation of the data. Finally, the use of the European social survey enabled observing how values relate to the changes at work that the implementation of intelligent technologies is expected to bring. Taken together, the approach shows the current relevance of value diversity on the micro- and macro-level as well as its relevance today and in future work.

1.4.2 Assumptions when analyzing the data

This section presents the underlying assumption of my interpretation of the material I use in the articles included in this thesis. The diversity management and cross-cultural management fields have been characterized by an essentializing trend (McSweeney, 2002; Primecz, Romani and Sackmann, 2009; Caulkins, 2015; Holck *et al.*, 2016). Essentialism is based on the idea that broad categories share inherent features that separates them from others and unites them within the category (Illman and Nynäs, 2017). In Långstedt (2018), I argue against this type of essentialism and argue that the determinism accompanied with it serves to legitimize practices of exclusion. Yet, in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) and Långstedt (2021) I make arguments based on the level of work groups and occupations. Therefore, a discussion of what assumptions my research is based on is in place, especially as the methods that I use are commonly associated with two contradicting paradigms: the (post)positivist and constructivist (e.g. Lincoln and Guba, 2005). I believe that Brinkmann's (2006) ideas about differences in the sciences of reason and causation can shed light on how my research approach is positioned in relation to the paradigms. Again, stressing that the "issues" between qualitative and quantitative work is based on differing epistemologies that schools within each tradition maintain rather than technical incompatibilities (Bryman, 1984).

According to Brinkmann (2006) social sciences necessarily exist in "the space of reasons" because they study aspects of the mental rather than the physiological that exists in "the space of causation". The key point here is that the subject of study – humans – are able to justify their actions while physiological reactions are not subject to the same justifications. For example, tumors are not justified in the same sense of good or bad as the choice of a vocation. A vocational choice can be justified by drawing on various arguments such as personal growth, financial benefits, security – there are several *reasons* that affect our occupational choices. That does not, however, mean that all actions people perform are deliberate, but that people can provide a reason for their actions. The reasons and the actions can be evaluated in terms of correctness, which makes actions normative by nature. Brinkmann (2006) gives the example of reacting to a movie. If a person becomes sad after watching a movie and then explains why s/he became sad, the sadness is justifiable. However, someone might disagree and explain how the sad part of the movie was actually a joyous event. There are two competing reasons at play, it would, however, be odd to explain the sadness and joy as caused by the light and sound waves from the movie. Rather the meanings that the viewers ascribe to the events in the movie are the reason for the emotions, which lead to a certain emotional response (e.g. sadness).

According to Schwartz (1992), values are principles that *guide* our actions and interpretations, hence they exist in the space of reasons. Thus, values do not *cause* behavior in the sense that gravity causes objects to fall into the

ground. Values provide reasons or justifications for actions and interpretations that, in turn, can *guide* the choice of actions and what interpretations are made. One could say that values *cause* actions to the same extent as getting a wage causes people to work. They are not a cause in the natural scientific sense, but rather a reason, amongst many, for actions. Having a reason to act, means that one is able to reflect on one's actions, which requires agency (Illman and Nynäs, 2017). Agency in turn makes people conscious beings that are able to reflect on themselves, situations, and others.

Viewing values as reasons for actions has different consequences for agency than viewing them as causes. Reasons involve justification, which is central for determining agency. We are able to provide justifications for our actions and those justifications may relate to values or they may relate to utility or a number of other things. However, the central point is that values do not determine action or reaction, they merely "guide" it (Schwartz, 1992). There are competing reasons for actions. For example, Lebedeva (*et al.*, 2019) argue that differences in the relationship between values and creativity in two regions in Russia could be explained by the different meanings that are attributed to creative actions in the regions. Her argument shows that *meanings* attributed to situations are central to the relationship between values and actions and that meanings can be external to values, which is corroborated by recent studies on the social construction of the relationship between values and behavior (Hanel *et al.*, 2017; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). Agency is a prerequisite for the ability to create meanings and interpret situations and based on these interpretations values may or may not be relevant *reasons* for actions. Therefore, and in line with Brinkmann's (2006) argument, the study of values is necessarily a study of *reasons* and *understanding*.

1.5 Summary

This research project is guided by external validity and relevance. This has been achieved by a close collaboration with practitioners and organizations. The theoretical advances in the thesis are driven by observations in the field and by attempts to solve problems that organizations face in their work. Each paper contributes to the discussion of value diversity management. Långstedt (2018) criticizes an essentialist approach to diversity; Långstedt (2021) illustrates how the changes that automation involves at work lead to a need for an enhanced understanding of values in organizations; Långstedt and Manninen (2020) illustrates how transitions between structured and dynamic tasks relate to values. Finally, Långstedt (*et al.* 2017) presents a rudimentary method for managing stakeholders based on their values. Despite the different methods used in each article, I maintain that values are *a* reason for actions, not the cause of actions.

2 Value Diversity Management

[Demographic] characteristics are presumed to be important because of the underlying differences they are thought to reflect, and because they can evoke individual prejudices, biases, or stereotypes.

(Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002)

2.1 A brief introduction to diversity management

Diversity management is a thriving field of research within human resource management and management in general. A majority of the research within the field focuses on inclusion of people characterized by different demographics and the effects of doing so. The moral importance of this endeavor cannot be stressed enough. The focus on social categories based on demographic characteristics is related to the history of the field. Diversity management evolved from anti-discrimination acts in USA where the predecessors of diversity managers were hired to ensure that the companies complied with legislative requirements (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998). This makes demographic diversity a taken for granted level of analysis because the purpose of the law was to ensure equal treatment of people regardless of, for example, race, religion, gender, and ethnicity. Once the enforcement of antidiscrimination laws was decreased during the 1980's, those working with compliance were in dire need to re-invent themselves. This is when the contemporary, innovation promising (Thomas and Ely, 1996b) and performance measuring (Haas, 2010) diversity management field was born - out of the fear of becoming an obsolete occupation (Kelly and Dobbin, 1998). Following this turn, diversity management was legitimized through profit rather than morality.

Diversity has been divided into two different levels: deep-level and surface-level diversity (Harrison, Price and Bell, 1998). Surface-level diversity comprises attributes that are often visible such as age, gender, or ethnicity. Deep-level diversity, in contrast, relates to differences in "attitudes, beliefs, and values" that are communicated through verbal and non-verbal cues (Harrison, Price and Bell, 1998: 98). Most research has focused on surface-level diversity (i.e., demographic diversity). However, the concept of deep-level diversity is of high relevance for this thesis as it comprises values. Value diversity is thus a subcategory of the deep-level diversity research stream.

To understand any concept, we need to understand when it becomes relevant. Perceptions of difference on the deep-level are revealed as time passes and group members learn to know each other. As differences in values are revealed conflicts can increase (Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999; Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002; Acar, 2010). Demographic diversity on the contrary loses its significance as time passes and people learn to know each

other beyond what expectations and assumptions they ascribe to a social category. This implies that stereotypical images are used in the early stages of group formation to assess and understand other group members while their significance decreases over time. This, however, seems to depend on what deep-level variables are measured. The same effects of time were not visible when the deep-level variable was measured as team orientation (Mohammed and Angell, 2004).

2.1.1 Reductionism, social categories, and agency

The focus on demographic diversity and more broadly social categories, has led diversity management to suffer from similar issues that plague cross-cultural management. Both diversity management and cross-cultural management focus on differences between groups and expect that these differences have a causal relationship to a variety of problems. In diversity management, the differences are measured as social categories, that are more or less compatible. This, in turn, encourages stereotypes and legitimizes boundaries between people ascribed to certain categories (Illman, 2004; Långstedt, 2018). In cross-cultural management the differences are often attributed to nationalities – which are social categories – that differ in some given dimension(s).

Perhaps the most commonly known framework is Hofstede's (1980), who defined culture as mental programming that separates groups from each other. The diversity and cross-cultural management fields work with the assumption that broad categorizations of people are inherently homogenous and that the actions of individuals can be predicted based on the category they are ascribed. This is evident in the field of diversity management as the field discusses how diversities affect different variables. Haas (2010) provides a broad review of how different types of diversity (age, gender, functional) are used as a basis for analyzing the effects of diversity. This illustrates how diversity (i.e., difference) is expected to *cause* something. That is, the benefits or issues related to diversity are assumed to be caused by the difference between members. The question of how people within the diverse groups relate to each other, the context, their attitudes, actions, and expectations are overlooked and instead the benefits or problems rising in those groups are attributed to a specific abstract concept such as diversity (i.e., difference), or in cross-cultural management: nationality (i.e., culture).

The essentialist approach to diversity and cross-cultural management builds on the desire to predict and analyze what happens when people that are different meet (Holck *et al.*, 2016; Illman and Nynäs, 2017; Långstedt, 2018). This desire rests on the idea that identities and differences are fixed and stable across situations and time (Holck *et al.*, 2016; Illman and Nynäs, 2017). While the essentialist approach achieves a level of predictability within the principles it operates, the deterministic principle on which it rests begs for a discussion of agency (Nathan, 2015). Agency here is understood as

the ability to act and give meanings to actions and events (Williams, 1992; Schlosser, 2019). Agency is of interest because a deterministic view of social categories relates directly to the agency of members. A deterministic view on social categories confines the individual's ability to act and give meaning within certain parameters that are ascribed to a certain social category. If actions are determined based on social categories, the individual who is acting is disregarded and instead agency is attributed to an abstract entity such as gender or culture and thus agency within that category is limited (Långstedt, 2018). This view largely disregards the multiple social categories that people ascribe to themselves and the intersection of those (Holck *et al.*, 2016). A person can belong to several different categories while their relevance differs from situation to situation and perhaps is highlighted when boundaries are crossed, that is, when the person does not act as is expected of him or her (Phillips and Loyd, 2006).

The essentialist view of social categories is also problematic from an attributional perspective as it emphasizes what has been referred to as “the ultimate attribution error” (Pettigrew, 1979). The ultimate attribution error relates closely to the fundamental attribution error⁶, however, it describes how prejudiced people attribute dispositional causes to actions of members of a group against which they are prejudiced. In Långstedt (2018), I argue that a focus on *causality* in relation to social categories can serve the purpose of prejudiced groups by legitimizing stereotypes and boundaries between people scientifically, which diminishes the moral imperative of diversity management and cross-cultural management.

An interactionist or constructivist perspective remedies some of the issues related to agency that the essentialist paradigm suffers from. The main way the question of agency is solved is that people are viewed as actively constructing and re-constructing meanings in their interactions with each other, institutions, and technology (Lawrence and Phillips, 2019). Diversity in the constructivist perspective is fluid and less predictable as differences are negotiated and boundaries transformed in interactions (Dahl, Jensen and Nynäs, 2006; Holck *et al.*, 2016). In this view differences are less central than attitudes to them, that is, how the differences are met and acted upon are central to successful interactions rather than the differences *per se* (Nynäs, 2001). Thus, the meanings that are attributed to differences become central in defining the relationship between people. From this point-of-view boundaries and differences cannot exist if they are not created by someone. As such agency is a prerequisite for the existence of boundaries and difference. Thus, and in contrast to essentialist accounts of diversity, an

⁶ The tendency of observers to attribute dispositional causes to other agent's behavior and agents to attribute situational causes to their own actions (Pennington, 2000).

interpretivist or constructivist view of diversity – whether it is cultural or other – cannot exist without human agency.

This is not to say that social categories are irrelevant, on the contrary, social categories are extremely important because they serve as the object for prejudice and stereotypes. What I am calling for is a careful consideration of the psychological inferences that we can make based on social categories. As research shows, demographic diversity can affect organizational performance positively and negatively (Haas, 2010). My critique is aimed at the idea that positive or negative consequences are *caused* by mixing social categories in a group. This assumes that a) social categories are fixed and stable, b) that they are homogenous, c) that they determine behavior. The perspective overlooks the reflexive capability of humans and provides a simplified view of diversity as it overlooks other aspects of interaction and organizational life (Klein and Harrison, 2007).

2.2 Value diversity

For a team to be effective, members should have high information diversity and low value diversity. For a team to be efficient, members should have low value diversity. For a team to have high morale (higher satisfaction, intent to remain, and commitment) or to perceive itself as effective, it should be composed of participants with low value diversity. What these consistent findings suggest is the value, for most measures of group performance, of low value diversity among members.

(Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999)

Value diversity has received little attention within the diversity management field compared to demographic diversity. One explanation for this is that research seems to assume that demographic diversity infers psychological diversity (Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002). A stream of research has studied the difference between surface- and deep-level diversity. The stream of research indicates that there are considerable differences in how the different levels of diversity affect work groups. The relationship between deep- and surface-level characteristics is weak. Harrison (et al. 2002) found that surface level characteristics were poor predictors of deep-level attributes. This finding is corroborated by studies on the relationship between values and various demographic variables. In a study comprising representative samples from 19 European countries, Schwartz and Rubel (2005) report that, on average, gender explains 1.02 % of variance in values, age 5.15 %, years of education 0.94 %, and country 5.48 %, while cultural group, on average, explains 14% of the variance. In a study using several different value measures and samples, Fischer and Schwartz (2011) report that the variance between individuals is considerably higher than that between nations. This leads them to conclude that the results “cast doubt on the strong claim that culture determines values.” (p. 1137). Both studies, however, show that the tradition and conformity values are more strongly related to nationality or cultural group than other values. However, for most values the intranational consensus is weak or moderate and national differences explain little of their variance (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). Even though there are multiple studies that illustrate national value differences, the differences do not mean that nationality is a good proxy for determining values as intranational consensus is weaker than cross national differences. For example, a study found that the similarity of value priorities between nations and cultural groups across the world is “striking” (Schwartz and Bardi, 2001: 277). Therefore, the reasons why individuals’ values differ need to be sought elsewhere, for example, in the social environment that individuals encounter during their formative years (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004; Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). These studies provide support for Harrison’s

(et al. 2002) observation that demographic characteristics are poor proxies for making inferences about value diversity. Interestingly, the converse has been found to be true, diversity attitudes are affected by values (Sawyer, Strauss and Yan, 2005).

This chapter provides an overview of current approaches to value diversity: definitions, methods, and results. The review serves as a basis for discussing how value diversity research benefits from Schwartz (1992) theory of basic human values.

The general agreement is that value diversity refers to the existence of different values within a group (Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999; Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002; Eastman and Santoro, 2003). Value diversity research focuses on both differences in content and intensity of values (i.e. what is valued and how much it is valued) (e.g. Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher, 1997; Woehr, Arciniega and Poling, 2013). Differences in the content of values are expected to create discrepancies between goals, perceptions, and expectations within the groups and thereby create conflicts (Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999). In line with Schwartz (1992) and Rokeach (1973), the central argument is that people with similar values interpret and react to situations similarly. This similarity is translated into predictability and agreement of how the situation should be managed, which decreases the occurrence of conflicts. This idea has been corroborated by research on work values where similarities in values has been found to be positively linked to, for example, satisfaction with collaboration and performance (Chou *et al.*, 2008), while value diversity has been found to increase both task and relationship conflict (Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher, 1997; Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002).

Regarding the business case of diversity (the belief that diversity increases a team's creativity and performance promoted by, for example, Thomas and Ely (1996b)), value diversity seems to have both positive and negative effects. Building on Harrison and Klein's (2007) typology of diversity, Kirrane and colleagues (2019) found that the effects of value diversity differed depending on whether the group was value diverse by separation or variety. Diversity as separation means that a group is divided into subgroups based on some attribute and the diversity within the group consists of the subgroups. If a team consists of 12 people of which four are engineers, five are biologists, and three are philosophers, the team is diverse as separation by profession. There are professional subgroups within the group that differ from the other professional subgroups, but share the same professional background with some. Diversity as variation means that all the group members differ according to an attribute. Diversity as variation in the same group means that it consists of twelve different professionals. In the study, Kirrane and colleagues (2019) found that value diversity as separation has negative effects on creativity while value diversity as variety had a positive effect on creativity. This, the authors trace back to communication

challenges. Diversity as separation creates communication barriers between the subgroups, which affects creativity negatively. Thus, they conclude that value diversity as separation has a negative effect on creativity (Kirrane, Kramer and Lasseben, 2019).

Eastman and Santoro (2003) views value diversity from a different perspective. For them, value diversity is a means to blur the boundaries between different interest groups in organizations. They define value diversity as “the variety of factors that cause or incline people to have different views or inclinations of managerial decisions” (p. 434). According to them, the differences in these *inclinations* mitigate the use of self-interest or managerial interest as a driving factor in decision-making in management teams. Their argument rests on the idea that the boardroom members will have different power, but the values of the group members are not divided according to their power. Instead, values form a bridge over the boundaries between high- and low-power members. Thereby values mitigate the power differences between the groups by creating shared views across the boundaries. This, according to the authors, leads to better decision-making and is one of the positive effects of value diversity. The article – conceptual by nature - explicitly states that this requires that the power division within the group is 50-50 and that there are shared values between the groups. This is, of course, not always the case and as occupations and organizational roles attract people that prioritize different values (Knafo and Sagiv, 2004; Sagiv, Schwartz and Arieli, 2011), it is unlikely to occur in real life. However, the argument that Eastman & Santoro (2003) presents reveals that value diversity can affect organizations at more fundamental levels than increase or decrease different types of conflicts as it can act as a basis for alliances between high- and low-power individuals.

