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**DIFFERENTIATION OF WORK VALUES AND
MECHANISMS OF THEIR FORMATION
(BASED ON THE RUSSIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS RESEARCH)**

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RESEARCH CONCEPT

Research problem

Young people with higher education are considered to be a future owner of cultural and human capital. The directions of social and economic development largely depend on their values, intentions and action strategies. The young age of 17-25 years is considered to be special period for the development of a personality and is called a “formative period” or the “impressionable years”¹. It has been proven by the scientists that fundamental values and orientations are formed during that years and influence person’s future life and behavior. Work is also considered as one of the most important spheres of contemporary society, which sometimes is defined as labour centric². Within the framework of this dissertation research, the working sphere of Russian students’ life is examined. More than half of them is already actively involved in the labor market at the stage of studying at a university. Thus, they already begin to form attitudes towards work and contribute to their future access to more profitable and high-quality market positions³.

At the same time, in scientific literature⁴ and applied research⁵ the image of future professionals is contradictory. They are presented as both pragmatic and disoriented; placing high demands on jobs and, at the same time, experiencing problems with self-determination, choosing a preferred area of employment and the workplace itself; wanting to find a balance between work

¹Arnett J. J. (2000). Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the twenties. *American psychologist*, 55(5), 469; Krosnick J. A., Alwin D. F. (1989). Aging and susceptibility to attitude change. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 57(3), 416; Радаев В. В. (2019). Миллениалы. Как меняется российское общество. М.: Изд. дом ВШЭ: 37-40.

² Сидорина, Т. Ю., Ищенко, Н. И. (2015). Трудоцентризм как образ жизни: пределы трудовых возможностей человека. *Terra Economicus*, 13(3), 136-146. Шевчук Андрей. Общество труда // Большая российская энциклопедия: научно-образовательный портал. Дата публикации: 01.06.2022. – Дата обращения: 16.08.2023.

³ Выпускники высшего образования на российском рынке труда: тренды и вызовы [Текст] : докл. к XXIII Ясинской (Апрельской) междунар. науч. конф. по проблемам развития экономики и общества, Москва, 2022 г. / Н. К. Емелина, К. В. Рожкова, С. Ю. Рошин, С. А. Солнцев, П. В. Травкин ; Нац. исслед. ун-т «Высшая школа экономики». — М. : Изд. дом Высшей школы экономики, 2022. — 160 с. — ISBN 978-5-7598-2652-1 (в обл.). — ISBN 978-5-7598-2462-6 (e-book).

⁴ Андрианова Е. В., Тарасова А. Н., Печеркина И. Ф. (2018) Мотивы и трудовые ценности молодежи: парадоксы развития. *Мониторинг общественного мнения: Экономические и социальные перемены*. No 3. С. 324—343; Ретивина В. В. (2019). Трудовые ценности и установки современной студенческой молодежи. *Высшее образование в России*, (1); Решетников О. В. (2014). Поколение Z и недалёкое будущее рынка труда. *Школьные технологии*. 1: 58–71; Казарина-Волшебная Е. К., Комиссарова И. Г., Турченко В. Н. (2012). Парадоксы трансформации ценностных ориентаций российской молодежи. *Социологические исследования*, (6), 121-126; Гудков Л., Дубин Б., Зоркая Н. (2011). *Молодежь России*. М.: Московская школа политических исследований; Горшков М. К., Шереги Ф. Э. (2010). *Молодежь России: социологический портрет*. Федеральное государственное бюджетное учреждение науки Институт социологии Российской академии наук. С. 592.

⁵См. прикладные исследования Сбербанка и агентства Validata (2016), международной аудиторской компании Deloitte (2016), омнибусное исследование компании ГФК-Русь (2018), исследование социологической мастерской ЦИРКОН (2021), презентационные доклады международного кадрового агентства Naus («Поколение Y и рынок труда» от 2014 г. и «Поколение Z и рынок труда в России» от 2019 гг.).

and leisure and losing interest in professional development, as well as frequently changing the employers; oriented at high earnings without working hard. It seems that these attitudes towards work are at odds with each other and can create contradictory pictures of reality or even give rise to inner conflicts. Nevertheless, if these work value vectors are related to each other, then it remains unclear on what grounds this happens. What logical and extra-logical explanations do young people find for their ambivalent attitude towards work? It is also not clear which work values they adhere to, how they perceive their current and future positions at the market, what are they guided by when they define the image of decent work? And most importantly, what can influence their professional choices and form the vision of an ideal job?

The attitude to work is commonly conceptualized with the help of work values theory. In general, work values are defined as subjectively important characteristics of a job and are conceptually divided into internal and external (extrinsic – intrinsic)⁶. *Intrinsic work values* include an attribution of a greater importance to an interest in work, intention to self-realization, creativity and autonomy at the workplace, and *extrinsic work values* are referred to the desire of obtaining stable, well-paid and/or comfortable working position (thus, adherence of importance to work characteristics external to the content of a job). However, while offering a distinction between terminal and instrumental approaches to the meaning of work, the *conventional theory of work values* still narrows the understanding of the *worth of work* to individual preferences of employees, as well as focuses on the individuals with their own tastes and preferences, which make independent decisions regarding their work values. This theory does not focus on the broader socio-economic context in which a person's choice in the sphere of work is immersed (whether it is a choice depending on the experience of interaction, country specificity, the characteristics of the labor market, society itself and/or the historical period in which the choice occurs – factors that are in the area of attention of sociology⁷). Moreover, the process of values internalization is not

⁶ Ryan R. M., Deci, E. L. (2000a). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary educational psychology*, 25(1), 54-67; Ryan R. M., Deci, E. L. (2000b). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American psychologist*, 55(1), 68; Vansteenkiste M., Neyrinck, B., Niemiec, C.P., Soenens, B., De Witte, H. and Van den Broeck, A. (2007). On the relations among work value orientations, psychological need satisfaction and job outcomes: a self-determination theory approach. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 80 (2): 251–27; Магун В. С. (1998). Российские трудовые ценности: идеология и массовое сознание. *Мир России. Социология. Этнология*, 7(4), 113-144; Магун В. С. (2006). Динамика трудовых ценностей российских работников, 1991- 2004 гг.. *Российский журнал менеджмента*. 4(4), 45-74; Магун В. С. (2007). Как меняются российские трудовые ценности. *Отечественные записки* (3), 98-117; Магун В. С. (2009). Динамика трудовых ценностей российского населения (1991-2007). *Социально трудовые отношения: проблемы и перспективы: материалы Первого германо-российского форума «Формирование социальной политики»*. М., 88-101; Стребков Д. О., Шевчук А. В. (2017). Трудовые ценности самостоятельной и организационной занятости. *Социологические исследования*, (1), 81-93.

⁷ Грановеттер М. (2011). Социологические и экономические подходы к анализу рынка труда: социоструктурный взгляд. *Экономическая социология*, 12(2); Коулман Д. (2009). Введение социальной структуры в экономический анализ. *Экономическая социология*, 10(3), 33-40.

represented. And it may imply a situation of unconscious acceptance of external cultural prescriptions and perception of them as one's own inner interest⁸. Moreover, the intrinsic-extrinsic dichotomy implicitly implies two attitudes in relation to work: "good" (terminal, meaningful) and "bad" (externally oriented, instrumental). Thus, intrinsic work values are recognized by the authors as the main driver of socio-economic development, a factor of increasing labor productivity in organizations and the key to an individual's success at the market⁹. While extrinsic work values are usually described in a negative way – namely, as an obstacle to an economic growth and well-being of the employee. Although extrinsic work values are more likely to be manifested at the individual level in the older ages¹⁰ and in countries with less favorable socio-economic characteristics¹¹.

As for the Russian youth with higher education, it is still difficult to clearly determine what is the motivation for their work activity, which characteristics of the workplace become preferable when potential professionals choose vacancies at the labour market and plan their future career. Intrinsic and extrinsic work values seem to be mingled with each other, and the conventional theory of work values do not help to explain the ambivalent attitude towards work among contemporary Russian students involved in working practices in their impressionable years. Why is it so? Is modern Russian youth sharply differ from older generations of workers and have distinct value priorities and/or previously unknown motivators of work? Can the conventional theory of work values be applied to describe current situation? Which work values prevail among young people? What can they depend on? How can a value attitude towards work be developed through the young "formative" ages?