2.2.1 The many faces of value diversity

A problem for the field of value diversity is its lack of a shared operationalization of values. The challenge of a lack of unanimity of the values concept within organizational studies was already reported in the late 1990's by Meglino and Ravlin (1998), who argued for a need to agree on conceptual and methodological means to study values in the organizational context. The reviewed studies incorporate widely different instruments to measure value diversity, which hampers the accumulation of knowledge in the field because it makes results incomparable. For example, Jehn et al. (1999) measure value diversity by asking participants if they share the values of other members in their group and define value diversity as difference in “what they think the group's real task, goal target, or mission should be” (p. 745). In contrast, Harrison et al. (2002) use Rokeach (1973)

method for measuring terminal values⁷ leaving out instrumental values. Terminal values represent the end-states that people desire and instrumental values the approved means to reach those end-states. While Eastman and Santoro (2003) discuss values as Aristotelian virtues such as prudence. Others do not report the value constructs that they measure (Acar, 2010).

Some studies seem to rely on group members abilities to understand what the values of their colleagues are and how they differ from their own (Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999). Perceptions of difference are, of course, important since they affect how actions are interpreted (Nynäs, 2006). However, whether these perceptions reflect the perceiver or the perceived is an important aspect to consider. Furthermore, such approach to measuring value diversity assumes that the respondent knows what values are, what their employees values are and that their understanding of values coincides with the researchers' (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998). Further, such approach does not consider that the same actions can be linked to several different values. In a study that attempted to reproduce Schwartz' (1992) value structure by measuring the relationship between behaviors that conceptually related to certain values found that some behaviors were significantly related to several value types (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003).

Driving an electric car is a good conceptual example of how several values can be related to similar actions. On the one hand the cars are novel and luxurious, which attracts people who value power (wealth and prestige) but they are also attractive to people who value the environment (Universalism: nature) because they are associated with a smaller environmental impact. These values are at opposing poles of the value structure and thus represent conflicting motivations. However, they can manifest as similar behavior. Therefore, an approach that relies on how group members assess value differences within their group suffers from considerable methodological shortcomings.

Other studies build on tested value methods such as Harrison et al. (2002), that used Rokeach (1973) method for measuring terminal values, and Jehn (*et al.* 1997) who use a measure of innovativeness, stability, detail orientation, outcome orientation, aggressiveness, supportiveness, reward orientation, team orientation, and decisiveness to investigate value diversity. Jehn (*et al.* 1997) found that value diversity was linked to task and relationship conflict, but not to group performance⁸. Jehn and Mannix (2001)

⁷ Observe that this is the tradition that Schwartz built his value theory on, although he could not find a difference in instrumental and terminal values in their relative positions using dimensional scaling techniques (Schwartz, 1992).

⁸ What they call objective performance: "Objective performance was measured by rating the groups' final reports. Points were awarded for thoroughness of problem identification, accurate analysis, and the final recommendations to the company." (p. 296)

used the organization culture profile to measure value consensus⁹ in groups and its relation to task, relationship, process conflict, and grade. They found that group atmosphere (trust, respect, open conflict discussion norms, cohesiveness, and liking) mediated the effect of value consensus on the conflict types. In other words, their study indicates that the way value diversity increases conflicts between groups is related to the impact that differences in values has on the group atmosphere. These findings are corroborated by other studies that have illustrated that interpersonal trust within groups correlates positively with shared work values (Chou *et al.*, 2008).

Only a few value diversity studies have utilized Schwartz (1992) framework. Woehr (*et al.* 2013) use the variance of nine Schwartz value types – tradition was excluded due to low alpha reliability scores – to illustrate how the relevance of particular value types vary across different team processes. They found that: task conflict has the strongest relationship to variance in security, followed by achievement, self-direction, and power; relationship conflict was most associated with variance in self-direction, followed by security, benevolence, conformity, and achievement; cohesion was negatively associated with variance in self-direction and security; and finally, team efficacy with self-direction, achievement, and security. These values are at the opposite poles of the value structure and represent opposing motivational goals. Conflicts may arise related to how tasks should be performed if the variance in the values means that group members prioritize values in opposite ends of the value circle. For example, someone who values security may emphasize guidelines more than someone who values self-direction because they restrict their freedom, prompting a negative response to regulated forms of working (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020).

In a mixed-methods study of value change and value diversity induced tension amongst a six person crew of a 520 day long Mars journey simulation differences in benevolence values (see table 2 for value definitions) increased and the importance of the value decreased (Sandal and Bye, 2015). In contrast, tensions related to self-direction decreased over time and the importance of the value increased. The participants in the simulations reported that they actively avoided conflicts and developed strategies to avoid them, for example by withdrawing to their own chambers. Different emphases on following protocols and reluctance to participate in social events were reported as sources of conflicts, the authors related the former to the conformity and self-direction values, and the latter to the decrease of the benevolence values' importance.

An important finding in the study, in relation to the other studies of time, conflict, and value diversity, is that the crew members were concerned with the long-term relational effects of conflicts and actively avoided them. The

⁹ That is, the opposite of value diversity

context and methods of the studies may explain parts of the differences as many of the studies reviewed above used student samples and most used quantitative measures. In such contexts, the stakes of the participants are lower, and the duration of the negative effects are restricted to the educational context. In contrast, if conflicts occur during confinement, the effects can permeate their entire time in the simulation at all levels of co-existence without an opportunity to leave. Another difference in the studies is the methods used. Mixed methods studies can reveal aspects that another method cannot identify (Ghosh, 2016). In Sandal and Bye (2015) the interviews revealed that even though people reported tension due to value diversity, it was not manifested as conflicts. Rather, the participants actively found ways to avoid conflicts. In the other studies, reviewed above, the methods are quantitative, and the situational manifestation of the reported conflicts is overlooked.

The contextual nature of value diversity is not limited to the sampling methods and types of value diversity. Management practices play an important role in defining the dynamics in value diverse groups. In a study of young project workers, Klein (*et al.*, 2011) found that depending on what values the value diversity was related to, different types of leadership methods had different outcomes. They studied two different values that they considered moral values. Moral values are values that people believe that others should share with them and therefore they are especially prone to raise conflicts (Dose and Klimoski, 1999; Klein *et al.*, 2011). The values in the study are traditionalism and (protestant) work ethic. Traditionalism is a value that resembles a mix of Schwartz (1992) definition of tradition and conformity because it relates to obliging to moral codes and customs. The work ethic value relates to valuing hard work for the sake of hard work, which is absent in Schwartz' typology because industriousness is not a universal value (Helkama, 2015). Klein (*et al.* 2011) found that task-focused leadership was related to team effectiveness while this was not true for person-oriented leadership. However, person-oriented leadership increased team conflict when the team's value diversity related to the traditionalism value while a task-oriented leadership model affected team conflict negatively if the value diversity was related to work ethic. The results provide a glimpse of the role that management practices can have for managing value diversity in organizations. However, it also illustrates a simplified perspective on value diversity as it overlooks context and agency as well as the relationships between different values.

The studies show that some values are more relevant to certain aspects of group functioning than other, which is largely in line with the reasoning in chapter 3.2, that values are activated in situations that have positive or negative consequences for them. Thus, not all value diversity is relevant in all situations and is likely to have different implications for the work group as Dose and Klimoski (1999) imply. Therefore, the values that the group is

diverse in dictates in which situations value diversity becomes relevant. Topics like immigration, for example, is not relevant for all value types but is associated with so called post-materialist (universalism, self-direction) and materialist (security, conformity) values (Lassander, 2017). This can be traced back to general attitudes to difference. In a study of attitudes to diversity, controlling for age, religiosity, gender, and race, Sawyerr (*et al.* 2005) found that openness-to-change values and self-transcendence values related to positive attitudes to diversity while self-enhancement values related to negative attitudes to diversity. Conservation values did not have a statistically significant relationship to a general attitude to diversity. It follows that if a group is value diverse, it affects the effects of demographic diversity as well because value diversity has implications for the attitudes that group members have about demographic diversity (Sawyerr, Strauss and Yan, 2005).

2.2.2 A critical note on value diversity research

The review of the value diversity field raises some important questions that need to be developed. Firstly, the operationalization of value diversity is diverse itself. Value diversity and values are measured using a variety of methods. Some methods are based on the self-reported perceptions of difference. Others use methods developed for measuring values – but several different measures are used. Recent studies have used Schwartz value theory, but a majority of the studies employ different value measures. Even though measures designed for particular contexts can have some benefits in comparison to Schwartz quite broad model, the diversity of measures makes the comparison of the results from each study problematic. The difficulty to compare the results, in turn, makes it difficult to draw conclusions about value diversity. Further, the field has been mainly interested in detecting conflicts in relation to value diversity. However, when the results have been analyzed in relation to actually acting on the conflicts the results are not as clear. This may be due to many of the studies report that a relationship between conflicts and values use questionnaire and student samples. In another context, for example, Mars space simulations that last 520 days, the connection between conflict and value diversity seems to be more complex. The importance of avoiding conflicts becomes relevant and people take active measures not to instigate conflicts. This may relate to the short-term existence of student work teams in relation to real work teams, and the shorter impact a conflict has on the individual's life in the educational context. The differences may also relate to methodology, where surveys simply do not capture the actions of the respondents as well as a combination of ethnography and surveys do. Further, studies have focused on conflict rather than positive aspects of value diversity. Thus, it is not surprising that value diversity is mainly related to conflicts – this is the main factor that has been measured.

Another aspect of the literature that needs to be addressed is the fact that it gives little to none guidance for team leaders that manage a team of value diverse members. The main guideline is to avoid value diversity in the team by selecting team members that have similar values and adding values to the selection criteria. However, this does not relate to actually managing value diversity. Some researchers have addressed questions of management styles, indicating that groups that are diverse on different values require different types of management. In addition, the field seems to have a strong positivist agenda, which is revealed in a desire to establish causal relations between diversity and other variables. This relates to the question of causality and reasons. Following the interpretivist tradition, diversity does not cause people in diverse groups to behave in some way, rather the attitudes and meanings attributed to the differences guide their attitudes and actions.

2.3 Summary

The starting point of this section was to show what has been studied in terms of value diversity. The review of current literature shows a field characterized by many different ways to operationalize values. What these studies seem to share is that they investigate how teams differ in their values and how the difference affects group functioning. Since the field is conceptually fragmented, it is problematic to compare research within it due to the many ways in which values are operationalized in the field. How then can we know if all values have the same implications? In the next section I will argue that the theory of basic human values could benefit the value diversity field by providing information about the relationship between different values.

Increasing the awareness of the context in which the value diverse groups that are studied function provides a richer picture of how value diversity in groups function. The main methods in the value diversity field are surveys. The survey studies have reported correlations between value diversity and different types of conflicts (e.g., relationship conflict). Interestingly, people seem to actively develop methods to avoid conflicts based on value differences in the context of long-term confinement (Sandal and Bye, 2015). The finding indicates that the effects of value diversity are mitigated by contextual factors and the group members themselves – something that survey research has overlooked. Thus, the adverse, or positive, effects of value diversity are largely dependent on how group members (inter)act and not merely a consequence of differing values.

3 The theory of basic human values

Schwartz's (1992) theory of basic human values builds on the work of Rokeach (1973), who identified a set of values that he classified as terminal and instrumental. The division is based on the idea that values are a set of *beliefs* about what is desirable and what means are appropriate for pursuing the desires. Therefore, instrumental values refer to means and terminal values to ends. Rather than categorizing values as instrumental and terminal, Schwartz (1992) theory of basic human values categorizes values based on their motivational goals. According to him, values are not, in fact, divided into instrumental and terminal values, but organized along a motivational continuum that forms a semi-circular value structure that represents basic human needs (Schwartz, 1992). The boundaries between the motivational goals are blurry and he describes values as existing on a elliptic *value structure* (Schwartz, 2017). The value structure (see figure 1) describes the relationship between the motivational goals, or *value types*. Adjacent value types are perceived as grounded in complementary or compatible motivational goals. For example, the conformity and tradition values share the goal of stability. Value types positioned at the opposite poles of the value structure oppose each other and represent incompatible motivational goals, such as conformity and self-direction (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987).

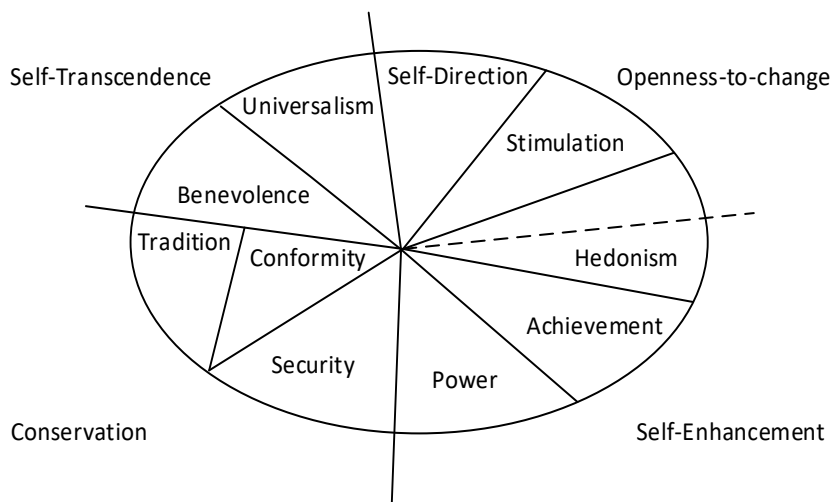
Values are largely developed during childhood and become more stable in adulthood (Haven, 1998; Vecchione *et al.*, 2016). The social context is an important factor in the development of values (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). Class and education has been identified as strongly related to values. Self-direction is more prevalent in upper-class contexts while the lower-class context is more characterized by conformity and obedience (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). Indeed, the institutions that one is in contact with during one's lifetime have been suggested to affect the development of values more than the commonly used "nation" (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). The immediate social environment is thus an important influence on value development. For example institutions and the individual's relationship to them have been suggested as a central factor that affects value development (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). This is reflected in the value differences found between people from different classes (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). Value differences between occupations have been frequently reported (e.g. Knafo and Sagiv, 2004; Gandal *et al.*, 2005). Central to the relationship between values and occupations is the type of work that is performed in the occupations (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004).

The different work environments that occupations comprise appeal to people with different values (Sagiv, 2002), which results in different value emphases in occupations (Knafo and Sagiv, 2004). Thus, when work environments change, they may change to the extent that they do not

correspond to the same values anymore (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). In Långstedt (2021), I argue that automation may lead to such situation and that if such value-work discrepancy is created, value diversity management will become an important competence for organizations in the future.

In contrast to the other value theories available, Schwartz (1992) developed and empirically validated an integrated values system where values exist on a motivational continuum in relation to each other (Rohan, 2000). This provides a benefit compared to other popular value theories such as Rokeach's (1973) theory because it describes the relationship between different values rather than provides a list of loosely related value statements (Rohan, 2000; Helkama, 2015). Understanding the relationship between different values provides an opportunity to operationalize value diversity in a way that considers the dynamics between values. As I explain below, the consequences of value diversity are different depending on which values the diversity consists of. It also implies that the situations in which value diversity becomes relevant differs significantly. Thereby, adopting the theory of basic human values to the diversity context improves the description and assessment of value diversity considerably.

Figure 1. Schwartz 1992 value structure



The different value types are grounded in the “needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated interaction, and survival and welfare needs of groups” (Schwartz, 2012: 4). For example, the conformity value type represents the social requirement that “individuals inhibit inclinations that might be socially disruptive if interaction and group functioning are to run smoothly” (Schwartz, 1992: 9). According to Schwartz (1992) hedonism is an individual need that is derived “from organismic

needs and the pleasure associated with satisfying them”. For a complete definition of Schwartz (1992; 2017) value types see table 2.

Perhaps the most central aspect of his theory following the value structure is that values are ordered according to their relative importance in a *value hierarchy* (Schwartz, 1992). Even though the value priorities can change from group to group, the relationship between the values maintains the pattern in the value structure. This is due to the associations between values in groups (e.g., conformity opposes self-direction). What this means is that the entire value structure (figure 1) turns around its own axis on a two-dimensional space depending on which values are prioritized.