In order to answer questions above we reviewed previous empirical studies on work values and explored the historically established conceptual and methodological apparatus for their research. Then we considered the applicability, fecundity and internal consistency¹² of a conventional theory of intrinsic and extrinsic work values from the position of economic sociology

⁸ Бергер П., Лукман Т. (1995). Социальное конструирование реальности. Трактат по социологии знания. М.: Медиум, 323; Вебер М. (2016). Хозяйство и общество: очерки понимающей социологии: в 4 т./Макс Вебер. М.: Изд. дом Высшей школы экономики.

⁹ Kalleberg A. L. (1977). Work values and job rewards: A theory of job satisfaction. *American sociological review*, 124-143; Brown D. (2002). The role of work and cultural values in occupational choice, satisfaction and success: A theoretical statement. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 80, 48–55; Johnson M. K., Mortimer J. T. (2011). Origins and outcomes of judgments about work. *Social Forces*, 89(4), 1239-1260.

¹⁰ Jin J., Rounds J. (2012). Stability and chance in work values: A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 326–339.

¹¹ See, for example: Kaasa A. (2011). Work values in European countries: Empirical evidence and explanations. *Revista de Management Comparat Internațional*, 12(5), 852-862.

¹² See, for details: Wacker J. G. (1998). A definition of Theory: research guidelines for different theory-building research methods in operations management. *Journal of Operations Management*, 16: 361-385.

and sociology. Hereafter we refined the tools for conducting quantitative research of work values, made large-scale surveys of potentially highly qualified future personnel of the Russian labour market (students of Russian universities at the “formative period” of their lives) and analyzed the data obtained. At the end we added a qualitative stage of work values` research. We applied the grounded theory methodology and were opened to the interpretation of the received narratives and analyzed the data from the standpoint of the conceptual apparatus of economic sociology and sociology.

Overview of the empirical works in the field

The phenomenon of values and work values in scientific discourse was initially developed by psychologists. They tend to concentrate on the individual level of analysis and link commitment to certain values with the emerging motivation of human behavior. The classical typologies of values and methods of their research were developed mainly by M. Rokeach, S. Schwartz, G. Hofstede, D. Super, F. Herzberg, A. Maslow. Among modern foreign psychologists who study work values, we can single out the names of E. Deci, R. Ryan P, D. Gardner, R. Dawis, L. Lofquist, J. Jin, D. Zytowski, A. Kaasa, J. Meyer, S. Natale, J. Rounds, M. Ros, A. Sagie, J. Twenge; and among Russian psychologists: V.S. Magun; N.M. Lebedeva and A.N. Tatarko. Work values are also studied by sociologists, for example: M. Johnson, A. Kalleberg, M. Cohn, M. Kashefi, D. Stark, W. Snizek; and political scientists, for example, R. Inglehart. Among Russian classical sociologists, we accentuate the works written by A.G. Zdravomyslov, N.I. Lapin, G.V. Osipov, V.A. Yadov; as well as the names of contemporaries studying work motivation and values: E.V. Andrianova, V.Yu. Bocharov, E.V. Vinogradova, M.A. Gnatyuk, Yu.A. Zubok, I.M. Kozina, N.V. Korzh, V.P. Kosharny, G.A. Monusova, L.A. Okolskaya, T.A. Pakina, I.F. Pecherkina, A.N. Pokida, V.V. Retivina, M.G. Rudnev, N.E. Soboleva, D.O. Strebkov, A.N. Tarasova, A.L. Temnitsky, V.I. Chuprov, A.V. Shevchuk and others. Foreign economists (such as D. Throsby, P. Urwin, S. Frey, M. Hutter) and Russian economists (M. Bodrikov, V.G. Gimpelson, N.E. Nehoda) also publish works about values and the interconnections between economics and culture. Representatives of management often write separately or in collaboration with psychologists and other scientists on the topic of work values (for example, J. Dose, E. Parry, J. Ryan, D. Ralston, K. Wey Smola, C.D. Sutton, D. Cherrington and other authors).

As for the students` work values, one of the pioneering works in this area is the monograph written by H. H. Hyman and C.R. Wright “Education's lasting influence on values”, which shows how education forms work values which have a durable effect on the future life and career choices

of the individuals¹³. Modern literature examines the students' work values depending on the field of education¹⁴, their socio-demographic characteristics and other contextual factors. At the same time, the emphasis is made on the difference between two types of values: intrinsic and extrinsic ones. Work values are differentiated by several factors: gender, age, generation, socio-economic status of the family, etc..¹⁵ Longitudinal studies indicate a transformation of work values during the life course, namely the trend of work values change in the direction from intrinsic towards more possibilities of adherence to extrinsic work values¹⁶. We metaphorically call this trend as "narrowing down". The researches explain such change in work values by the individual's maturation, rationalization and the fact of entering new social roles, which leads to a reorientation from a meaningful to an instrumental approach to work. Multiple studies also show significant differences in work values between countries¹⁷. Thus, we suppose that simple transferring of foreign studies' conclusions about significant factors of work values' differentiation to the Russian context needs testing. As well as the conclusion about direction of a person's work values transformation in connection with the passage of life stages may have limitations in diverse social contexts and requires empirical verification.

We also argue that modern Russian research on students' work values are dominated mainly by regional studies where descriptive statistics and factor analysis is implemented¹⁸. The

¹³ Hyman H. H., Wright C. R. (1979). *Education's lasting influence on values*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

¹⁴ Balsamo M., Lauriola M., Saggino A. (2013). Work values and college major choice. *Learning and Individual Differences*, 24, 110-116.

¹⁵ Johnson M. K., Monserud M. A. (2012). Work value development from adolescence to adulthood. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 17(2), 45-58; Porfeli E. J. (2007). Work values system development during adolescence. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 70(1), 42-60; Kohn M. L., Schoenbach C. (1993). *Social Stratification, Parents Values and Childrens Values*. New Directions in Attitude Measurement. New York. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter; Kasser T, Ryan RM, Zax M, Sameroff AJ. (1995). The relations of maternal and social environments to late adolescents' materialistic and prosocial values. *Dev. Psychol.*, 31, 907-14; Johnson M. K. (2001). Change in job values during the transition to adulthood. *Work and Occupations*, 28, 315-345; Chow A., Galambos, N. L., Krahn, H. J. (2015). Work values during the transition to adulthood and mid-life satisfaction: Cascading effects across 25 years. (in press) *International Journal of Behavioral Development*.

¹⁶ Jin J., Rounds J. (2012). Stability and chance in work values: A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 326-339; Johnson M. K. (2005). Family roles and work values: Processes of selection and change. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 352-369.

¹⁷ Schwartz S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: Theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 25, pp. 1-65). Academic Press; Lechner C. M., Sortheix F. M., Göllner R., Salmela-Aro K. (2017). The development of work values during the transition to adulthood: A two-country study. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 99, 52-65; Kaasa A. (2011). Work values in European countries: Empirical evidence and explanations. *Revista de Management Comparat Internațional*, 12(5), 852-862; Магун В. С., Руднев М. Г. (2010). Базовые ценности россиян в европейском контексте. *Общественные науки и современность* (3), 5-22. Монусова Г. А., Магун В. С. (2010). Российские трудовые ценности в контексте международных сравнений. URL: http://conf.hse.ru/2010/prog_sections (дата обращения: 26.06. 2015).

¹⁸ Андрианова Е. В., Тарасова А. Н., Печеркина И. Ф. (2018) Мотивы и трудовые ценности молодежи: парадоксы развития. *Мониторинг общественного мнения: Экономические и социальные перемены*. No 3. С. 324—343; Ретивина В. В. (2019). Трудовые ценности и установки современной студенческой молодежи.

samples usually cover students of one year of studies, sphere of education, university, or is geographically narrowed to one region or city (for instance, Nizhny Novgorod, Kazan, Saransk, Penza, Rostov region, Krasnodar region, Tyumen regions, etc.). Problems with sampling are also common for foreign studies of students' work values¹⁹. However, the results of such studies are not generalizable and cannot explain the question connected with the broader entity of the Russian university students. Moreover, in some cases, the authors make more general conclusions about Russian youth' work values, which may lead to the emergence of generalized myths about young professionals and their attitude to work (for example, youth is described as focused only on high earnings, flexible careers and schedules etc.), and then be a basis for misunderstanding and conflicts at the workplaces. That problem was also pointed out by foreign researchers of generational differences in work values²⁰.

We can thus argue that there is a deficit of representative surveys of university students and such a survey have not been implemented in Russia. Moreover we did not find relevant data sets which covered the topics of work values, the image of future work as well as included the possibilities to test the differentiation of work values among respondents with different socio-demographic characteristics, fields of education, courses, regions of study etc.. Moreover, the question about ambivalent attitude towards one's work and the description of the main value conflict which may rises in that sphere of students' lives has not been discussed in the empirical studies. As an additional argument in favor of such research, we can refer to M. Rokeach's idea that values imply a strong belief that a certain way of existence is preferable to the opposite one²¹, which emphasized a situation of a dualism or even the possibility of an inner conflict between ideals and values in an individual life. As a result, the attitude of potential Russian professionals to their work as well as the main area of contradictions in the sphere of career choices are not fully clarified in Russian empirical studies. And the mechanisms of work values formation, especially during the "formative" years, also remains understudied in the scientific research literature.

Высшее образование в России, (1); Пакина Т. А. (2014). Трудовые ценности и установки современных студентов (на материале социологического исследования). Вестник Московского университета. Серия 18. Социология и политология, (3); Сотникова А. В. (2011). Ценность труда в иерархии ценностей студенческой молодежи в контексте формирования профессиональной мотивации (на примере Юга России). Общество и право, 1(33); Кошарная Г. Б., Корж Н. В. (2013). Ценностные ориентации студенческой молодежи в трудовой сфере. Известия высших учебных заведений. Поволжский регион. Общественные науки, 2 (26).

¹⁹ См. например: Cortés-Pascual, P. A., Cano-Escoriaza, J., Orejudo, S. (2014). The work values of first year Spanish university students. *Higher education*, 68, 733-747.

²⁰ Maloni M., Hiatt M. S., Campbell S. (2019). Understanding the work values of Gen Z business students. *The International Journal of Management Education*, 17(3); Hansen J. C., Leuty M. E. (2012). Work Values Across Generations. *Journal of Career Assessment*, 20(1), 34–52; Parry E., Urwin P. (2011). Generational differences in work values: A review of theory and evidence. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 13(1), 79–96.

²¹ Rokeach M. (1973). *The nature of human values*. Free press.

Methodology of the study

The key research question is the verification and theoretical understanding of the incoherent structure of work values of Russian youth who receive tertiary education and start to build their career at the labor market.

Theoretical object of study: the development of theoretical approaches to understanding and studying typologies of work values, as well as the process of their differentiation and formation during the first stage of an individual's life cycle ("formative period").

Subject of research: the self-contradictory structure of modern Russian youth's work values.

Goal of the study: *to identify* areas of the main value conflict which may appear in the process of making decisions about future work and *to explain* how the conflict is resolved by young people in the process of their professional development and career choice.

To achieve the goal of the study, the following tasks were consistently solved:

1. Critical understanding and synthesis of existing theoretical approaches to the study, measurement, and typology of work values.
2. Analysis of empirical works on the topic and suggestion of hypotheses about modern Russian universities students' *work values*: hierarchy, factors of differentiation, as well as key dichotomies.
3. Conducting a quantitative study on Russian university students' work values and collection of the up-to-date nationally representative survey data, testing hypotheses about the relevance of the factors of differentiation of work values identified by foreign and Russian scientists (including new factors of differentiation at the micro-, meso- and macro levels, as well as those specific to the Russian country-specific context).
4. Identification of the worth of work for Russian universities students, the zone of an inner conflict when choosing the sphere of paid employment and important characteristics of work, as well as the logic behind the decision in favor of one or another attitude to work at the first stages of building a career.
5. Elaboration and validation of a theoretical apparatus for understanding and description of the mechanisms of work values formation and development at young ages, as well as analysis of the main contradictions and value conflicts that may arise during the elaboration of individual attitude towards work.

Scientific novelty:

- 1) The author introduces a conceptual development of the conventional model of “intrinsic VS extrinsic” work values (based on R. Ryan and E. Deci self-determination theory) by the proposal of the additional scale “orientation towards individual advantages VS collective needs” (having its roots in the theory individualistic and collectivistic values elaborated by G. Hofstede). The significance of introducing of an additional dimension of work values is confirmed by the results of the quantitative and qualitative stages of the dissertation research.
- 2) It is shown that the hierarchy of Russian young professionals` work values does not differ much from the rankings of work values by the working population of the country (even when taking into account the significant time lag between the surveys and the addition of several new answer options to the conventional question about work values). The core top-3 work values includes: good salary, job security and interesting job. Also the percent of an instrumental attitude towards work only as means of earning money is the same among contemporary students and Russian working population.
- 3) The author reveals the main factors of students` work values differentiation in Russian context. It included generation, gender, socio-demographic characteristics of the parental family, specialization, year of study, level of academic performance, type of residence and type of work during studies, characteristics of the region of studies.
- 4) The theory of “compression” of work value has been empirically confirmed. The author fixes a decrease in the importance of internal work values during the transition to adulthood (in our case, already at the stage of studying at a university). The results of qualitative stage of dissertation identified the limitations of that theory and suggests new explanatory apparatus for it.
- 5) The author conducted the work values` research in a mixed methodology which implies more comprehensive consideration of the phenomenon under study. The author does not know identical studies in the international scientific literature. The quantitative methodology helped to reveal the hierarchy, typology, higher-order variables and factors of differentiation of work values. The qualitative stage of research was based on the grounded theory methodology and made it possible to conceptually specify and enlarge the theory about the key dichotomy of work values and the mechanisms of their formation:
 - a) It was shown that a meaningful distinction and a key internal problem of professional choice is located between the orientation towards market and socially oriented work positions (which are backed by the market and domestic logics).
 - b) Two new analytical categories were elaborated: the orientation towards “double profit” (focus on materially and meaningfully profitable work positions) and

“double undervaluation of work” (lack of both material and social benefits from the work position at the initial stages of career development).

- c) Three theoretical concepts have been developed: “Anchors of orientation towards the social utility of work” (family and profession as the main institutions for the formation of the worth of socially useful work), “Agents of market work values formation” (the significant influence of virtual role models on the formation of a market attitude towards work; the role of psychologists as assistants in the legitimation of individualistic work values); “Theory of institutional deficits” (objective difficulties in the formation of a meaningful work strategies due to violation of expectations of fair remuneration for work).

Statements to be defended

- 1) **An updated typology of work values, the thesis about different levels of its comprehension and ways of its research.** Work values are divided not only in intrinsic-extrinsic according to the individual’s importance of the meaningfulness of work (R. Ryan, E. Deci), but also in individualistic and collectivist according to the orientation towards personal or social needs (G. Hofstede). Individualistic and collectivist work values differ in the level of their cognition (automatic and deliberate cognition accordingly²²) and the degree of verbalization by the individual. Consequently, the methods of their research should differ. Thus, individualistic work values are more superficial, automatically perceived and can be recorded in surveys. Collectivist work values are less visible in surveys, rooted deeper in human consciousness, social meanings, and their importance can be empirically proved while using qualitative research methods (interpretivist approach). We also argue that internalized collectivist work values are the fundamental basis for an individual interest in professionalization as an orientation towards finding ones’ position in a broader socio-economic context (since the very concept of profession is associated with the process of self-identification, obtaining special work ethic and the ability to solve social problems (E. Durkheim, T. Parsons, J. Hughes, J. Evetts, etc.)). Thus, adding collectivist perspective on work values to the analysis and taking collectivistic work values into account when describing a person’s attitude to work adds a structural framework (deliberate cognition, value-oriented action, culturally determined work motivation) to the individualistic approach to the value-rational decisions in the sphere of paid employment (automatic cognition, rational action, which implies following individual preferences in the sphere of work). The fixation of structural context is considered to be of the

²² DiMaggio P. (1997). Culture and cognition. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 263–287.

utmost importance to understand how values appear, how they are reproduced as well as how the macro- and micro-levels are connected with each other in terms of value formation (E. Giddens, J. Coleman, M. Granovetter, N. Fligstein, D. McAdam, etc.).