The incompatibility and compatibility of the value types relate to compatibility at the level of the individual (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990; Parks and Guay, 2009; Borg, Bardi and Schwartz, 2017). The rationale is that, in the case of universalism and power, a person who values wealth does not value equality. Likewise, someone that values excitement does not value stability. On the group level, the value structure differs from that analyzed on the individual level (Schwartz, 2006), suggesting that each value type has its function in a group. Indeed, the value structure on the national level differs from that of the individual level. Central to the national level structure are the different “issues or problems in regulating human activity” that societies cope with (Schwartz, 2006: 5). For example, a “hierarchy” value-orientation comprises the values humility and authority, suggesting that people should take the hierarchical roles “for granted and comply with the obligations and rules attached” to them (Schwartz, 2006: 7). The current thesis and the studies it consists of are based on the individual-level value theory and hence, and to maintain a focus in the thesis, I focus on the individual-level values throughout the remainder of the thesis.

3.1 The theories behind the value types and their empirical justification

The value types in Schwartz theory have evolved from a model of seven value types maturity, security, prosocial, restrictive conformity, enjoyment, achievement, and self-direction in Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) to ten value types in Schwartz (1992) and 19 in the refined theory of basic human values presented in Schwartz (2017). The motivational goals that the latter two represent are described in table 2. Schwartz built his theory on a wide range of traditions in the social sciences, perhaps the most notable scholars that he refers to are Parsons, Maslow, Durkheim, Freud, Kluckhohn, and Rokeach. Building on a cross-disciplinary approach Schwartz (1992) identified ten motivational types derived from either individual (or as he calls them “organismic”) or group (family, society) needs. From the basic premise that individual and group needs exist, he derived the self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence value dimension. The conservation vs. openness-to-change dimension is derived from the conflict between the individual’s physical and psychological needs and the social need to constrain them.

Each value type is presented together with its opposing value in the value structure because the tension between the values is central to the theory and developing a value diversity management model based on it. Opposing value types represent contrary motives to act, while adjacent values represent compatible motives. The values belonging to the openness-to-change category do not pose a conflict with self-enhancement or self-transcendence values. However, the conservation values represent restraint and obedience. They conflict with the independence and autonomy of openness-to-change values. These motivational conflicts are essential throughout the value structure as they also relate to the different ways in which people can react to situations, which can comprise actions that conflict with each other (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003).

The self-direction value, which belongs to the openness-to-change values, derives from the individual’s need for mastery and control, and the requirements of autonomy and independence that interaction poses (Schwartz, 1992). On the contrary, conformity, a conservation value, is based on the need to inhibit actions that might be socially disruptive and threaten the smooth functioning of group processes (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz, 1992).

Stimulation values are derived from the individual’s need for variation and arousal conditioned by social experience. The values are directed towards excitement and variation. In contrast, the tradition values are based on the importance of symbols for group solidarity and as guarantors of the group’s survival, for example, honoring customs (Schwartz, 1992).

Hedonism values represent the biological need for pleasure (Schwartz, 1992). Whether the value should be categorized as an openness-to-change

value or a self-enhancement value is unclear, thus it is located as a boarder value between stimulation and achievement. The value shares the motivational background of stimulation because it represents arousal that can derive from excitement and variation. However, it is also a value that focuses on personal benefits. That is, the pleasure or sensuous gratification relates clearly to individual needs, rather than collective interests. Thus, it is positioned at the border of self-enhancement and openness-to-change.

The achievement value is derived from the requirement to perform in order to obtain the resources one needs to survive (Schwartz, 1992). The same value type ensures that social institutions and social interaction can succeed. The basis for the value is recognition and displaying competence. In contrast to power, achievement does not involve the dominance over resources and people. The power value is derived from the societal need for power differentiation. Opposing the self-enhancement values, that are oriented towards the individual's needs, are the self-transcendence values: benevolence and universalism, the former placing a positive value on the welfare of in-group members and the latter extending this concern beyond the in-group and comprising the natural environment. Benevolence is derived from the need for positive interaction to ensure the success of the group. Universalism is derived from the need to be able to collaborate with other groups in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts and to protect the living environment that one's survival depends on (Schwartz, 1992).

Upper-level value	Value type 1992	Defining goal	Value subtype 2017	Defining goal	Upper-level Value	Value type 1992	Defining goal	Value subtype 2017	Defining goal
	Benevolence	Welfare of people with whom one is in close contact	Caring	Devotion to the welfare of in-group members		Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that one's culture or religion impose on the individual.		
			Dependability	Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the in-group					
Self-transcendence	Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of <i>all</i> people and for nature	Concern	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection of all people	Conservation	Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations and norms.	Rules	Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations
			Tolerance	Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself				Interpersonal	Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people
			Nature	Preservation of the natural environment		Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self.	Societal	Safety and stability in the wider society
								Personal	Safety in one's immediate environment

Table 2. definitions of Schwartz (1992, 2017) value types.

Upper-level value	Value type 1992	Defining goal	Value subtype 2017	Defining goal	Upper-level Value	Value type 1992	Defining goal	Value subtype 2017	Defining goal
	Self-direction	Independent thought and action - choosing, creating, exploring.	Action	Freedom to determine one' s own actions		Power	Attainment of social status and prestige, and control or dominance over people and resources	Dominance	Power through exercising control over people
			Thought	Freedom to cultivate one' s own ideas and abilities				Resources	Power through control of material and social resources
Openness-to-change	Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life.			Self-enhancement	Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards.		
	Hedonism	Pleasure or sensuous gratification of oneself.							

Table 2. definitions of Schwartz (1992, 2017) value types (continued).

3.1.3 The difference between the 19 value model and the 10 value model

In 2012, Schwartz et al. updated the ten value model to comprise 19 value types¹⁰. The newer model, termed the refined theory of basic values (Schwartz, 2017), provides a finer categorization of values and specifies some of the ten value types into subtypes. The benevolence value is divided into caring and dependability, security into societal and personal etc. The value types as such are not based on new values. They were present in the definition of the ten values. For example, the security value was derived from the individual *and* group-level need for security, which was treated as one motivational goal in the original theory. The refined theory is based on data from 83 countries and 344 samples that were visually analyzed and studies using confirmatory factor analyses were reviewed for identifying support for the existence of value subtypes (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). Building on the analyses, an instrument for measuring the 19 values was devised (i.e. the PVQ-RR). The instrument was tested in 10 countries (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012) and its validity has been tested in several contexts since (e.g. Schwartz and Butenko, 2014).

The refined theory adds two new dimensions and values to the original theory. Social focus vs. personal focus that describe whether the pursuit of values aims at a social or individual outcome (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). Self-protection (anxiety-avoidance) vs. growth (anxiety-free), describes the values' relationship to anxiety. For example, security is concerned with avoiding anxiety while the pursuit of stimulation is rather anxiety free and focuses on the growth of the individual (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). The new values are humility and face. The former is located between benevolence and conformity. Similar to hedonism, it is also a border value, but between the self-transcendence and conservation upper-level value types. The humility value expresses the acceptance of one's place in the group and self-effacement. The refined theory expresses a reverse order of benevolence and universalism values. The reason for this is that protecting nature (one of the three universalism values) has become normative, and hence it is closer to the conformity interpersonal value (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). Another explanation is that specifying the benevolence value into dependability and caring incorporates a nuance of autonomy (e.g. it is important that people can rely on *me*) and thus it is more related to self-direction than tradition and

¹⁰ Långstedt (2021) is based on the ten value model because the European Social Survey uses the shorter value scale PVQ21, which does not allow a reliable extrapolation of the 19 value types.

Långstedt et al. (2017) is based on the ten value model.

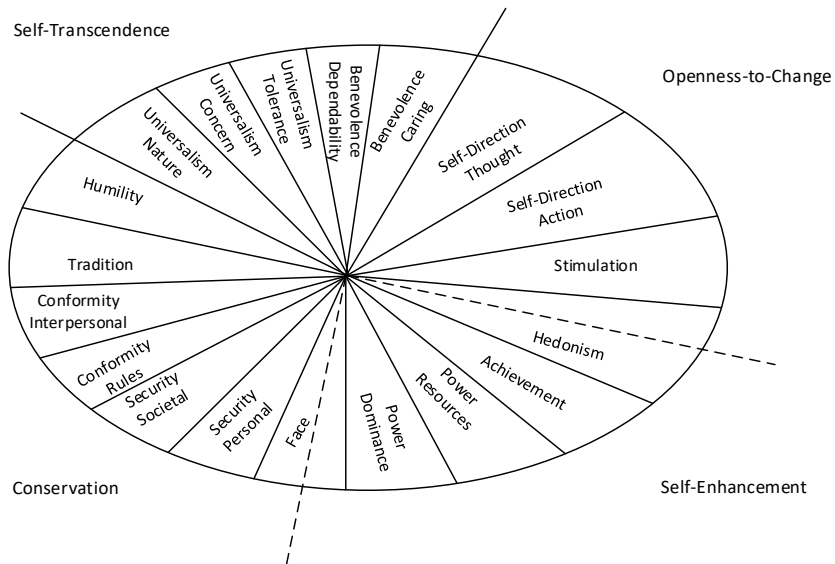
Långstedt and Manninen (2020) is based on the 19 value model and the PVQ-RR questionnaire.

conformity (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). Therefore, the benevolence value switches place with the universalism value.

Face is located in the border between conservation and self-enhancement, between the security and power values. The location is justified by the motivational basis that it shares with security and power values. The main motivation of the value type is to protect and maintain prestige. Prestige enables an individual to exploit resources and control others while it also is a means for an individual to defend against threats on his or her public image (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012; Schwartz, 2017). Thus, it is placed between the security and power values. Another central argument for adding the face value is its less proactive characteristic in comparison to the power values.

In addition to introducing new value types and shifting the position of other values, the refined theory also specifies the original value types. It postulates the division of benevolence into caring and dependability, the former based on the importance of the well-being of in-group members while the latter is based on how important it is that others can rely on oneself (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). The universalism value was divided into three different subtypes: tolerance, concern, and nature. The former two concerned with the welfare of others, with the prior expressing openness and respect for diverging perspectives and the latter a concern for the environment (Schwartz, 2017). The conformity value types were split into two subtypes, interpersonal and rules. These represent two different types of conformity, the former concerning the more relational aspects of interaction such as politeness and the latter concerning formal rules and obligations (Schwartz, 2017). As I already mentioned the security value type was divided into personal and societal concern for safety. This division was already discussed in the original definition of the security value type (e.g. Schwartz S. H. and Bilsky W., 1987; Schwartz, 1992). The power value was also refined into two distinct subtypes: dominance and resources. The subtypes share the motivation to acquire control. However, they differ in the object of control (i.e. control of humans or of resources). The refined theory also distinguishes between the autonomy of action and fostering ideas. The prior makes up the action and the latter thought subtypes of the self-direction value.

Figure 2. Schwartz (2017) refined value structure.



The division of the values into subtypes is not arbitrary. For example Långstedt & Manninen (2019) reports that the conformity: rules ($M = .2$) value was considerably more important than conformity interpersonal ($M = -.5$) in a sample of employees in the Turku region ($N=718$). Similarly, security: societal seems to be considerably more important than security: personal ($M = .9$, $M = .4$, respectively), while universalism: nature ($M = .2$) is considerably less important than concern ($M = .5$) and tolerance ($M = .5$). The possibility to distinguish between the different subtypes bares significant improvement to the practical utility of the theory. Research using the theory of basic human values has shown that values are linked to actions that correspond to the motivational goals that they represent (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). Therefore, it is likely that different management practices support employees' expression of different values – as indicated by research on organizational change and values (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009). Thus, the ability to differentiate between the subtypes has considerable practical utility. For example, differentiating between conformity: interpersonal and rules has practical organizational implications from a management perspective. The latter requires more formalization of processes while the former requires a more relational approach (e.g., expressing expectations and obligations to employees). In the sample described above, the latter approach is likely to fall short because it addresses a non-central value among the sampled employees.

The benefit of the refined theory was exemplified in a small-scale analysis of the values of a company's employees that I performed as part of the REBUS

research project. I used the PVQ21, which is designed to identify the ten value types in the original theory. In line with the results reported in Långstedt & Manninen (2019), I found that the security value was amongst the most central values in the organization. However, I could not distinguish between the societal and personal subtypes reliably. The indistinguishability of personal and societal security became a problem once the manager of the business unit inquired what he could do to address this value in the organization. I could not say whether to act in ways to promote the security of individuals or the larger context based on the ten value model. Thus, the utility of the results were far weaker than in the latter cases where I used the PVQ-RR (Långstedt and Manninen, 2019, 2020). Based on the experiences with the PVQ21, I used the PVQ-RR for the remainder of my research whenever possible.

3.2 Values and action

Building a model for managing value diversity requires understanding how and when values are related to actions. This line of reasoning has been largely absent in the value diversity research. This section provides a brief overview of research and theory about the link between values and action. The relationship between values and actions is based on the motivational nature of the former (Schwartz, 1992), which is based on their goal-like nature (Parks and Guay, 2009). A growing body of research reports relationships between particular actions and values. The studies illustrate the variety of actions that values are related to, such as creativity (Lebedeva *et al.*, 2019), prosocial action (Schwartz, 2010), and vocational choice (Sagiv, 2002; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004). Ample evidence of a relationship between *particular* actions and *particular* values exists. In this section, however, I describe a *general* theoretical model of the value-behavior relationship.

A central concept in the relationship between values and action is *activation* (Schwartz, 1992, 2017; Jig-Boy *et al.*, 2016). The activation of a value occurs when the value is relevant to a situation that an individual faces and thereby becomes cognitively available (Schwartz, 1996; Verplanken and Holland, 2002). This, however, is also mitigated by the importance of a value, the less important the value is, the less likely it is to be activated (Schwartz, 2016). The relevance of the situation depends on the consequences that the situation has for the value and whether those consequences are perceived as attractive (value compatible) or unattractive (value incompatible or conflictual) (Feather, 1995; Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). The consequences of the situation in turn are related to how, and how strongly, the situation is associated with the relevant value (Feather, 1995; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). The link between values and action is also affected by how cognitively supported the value is, that is, if the reasons for holding the value are salient. Maio and his colleagues (2001) found that people acted more according to their values when they had provided reasons for why the values were important. This means that the link between values and actions are stronger, and the effect of situational factors weaker, when people have clear reasons for supporting their values, that is, when values are cognitively rather than emotionally motivated. This is, according to the authors, because people have more reasons to act according to their values when they have thought about why the values are important than if their motivations are mainly affectual.

How values are enacted depends on the context. Recent research shows that the social context influences associations between action and values. In a study of value instantiations¹¹ across two very different regions – Brazil, Joao Pessoa and UK, Cardiff – researchers studied how environmental values (universalism: nature) and security values (family security) are expressed (Hanel *et al.*, 2017). In the Brazilian sample, physical protections such as

¹¹ What actions are typical representations of values

walls and fences were more typical instantiations of the security value while financial and educational issues instantiated security values in the UK sample. Despite the difference in typical instantiations, the participants were able to identify which values the different regional instantiations represented. Thus, even though there are regional differences in what actions are more and less typical expressions of values, people seem to share an understanding of which values motivate different actions.

In addition to situations where values are activated, values guide the creation of habits (Verplanken and Holland, 2002; Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). That is, people establish general habits that support the pursuit of values that they prioritize. A general habit is a broader range of actions that supports the broader motivational goal of a prioritized value (Verplanken and Holland, 2002). In the case of an environmental value, a general habit may be avoiding activities that burden nature while promoting activities that promote nature. It may comprise a broad range of habits such as recycling, biking, sorting trash, buying electricity from renewable sources, avoiding driving personal cars, or avoiding meat consumption – to mention a few. In a study of environmental actions, researchers found that values explained fifteen times more of the variance in behavior when several environmental actions were measured over time in comparison to measuring a specific environmental behavior (Jig-Boy *et al.*, 2016). This supports the notion that we develop general habits that align our actions with our values without the requirement of constant deliberation; we establish habits that support the motivational goals of values that we prioritize (Verplanken and Holland, 2002; Bardi and Schwartz, 2003).