- 2) **The paradox of the invisibility of collectivist intrinsic work values: the difficulty of discovering them within the framework of a quantitative research design despite the fact of their latent significance at the individual level.** The share of bachelors who choose “social utility of work” as its important characteristic is rather low (according to the author’s calculations based on survey data from 2020-2021, the importance of the “usefulness of work for society” was chosen by 15–19% of the Russian university students aged 18–24 years old). Despite the statistical results, the qualitative stage of the study showed that “social utility of work” is a latently significant work value. The adherence to it is determined by the belief in the (im)possibility to successfully build one’s career in a concrete professional field in the current socio-economic conditions, as well as the (*un*)readiness to act in accordance with socially acceptable ideas about social purposes of labour *because of or despite* the external difficulties of its implementation. Problem of invisibility of collectivistic intrinsic values can be explained by specifics of their expression in surveys or by the “ethical turn” in values research, which gives impetus for the development of more rigorous instrument for work values studies or mixed-methods research.
- 3) **A main area of an inner value conflict is located in the sphere of choices between individually beneficial VS socially useful job positions; and the choice in any direction is socially rationalized and reinforced.** Analysis of students' narratives showed that the meaning of the value of work is constructed within the framework of the opposition between the focus on satisfying individual utilities or social needs. Young people rationalize their value choice in favor of individualistic or collectivist work values using two logics: projective logic (connected with the market one) and domestic logic (connected with the professional one). The first logic focuses on the idea of accumulation of human capital by self-development practices and for the sake of access to better remunerated job positions in order to enhance possibilities for further accumulation of knowledge and skills demanded by market economy. Legitimization of an individualistic approach to work occurs due to the orientation towards virtual role models which demonstrate publicly digestible concepts of success, and is reinforced with the help of psychological practices. The second logic emphasizes the relationship of an informant to social groups (family, professional community), focuses on the ideas of maintenance of social order by finding one’s functional role in it and through the development of professional skills in order to fulfill his/her role in a better way. Both approaches contain intrinsic work values, understood as a meaningful approach to work,

interest in a content of work, and the desire to demonstrate a creative, immersive and involved attitude to work.

- 4) **The enhancement of the importance of extrinsic work values with age: empirical testing and supplemented explanatory apparatus.** It was revealed that as an individual grows older his/her work values become more instrumental, which refers to a decrease in the importance of internal and a reorientation to external work values²³. This concept received empirical confirmation within the framework of the quantitative stage of current dissertation research. Thus, students already in their final years of education are more likely to focus on job security and less likely to focus on intrinsic work values (self-actualization and social utility) compared to students in their first years of studies. However, the results of the qualitative stage of the study demonstrated that the change in work values does not occur from internal to external work values directly. The direction was rather from collectivist to individualistic work values. Moreover, intrinsic and extrinsic individualistic work values seem to be combined with each other in the desire to obtain a “doubly beneficial” positions in the labor market by the future Russian professionals, thereby creating a general trend of orientation towards interesting and well-paid employment. That “mixes” work values of informants in their formative years rather than “narrow down” them to starkly external work values or an instrumental attitude to work. According to previous works, such reorientation towards more instrumental attitude to work with age is explained by a departure from idealistic aspirations to more pragmatic ones as a person grows older²⁴, as well as alteration of social roles and greater concentration on other areas of life (the role of a spouse, parent, etc.)²⁵. However, during the qualitative stage of the study, the explanatory apparatus of this theory was questioned and conceptually supplemented. Firstly, we identified cases in which the orientation towards internal (collectivist) work values is preserved at the first stages of career development due to an acquisition of a new social role of a spouse, but the relationship is gender specific. Namely the appearance of a family for a young women may positively be connected to an orientation on social utility of work («anchor theory: the concept of boosted female care occupations»), but such an attitude disappears with increasing financial responsibility for the family among young men («anchor theory: the

²³ Jin J., Rounds J. (2012). Stability and chance in work values: A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 326–339.

²⁴ Johnson M. K. (2005). Family roles and work values: Processes of selection and change. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(2), 352–369; Johnson M. K., Elder Jr. G. H. (2002). Educational pathways and work value trajectories. *Sociological Perspectives*, 45(2), 113-138.

²⁵ Jin J., Rounds J. (2012). Stability and chance in work values: A meta-analysis of longitudinal studies. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(2), 326–339; Twenge J.M., Campbell S.M., Hoffman B.J., Lance C.E. (2010). Generational Differences in Work Values: Leisure and Extrinsic Values Increasing, Social and Intrinsic Values Decreasing // *Journal of Management*, vol. 36, no 5, pp. 1117–1142; Loscocco K. A., Kalleberg A. L. (1988). Age and the meaning of work in the United States and Japan. *Social Forces*, 67(2), 337-356.

concept of forced male instrumentalism»). Secondly, we introduce an assumption about a new factor influencing the change in the interests of young people (their reorientation from socially useful to individually beneficial areas of employment). It is the perception of the reward system in the labor market as unfair and not providing a guarantee for the future. This becomes a barrier for working students to build a career in socially oriented professions and stimulates their reorientation towards individualistic work values and more market-oriented jobs.

- 5) **The work values of Russian university students are differentiated.** Differentiation of work values was revealed at the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis. Along with standard differentiation factors (gender, generation, financial situation and cultural capital of the students' family), a significant relationship with work values was shown by such structural factors as the field of studies (specialization), course of study (years of study), having of work and the place of working, type of residence during studies, as well as socio-economic characteristics of the region of study (level of unemployment and average per capita income of a Russian region). Some hypotheses formulated on the basis of previous empirical studies were not confirmed in Russian context which seems important to mention. The results of their testing were as follows: having a higher education by the father (not by the mother as was assumed), belonging to the generation Z (not to millennials), studying at Humanities (not at Engineering or STEM) increases the likelihood of a less instrumental attitude towards work. Moreover, less favorable conditions of the socio-economic environment are connected with more possibilities for students to put work at central place in life and show willingness to work overtime, as well as to engage in entrepreneurship (presumably necessity-based).

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study

The study of values in social sciences and humanities has always been considered an important and difficult to implement. Using a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches²⁶, contemporary researchers either conduct research in a certain tradition (M. Rokeach, S. Schwartz, G. Hofstede, R. Inglehart, etc.), try to develop additional dimensions and scales (for instance, M. Minkov, M. Bond)²⁷, conceptual schemes to better combination of the theories (for

²⁶ Spates J. L. (1983). The sociology of values. *Annual review of sociology*, 9(1), 27-49; Hitlin S., Piliavin J. A. (2004). Values: Reviving a dormant concept. *Annu. Rev. Sociol.*, 30, 359-393; Лебедева Н.М., Татарко А.Н. (2007) *Ценности культуры и развитие общества*. М.: ВШЭ.

²⁷ See, for example: Hofstede G., Minkov M. (2010). Long-versus short-term orientation: new perspectives. *Asia Pacific business review*, 16(4), 493-504. Hofstede, G., Bond, M. H. (1988). The Confucius connection: From cultural roots to economic growth. *Organizational dynamics*, 16(4), 5-21.

instance, A. Kaasa)²⁸, or provide a critical analysis of the possibilities of their empirical application²⁹.

In the field of studying attitudes towards work, a multiparadigmality is not always applied. The theory of work values, developed by psychologists E. Deci and R. Ryan in 2000s, stands out as the central one³⁰. It is rather similar to the earlier concept of work values proposed by sociologist A. Kalleberg in 1980s³¹. The main distinction is made between intrinsic and extrinsic work values, which are defined as subjective beliefs about the important characteristics of a job and are measured by the responses to a question about them. And the question of the important characteristics of a potential workplace is considered conventional in the field of studying work values. At the same time A. Kalleberg and D. Stark understand work values as socially embedded «conceptions of the desirable» regarding work, proposing a broader definition of the concept³². Despite the differences in definitions, the central dichotomy of work values in both approaches is identical. Internal (intrinsic) work values include interest in work tasks, the subjective significance of the creativity and autonomy at the work place, and external (extrinsic) ones include the importance of other characteristics of work which are not directly related to the content and meaning of work activity. Accordingly, meaningful VS instrumental approaches to work are distinguished, which has its conceptual basis in earlier studies of basic values (T. Parsons, M. Rokeach, etc.). Rapidly gaining popularity and becoming conventional for most modern empirical studies of work values both in Russia and around the world, in our opinion, this theoretical dichotomy still does not help to fully describe and explain the ambivalent attitude towards work among modern Russian youth, as well as has its theoretical and methodological limitations.

The theory of intrinsic and extrinsic work values offers a conceptual apparatus for describing human motivation in the field of paid employment but does not address the

²⁸ Kaasa A. (2021). Merging Hofstede, Schwartz, and Inglehart into a Single System. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 52(4), 339–353.