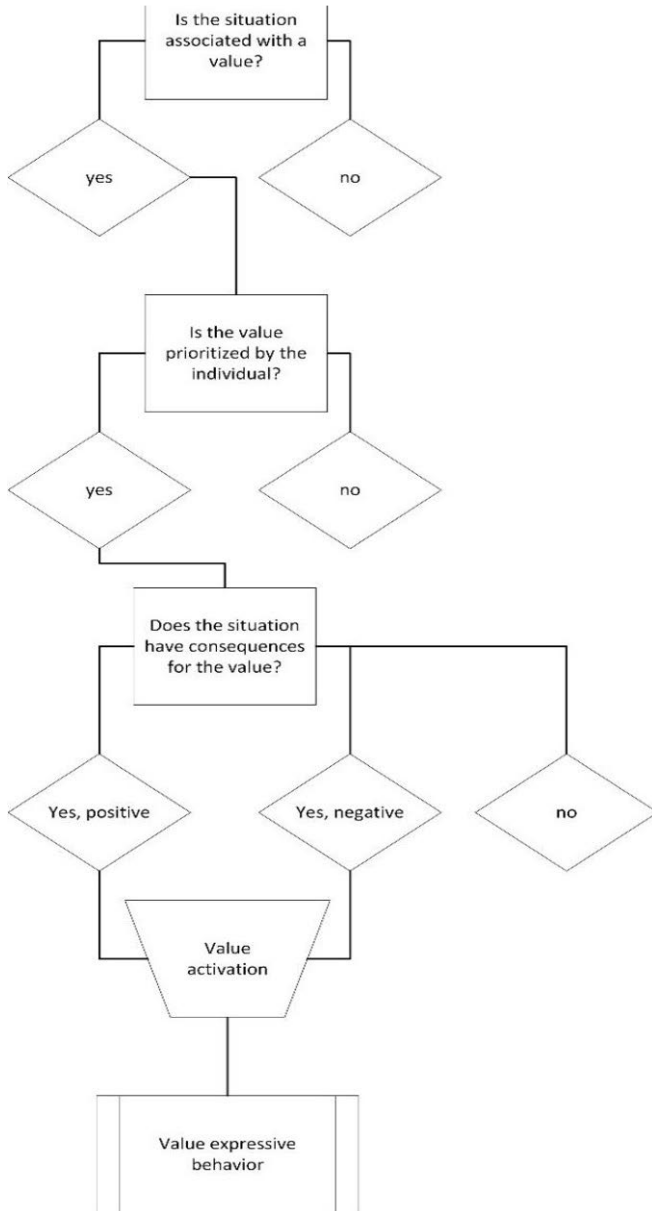
Actions can relate to several values, which complicates the link between actions and values. In a study involving self-rated action and values, peer-rated action, and partner-rated actions, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) could discern the same structure between value-expressive behaviors as Schwartz (1992) found between values. However, some actions related to several values and some stronger to those values than to the values the researchers expected them to relate to. Further, the strength of the relationship between actions and values varied, which may be explained by recent research that indicates that the typicality of actions as representations of particular values affects the strength of the relationship between values and action (Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). Less typical actions thus exhibit a weaker relationship to the corresponding value (Hanel *et al.*, 2017). Alternatively, it may relate to social norms, if an action is subject to normative pressures, the role of values in choosing the action weakens (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). The results of the study indicate that actions share a motivational basis with adjacent values in the value structure.

In the same study, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) found that tradition, stimulation, hedonism, self-direction, power, and universalism illustrated the strongest relationships with actions as assessed by peers, partners, and

the respondents themselves. They were able to identify the same structure of value-expressive actions as for values by using smallest space analysis¹². The variance in the strength of the relationships between values and actions may relate to the actions they chose to describe in the study. If the actions that they chose were not typical representations of the values, they display a weaker relationship between the actions and values. This means that the difference in the strength of the relationship between values and action may be a question of operationalizing the actions, rather than an *actual* difference in the strength of the value-action relationship. Despite the differences in the strength of the relationship between different values and action, the study shows a systematic relationship between values and action that largely follow the theorized value structure (Bardi and Schwartz, 2003). Bardi and Schwartz (2003) measured behaviors that they expected to correlate with particular values. In a study of the actions of cadets and their values, researchers found that benevolence and universalism was only connected to helpfulness among those that did not value conformity (Helkama, 2015). Helpfulness was normative and habitual and thus those that valued conformity also expressed helpfulness – the behavior was not necessarily an expression of benevolence and universalism values (Helkama, 2015). These studies illustrate that all actions are not related to values, and the same actions can be expressions of several different values.

¹² Smallest space analysis is a form of two dimensional scaling that calculates the position of variables on a two dimensional space representing their associations. The further apart, the less associated they are. Compare Schwartz (1992) value structure.

Figure 3. The theoretical link between values and action



To summarize; for actions to be guided by values some prerequisites need to be met. These are described as a flowchart in figure 3. First, a situation needs to be associated with a value, the association varies in strength and direction and is influenced by the individual's social context (Hanel *et al.*, 2017; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). Second, the value needs to be central to, or prioritized by, the individual. Third, the situation should be perceived as having positive or negative consequences for the attainment of the motivational goal underlying the value in order for the value to be relevant (Feather, 1995; Verplanken and Holland, 2002). Once these pre-requisites are met, the value is activated (i.e., it becomes cognitively accessible) and it

becomes a guiding principle that affects the construal and interpretation of the situation, guiding subsequent actions (Schwartz, 1992; Verplanken and Holland, 2002). It is important to emphasize that the model presented in figure 3 does not account for variables that influence the values-action relationship. Such variables are, for example norms (Helkama, 2015),

identification (Roccas, 2003; Lipponen, Bardi and Haapamäki, 2008), and sense of power (Seppälä *et al.*, 2012).

As I have described the process that leads to value-expressive actions, some particular actions or sets of action are especially relevant for the thesis given the themes of the studies it comprises. Change is a major theme in Långstedt (2021) and Långstedt and Manninen (2020). Both papers build on the same premise, that as work changes to a sufficient degree, the values that it aligns with change as well. This is perhaps best described in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) where we argue that changes from structured to dynamic work or from dynamic to structured work creates misalignments between values and work because the work supports conflicting motivational goals. The misalignment in the study concerned mainly the conflict between changes and conformity and self-direction values (e.g., self-direction vs. increased regulation, conformity vs. increased proactivity). Further, the technological change presented in Långstedt (2021) is a large-scale change that affects work and is expected to change the nature of work for many. It is a change that is anticipated to decrease demand for routine work and increase demand for dynamic work (e.g. Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). Building on Knafo and Sagiv's (2004) methodology for measuring occupational values and Frey and Osborne's (2013) assessment of the automatability of occupations, I found that conservation and self-enhancement values are more prominent in automatable occupations than they are in non-automatable occupations. The relationship between values and automatability places the workers in automatable occupations at odds with the requirements that working with the new technologies create. Because the share of automatable jobs is large and they are replaced by less structured work (World Bank, 2016), the misalignment described in Långstedt (2021) can occur on a large scale – adding to the challenges of adapting to the changes following the implementation of advanced technologies.

3.2.1 Values and change

Previous research on change and Schwartz (1992) values is somewhat scarce, only a few studies research the relationship. The studies are related to values and the process of change, and more specifically how attitudes to change vary across values depending on the voluntary or imposed nature of the change (i.e. Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009, 2015). The studies found that change was perceived more positively by individuals that prioritize conservation when the change was imposed, while the changes were perceived negatively when the change was voluntary. In contrast, individuals that prioritized openness-to-change values perceived the changes positively when the change was voluntary and negatively when it was imposed. They further found a positive relationship between identification with the organization when individuals' values corresponded to the change strategy

(Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015). Further evidence of the relationship between values and change management has been studied by Burnes and Jackson (2011). Using a case study methodology, they found that the teams were more content when the change management style was matched with their values. Although they used a different framework for values, it shares many aspects of Schwartz (1992) theory, for example the *Deny self now for reward later* value system resembles a system where conservation values are prioritized:

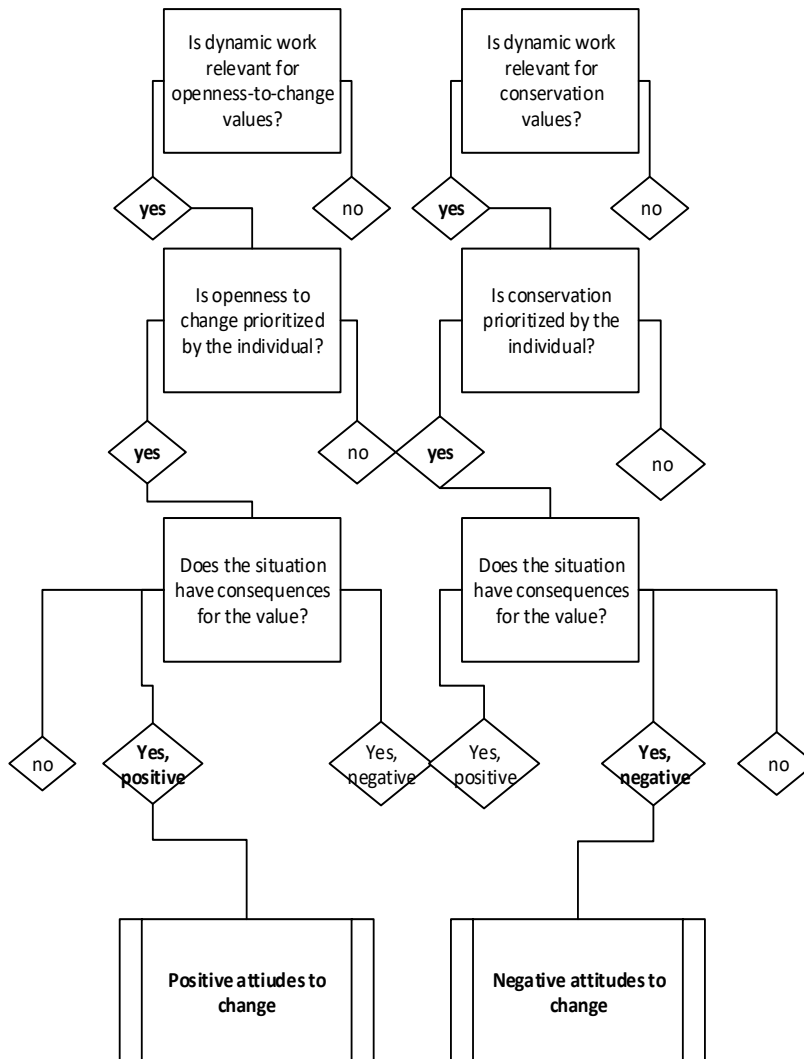
“Deny self for family and close relations, safety in numbers, traditional ways and ancestral traditions and rituals. Priority is to maintain the security and sustainability of the local community so that the future is the same as the past...” (p. 140)

Conservation values (Schwartz, 1992):

“...to preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions” (p. 43)

Regarding the theoretical premises of the relationship between values and actions, work units view change more positively when they are implemented in a way that has positive – or at least not negative – consequences for prevalent values within the unit. In the same vein, the goal of the change is also important. If the goal of a change conflicts with the motivational goals of an individual’s values, this is more than likely to relate to negative perceptions of the change. I found support for this in Långstedt & Manninen (2020), where managers for units that prioritized conservation over openness-to-change values tended to report that proactive ways of working were challenging to implement. In contrast, structured work was difficult to implement in work groups that prioritized openness-to-change values over conservation values. This we argued is because the different jobs deviate from work that aligns with the values of the work group and therefore decreases opportunities to attain the values that are prioritized in the workgroup.

Figure 4. Change to dynamic work and the process of value activation. The bolded text describes the process of values being manifested in actions in a situation where a change makes work more dynamic.



An example of the argument set forth in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) can be depicted as figure 4. Dynamic work disrupts the predictability and certainty inherent in structured work. Therefore, it is relevant for both openness-to-change and conservation values. Both value types were prioritized in different work units. Thus, the second prerequisite for value activation was fulfilled. Finally, the consequences of a situation for the attainment of values is central for values to be activated (Verplanken and

Holland, 2002). Therefore, assessing whether the change has positive or negative consequences for the attainment of openness-to-change or conservation values is central to the formation of attitudes to the change. In the case of dynamic work, the change enhances the opportunities to work autonomously and proactively which is in line with the needs that the openness-to-change values are based on (e.g., freedom, creativity). Further, studies have revealed a positive relationship between openness-to-change values and proactivity (Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020). Thus, a dynamic work environment is likely to result in positive attitudes from those that value openness-to-change over conservation. This is of course subject to how the change is construed and what meanings people associate with the changes, as suggested in the discussion above. Dynamic work has the contrary effect on the opportunity to pursue conservation values. As dynamic work comprises less structures and processes, it reduces the predictability and stability of the work environments. Predictability and stability are central goals of the conservation values (Schwartz, 1992). Thus, dynamic work is relevant for both value types, but it has negative consequences for conservation values because it reduces the opportunity to pursue them in the work context. Thus, a change to dynamic work decreases the “fit” between values and work for those that value conservation.

The relationship between change and values relate to the motivational goals that the values represent. Conservation values relate to stability, predictability, and obedience (Schwartz, 1992), thus changes disrupt their motivational goals by decreasing the stability of the context. However, when the change is imposed it becomes compatible with the conservation values because an element of predictability and obedience is added to the change (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009). The imposed nature of the change becomes a venue for expressing obedience simultaneously as it decreases the uncertainty accompanied with change, which decreases the conflict between the conservation values and the change. The positive relationship between change and openness-to-change values rests on the same logic. When change is voluntary it supports the autonomy of the individual and the desire for freedom to cultivate ideas and take action while imposed change limits the realization of these goals (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009). The finding that change is resisted when values and the outcome of the change are incompatible, as argued in Långstedt and Manninen (2020), follows this line of reasoning. Structured work restricts the opportunities to act in ways that are compatible with openness-to-change values similarly as imposed change does. Dynamic work, on the contrary limits the opportunities to enact conservation values at work. Thus, changes that create a context that represents opposite values in the value structure are likely to be resisted.

3.2.2 Values, skills, and the future of work

Adapting to dynamic work environments will become more important in future working life if predictions about how intelligent technologies will change work are right. The development of intelligent technologies, such as artificial intelligence, is expected to change work considerably (Ford, 2013). The main impact of the technologies is on work that is repetitive or structured, which intelligent technologies can replace at an increasing rate (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2014). The decrease of routine intensive jobs has been visible since the 1980's (Goos, Manning and Salomons, 2009) and has been explained largely by routine tasks being substituted by different technologies (Goos, Manning and Salomons, 2014). This has been assessed to result in a large proportion of the workforce being substituted by technology (Frey and Osborne, 2013; Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). Work that requires creativity, social skills, or (physical) perception and adaptation are less likely to be replaced by the technologies (Frey and Osborne, 2017). This creates a shift in what skills are sought after and what kind of work environments people will work in following the implementation of intelligent technologies. The rapid technological development and its effects can, however, be mediated by a shortage of skilled labor, which on the one hand can slow down the process of automation, but it also makes the adaptation of workers more challenging as they need to acquire new skills (Acemoglu and Restrepo, 2018).

Understanding the relationship between creativity and values is critical because it is frequently stated as an important non-automatable skill (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016; Brynjolfsson and Mitchell, 2017; Frey and Osborne, 2017; McKinsey & Company *et al.*, 2017). If the technological disruption is realized it means that individual's that prioritize values with a positive relationship to creativity presumably have an advantage in the labor market. Creativity here is understood as an ability to diverge from customary thinking patterns, what Sternberg (2010) refers to as divergent thinking. Thus, values that express obedience and submission to customs contradict this type of creativity. Measuring a variety of creative behavior, researchers are largely unanimous that self-direction and universalism have a positive relationship to creativity while tradition values are frequently reported as negatively linked to creativity (Rice, 2006; Dollinger, Burke and Gump, 2007; Kasof *et al.*, 2007; Lebedeva *et al.*, 2019). Dollinger *et al.* (2007) illustrate how the relationship with creativity is systematically linked to Schwartz's (1992) value structure. They show that the correlation between values and creativity systematically decreases when one moves from self-direction and universalism towards tradition on both sides of the value structure.

Despite the reports of a relationship between creativity and self-direction and universalism, some studies have found that the relationship is different in work settings and different social contexts. The rationale is that depending on the context, creativity supports the attainment of different values. For

instance, Lebedeva *et al.* (2019) found that work related creativity (i.e., products of work and machine graphics) otherwise support the relationships reported in previous research, but creativity in the work setting is also related to achievement. The positive relationship between achievement and creativity at work is also supported by research on innovative behavior at work. Purc and Lagun (2019) found that self-enhancement is linked to innovative behavior while openness-to-change was not, and conservation and self-transcendence values were negatively related to creativity. Thus, creativity and innovation may serve as a means to progress in the ranks of organizations and therefore it is motivated by self-enhancement values such as achievement (Lebedeva *et al.*, 2019; Purc and Lagun, 2019).

The studies indicate that the meaning of creativity may change in different contexts and thus it is motivated by different values. Lebedeva *et al.* (2019) illustrate this by pinpointing the differences between a sample of central Russians and North Caucasians. They found that doing creative crafts was inhibited by the security: personal value in the central Russian sample, while it was not in the North Caucasian sample. They explain that this may be due to the different meanings that crafts are given in modernized and traditional contexts. In the more traditional North Caucasia, they argue, crafts are more low-keyed and less judged than in Central Russia, which means that they are not instances that relate to the security: personal value because crafts are not seen as a threat to the attainment of the value.