²⁹ Minkov M., Kaasa A. (2021). A test of Hofstede's model of culture following his own approach. *Cross Cultural & Strategic Management*, 28(2), 384-406. Minkov M., Bond M. H., Dutt P., Schachner M., Morales O., Sanchez C., Jandosova J., Khassenbekov Y., Mudd B. (2018). A Reconsideration of Hofstede's Fifth Dimension: New Flexibility Versus Monumentalism Data From 54 Countries. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 52(3), 309-333.

³⁰ Ryan R. M., Deci, E. L. (2000a). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary educational psychology*, 25(1), 54-67; Ryan R. M., Deci, E. L. (2000b). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American psychologist*, 55(1), 68.

³¹ Kalleberg A. L. (1977). Work values and job rewards: A theory of job satisfaction. *American sociological review*, 124-143.

³² Kalleberg A. L., Stark D. (1993). Career Strategies in Capitalism and Socialism: Work Values and Job Rewards in the United States and Hungary. *Social Forces*, 72(1), 181–198.

anthropological issues of the division between worth and values³³, do not cover the issues of justification of individuals' values by their embeddedness in the broader institutional context³⁴, the problem of the appearance of values and the meanings at the macro level and their internalization at the micro level³⁵. It also does not take into account the traditional issue of economic and sociological research of the social construction of the category of interest, which stands out as a central element of intrinsic work values and a meaningful attitude towards work³⁶. It was also revealed that sometimes intrinsic and extrinsic work values positively correlated with each other³⁷. Not enough attention is paid to understanding of the meanings that an individual can attach to the concept of "work values", terminal or instrumental perception of paid employment³⁸. The reasons for both attitudes to work are not fully clarified, and the sociology of valuation which aims at revealing the logic of justifying an individual's behavior in different spheres of life, seem to be applicable in that sphere of research³⁹. Moreover, the perspectives of conflict (K. Marx), structure (E. Durkheim), and interaction (M. Weber) is largely disappearing from the study of work values, despite of the crucial importance of classical sociological perspectives for understanding of the modern society and its issues⁴⁰. The four approaches in Economic sociology seem to be effective for understanding the attitude towards work among young professionals, namely: new institutionalism (N. Fligstein, N. Biggart), social network (M. Granovetter, H. White,

³³ Старк Д. (2009). Гетерархия: организация диссонанса. *Экономическая социология*, 10(1), 57-89; Graeber D. (2001). *Toward an anthropological theory of value: The false coin of our own dreams*. Springer.

³⁴ Грановеттер М. (2002). Экономическое действие и социальная структура: проблема укорененности. *Экономическая социология*, 3(3), 44-58; 49-79; Коулман Д. (2009). Введение социальной структуры в экономический анализ. *Экономическая социология*, 10(3), 33-40.

³⁵ Коулман Д. (2004). Экономическая социология с точки зрения теории рационального выбора. *Экономическая социология*, 5(3), 35-44.

³⁶ Бергер П., Лукман Т. (1995). *Социальное конструирование реальности. Трактат по социологии знания*. М.: Медиум, 323; Лаваль К. (2010). *Человек экономический. Эссе о происхождении неолитализма*. М.: НЛЮ; Коулман Д. (2004). Экономическая социология с точки зрения теории рационального выбора. *Экономическая социология*, 5(3), 35-44; Эльстер Ю. (1993). *Социальные нормы и экономическая теория*. THESIS: теория и история экономических и социальных институтов и систем. 3: 73-91.

³⁷ Shevchuk A., Strebkov D., Davis S. N. 2018. Work Value Orientations and Worker Well-Being in the New Economy: Implications of the Job Demands-Resources Model among Internet Freelancers. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*. 38 (9-10): 736-753; Vansteenkiste M., Neyrinck, B., Niemiec, C.P., Soenens, B., De Witte, H. and Van den Broeck, A. (2007). On the relations among work value orientations, psychological need satisfaction and job outcomes: a self-determination theory approach. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 80 (2): 251-27

³⁸ Вебер М. (2016). *Хозяйство и общество: очерки понимающей социологии*: в 4 т./Макс Вебер. М.: Изд. дом Высшей школы экономики.

³⁹ Болтански Л., Тевено Л. (2000). *Социология критической способности*. *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии*. 3 (3): 66-83; Lamont M. (2012) *Toward a comparative sociology of valuation and evaluation*. *Annual Review of Sociology* 38, 1: 201-221.

⁴⁰ Giddens A. (1971). *Capitalism and modern social theory: An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge University Press; Доббин Ф. (2016). Сравнительный и исторический подходы в экономической социологии. *Экономическая социология*. 17 (3): 37-81.

D. Stark), and sociocultural (P. DiMaggio, V. Zelizer) approaches, as well as the theory of rational choice (J. Coleman). In essence, we are concerned with the question about the possibility of explaining ambivalence in the modern world by moving away from the postmodern view of values as evolving, multiple, having different foundations and not amenable to systematic analysis⁴¹. We base our fundamental assumptions on the new institutionalist approach in Economic sociology which postulates that any uncertainty ultimately moves into stability due to its legitimation and scaling in society. Therefore, the main mechanisms for formation and trends of work values changes can be recorded and explained with the usage of sociological tools.

Thus, the theoretical and methodological strategy of the dissertation work at its initial points is derived from the need to follow the conventional approaches and methods to study work values. We reveal the predominance of quantitative method in the field of studying work values and the individualistic or ego-centric conceptual approach to them. Thus, the quantitative stage was based on the implementation of standard questions (agreement with statements about the importance of work in a person's life, as well as a question about the subjectively important characteristics of work). At the same time, with the help of a preliminary analysis of the questionnaires of the key largest cross-country comparative studies (World Values Survey (WVS) and European Values Study (EVS) programs⁴²), we identify the problem of the "ethical turn" in values research: namely, the narrowing of the list of answer options to characteristics of work associated only with the individualistic perspective of its perception, and therefore leveled out the possibility of attaching importance to the collectivist perspective in evaluation of the importance of work. Already at the beginning of the study, we ask ourselves about the validity of such exceptions, we supplement the generally accepted list of answer options to the question about the important characteristics of work with the categories "usefulness of work for society", "the opportunity to work for the good of the country", etc.. We implemented the online surveys, which let to randomize the order of answers to the question about work values and provide respondents with the opportunity to freely choose from the proposed list of answers. Next, we analyzed Russian and international studies of students' work values. Students were representing: (a) the youth in the "formative years" - the period of greatest sensitivity and formation of basic life and work values, (b) the generation Z/iGeners, which differs from previous generations in values, personal and behavioral characteristics⁴³, and also as (c) a group of potential future professionals with special

⁴¹ Йоас Х. (2013). Возникновение ценностей. Пер. с нем. К. Г. Тимофеевой. СПб.: Алетейя. 312 с.

⁴² Павлюткин И. В. (2020). Динамика религиозности молодежи в России. Научный результат. Социология и управление, 6(3), 153-183. Mazzucchelli S., Lomazzi V. (2016). Etica e ricerca sociologica: neutralità o impegno verso i valori?: analisi di un caso esemplificativo: l'european values study. Etica e ricerca sociologica: neutralità o impegno verso i valori?: analisi di un caso esemplificativo: l'european values study, 127-160.

⁴³ Радаев В. В. (2019). Миллениалы. Как меняется российское общество. М.: Изд. дом ВШЭ; Твенге Д. (2019). Поколение I. Почему поколение Интернета утратило бунтарский дух, стало более толерантным, менее

traits⁴⁴. We formulate hypotheses for current research based on the review of multiple empirical studies. In line with sociological research, we strive to (a) question the generally accepted conclusions about the inevitable instrumentalization of modern Russian youth` work values (as representatives of future professionals), (b) test the hypothesis about the fundamental differences between youth and adult population, and (c) show a differentiated picture of students' work values.

However, the main question of what are the reasons for the ambivalent attitude towards work among Russian university students remains open. Is it because of the heterogeneity of their orientations? Or is it inherited in internal contradictions in attitude towards work, which are difficult to explain using the conventional dichotomy of work values? In order to answer this question, we conduct a series of interviews with respondents who previously took part in a quantitative survey. The quota sample of the qualitative stage of the study is based on the results of the quantitative stage, which is consistent with the methodology for constructing mixed research⁴⁵. We use the grounded theory method to analyze the collected interviews⁴⁶, and strive to be as open as possible to the interpretation of the received narratives while describing the logics of justification and mechanisms of work values formation, as well as the meanings that are dominant in the field. The developed author's concepts are supported by references to classical and modern sociological and economic-sociological theories and studies. It integrates the results of the current dissertation study into the general theoretical discussion⁴⁷, which is based on the broader theoretical tradition of sociology (E. Durkheim, G. Simmel, M. Weber, K. Polanyi, etc.), as well as modern Economic sociological areas of analysis (network, sociocultural and institutional approaches).

счастливым — и абсолютно не готовым ко взрослой жизни* *и что это значит для всех остальных (Пер. с англ. А. Толмачева). М.: Группа компаний «РИПОЛ классик». 406 с.

⁴⁴ Мансуров В. А., Юрченко О. В. (2009). Социология профессий. История, методология и практика исследований. Социологические исследования. 8: 36–46.

⁴⁵ Creswell J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

⁴⁶ Glaser B.G., Strauss A.L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine; Charmaz K. (2006) *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*. Thousand Oaks (CA): Sage Publications; Suddaby R. (2006). From the editors: What grounded theory is not. *Academy of management journal*, 49(4), 633-642; Забаев И. В. (2011). Логика анализа данных в обоснованной теории (grounded theory): версия Б. Глезера. *Социология: методология, методы, математическое моделирование* (Социология: 4М). 32: 124–142.

⁴⁷ О построении теорий, см. подробнее: Абенд Г. (2015). Значение слова «теория» в социологии. *Социологические исследования*, (11), 23-29; Штомпка П. (2001). Теоретическая социология и социологическое воображение. *Социологический журнал*, (1), 148-158; Флигстин Н., Макадам Д. (2022). *Теория полей*. М.: Изд. дом ВШЭ.

Data description

The research is based on two survey databases, as well as a series of interviews with Russian university students.

Two nationally representative surveys of university students were conducted in 2020-2021. The author added questions about work values and the image of future work:

1. survey of 8 Russian regional universities' students (consortium "Monitoring of Student Experience" (edtechdata.ru)), 2020 (N = 5002)
2. survey of more than 350 Russian universities' students (project commissioned by the Ministry of Science and Education of the Russian Federation "Scientific and methodological support for the development of a quality management system for higher education in the context of the coronavirus infection COVID-19 and after it," 2021 (N = 14795))

The author also conducted interviews with 38 students aged from 18 to 24 years old in December 2021. In order to pilot the guide, test the results obtained during the analysis of narratives with students, as well as the possibility of theoretical generalizations, the author also took 8 additional interviews with older representatives (25 years and older), as well as additional interviews from a project dedicated to the entrepreneurial practices of youth in Russia⁴⁸.

Practical significance of dissertation

The materials of research can be used for better understanding of work values of potential professionals by the employers, main value conflicts which Russian university students' face, as well as acknowledged as a justification for the formation of a social policy to support young professionals both at the level of university studies, internships, and in the first and subsequent stages of building a career at domestic labor market. The developed typology of work values can be employed to compose the questions about work values in cross-country and national surveys. The findings and conceptual conclusions of the qualitative stage of the study can be used for further in-depth study of special topics in the field of work values research. Also, the results can be used as a case for teaching courses in the sociology of values, sociology of labour, economic sociology, methods of sociological research and other disciplines related to theoretical and empirical study of moral phenomena.

⁴⁸ Проект был проведен Лабораторией исследований человеческого потенциала и образования летом 2022 года. Подробнее см.: Сорокин П. С., Вятская Ю. А., Черненко С. Е. Факторы успеха предпринимательских проектов студентов и выпускников российских вузов / Под общ. ред.: Я. И. Кузьминов, Л. М. Гохберг, Н. Б. Шугаль. Т. 43. Вып. 1. Издательский дом НИУ ВШЭ, 2023.

DISSERTATION STRUCTURE:

The dissertation consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a bibliography, which contains 370 sources, and five appendices. The total amount of work amounted to the 216 pages.

Introduction

Chapter 1. The theory of work values: origins, analysis, addition, application

1.1. Theory of intrinsic and extrinsic work values: history of development and the confirmation of the centrality in the field

1.2. Managerial concepts of meaningful work: addition to the concept of intrinsic work values

1.3. Individualist and collectivist values related to work: a complementary theoretical framework for the study of work values.

1.4. Russian research on work values: mainly negative dynamics of development and the positive image of engineers

1.5. Factors of differentiation of work values

Chapter 2. Quantitative stage of research: work values and factors of their differentiation

2.1. Methodology of the quantitative stage of research

2.2. Data analysis results

2.3. Discussion of results and main conclusions

Chapter 3. Qualitative stage of research: from analysis of narratives to new theoretical conceptions

3.1. Methodology of the qualitative stage of research

3.2. Data analysis results

3.3. Theoretical constructions: sociological imagination and relationship with theory

3.4. Discussion of results and main conclusions

Conclusion

Bibliography:

Appendices 1-5

OVERVIEW OF THE CONTENT OF DISSERTATION

In the **introduction** the author describes the relevance of the topic, the main issue under research, the degree of scientific development of the problem; defines the goals, objectives, theoretical and methodological foundations of the dissertation work, and also provides arguments in favor of choosing the case of Russian university students as the empirical object in the study. Next, the scientific novelty of the research is explained followed by the description of the main statements to be defended (including context of the issue and main results of the study). At the end of introduction one can find a list of articles, scientific events (conferences, seminars, video-lectures) where the results of current research were presented and approbated.

At the first chapter «Theory of intrinsic and extrinsic work values: history of development and confirmation of the centrality in the field» the reader gets familiar with the authors' analysis of historical development of approaches to work values research, as well as the critique to conventional approaches from the positions of theoretical apparatus of management and economic sociology. Based on the analysis of questionnaires used in international comparative country studies, the problem of the "ethical turn" in the study of work values is identified, and therefore an updated typology of work values is proposed by the author. With reference to this new typology the results of Russian and foreign empirical research in university students' work values are described.

Section 1.1 presents the conventional definition of values and their difference from other concepts (attitudes, social norms, personal characteristics) (J. Spates, S. Hitlin and J. Piliavin). The motivational and normative functions of values, their cognitive and emotional components, as well as the main distinctive features are indicated, including relative stability throughout the life cycle, the impossibility of its thorough implementation in everyday life, cross-situational nature, as well as problems of connecting the personal and social levels in the analysis of values and description of the process of their internalization.

It is shown that the tradition of studying and measuring values is based on a quantitative methodological paradigm. Firstly, different approaches to the study of values are described (T. Parsons, M. Rokeach, M. Cohn, D. Alvin and J. Krosnick, S. Schwartz, R. Inglehart, etc.). The author makes a conclusion about the plurality of approaches and absence of consensus on the correct way to analytically capture and measure values. Secondly, the history of the emergence of the issue of work (job, labour) values in scientific discussion is analyzed. The author starts with the pioneering study of G. Hofstede, conducted in the 1960s. on a sample of 40 countries, in which the scientist suggested the conceptual distinction between individualistic and collectivist work cultures (among other characteristics of world cultures). Secondly, an international study of the importance of work (Meaning Of Work (MOW)) is described. It was conducted by British

scientists at the 1990s. The focus was on a comparative analysis of the value of work in relation with other areas of an individual life. As a result, an index of work centrality was developed, fixing the degree of identification of a person with his work, professional role, and the desire to devote the majority of time and energy to this particular area of life. Thirdly, the author describes the self-determination theory (SDT) developed by psychologists R. Ryan and E. Deci in the 2000s, which is proved to become the dominant theoretical framework for work values studies nowadays. The theory distinguishes between internal and external work values (intrinsic - extrinsic), which includes the importance of the meaning of work (interest, creativity and autonomy) and instrumental approach to it (earnings, reliability and comfortable conditions). Based on an analysis of citation index and applicability of the dichotomy in empirical researches on the topic, the approach is described as central (conventional) in Western and Russian studies of work values. At the same time, the author reveals the substantive similarity of the psychological theory with the theory developed by sociologist A. L. Kalleberg in the 1980s. The lack of an overlap in mutual citation of works is revealed. Fourthly, the author made an analysis of the questions regarding work values used in the key cross-country comparative studies (European Values Survey (EVS) and World Values Survey programs (WVS)). It was concluded that the list of important characteristics of work has changed, reducing or completely eliminating aspects related to the social utility of work and its orientation towards other people. Following other authors (S. Mazzucchelli, V. Lomazzi, I. Pavlyutkin), this problem is designated as an “ethical turn” in the study of values, which means the disappearance of the possibility to fix the importance of the supra-individual values of work to the respondents, which is considered to be a crucial topic for the fields of sociology, social psychology and economic sociology