From the studies we can conclude that there is a systematic relationship between creative behavior and values, but that the relationship is influenced by contextual factors that affect the meaning of creativity and thus affects the values that motivate creative actions. Therefore, the research on creativity pinpoints the need to acknowledge that the relationship between values and actions depends on how actions and situations are construed as suggested by other researchers (Feather, 1995; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019).

“Social intelligence” is a skill that is frequently mentioned as important in the future of work (e.g., Frey and Osborne, 2017). Even though Frey and Osborne (2017) provide a scant definition of the concept, they use the phrases “negotiation, persuasion, and care...real-time recognition of natural human emotion” to describe it (Frey and Osborne, 2017: 262). The difficulty to automate this aspect of work is that much of it is tacit knowledge, which is difficult to articulate and thus challenging to integrate into algorithms. In addition, advanced computer technologies (such as AI) are poor at explaining why they reach a particular result (Brynjolfsson and Mitchell, 2017). This means that suggestions made by computers need to be taken at face value. However, persuasion requires the ability to make someone compelled and convinced of a proposition, which requires some extent of justification and how justified an alternative is, is related to values (Feather, 1995; Maio, 2017).

As with other actions, skills related to social intelligence may relate to different values depending on the context. I already described the nature of values and the nature of the relationship between values and action. As with other actions, the skills related to social intelligence are likely to serve several motivational goals. Being persuasive can for example be an expression of power values as it can serve self-interests by furthering own agendas, however, it may also be used in altruistic settings such as healthcare to convince patients of required treatments. Indeed, prosocial action has been found to express different values in groups with different social-status (Schwartz, 2010), which highlights the contextual nature of the relationship. Several studies have reported a relationship between values and prosocial actions such as giving blood, collaboration in resource allocation games, and voluntary services (Jig-Boy *et al.*, 2016). Even though self-transcendence values are conceptually close to prosocial behavior, other motivations for prosocial behavior may be as important to consider (Sanderson and McQuilkin, 2017). The resemblance of the recognition of human emotion and empathy is strikingly similar to how social intelligence is described by Frey and Osborne (2017). Empathy has been defined as “the cognitive awareness of another person’s internal states (thoughts, feelings, perceptions, intentions)” (Dovidio and Banfield, 2015: 12230). Empathetic concern and perspective-taking has, in turn, been linked to the benevolence and universalism values (Silfver *et al.*, 2008). These studies indicate that the social skills expected to be important when work is becoming automated are connected to the universalism and benevolence values, thus it is reasonable that these values correlate negatively with occupational automatability as illustrated by Långstedt (2021).

To summarize, non-automatable skills are positively linked to particular values while other values are negatively linked to them. For example, tradition correlates negatively with creativity, while universalism and benevolence are positively related to prosocial behavior and empathy. Studies do, however, suggest that the relationship between values and skills are affected by the context, which is illustrated by studies of creativity (Lebedeva *et al.*, 2019; Purc and Lagun, 2019) and value instantiations (Hanel *et al.*, 2017; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). The research suggests that people with certain skills are likely to prioritize certain values, which leads to some values being more intimately linked to automatability than others. This is one explanation for the link between automation and values found in Långstedt (2021), another concerns the work environments that characterize occupations.

3.2.3 Values, work environments, and the future of work

The changes that are brought about by intelligent technologies does not only affect the skills required at work, it also affects how well the work environment corresponds to the values of employees. A work environment comprises the “situation or atmosphere created by the people who dominate a given environment” (Holland, 1973: 27). The change from structured to creative work leads to a situation where work changes to the extent that it does not match the values that are associated with structured work. This section draws on studies of values and occupations to illustrate the basis for why a misalignment between values and work could occur following the automation of structured tasks.

If automation progresses as predicted it will result in conflicts between work requirements and the values of employees in automatable occupations (Långstedt, 2021). Such change can change which values can be expressed at work to the benefit of openness-to-change and self-transcendence values at the expense of conservation values. In the study, I found that conservation values correlate positively with the automatability of occupations. Therefore, if predictions about future work hold, the anticipated shift seems to become one where individuals that express stronger conservation values are required to work in contexts that support openness-to-change values. This creates a conflict between values and work. Consequently, the work context becomes a place that threatens the pursuit of values for a considerable share of the workforce. Referring to figure 3 and the above discussion of the value-behavior link, work becomes a place of value activation for individuals that prioritize conservation values, but not because it supports the attainment of them, but because it inhibits their attainment. Research has found that a misalignment between work and values decreases job satisfaction and commitment (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005). Thus a widespread automation can lead to a decrease in job satisfaction and organizational commitment at a large scale (Långstedt, 2021).

The impact of values on choices has been established in previous research that have shown that when people are confronted with two options they choose the option that is most in line with their values or contradicts their values the least (e.g. Feather, 1995). Of special interest for this thesis is the role that values have in the choice of occupations and professions. In a study of work values and basic values, Ros et al. (1999) found that what is important to individuals at work is reflected in their basic values. They conclude that work values are specifications of basic values (Ros, Schwartz and Surkiss, 1999). If the work environment changes significantly, values may be a central enabler or inhibitor of adaptation to changes at work, depending on how relevant a situation is to an individual’s central values and how the consequences of the situation is construed. Evidence from the person-job fit literature suggests that the alignment of work and values is important for job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and intentions to

leave a job, the latter being negatively related to value-job alignment (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005). Research on vocational choices support this notion, in a study of Israeli students, Sagiv (2002) found significant correlations between vocational choices and values. Her study indicates that people with certain values are attracted to certain work environments. For example, the self-direction and universalism values correlated positively, while security, conformity, and tradition correlated negatively, with artistic vocational interests. The artistic vocations comprise creative and less structured work. In contrast, conventional vocational interests (i.e., systematic, structured work with clear processes) indicated largely opposite correlations. That is universalism, self-direction, and stimulation correlated negatively with the choice of conventional vocational interests, while security, tradition, and conformity correlated positively with them.

Sagiv's (2002) research is supported by several other studies that indicate that different values are emphasized in different occupations. Knafo and Sagiv (2004) studied the values of 32 occupations and found support for the previous findings. They found that employees in different vocational domains expressed different value priorities that were in line with Sagiv's (2002) findings. Further studies of business students indicate that their values differ from the university students in other faculties as they place more importance on self-enhancement values (Arieli, Sagiv and Cohen-Shalem, 2016). This line of research supports the notion that values influence vocational choices. One reason for this is that work is an important venue for seeking meaning and consequently for expressing values and thus individuals with certain value priorities are attracted to different occupations (Sagiv, 2002). Studies of values in specific occupations lend further support for this proposition. For example, in a study of social workers' values, Tartakovsky and Walsh (2018) found that social workers expressed stronger self-transcendence values and weaker conservation values than the general population while other research indicates that self-enhancement and openness-to-change values are related to entrepreneurial intentions (Gorgievski *et al.*, 2018).

The relationship between values and automatability is then based on two basic premises. First, the skills people have are related to different values because people are attracted to work environments in which they can use their skills (Holland, 1985). As a result, some values become more prevalent than others in occupations. Second, people with different values are attracted to different work environments because the environments provide venues for attaining and expressing different values (Holland, 1985; Sagiv, 2002; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004). Since automation mainly affects structured jobs (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016; Frey and Osborne, 2017) that require certain types of skills (such as following rules) certain values are more

prevalent in automatable jobs than in non-automatable jobs (Långstedt, 2021).

3.3 Some critical comments of Schwartz's theory

Schwartz theory of values has been lauded as the most comprehensive theory of values to date (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). The main strength of the theory is the integrated system of values that Schwartz (1992) derived at theoretically and validated empirically across 20 countries¹³ (Rohan, 2000). The theory has, however, been criticized for being broad and leaving out values that can be important regionally (Helkama, 2015). For example, courage and industriousness were dropped from the theory because their meaning is not equivalent across different national contexts (Helkama, 2015). Further, Schwartz value structure represents best contexts that are more developed in terms of indicators such as economy, education, and mass communication (Fischer, Milfont and Gouveia, 2011). Additionally, the political context affects the structure of values. Bardi and Schwartz (1996) found that in Polish and Estonian samples the value structure deviated from the anticipated structure and argued that the meanings of particular values differed due to the countries' history as part of the Soviet Union, which led to different associations between the values than in countries that were not part of the soviet union.

3.3.1 A critique of the upper-level values openness-to-change and conservation

Provided the pervasive change discourse in the contemporary business context, the categorization of values as openness-to-change and conservation values has normative connotations. The ability to adapt is perceived as an admirable and necessary ability in several contexts – not least due to the discourses surrounding technological change. Therefore, labeling some values as open to changes and others as resisting change *per se* is problematic, especially as support for such categorization is theoretically and empirically lacking. From the studies regarding the relationship between change and values, it cannot be concluded that some values are more or less open to changes. Rather, empirical evidence indicates that attitudes to change are linked to the type of change and how the change is implemented (Lipponen, Bardi and Haapamäki, 2008; Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009; Burnes and Jackson, 2011). Similarly, the theory of basic human values does not provide a theoretical foundation for the notion that some values are more or less open to change. Drawing on value theory, the consequences that the change has for the pursuit of prioritized values is central in guiding the attitudes towards the change. If the change supports – or is convincingly construed as supporting – the attainment of prioritized values, attitudes to the change are likely positive while the opposite is true for changes that threaten the pursuit of a prioritized value. Therefore, values *per se* do not indicate an openness to

¹³ At that time, the number has increased considerably since Schwartz seminal studies.

change or change resistance. They rather support and oppose different *kinds* of changes (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). Thus, the upper-level values openness-to-change and conservation could be re-labeled to avoid misconceptions about their motivational goals. Schwartz (1992 p. 43) describes the former values as sharing a motivation “to follow their own intellectual and emotional interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions” and the latter values motivate “[preservation of] the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions”. Hence, a central characteristic of the value types are certainty and uncertainty (Schwartz, 2017) – not change *per se*. A change can lead to more stability and predictability by, for example, implementing structures and routines¹⁴, which supports the pursuit of conservation values. In contrast, dismantling structures and restrictions supports the pursuit of openness-to-change values as far as it increases opportunities to act and think autonomously.

The current conceptualization of openness-to-change and conservation is also problematic in relation to the definition of values and their difference from attitudes. In contrast to the transcendent nature of values (Schwartz, 1992), attitudes are evaluations directed towards an object (Oskamp and Schultz, 2004). That is, whereas values are general principles that guide one’s actions, attitudes are their expression in relation to a specific object or situation. Change and conservation does not occur without an object, or more specifically objective, and thus they are both processes and resemble attitudes rather than values. One changes from something to something else, for example from reactive to proactive ways of working. Hence, an individual cannot be open to change as such, but rather to the nature and objective of the change as previous research indicates (Branson, 2008; Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009; Burnes and Jackson, 2011). Conservation is subject to a similar critique. Conservation is also directed at an object that is being conserved. For example, it is important to conserve the current male hegemony, or the religious practices of the community, the integrity of research, the freedom of speech. Thus, the current conceptualization of the upper-level values needs to be rephrased to a) avoid their pejorative connotations and b) correspond to the theoretical definition of values and c) the relationship between values and behavior.

The openness-to-change dimension describes “the extent to which they motivate people to follow their own intellectual and emotional interests in unpredictable and uncertain directions” and the conservation dimension as to “preserve the status quo and the certainty it provides in relationships with close others, institutions, and traditions” (Schwartz, 1992: 43). The definitions emphasize the importance of predictability (i.e., certainty) that

¹⁴ For example, in the context of start-ups and the standardization of roles as they grow.

conservation values represent and the dynamism (i.e., unpredictability and uncertainty) that openness-to-change values represent. The conservation values share an appreciation for continuity that serves as a means to achieve certainty, not merely conservation. The lower-level value types within the conservation dimension share a direction towards predictability: Conformity makes (inter)actions more predictable, following customs makes everyday life more predictable (tradition) and avoiding risks makes life less unpredictable (security). In contrast, the openness-to-change values seem to share a preference for dynamism: self-direction involves the growth of oneself through developing skills and ideas while stimulation relates directly to experiencing new things. Hence, the common denominator of the openness-to-change values is not change could be described as dynamism. Dynamism in the sense that personal development and expression are unrestricted and a variety of opportunities are presented.

Dynamism then, describes an end-state that is not characterized by a fixed set of possibilities but rather presents several choices and increases the uncertainty that the individual faces. Change, in contrast, is a movement of some degree between two end-states (e.g., A to C). This view of change is particularly prevalent in approaches to change management (see By, 2005 for a review). In contrast predictability and dynamism can be viewed as end-states rather than processes, the latter more uncertain than the former. The premises of the values-behavior model presented above contradicts the assumption that some values are open to change, and others are not. According to the model, openness to change would rather depend on the relationship between the change and prioritized values.

This discussion is theoretical by nature, as discussing conceptualizations necessarily are. More research on the subject is required to further investigate the relationship between values and change. To further understand the relationship between change and values, a study ought to comprise both changes to more restricted and more dynamic end-states to see whether the relationship between change objectives and values are similar to the relationship between values and the change process (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009). The point of this discussion is not to disenfranchise the theory of basic human values, but rather to raise some concerns about the labelling used for the upper-level values and to point out new and interesting research directions that can increase our understanding of values.

3.4. Summary

The aim of this section was to provide an overview of the theory of basic human values developed by Schwartz and his colleagues, which is the main theoretical framework for the thesis. Central to the theory is that values have a systematic relationship with each other and mainly differ in terms of priority. That is, the value structure and the value hierarchy. Each value relates to a motivational goal that is based on societal and individual needs. It is important to bear in mind that some values are more compatible than other values. Those that are adjacent in the value structure represent compatible motivational goals, while those that oppose each other represent opposing motivational goals. The motivational goals, in turn, relate to which situations make the value relevant. If a situation is perceived as having consequences for a value, the value becomes activated, while the opposite is true if it does not. An important factor in the activation of values is how the situation is perceived by the agent (Verplanken and Holland, 2002). If the situation is construed as having a positive or negative impact on the attainment of a value it affects attitudes towards the situation (Schwartz, 2017). Thus, the link between values and action is largely socially constructed (Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019). In addition to the general theoretical link between values and action, the section presented studies that link particular skills to values. The review comprised values and change, creative skills, social intelligence, and occupational choice. These actions and choices are related to the automation of work because creativity and social skills are believed to become more important in the future as the work environment changes and less routine work is available. As with any theory, Schwartz theory has some weaknesses, and these are briefly discussed in the section as well. The empirical critique against the theory is that the value structure seems to be most valid in prosperous democracies, which may reflect the different challenges that people in prosperous and poorer contexts face (Fischer, 2018; Inglehart, 2018). Further, a re-labelling of the openness-to-change and conservation values is called for because the values-action link indicates that values are not open to change as such, rather they represent openness to change when a situation enhances the opportunities to attain them.

4 Value diversity in light of the theory of basic human values

Future researchers should move beyond the broad assumption that diversity of all values is problematic to consider more precisely whether, how, and under what circumstances diversity with respect to particular values might disrupt a team.

(Klein *et al.*, 2011)

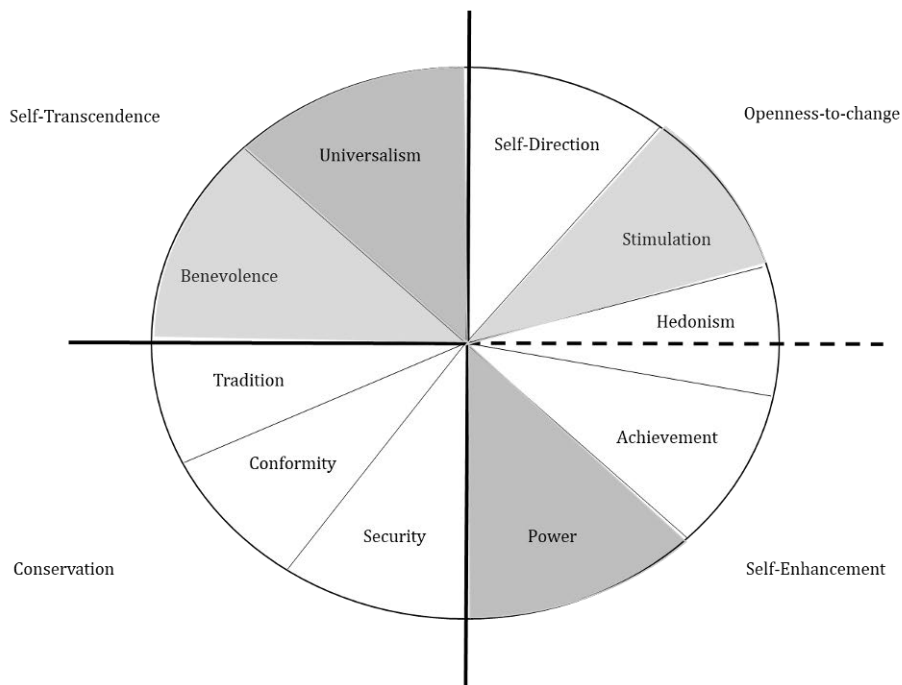
Integrating the theory of basic human values with value diversity management research provides further insights into the dynamics of value diversity. Where diversity research has imprecise specifications of the diversity construct and the processes involved in it, theories in cross-cultural psychology can provide specifications for it (Ferdman and Sagiv, 2012). The theory of basic human values is one such specification derived from cross-cultural psychology that improves the way values are assessed and described in the value diversity field. The following sections focus on how the theory extends our understanding of value diversity.

A considerable amount of value diversity research has been devoted to studying conflicts. Thus, it is natural to begin the discussion of Schwartz (1992/2017) value theory in relation to value diversity as a source of conflict. As I mentioned above people that value conservation and openness-to-change differ in the ways that they prefer change to be managed, which implies that these values reflect preferences for different managerial practices. This can be a source of the task conflicts reported in previous studies of value diversity (e.g. Jehn and Mannix, 2001; Sandal and Bye, 2015). Theoretically, each pair of opposites in the value structure (figure 5) is a potential for conflict as they represent opposing motivational goals. That is, they guide interpretations and actions in a direction that does not support the goal of the values opposite of them.

If person A in a group values conformity highly and person B values self-direction highly, person A's actions and interpretations are guided towards compliance to rules and norms. Person B's actions and interpretations, on the contrary, are based on the goal of freedom and independence. Thus, a basis for conflicting actions and expectations are created. Similarly, a person that values universalism is likely to have diverging goals from someone who values power, because the former is related to equality and welfare of all people and the latter is related to personal motives to amass wealth and control. In contrast, and still theoretically speaking, groups consisting of persons valuing conformity or self-direction and benevolence or power should not experience value-based conflicts because the motivational goals

of the values do not contradict. The pursuit of wealth, inherent in the power value, does not exclude the desire for independence or compliance. Similarly, concern for others is not excluded by a desire for freedom or compliance. Therefore, value diversity *per se* is not an issue. Rather, issues arise when groups consist of people that prioritize opposing values in the value structure because such diversity relates to conflicting goals. This perspective is corroborated – although not tested – by Woehr (et al. 2013), who linked variance in values that oppose each other in the value structure to conflict in groups. Figure 5 exemplifies how the value structure can be used to depict what kinds of value diversity are more likely to create challenges and what value diversity is less likely to create challenges in groups. The figure shows an example of both types of value diversities. Central to value diversity is how the values are positioned in relation to each other in the value structure.

Figure 5. A visualization of value diversity. The dark grey pairs of values



represent opposing motivational goals that relate to challenging value diversity. The light grey pairs represent less problematic value diversity.

Referring to the model of the relationship between values and action presented in section 3.2, groups in which value diversity consists of opposing values express actions that oppose each other, which gives rise to actions aimed at achieving opposing goals, which can lead to different views of appropriate actions. Imagine a group that is divided into individuals that

value conformity and individuals that value self-direction. They are informed of new managerial practices that involve more independent decision-making and require more proactivity from them as employees. The situation is relevant for both values because the goal of self-direction is freedom – which the practices increase, and the goal of conformity is stability and predictability – which the practices decrease. Since the values are prioritized by the individuals, the final step in the process is to assess what consequences the situation has for their values. The consequences of such situation are opposite for the attainment of self-direction and conformity. The former is supported by the increased freedom achieved through the new managerial practices while the latter is threatened by the decrease of regulations to comply with. Thus, the attitudes towards the changes are likely to differ significantly between the individuals, which can lead to conflicts as implied by previous value diversity research (Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher, 1997; Woehr, Arciniega and Poling, 2013).

In contrast to the opposing values that represent incompatible motivational goals, adjacent values in the value structure share elements of each other's motivational goals and are thus compatible (Schwartz, 1992). If the group is diverse in values that are adjacent to each other, challenges are likely fewer as such value diversity comprises values with compatible motivational goals. For example, in groups where value diversity consists of self-direction and stimulation values the values do not oppose each other as the prior values freedom and the latter excitement and novelty. Further, situations that are relevant for values in adjacent upper-level categories are not a source of value-based conflicts. For example, an individual who prioritizes conformity values may not be concerned with a situation that is relevant for self-transcendence and openness-to-change values, because these values do not conflict with the motivational goals of conformity. Thus, building on Schwartz (1992) framework, value diversity ought to have adverse effects on group functioning mainly when groups exhibit value diversity in incompatible motivational goals that oppose each other in the value structure (figures 1 and 2).

4.1 Managing value diversity

Once they realize that the new business model isn't a threat and when it starts to show its benefits, it will become a source of security for them that they are drawn to.

- CEO, 2018

Values play a central role in shaping the objectives, interpretations, and actions within organizations (Sagiv, Schwartz and Arieli, 2011). They shape the norms and practices that evolve within organizations, as well as organizational structures (Sagiv and Schwartz, 2007). Studies of values in organizations show that values opposing each other in the value structure often have an opposite relationship to organizational phenomena (for a recent review, see Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020). For example, the role of organizational prestige is more important for person's that value self-enhancement than to those that value self-transcendence (Roccas, 2003).

Differences in values also relate to the different meaning that work has for people. There is a positive relationship between a calling-orientation and benevolence and a career-orientation and achievement (Lan *et al.*, 2013). Values are also relevant for how conflicts are managed. Openness-to-change values are associated with a competing conflict handling style¹⁵ while social conservatism¹⁶ is related to an avoidance conflict handling style (Morris *et al.*, 1998). The studies indicate that adjacent values are positively related to similar organizational phenomena while opposing values are not. Opposing values are thus presumably a source of challenges in work groups as they pertain differently to the same organizational phenomena (e.g. conservation vs. openness-to-change values and change (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015)).

Meglino and Ravlin (1998) recommend that organizational researchers should study both the general processes by which values function and how individual values function. Sections 3.1 and 3.2 address this recommendation. The previous chapters have provided building blocks for considering what managing value diversity from a basic human values (Schwartz, 1992) perspective entails. Within the field of value diversity, several measures and theoretical frameworks are used to study values. Previously, I have presented how values are linked to actions and how value diversity looks like from the perspective of basic human values. In this chapter I will outline a model for value diversity management based on Schwartz (2017) value theory. First, however, I will review how previous research on value diversity recommends to *actually* manage value diversity.

¹⁵ although less so than self-enhancement

¹⁶ The tradition and conformity value. In contrast to Schwartz conservation value dimension, Morris et al (1998) excluded the "security" value type from their analysis.

4.1.1 Current approaches to managing value diversity

It is apparent that value diversity is something that needs to be managed because researchers agree that it tends to create different types of conflicts (e.g. Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher, 1997; Harrison, Price and Bell, 1998; Jehn, Northcraft and Neale, 1999; Jehn and Mannix, 2001; Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002). Given the considerable challenges attached to value diversity, one expects that research on best practices to manage value diversity exist. However, to the best of my knowledge the practical management of value diversity has been largely overlooked. Most studies focus on measuring either the benefits of value congruence (i.e., the lack of value diversity) or the negative aspects of value diversity. The actual management of value diversity is often briefly mentioned and is not based on empirical observations such as action research or experiments but included in the implications of the studies.

Many studies suggest that given their results, values should be incorporated in the selection criteria when team members are chosen (Jehn, Chadwick and Thatcher, 1997; Dose and Klimoski, 1999; Harrison, Gavin and Florey, 2002; Mohammed and Angell, 2004; Bell, 2007; Kirrane, Kramer and Lassleben, 2019). Even though this is a valid point, it does not contribute to managing value diversity, but rather presents a means to avoid it. Furthermore, it is unlikely that a company can choose between an endless pool of employees. Tradeoffs are inevitable when choosing candidates. If a manager does not have the opportunity to choose their team members freely, selection strategies become insufficient tools to manage value diversity. Thus, the suggestion to screen applicants based on their values is often not a sufficient strategy.

Some researchers have discussed what their results imply for managing teams that are value diverse. Dose and Klimoski (1999) suggest that a manager can interrupt “patterns of dysfunctional behavior” by labelling it as such. They also suggest that managers could link “sanctions” and “punishments” to value orientations. Further, managers could “highlight” values by reinterpreting tasks, issues, and problems. They also suggest subtle solutions such as leading by example. Many of these suggestions are, however, not specific for managing value diversity, nor are they value specific. What they implicitly state is that these are methods to make the group more value congruent. More subtle suggestions are provided by Klein (*et al.*, 2011), who suggest specific leadership styles for diversity in different values. They studied work ethic and traditionalism value diversity. They suggest that when confronted with such value diversity, the best option is to choose a task focused leadership style and avoid a relationship focus, especially, when the team is diverse in terms of traditionalism. However, in their study, value diversity comprised mainly diversity in the intensity of values, not as different value priorities. In addition, they did not consider contextual aspects of the interactions, which has proven to be an important

aspect of coping with value diversity (e.g. Sandal and Bye, 2015). Research has also found that the consideration of management practices is especially important in the middle of a groups existence (Acar, 2010). This observation is perhaps most relevant for project teams that have a defined beginning and end as permanent organizations may have problems identifying the middle of their existence.

In short, there are few studies that provide a framework for managing value diversity or a model for managing it. There are models for diversity (e.g., Harrison and Klein, 2007) but there is currently a considerable scarcity of models that describe how to manage value diversity and the different forms and conditions that make value diversity relevant in the work environment.

4.1.2 Which value diversity to manage

As I have argued in the previous chapters, value diversity can take many forms. However, here I will focus on the conservation vs. openness-to-change dimension because the studies incorporated in this thesis have emphasized the relevance of this dimension in the current and future workplace. Långstedt and Manninen (2020) indicates that conservation values and openness-to-change values are relevant when organizations attempt to shift from reactive to proactive ways of working or vice versa. Similarly, Långstedt (2021) argues that the same value dimensions become relevant in the future of work as structured work is automated and creativity and social skills are left to human workers.

Furthermore, this type of value diversity seems to be inherent to the Finnish context. Recent studies of representative samples in Finland have found that self-direction and conformity values ranked third (fourth in 2015) and fifth in 2017, respectively (Helkama, 2015; Rinta-Kiikka, Yrjölä and Alho, 2018). This implies that they are both somewhat highly regarded in the country. In the sample collected for Långstedt and Manninen (2019; 2020), the conformity: rules value is ranked in the middle range of values and the security: personal value is also in the middle range (see table 4). Similarly, self-direction: thought is in the middle range while self-direction: action is the fourth highest ranked values.

In the sample, 54% of respondents value openness-to-change over conservation and 91 % of respondents value self-transcendence over self-enhancement. Of the highest scored values within the openness-to-change vs. conservation values, the only significant negative correlations are between security: personal and conformity: rules and self-direction: action and self-direction thought (table 3). 39% of the respondents value security: personal and conformity: rules over self-direction: thought and action¹⁷. The negative

¹⁷ To calculate the share of the sample that valued security: personal and conformity: rules more than self-direction action and thought, I combined the items that make up each value type. This rendered decent alpha reliability scores, .82 for the former

correlations between the value types (table 3) and their relative position in the two-dimensional space (figure 6) indicate that they are a relevant type of value diversity to consider in the Finnish context. The benevolence and universalism values seem to be shared across the population and the self-enhancement values have low priority in both the collected sample and in Helkama's (2015) and Rinta-Kiikka et al.'s (2018) representative studies. Thus, compared to the conservation vs. openness-to-change dimension, the self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence values dimension is less likely to become relevant in the Finnish organizational context as a source of value diversity. Regretfully, the studies of representative samples of the Finnish population have used the ten-value model, so the nineteen value types are not discernible from their reports. Therefore, it is impossible to say for sure that the value diversity identified here is shared by the general population in Finland.

Correlations

		Conformity rules	Security personal	Self- direction action
Security: Personal	Pearson Correlation	.245**		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000		
	N	727		
Self-Direction: Action	Pearson Correlation	-.228**	-.077*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.037	
	N	727	727	
Self-Direction: Thought	Pearson Correlation	-.155**	-.172**	.472**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.000	0.000
	N	727	727	727

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

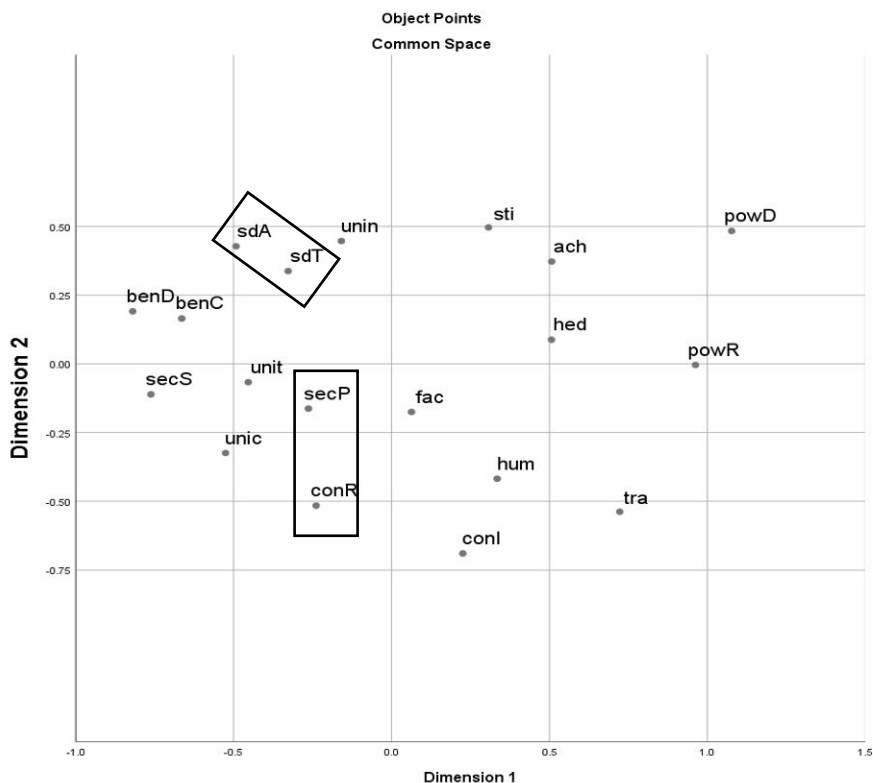
* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 3. Correlations between values collected within the Turku City Research Programme project "LIITO" (the full table is available in Långstedt and Manninen (2020 p. 10-11))

combination and .78 for the latter. Following that I calculated how many of the respondents valued the combined security: personal and conformity: rules more than the combined self-direction values. This resulted in 39% prioritizing the former combination over the latter.

To further understand how the values in the sample are associated with each other I calculated the Euclidean distance between the values using the PROXSCAL function in SPSS, where distances were created from the data and the value types plotted on a two-dimensional space (Figure 6). This is a similar test as the SSA that Schwartz used to validate his value structure in his seminal paper (Schwartz, 1992).

Figure 6. The Euclidean distance between values collected within the Turku City Research Program project “LIITO” (N=727)¹⁸



The Euclidean distances between the values are visualized in figure 6. They indicate which values are compatible and which values conflict in the sample. That is, how closely the values are associated with each other. The further apart they are, the less compatible they are. The self-direction values are relatively far apart from conformity: rules and security: personal values

¹⁸ Note that the value structure does not follow the structure identified by Schwartz (et al. 2012) and Schwartz (2017).

on the two-dimensional space. The furthest distances are between the power values and the benevolence values¹⁹. This implies that the power and benevolence values are the least compatible values in the sample. However, since the power values are among the least emphasized in the sample they are less likely to exist in a work group than value diversity related to the conformity: rules, security: personal and the self-direction values because these values are ranked considerably higher in the sample than the power values (table 4).