Section 1.2 is devoted to the analysis and explanation of the meaningfulness at work, which is presented by the authors of psychological and managerial approaches: R. Davis, L. Loquist, J. Hackman and G. Oldham, E. Trist and L. Ketchum, M. Pratt and B. Ashforth, G. Aronsson, D. van Knippenberg, B. van Knippenberg. In addition to the individualistic components of meaningful work activity (relating oneself to one’s work and the ability to perform it), the authors also talk about the importance of feeling oneself in the social environment as well as the visibility of the effectiveness of ones’ work and its external effect. A similar conclusion is confirmed and even strengthened by socio-economic approach to values as social determined and formed with the orientation towards others (M. Weber). The author of the dissertation also highlights that the goal of managerial research in meaningfulness of work is to stimulate intrinsic work values as the main component of productive labour at the firm level. It means that the researches are concentrated at the meso-level of analysis without moving from the macro context to micro level, thus, not pursuing the aim to understand the fundamental processes of work values internalization. And in

sociological point of view the *meaning* is formatted within the framework of historically constructed groups and collectives (P. Berger, N. Luckman), supported at the level of society and its institutions (E. Durkheim, T. Parsons, etc.), as well as via the interactions of people with each other (M. Weber, G. Simmel).

Section 1.3 provides an overview of the main postulates of G. Hofstede's theory about individualistic and collectivist cultures. Within individualistic cultures, one's own interests are normatively placed above group interests, and the relations with others are mainly mutually beneficial and distant (based on contracts). In general, individualistic values are aimed at the goals of self-actualization and self-realization of a country citizens. Due to economic theory it may increase individuals abilities to freely increase human capital, which, therefore leads to a fast and more sustainable economic growth (J. Coleman). The concept of individualistic cultures intersects with the classical problem of homo-economicus in economic sociology (J. St. Mill), as well as the issues of constructing a new type of a human being in the capitalist system (M. Foucault). Within collectivist cultures, the main emphasis is made on the problem of maintaining social order, as well as on the issues of building solidary relationships with others and society as a whole. There is a more complex value-rational mental structure that calls for concern for the well-being of the group as the right path to one's own and one's family well-being (R. Dore). In this regard, collectivist cultures are considered as an ideal type of homo-sociologicus (D. Rong, P. Weise). However, it is problematized that collectivistic societies are amenable to change nowadays under the influence of market economy (P. DiMaggio, A. Goldberg). More recent works suggest viewing values within a country as mixed, that is, having significant intra-country and inter-group differences (V. Magun, M. Rudnev, P. Schmidt). Thus, the dichotomy "individualism-collectivism" appears to be a rather important analytical category to study young people's work values.

The summary of the paragraph offers a schematic representation of the author's supplemented typology of work values. The classical concept of E. Deci and R. Ryan, reflecting a person's attitude to work (meaningful VS instrumental approach to work), is complemented by a scale developed earlier by G. Hofstede, focusing on the individual's attitude to the outside world, mediated by his work (orientation to the satisfaction of individualistic VS collectivist needs).

Section 1.4 provides an overview of Russian research on work values (including student work values' studies). The main directions of analysis developed in the Russian research field are indicated as follows: (1) an ambiguous impact of the fast transition to capitalism on the transformation of the Russian workers' values (shift towards the values of comfortable materialism, as well as individualism and instrumentalism (V. Magun, A. Temnitsky, L. Gudkov, B. Dubin, M. Gorshkov, F. Sheregi, etc.)), (2) a special emphasis on work values of engineers

who are described as following an active, meaningful approach to work and are oriented to social utility of labour even , despite this transition from communism to capitalism (V. Shubkin; O. Shkaratan; V. Yadov, R. Abramov, I. Kozina, E. Vinogradova, etc.). The author also reveals that engineers are commonly analyzed within their category which incentivizes the further comparative researches in the field. Furthermore, the problem of the lack of nationally representative comparative data on work values of students is emphasized. The transferring of the results of local research on student work values to the level of the entire population of young professionals is problematic and may lead to the problem of mythologizing the image of future professionals. The main way to solve this problem is to conduct a new empirical study via collecting nationally representative data and revealing the factors of differentiation of the work values of students with different characteristics.

The paragraph is concluded by the formulation of three hypotheses which are then tested at the quantitative stage of the dissertation research. Hypothesis No. 1 assumes to find the predominance of instrumental attitude to work among Russian university students. Hypothesis No. 2 about suppose the significant differences in the hierarchy of the most important characteristics of work among young professionals in comparison with the Russian working population. Hypothesis No. 3 postulates that engineers and representatives of STEM specialties are more likely to choose intrinsic and collectivistic work values in comparison with students studying in other areas of education.

Section 1.5 presents an analysis of empirical studies that reveal the main factors of work values differentiation. The authors identify differences in work values depending on generation (J. Twenge; K. Wey Smola, C. Sutton, J. Hansen, M. Leuty), age (J. Jin, J. Rounds; A. Chow, M. Johnson; M. Monserud), gender (M. Marini, M. Johnson, M. Balsamo; P. Sinisalo), material and cultural capital of the family (T. Kasser; M. Cohn); areas of study (M. Balsamo, M. Lauriola, A. Saggino); work experience (M. Johnson; M. Monserud, etc.). We add to the list the type of residence during studies (separation from the parental family is viewed as an indicator of adulthood (V. Radaev) and is related to a potential change in values), the student's level of academic performance and the socio-economic characteristics of the region of studies (R. Inglehart).

In the summary of the paragraph the reader can find the hypotheses No. 4-12 which are based on the literature reviewed and analyzed. In summary, it is assumed that I-generation (or generation Z), students with a lower level of material and cultural capital, senior students living without parents, respondents who have work outside the university choose extrinsic work values to a greater extend. Girls, students living in a dormitory and students of Human sciences adhere to collectivist work values. And boys are choosing in favor of individualistic work values. Students with a high level of academic performance, students whose mothers have higher education are

focused on intrinsic work values. And the more favorable characteristics of the region of studies will orient a student towards a less instrumental approach to work.

The **second chapter «Quantitative stage of research: work values and factors of their differentiation»** presents the results of the first stage of the dissertation research.

Section 2.1 provides a description of the data sources: (1) the “Monitoring the Student Experience”, 2020 and (2) the “Managing the Quality of Higher Education in the Conditions of COVID-19 and After”, 2021). Then the author describes the data cleaning strategy, the characteristics of the respondents in the final samples, describes the variables, the data analysis methods, and the software used.

Section 2.2 presents the results of the data analysis. In the first part of the quantitative analysis, a general picture of the work values of Russian university students and their hierarchy were obtained. The top-2 students' work values included well-paid job and an a personal interest in work. The author of dissertation noticed that these two characteristics of work are located at the different poles of the R. Ryan and E. Deci topology: “intrinsic” for internal interest and “extrinsic” for salary. More than a third of students chose job security, job compliance with knowledge and abilities, career growth and a friendly team as important job characteristics.

The second part of the section presents the results of factor analysis which was conducted on two ways: at a preliminary stage it was implemented without rotation (V. Magun and M.Rudnev believe that this method can demonstrate the “pure” or “natural” factors) and at a principal stage the rotation was implemented using the Varimax method of principal components with Kaiser normalization (this method is considered to be more common in scientific research and implemented in work values research). As a result of factor analysis without rotation with thresholds of the numbers of factors, two dichotomous factors were obtained that explained 17.1% of the variance: “social utility” (working for the benefit of the country) and “mobility” (moving abroad). It is important to remark that the core element of both factors was an “orientation to creating innovations”. Using factor analysis with component rotation, the author reveals seven integral indicators of work values, which in total explained 53.7% of the variance in the choice of job characteristics by the students. Two factors reflect an orientation toward valuing work by its internal meaning or interest in the work process itself: “social utility” and “self-development”. They were referred to intrinsic work values. The following five factors (“material advancement (salary and career)”, “security”, “communication”, “mobility” and “flexibility”) were related to extrinsic work values, since they attach importance to the material and status rewards received at work, social guarantees and benefits, the format of work, and not the meaningfulness of work tasks' fulfillment.

The third part of the section presents factors of differentiation of Russian students' work values. Integral indicators of work values or high-order variables were used as dependent variables in the regression analysis. Being male, living in a dormitory, studying in non-engineering specialties, being at the initial stages of studies (lower years of education), and working at a university increase the likelihood of being oriented toward the "social utility of work", while a high level of academic performance and having any job during university studies increase the orientation toward self-development.

The fourth part of the section describes a students' ideal images of future work. The analysis showed high confidence in finding a worthy position at the labor market, high level of entrepreneurial intentions, as well as predominately market approach to employment (the perception of work as a way to earn a living and the desire for professional trials). Contradictory results were also revealed: students talk about their readiness to work overtime, but do not put the sphere of work at the first place in life; the majority of students are not ready to give up work if they have enough money, but more than a half agree that work is just a way to earn a living. In general, the predominance of an instrumental attitude towards work was revealed.

The fifth part of the section discusses factors of differentiating the ideal image of future work. Being male, having a father with a tertial education, as well as the high level of unemployment in the region increases the likelihood that work is of primary importance to the respondent. Generation Z, women, people from wealthier families, students with greater academic results, respondents not studying in STEM fields, and employed students generally show a less instrumental approach to work.

Section 2.3 discusses the results of testing hypotheses, most of which were partially or fully confirmed, and three were refuted. Then the main conclusions are provided, the majority of which are presented in the statements to be defended.

The third chapter «**Qualitative stage of research: from analysis of narratives to new theoretical conceptions**» presents the results of the second stage of the dissertation research.

Section 3.1 presents the general goals and methodology of the qualitative stage of the study. The author provides a description of the sampling strategy based on the following characteristics of the informants: gender, city, specialty, age, students' father and mother education, as well as by general groups of specialties (the majority of characteristics were revealed as significant factors of work values' differentiation at the quantitative stage of dissertation research). Then the author describes the logic of data analysis, main categories and subcategories, the procedures of recording and working with the data.

Section 3.2 provides the results of the analysis of interview narratives. According to the data obtained, the zone of the value conflict lies in the comparison of two work orientations:

commitment to an interesting and highly paid positions (“double benefit”) VS to an interesting and socially useful types of work which do not always bring decent income and status (risks of “double undervaluation of work”). The corresponding procedures for justifying the choice in favor of one of the two approaches to work were also revealed. The desire to pursue purely personal interests in the sphere of paid employment matches with the market logic of choosing a future profession, analysis of supply and demand in specific areas of employment, clear ideas about the desired level of income as well as expansive self-development strategies based on expert advice and including multiple employment, frequent change of employers and firms, desire to devote time to individual “operational activities” as a means to develop hard skills. Orientation towards social utility includes a setting for long-term and gradual self-development within the professional sphere, its conscious choice as a “vocation”, an uncalculating attitude towards money received for work, an active desire to achieve higher levels of professional knowledge and skills as well as plans to acquire socially recognized status in the future. The main highlighting trend of changes in work values was revealed in the sphere of transition from socially oriented to “doubly advantageous” positions in the labor market. This result partly confirms the hypothesis about the instrumentalization of work values as an individual grows older (J. Jin, J. Rounds). However, a different direction of transition is revealed and the explanatory apparatus of the tendency towards individualization of work values is explained by the author of dissertation. Namely, a personal difficulty to accept the situation of the absence of positive sanctioning of the choice in favor of socially beneficial professions in a broader institutional context leads to enforced reorientation towards doubly advantageous positions that have become a reference option for the modern Russian youth.

Section 3.3 presents the author’s theoretical conceptualizations which are aimed at explanation of the process of formation of two polar value priorities in relation to work, as well as the tendency towards a “turn” from collectivist to individualistic work values. All theories are constructed using the grounded theory method (B. Glaser, A. Strauss). The theories may be topologized as an explanatory heuristic theory (P. Sztopka), and serve as the basis for understanding empirical phenomena (G. Abend). Each “grown” theory is supported by quotes from the interviews with Russian university students, as well as by the analysis of classical or modern theoretical debates in the field. *First concept “Anchors of orientation towards socially beneficial work”* develops the idea that orientation towards social utility is justified by domestic logic, rooted in the system of parental or own family relations, and has a gender specificity. Separately, the orientation towards professionals are singled out as an additional anchor which inspires the orientation towards social utility of work. The theory is supported by the works of classics (E. Durkheim, G. Simmel), as well as the network theory in economic sociology (M.

Granovetter, D. Stark). *Second theoretical concept “Agents of formation of the market attitude to work”* indicates the significant influence of virtual role models on the formation of a market attitude towards work, as well as the role of psychologists as assistants in legitimizing the rejection of following socially oriented professions (and) or (re)orientation to individually profitable places of work (doubly advantageous positions). The theory finds its confirmation in the classic work of K. Polanyi, where the “great transformation” of the economy is determined by the artificial imposition and maintenance of market relations between people, as well as in contemporary works of economic sociologists about agents of “market influence” who have a dual identity and an ambivalent position (V. Zelizer, C. Chan, P. DiMaggio, D. Slater). Finally, the “*Theory of institutional deficits*” describes objective difficulties in the formation of a meaningful concept of work due to violation of expectations of social support, equivalent or fair remuneration from institutional system, as well as society as a whole. To support the theory, the traditional approach of M. Weber is used, connecting the concept of institution with the meanings that individuals attach to different spheres of their lives, as well as the significance of the choice of one or another attitude to work, which is assessed by them in situations of interaction, discussion and connections of their actions with each others. The very definition of institutional deficits is borrowed from the articles written by Russian sociologists O. Glatskikh, L. Gudkov, B. Dubin. The problem of institutional deficits is divided into symbolic (unsolvable) and positional (requiring personal participation in order to find and perform a solution to it). The understanding of an institutional problem as symbolic or positional affects the labor trajectories of future young professionals (students), mediated by the influence of their changing work values. Additionally, some counterarguments to theoretical constructs were developed, namely to the concept of institutional deficits as a barrier to the implementation of socially oriented work values in life, as well as to the empirical result about the direction of changes in work values towards their instrumentalization and individualization as a person grows older.

Section 3.4 discusses the results and main findings of the qualitative stage of the dissertation research.

In **concluding part**, the general results of dissertation work are presented, the most significant of which are: (a) the thesis on the importance of using qualitative methods to identify value contradictions in the working sphere of people’s lives, as well as to adjust the explanatory apparatus and limitations of theories initially elaborated and tested within the framework of the quantitative studies (for example, the theory of “compression” of work value with age); (b) the thesis about the concentration of the value conflict in the dichotomy “orientation towards individual vs. collective needs”, as well as about the social construction of interest in personally beneficial or socially oriented labour; (c) the thesis about the heterogeneity of Russian university

students' work values, as well as their dependence not only on socio-demographic individual characteristics, but also on the general characteristics of the macro-environment. A separate paragraph describes limitations of the study and suggests directions for future research which can be implemented in quantitative or qualitative research methodological paradigms accounting for the advantages and disadvantages of each approach as well as fecundity of mixed methods approach.

The dissertation results were presented in the following articles (in Russian):

1. Poplavskaya A. A. (2022) Factors of Internal and External Work Values Formation among Russian Universities' students. *Monitoring of Public Opinion: Economic and Social Changes*. No. 2. P. 181–206. DOI: 10.14515/monitoring.2022.2.2071 (in Russian).
2. Poplavskaya A.A. (2023) Future Work through the Eyes of Russian University Students: Regional Differentiation of the Work Vision. *Mir Rossii*, vol. 32, no 1, pp. 61–86. DOI: 10.17323/1811-038X-2023-32-1-61-86 (in Russian).
3. Poplavskaya A.A. (2023) Tsennost' truda dlya studentov rossiyskikh vuzov: logiki obosnovaniya vybora v pol'zu lichnoy vygody ili obshchestvennoy pol'zy raboty [The Value of Work for Russian University Students: The Logic of Justifying the Choice in Favor of Personal Gain or Social Utility]. *Journal of Economic Sociology = Ekonomicheskaya sotsiologiya*, vol. 24, no 2, pp. 11–48. DOI: 10.17323/1726-3247-2023-2-11-48 (in Russian).