Value	Rank	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
benD	1	1.07	727	0.54
benC	2	0.88	736	0.56
secS	3	0.88	736	0.67
sdA	4	0.68	727	0.67
uniC	5	0.52	736	0.77
uniT	6	0.50	727	0.73
sdT	7	0.44	736	0.70
secP	8	0.37	727	0.61
uniN	9	0.26	736	0.88
conR	10	0.20	727	0.85
fac	11	-0.01	736	0.85
sti	12	-0.38	736	0.87
hed	13	-0.45	736	0.94
hum	14	-0.49	736	0.85
conI	15	-0.50	736	0.96
ach	16	-0.52	727	0.86
tra	17	-0.88	727	1.00
powR	18	-1.12	736	0.91
powD	19	-1.43	736	1.05

Table 4. Means, mean ranks, responses, and standard deviations in the Turku sample of employees from the LIITO project

That the value diversity in the sample relates to security and conformity vs. self-direction is especially noteworthy since the former values correlate positively with the automatability of occupations and the latter negatively (Långstedt, 2021). Thus, as tasks are automated and the work environment changes, it is likely that the identified value diversity emerges when work environments are transformed. This is largely because such environments are relevant for both conformity and security as well as self-direction values (Långstedt, 2021). Based on the relevance that the conformity: rules and

¹⁹ Euclidean distances: benC/powD = 71, benC/powR = 62, conR/sdA = 35, conR/sdT = 32, secP/sdA = 27, secP/sdT = 27, secP/conR = 25, sdA/sdT = 20.

security: personal vs. the self-direction values has for current and future management practices, the next section will mainly focus on these values.

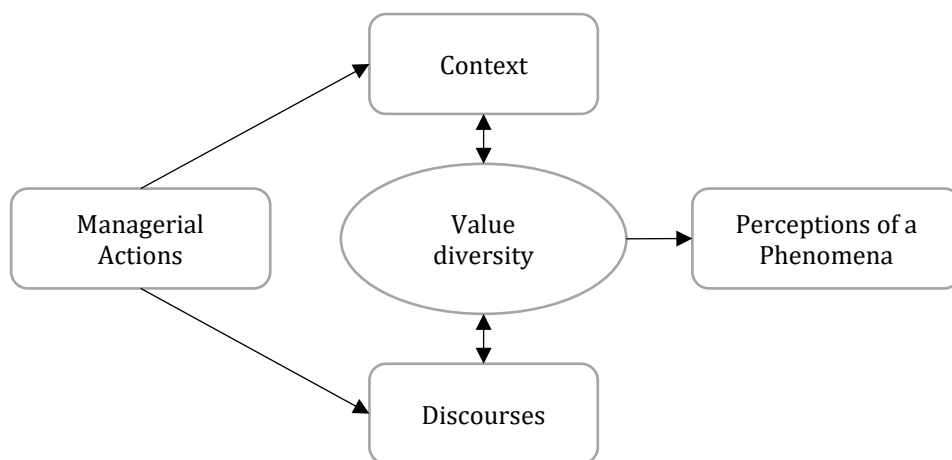
4.2 Towards a model for managing value diversity

One of my first tasks as a project researcher was to develop and pilot a values-based decision-support system for stakeholder management in international construction projects. This process is reported in the final paper of this thesis (Långstedt, Wikström and Hellström, 2017) and the final report of the REBUS project (Långstedt and Hanstén, 2017). In essence, the software was a questionnaire based on Schwartz (1992) value typology designed to identify the values of project stakeholders. It then provided the respondent with suggestions of *how* to communicate with the stakeholders and which aspects of managing the project should be emphasized – considering the values that the stakeholders were ascribed. We could of course not identify the “actual” values of the stakeholders, instead we provided structure for analyzing the project “stakeholder landscape” (Aaltonen and Kujala, 2016) and suggestions of how to influence stakeholders beyond “formal arrangements” (Långstedt, Wikström and Hellström, 2017). This was my research project’s first attempt to base management practices on values. The basic premise for the method was that project managers point out the consequences that practices have for the values that they identified as important for stakeholders. It rested on the values-action model presented above in Figure 3. The principle was that actions that benefit the project are communicated in a way that highlighted their positive consequences for stakeholder values and while the actions that harm the project are communicated in a way that they have negative consequences for stakeholder values. This same logic can be applied in other contexts as well. Because projects are executed in a network fashion and do not involve formal hierarchies but rather formal agreements (Hellgren and Stjernberg, 1995; Engwall, 2003), the manager in projects is limited by their own and their stakeholders’ scopes. In permanent organizations managers can affect a broader range of factors than in the project context,

A central building block of managing value diversity is reflexivity, which we attempted to increase through the tool reported in (Långstedt, Wikström and Hellström, 2017). Illman and Nynäs (2017) describe reflexivity as the (cap)ability to understand and relate to one’s own and other people’s perspectives and views. Because managers tend to differ in their values from people in other roles (Sagiv, Schwartz and Arieli, 2011; Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020), the importance of reflexivity is even more crucial in manager-employee relationships. It is central that managers understand the difference between their values and the values of their staff, otherwise the way they present their choices may not resonate well with the values of their employees. The literature on change and values attests to the importance of considering values when choosing change management strategies (Burnes and Jackson, 2011; Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015; Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). The consideration of the employees’ values also relates to the work

environment within an organization. As some work environments correspond to some values better than to others (Holland, 1985; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004), it is important that managers understand how the work environment they are responsible for corresponds to the values of their employees. This may relate to providing guidelines to those to whom predictability is important while allowing those that value autonomy to maintain their freedom.

Figure 7. The focal points of the value diversity model are discursive practices and the context.



4.2.1 The Discursive Practice of Value Diversity Management

The discursive aspect of managing value diversity is focused on the meanings associated with situations. As the CEO quoted in the beginning of this section, the idea is to change the associations of a phenomenon. Since the link between values and action is socially constructed (Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019), it follows that managers could also alleviate potential value diversity through discursive practices. Fairclough (2001) argued that meaning making is regulated by discourses. Thus, organizations may be able to change the meanings associated with situations in a way that they satisfy the value diversity that the situation makes relevant. A discourse that directs the meaning of the situation towards the positive consequences it has for personal security while not restricting autonomy can satisfy a value diverse group if the value-tension is between personal security and self-direction. In the case of change, Långstedt and Manninen (2020) argue that change is received more positively by crafting change communication in a way that highlights the positive consequences it has for change recipient values. This is supported by research on change and values that found different types of changes align with different values (e.g. Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009). However,

the social construction of the association between values and situations makes influencing the discursive practices a complex endeavor. The complexity is derived from the many contexts in which humans simultaneously exist, the work environment can be shared while other environments are not. These contexts influence the association between situation and values by providing different frameworks and consequences by which to interpret situations. For example the association between prosocial actions and values differ between minority and majority populations (Schwartz, 2010). The complexity leads to several discourses coinciding within a group and an organization shaped by the interaction between members of the organization and their experiences (Alvesson, 2002).

It is apparent that values are activated when one is in a situation that is relevant for their attainment (Verplanken and Holland, 2002; Schwartz, 2017). What values are relevant in which situations is largely socially constructed and context dependent (Jig-Boy *et al.*, 2016; Hanel *et al.*, 2017; Ponizovskiy *et al.*, 2019; Maio *et al.*, 2020). Thus, the social construction of situations and its effects on what the perceived consequences of a situation has for values is essential to the model. According to Ponizovskiy (*et al.*, 2019), the link between values and situations is based on how situations are construed. Social reality, in turn, is maintained and modified in interactions with others (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), role-specific knowledge is more subject to change than the taken-for-granted world that is learned in childhood. This implies that the interpretations of situations at work are more likely to change than the values of employees. Research on value change corroborates this, and it seems that values become relatively stable in adulthood (Vecchione *et al.*, 2016). Because values are rather stable, the starting point of the model is to affect how situations are construed rather than to change values. In cases where value diversity consists of group members prioritizing opposite values in the value structure, the role of management is to alleviate the discrepancies between the members but also to navigate the different meanings that a situation has for members of the organization. It is these meanings that managers can affect by discursive practices (i.e., how they converse about and describe situations), and the ways that they organize the work environment in which the value diversity exists (e.g., structures, processes, policies). This does not mean succumbing to Orwellian newspeak, but rather to identify the arguments that are convincing and the aspects in the context that can be perceived as threats to value attainment. Thus, value diversity management requires the manager to affect how situations are interpreted and create a work environment in which the “problematic”²⁰

²⁰ Problematic values here are understood as those that guide actions and interpretations in directions that are not desirable from an actor’s perspective.

values are satisfied. In the interactions some elements are dropped and others reinforced, and as a result the social reality exists in a continuous construction and re-construction (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). The associations between situations and values are thus malleable through reinforcing elements that support or suppress interpretations of a situation in favor of the desired end. In terms of value diversity, this requires a manager to be well informed about the different interpretations and values that exist within their work unit. The main practice for achieving this is to steer the discourse in a direction that associates the situation with positive consequences for prioritized values. The interpretation of situations is, of course, also guided by the context which sets the premises for interpretations of events (Weick, 1993, 1995a), which makes the work environment an important aspect of value diversity management.

4.2.2 The Contextuality of Value Diversity Management

The introduction presented two different phenomena that make different kinds of value diversity relevant: immigration and automation. The former relates to universalism and security values (Lassander, 2017), the latter to conservation and openness-to-change values (Långstedt, 2021). The contextuality of value diversity is of course not limited to these phenomena, however, they illustrate well how value diversity *becomes* relevant in relation to a variety of contextual factors. Thus, for managing value diversity it is central to understand what kind of phenomena makes value diversity relevant: what makes it emerge and which values it comprises.

Closely related to the former type of emergent value diversity is that value diversity may also rise when the context changes. There is a long tradition of scholars arguing that people are drawn to (work) contexts where they can realize their values (e.g., Holland, 1985; Schneider, 1987). Recent research has provided support for the choice of profession being a stronger determinant of value priorities in occupations than socialization (Arieli, Sagiv and Cohen-Shalem, 2016). Thus, a change in the context that one has chosen because it corresponds to one's values – or at least does not contradict them (Feather, 1995) – may disrupt the “fit” between values and work (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). Thus, value diversity is likely to emerge when the context changes to the degree that it becomes misaligned with some values. A misalignment with values and work has, in turn, been associated with lower job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and an increased intention to leave (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman and Johnson, 2005). Thus, an important aspect of value diversity management is to be aware of how the context – and changes in it - relates to different values. Research on vocational choice and occupation-specific values can provide some insights

Values *per se* are not problematic but can be perceived as such in relation to an objective.

into which values are relevant for different types of contextual changes (Sagiv, 2002; Roccas, 2003; Tartakovsky and Walsh, 2018).

The third way that value diversity management is contextual follows from the prior two contextual elements. Since contextual factors can make value diversity emerge, manipulating the context is also a way to manage value diversity. The point being that if a situation is interpreted in a certain way based on contextual cues, for example organizational processes and policies, those elements can be altered in a way that decreases its conflict with some values. The main issue with this reasoning is that it requires the satisfaction of values with opposing motivational bases. However, this does not necessarily require opposing managerial practices, as we shall see in the next section, where a model of managing value diversity is proposed.

4.2.3 Managing Value Diversity

In section 4.1.2 I provide an example of a potential value diversity that is relevant in the Finnish context and may emerge as automation progresses. Within this section, when I use the term value diversity, I refer to value diversity in terms of a hypothetical group consisting of two subgroups. One subgroup consists of people that prioritize the self-direction values. The other subgroup consists of people that prioritize security: personal and conformity: rules. The type of diversity that characterizes the group is thus separation (Harrison and Klein, 2007). This means that the group is divided into two subgroups that differ in the kind of values they prioritize. Kirrane (*et al.* 2019) demonstrates that value diversity as separation can create communication barriers that decrease a group's creative performance. Groups diverse in this way have illustrated poorer creative performance in relation to groups that are value diverse in terms of variety²¹. Self-direction and conformity values represent conflicting motivational goals (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1990), thus they provide conflicting frameworks by which situations are evaluated. To understand how this type of value diversity could be managed, it is important to understand what characterizes those particular values.

The conformity: rules value was introduced when the conformity value was divided into two specific motivational domains. The conformity values in general are related to individuals restricting actions that disrupt the smooth running of interactions and group functioning (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz, 1992). Thus, the conformity values mainly serve social interests by focusing on the avoidance of harming others and violating norms (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, 1990). In 2012 when Schwartz and colleagues refined the theory, they divided the conformity subtype to rules and interpersonal. As I mention above, the rules subtype is more prevalent in the sample than the conformity: interpersonal value (see Långstedt and

²¹ The difference between diversity as variety and diversity as separation is described in section 2.2

Manninen, 2019). The focus of this value type is conforming to “laws, rules, and authority” (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012: 667). In addition to dividing the value, Schwartz (2017) proposed additional levels to the value structure, implying if values are related to promoting growth or avoiding anxiety. The Conformity: rules value belongs to the latter and self-direction to the former.

The conformity: rules value is then motivated by avoiding anxiety. As such, it is unsurprising that they correlate closely with the security: personal rules in the sample of employees in the Turku region (Långstedt and Manninen, 2019). Both are linked to an avoidance of anxiety, while security: personal maintains a personal focus (i.e., individual interest). The values’ proximity to each other in figure 6 indicates that rules are viewed as a source of personal security. Thus, it is likely that anxiety is avoided, and personal security ensured by abiding by rules. Therefore, rules could be a means to decrease personal responsibility of potential failures and thereby reduce anxiety. The underlying logic in this argument is that if responsibility is attributed to rules rather than the agent, they become a means to decrease anxiety. It follows that, rules function as a means to protect one’s personal security. Rules viewed this way are instrumental values in Rokeach (1973) terms. Thus, they mainly serve as means to pursue another set of values. In the sample we collected in Turku this seems to be the case since security: personal is more related to conformity: rules ($r = .25$ $p < .001$) than to the universalism and benevolence values (r ranging between $-.01$ and $.09$ *ns* and $-.03$ and $.04$ *ns*, respectively). Therefore, the function of rules is strongly connected to personal security rather than a concern for others.

The self-direction values serve individual interests (Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987). Their main motivational goal is independent thought and action (Schwartz, 1992). The values are based on the “organismic needs for control and mastery” and the “interactional requirements of autonomy and independence” (Schwartz, 1992: 7-8). The values relate to the growth dimension of Schwartz (et al. 2012) model of values. Thus, a central element of the values is the improvement of oneself by learning and developing ideas. The refined theory (Schwartz, 2017) divided the self-direction values into two distinct regions: Thought and Action. The latter being more prevalent in the sample collected in Turku (see table 4). The difference between these values relate mainly to which domain one appreciates more. Deciding one’s own actions or developing one’s own ideas. It is unsurprising that the values correlate positively, but it is interesting that in the sample self-direction: thought is ranked considerably lower than action.

The object of the conformity values are the subordination to expectations from other people, such as supervisors, and norms (Schwartz, 1992). Both the security and conformity values are concerned with avoiding uncertainty and maintaining stability to alleviate uncertainty. Research has shown that conservation values correlate with positive attitudes to change when the change is imposed (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009) and that when changes are

implemented in ways that conflict with values it affects the identification with the organization (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015). Indeed, as Schwartz (1992) describes the conservation values, he uses terms such as “stability” and “certainty”. It follows that what is central for managing these values is to increase the predictability of the work environment. By, for example, communicating expectations clearly and setting some guidelines for people to follow.

The second subgroup consisting of individuals that prioritize self-direction: action and self-direction: thought is motivated by a need to develop themselves (Schwartz *et al.*, 2012). Another key aspect of the values is independence (Schwartz, 2017). Research on values and change management found that the preferences for change strategies differ between the openness-to-change values and the conservation values (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2015). The former preferred voluntary change, which has been linked positively to suggestion-making (Lipponen, Bardi and Haapamäki, 2008), however, the relationship is mediated by the experience of having an opportunity to implement the suggestions (Seppälä *et al.*, 2012). Thus, it is important for this subgroup to have an opportunity to act independently.

Despite the conceptual, and empirical, distance between the value types and the needs they represent, combining them in an organizational setting does not necessarily involve contradictions. The values are representative of different needs, one by predictability, stability, and obedience, the other by independence and personal growth, an organization can satisfy both needs. The key in managing a group that is diverse in this way is to communicate expectations clearly and have policies or processes *available* for those that need them²². By not enforcing the policies or processes, they are not a threat to the independence and freedom appreciated by those that value self-direction. However, the availability of policies and processes act as a way to satisfy the conformity: rules and security: personal values. Thus, the values of both groups are considered and an organizational environment that supports both value priorities is maintained.

A CEO in one of the case companies exemplified how the interpretation of a situation could be modified so that the team relates more positively to it. The team placed importance on security, and they were not adopting to a new business model that required more proactivity from them. The company’s old business model was not working anymore, and they were moving to consumer business which required changes in what the different roles in the company comprised. As we discussed the prevalent values in the group, the CEO quickly formulated how the results could be used. Since the old business model would not keep the business running, the CEO would argue that the threat is the current situation and that the new business model is, in fact, a

²² This logic emerged during the LIITO project in tandem with the discussions with managers about their organizations’ value profiles.

source of security. This way the CEO was re-constructing how the situation is associated to the security value, while not restricting the autonomy of those that valued self-direction.

The relationship between values and the work environment is also important. As I have discussed above, people tend to work in places that correspond to their values. This is especially clear in studies of vocational choice, occupational values, and the differences between values of various professional groups (Sagiv, 2002; Knafo and Sagiv, 2004; Gandal *et al.*, 2005). Central to managing value diversity is then to identify which aspects of the work environment could be developed so that it corresponds to the “problematic” values but does not interfere with the non-problematic values. Even though the values may oppose each other, there may be means to sufficiently satisfy both values in practice. The argument that a business model ensures a future for the company does not conflict with the self-direction values. Similarly, aspects of the work environment can be modified in ways that does not necessarily conflict with opposing values. For example, the availability of guidelines and a desire for autonomy does not conflict because the guidelines are not imposed, however, they support the values of conformity and security by being available.

4.1.4 Limitations of the model

The model presented here should be viewed as just that, it is partial representation of the dynamics involved in value diversity. Foremost, one has to acknowledge that the manager does not have a monopoly on reflexivity. Thus, it is more than likely that employees may share and maintain a view of a situation that contradicts those that the manager attempts to construe – and they are able to question the managerial perspective. The notion of organizational culture, despite its notorious vagueness, can aid in understanding that the managers’ attempts to construe a situation does not exist in a vacuum. Rather, the construal that occur in organizations are maintained and created in the interactions between organizational members in their daily work (Alvesson, 2002). Therefore, it is likely that several construals of a situation are maintained and created within an organization amongst different formal and informal groups. Furthermore, as the model focuses on values, it necessarily excludes other aspects of organizational life. One of which is utility. People might perform tasks that they find uncomfortable because they are financially dependent on performing them. Another important element that can override values are norms. When strong expectations to act in a certain way exist, they decrease the role of values in choosing actions (Schwartz, 2016). Thus, despite the strong relationship between values and action, it is important to consider other sources of behavior in the organizational context.

In addition to the contested discourses, as with demographic diversity (Klein and Harrison, 2007), value diversity exists in a social setting that has different power structures that can affect the validity of different values. Consider for example the prevalent discourse surrounding change and adaptability, which clearly places conservation values in an inferior position in terms of desirability (Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). Furthermore, who is expressing which values affects the perceived legitimacy of the values. If someone who appears to be of lower status in the social strata maintains the importance of a value it may be dismissed, while the values of someone in a power position have a different level of legitimacy. However, again, that legitimacy can be questioned on the lower levels of the social strata, but it is likely to have a smaller impact than if someone in higher levels questioned the values' legitimacy.

There are presumably also situations where it is difficult to satisfy opposing values and where opportunities to affect the discourses and contexts are limited. In such cases, of course, the model does not suffice to manage the value diversity. With the global nature of teams today, it may for example be difficult to affect the context and discourses that surround members of geographically dispersed teams. There may also be situations in which the objective of the organization is such that there are simply not ways to satisfy opposing values. Imagine a situation where an organization is diverse in terms of self-transcendence and self-enhancement values and is making a decision on incentives. Whereas one party is interested in personal gains, the other emphasizes equality. In such cases it can be challenging to find a balance between the values. However, given that self-enhancement values tend to be ranked low in value hierarchies (e.g. Schwartz and Bardi, 2001), such value diversity is considerably less likely to occur than value diversity comprising conservation and openness-to-change values.

5 Discussion

The aim of this summary chapter was to integrate Schwartz (1992/2012) theory of basic values theory to value diversity research and develop a model for value diversity based on it. Schwartz (1992) bases his theory of values on the idea that societies and individuals need to solve certain basic problems to survive. The problems are related to the coordination of social interactions, individuals' biological needs, and the welfare of groups. In Schwartz (1992) theory, these societal needs are translated into motivational goals and those goals are represented by values. Values are hierarchically organized in relation to each other making some more important than other (Schwartz, 1992). Values are related to actions when they are activated (Schwartz, 2017). Central to the activation of values is that a situation has either positive or negative consequences for a prioritized value (Verplanken and Holland, 2002). In Långstedt and Manninen (2020), the case of changing ways of working is exemplified as a situation where conservation or openness-to-change values are activated. Not because the values are inherently related to change – which is a problematic assumption discussed above - but because the outcome of the changes involves a work environment that has negative consequences for the attainment of those particular values. By increasing the dynamic aspects of work, managers decrease the opportunity to attain conservation values at work because values are related to stability. On the flip side, structured work decreases the opportunity to attain openness-to-change values because it decreases freedom.

Reviewing the value diversity literature revealed that the field is fragmented both in methods and conceptualizations of values despite early calls for improving the theoretical and methodological foundations of values research in organizational studies (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998). Because the field is fragmented, it is difficult to accumulate knowledge regarding the dynamics of value diversity since the studies are not readily comparable. This restricts the opportunity to draw conclusions about value diversity because a body of studies is needed to draw rigorous empirical conclusions (Fischer, 2017). In addition to the lack of conceptual and method unanimity, the value diversity field draws heavily on quantitative methods and student samples. This type of research is problematic when inferences are done about organizational behavior since student samples are mainly fit for studying fundamental questions about human nature that are context-free (Bello *et al.*, 2009). The interaction between individuals in groups is affected by the context because it defines what is at stake for the individuals, which affects how they interact. A good example of this is found in the context of Mars simulations where teams have reported tension due to value differences, but enacted those tensions by developing strategies by which they can avoid conflicts (Sandal and Bye, 2015). In contrast researchers using student

samples attribute increased conflicts to value diversity (e.g Jehn and Mannix, 2001). Again, the studies are difficult to compare as they have operationalized values differently, however, the different results illustrate the importance of developing a common ground for value diversity research in terms of methods and operationalizations.

There are several benefits of using Schwartz (1992) value theory as the theoretical framework for values in value diversity research. First, the theory is validated in more than 60 countries (Schwartz, 2010), which enables cross-cultural comparisons of results and increases knowledge of contextual particularities and universals related to the dynamics of value diversity. Second, the theory offers an integrated system of values that implies which values have compatible motivational goals. For example, a value diversity consisting of subgroups that prioritize adjacent values in the value structure should not experience conflicts due to values. In contrast, a group that consists of subgroups that prioritize opposing values in the value structure is more likely to experience conflicts. Thus, the theory of basic human values helps to identify what values could be a source of challenges in a value diverse group. Third, the theory has been used in an large amount of studies and its popularity in the organizational context has increased lately (see Arieli, Sagiv and Roccas, 2020 for a thorough review). The body of research accompanying the theory provides an analytical background to the reasons why some value diversity is problematic beyond that stated in the original theory. It can thus provide a stronger basis for analyzing the results in studies of value diversity. Finally, the theory provides a general theory of values *and* a theory of particular values direly needed in organizational studies (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998).

The value diversity literature provides limited guidance for managers to manage value diversity, further it does not discuss what kind of value diversity managers are likely to be confronted with. This may be due to the fragmented nature of the field that does not permit drawing on studies containing representative samples of regional values. By not knowing which values are prevalent in a certain region, it is difficult to assess which value diversity organizations are likely to face. Drawing on several studies (Helkama, 2015; Rinta-Kiikka, Yrjölä and Alho, 2018; Långstedt and Manninen, 2019), I have presented a type of value diversity that is relevant for Finnish organizations. It consists of people that value conformity: rules and security: personal and people that value self-direction: action and thought. I have further discussed how this type of value diversity could be managed based on the motivational goals that they represent. The central point is that organizations need to balance the availability of clear guidelines that the former group can rely on while ensuring that the latter group maintains its autonomy.

5.1 Theoretical and methodological implications

5.1.1 Defining value diversity through an integrated system of values

The integration of Schwartz value theory to the field of value diversity is one of the key contributions of this summary chapter. The main benefit of using Schwartz is the value structure his theory describes. The structure reveals what values are compatible and what values are incompatible. Thus, the application of the theory shows that there are many forms of value diversities and these diversities are relevant in some situations while they are irrelevant in other situations. Figure 5 illustrates how a value diversity consisting of opposite values in the value structure is likely to create challenges as they are based on opposing needs. However, value diversity that consists of adjacent values in the value structure are less likely to create management issues because they are based on compatible needs or motivational goals. Thus, the Schwartz value theory provides a framework for identifying what value diversities are likely to be challenging in groups.

Furthermore, the large body of research that have used Schwartz theory provides a strong background for analyzing value diversities and their impacts on different organizational phenomena. Change management has been used as an example of this throughout this thesis. The example illustrates how value diversity becomes relevant in situations where work is changed. The change management studies show that people with different values prefer different types of changes (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009; Långstedt and Manninen, 2020). The majority of the studies have focused on changes that are relevant for the conservation and openness-to-change values. Value diversity on this axis emerges as preferences for different change processes and with regard to the desirability of change objectives. Schwartz theory does not only provide a structure for analyzing value diversity, but it is accompanied by a vast range of studies that provide a foundation for understanding why some types of value diversity become relevant in certain situation.

5.1.2 Openness-to-change and conservation dimensions

One central theoretical implication of the studies within the scope of the thesis is the critique against the conceptualization of values as “openness-to-change” and “conservation”. The critique is based on the observations made in Långstedt and Manninen (2020) and other studies of values and change (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009, 2015). In the study, we did not find support for some values opposing change *as such*, but rather that change was directed at conflicts between the values and the work environment that follows from the change. Other studies have found similar results, where the method of implementing a change has affected how values relate to it (Sverdlik and Oreg, 2009, 2015). The relationship between values and change is thus not defined by change as such, but rather to what the change leads and how the change is implemented.

The theoretical link between values and action presented in section 3.2 provides additional ground for critiquing the notion that some values represent openness-to-change, while others oppose change. The theoretical link between values and action shows that the consequences a situation has for the value is important for subsequent reactions to it. Thus, the values that are affected by a situation negatively, for example a change, are likely to raise negative attitude to the situation. Thus, any change with negative consequences for prioritized values is met negatively – irrespective of the value type. It would be important to consider alternatives for the openness-to-change and conservation value labels because of the pejorative tone that “change resistance” has today and the idealization of change openness.

5.1.3 Value diversity management

The thesis presents the theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992, 2017) and its implications for value diversity research. The field is currently fragmented in both theory and conceptualization of values. Schwartz theory provides the field with an integrated system of values through which potential implications of diversity in different kinds of values can be analyzed. Further, benefits of the theory are its global validation and broad range of studies that utilizes it. In the thesis, the implications of the theory for value diversity are presented and the benefits of its use described. The thesis also presents what value diversity is likely to occur in the Finnish context and draws on discussions with practitioners to develop a model for managing such value diversity.

5.1.4 Methodological implications

The theoretical discussion about the contextualization of openness-to-change and conservation values was derived from a mixed-methods study (Långstedt & Manninen, 2020). Thus, multimethod research is recommended for the continuous development of value theories and value diversity management. Such approach can show strengths and weaknesses in the current theoretical models of value diversity and values. For value diversity, the most central methodological contribution is the introduction of Schwartz (1992) theory as a framework for measuring and conceptualizing value diversity.

The stakeholder assessment tool developed in Långstedt (et al. 2017) provides an initial method for assessing the values of other people in the project context. The software does, however, require further validation to ensure its reliability in capturing values. Perhaps the best use of the software is to study what kind of behavior the respondent ascribes to different types of values. Further, the operationalization of Schwartz (1992) value types in the software requires a through testing in to ensure that they, indeed, represent the value types they are designed to represent.

5.2 Practical implications

One central role of research is to provide knowledge that is applicable. The contribution may be more or less direct, yet the research needs to impact the surrounding world somehow – the famous “so what?” question. To what challenges beyond academia does this thesis relate? A central point of the research is that social categories are insufficient for drawing conclusions about others and as such serve as a poor base for choosing management practices (Långstedt, 2018). To remedy the shortcomings of a focus on social categories is to look beyond “the surface”. The motivational nature of values makes them a relevant framework for management since it can provide clues as to what aspects of organizational life and work are important to the members of an organization. Långstedt (2021), reveals a new challenge that managers and policymakers are confronted with if intelligent technologies replace structured work to the extent that researchers have predicted (e.g., Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2014). Such change make work more creative and social (e.g., Frey and Osborne, 2013). Structured work caters to different values than creative and social work and thus the changes in the work environment makes values and work diverge. This, in turn, requires that managers can cater to the needs of employees that do not necessarily align their values with the work environment. Thus, the study has highlighted the importance of values during digitalization processes. These issues are further concretized in the challenges that managers described when changing work from structured to dynamic work in Långstedt and Manninen (2020). Thus, the studies explicate how transitions between work environments relate to values, calling for the development of a values-based management method.

Such method is developed and piloted in Långstedt (*et al.* 2017), where project managers were asked to rate the values of their stakeholders using a custom-made software for the purpose. The tests showed the practical relevance of using Schwartz theory for management purposes. In the summary chapter, I have presented a model for managing value diversity. The model focuses on conformity, security and self-direction values because these values represent the value diversity that is relevant with regards to my studies and that seems likely to emerge in the Finnish context. Further, the values are a relevant form of value diversity if the effects of automation is as comprehensive as researchers (Frey and Osborne, 2013) argue because these values vary in their relationship to occupational automatability (Långstedt, 2021). Thus, the thesis provides practical implications for managing the value diversity that currently exists and a value diversity that is likely to emerge in an increasingly automated future.

5.3 Limitations and recommendations for future research

The review of value diversity literature revealed a fragmented field. Several different operationalizations of values are used and comparisons of studies are thus difficult to make. The theory of basic human values (Schwartz, 1992) provides the field with a general theory of values and a theory of particular values that has been called for previously (Meglino and Ravlin, 1998). Using Schwartz' (1992) theory as a framework for value diversity also enriches the understanding of the value system. It provides insights into the relationship between values and behavior and shows what situations activate value diversity and what situations are relevant for different types of value diversity. For example, transitioning from transactional to relational business could activate value diversity related to power and universalism values. This, however, needs to be studied because the social construction of the relationship between values and situations makes activation less deterministic and can present some currently unknown elements that mediate the relationship. In addition to understanding what situations activate different types of value diversity, it is important to understand what organizations can do to alleviate potential negative consequences of value diversity.

The articles in the thesis point to several future research directions. In Långstedt (2018), I argue that the way that the term culture is used in organizations need to be understood by managers because the concept can be used in a way that shrouds the source of challenges. Thus, one direction of research is to continue this line of inquiry and study if using social categories as causes of challenges hides potential solutions to diversity challenges. This could be done by, for example, interviewing managers and employees that are confronted with some problems that they suspect to be related to demographic differences. An action research design could also be fruitful for uncovering how such situations are resolved. Further, it is important to interview managers about the culture-behavior link. Such interviews could have a positive effect on how they make sense of cross-cultural encounters and simultaneously provide important insights into the ontological frameworks of managers.

Långstedt (2021) found strong correlations between occupational-level values and the automatability of occupations. The study is, however, limited because it is based on occupational level averages of values and occupational level automatability. Occupations consist of a diverse range of jobs that involve different tasks (Arntz, Gregory and Zierahn, 2016). Thus, future research needs to complement the study with individual level measures of values and automatability of jobs. This enables establishing a direct link between personal values and the automatability of jobs.

Långstedt and Manninen (2020) question the conceptualization of the openness-to-change and conservation values. Current studies of change and values has focused on the change process and change from structured to dynamic work, studying changes in the opposite direction could provide additional insights into whether some values relate positively to change *per se* or not. Such studies are important in light of the normative discussions revolving around openness to change in contemporary organizations. The theoretical link between values and behavior suggests that the relationship is far more complex than values either supporting or opposing change.

Långstedt (et al. 2017) provide an initial framework of a values-based management method. However, the method did not measure the values of the stakeholders, but rather how managers perceive them and it did not provide evidence of the management methods actually increasing performance in the projects. What it provided was, however, positive feedback for the utility of values as a framework for analyzing stakeholders that could be used in other settings. As with the model presented in this compilation, the method presented requires considerable testing for conclusive results. It is, however, an initial step for making value diversity management available for practitioners.

Publication contributions

In Långstedt et al. (2017) I designed the software and workshops that were used for data collection. I collected the data, did the analysis, and wrote the majority of the article.

In Långstedt (2018) I participated in the majority of data collection, performed the analysis and wrote the entire article.

In Långstedt (2021) I performed all analyses and writing.

In Långstedt and Manninen (2020) I wrote the article and did the analysis. The data collection was a joint effort between Manninen and I.

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Towards a Model for Managing Value Diversity in the Work Environment

The thesis presents a model based on qualitative and quantitative studies that integrates basic human values to the diversity management field.

Mot en modell för att leda värderingsmångfald i arbetsmiljön

Baserat på kvalitativa och kvantitativa undersökningar presenterar avhandlingen en modell som integrerar grundläggande mänskliga värderingar i mångfaldsledning.