EXPLORING CAREERS IN AUSTERITY THROUGH THE LENS OF THE KALEIDOSCOPE CAREER MODEL: THE CASE OF THE HELLENIC PUBLIC SECTOR

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DECLARATION

I declare that this Ph.D. thesis, entitled "Exploring careers in austerity through the lens of the kaleidoscope career model: the case of the Hellenic public sector", has been compiled by me under the supervision of Prof. C Atkinson, Dr. B Lupton and Dr. M. Antoniadou. No part of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or institution.

Signature: _____

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to understand the idiosyncratic notion of career and career needs in austerity by examining the Hellenic public sector via the lens of the kaleidoscope career model (KCM), which was used as the theoretical framework, in order to explore the relevancy of its proposed career needs.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with a sample of 33 public sector employees, and thematic analysis was used to analyse the collected data. The findings of the interviews revealed that the participants perceived their careers as jobs, pointing to an instrumental career orientation while at the same time suggesting that careers in austerity had plateaued and were frozen and unfair.

The relevant career needs identified from the data were safety, fairness and training. The analysis of the interviews suggested that the KCM was not entirely appropriate for accommodating a career in austerity, and consequently the thesis aimed to develop the model further.

The main theoretical contribution of the thesis is found in the redevelopment of the KCM, since in its initial conceptualisation the model accommodates the notion of career by arguing about three specific needs, namely authenticity, balance and challenge – prerequisites that are located at the top of the human needs hierarchy. This thesis expands the KCM by adding the need for safety, a lower-order need, in which case the KCM becomes more inclusive by incorporating the notion of job, including a variety of workers.

In addition, the thesis aims at expanding the traditional organisational career notion of advancement and status to include an instrumental orientation to work which better reflects the specific contexts of dismissals, high unemployment, insecurity and cuts in public spending.

The study concludes with the realisation that careers and understanding thereof are context-dependent – constantly evolving depending on social, political and financial structures – and thus in need of being researched in situ, in order to be understood fully.

DEDICATION

To my children, Irini and Alexandros, to be inspired.

To my husband, Kleanthis, for his unconditional love and support.

To mum and dad for inspiring me.

I love you all dearly.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

and teach you the merit in pursuing your dreams. I love you more than words can ever say, and thank you for your unconditional love and support. You make me stronger.

Finally, a huge thank you is conveyed to my lovely husband Kleanthis, for his altruism in changing his life completely in order to accommodate my dream. I love you and I am grateful to have you in my life.

May joy be with you all.

God bless!

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"*Work is about a search for daily meaning as well as daily bread, for recognition as well as cash, for astonishment rather than torpor; in short, for a sort of life rather than a Monday through Friday sort of dying.*"

— *Studs Terkel*

REMARKS

The following related publications have previously been presented in academic conferences and can be found in conference proceedings:

Mouratidou, M., Atkinson, C., Lupton, B. and Antoniadou, M. (2014) The career needs of the crisis, paper presented at the doctoral symposium 2014, Manchester Metropolitan University.

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1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. OVERVIEW

The study reported in this thesis is an investigation of public sector careers within the Hellenic context of austerity. This first chapter presents the context of the current study and highlights the main gaps in the career literature. It also provides information about the rationale behind this research, its main purpose and objectives and its overall structure along with the context of the Hellenic austerity and the Hellenic public sector. This is accompanied by an analysis of the importance of investigating careers within context, along with the main theoretical and practical contributions of the study.

1.2. CAREERS IN CONTEXT: IN NEED OF RESEARCH

The thesis presented herein investigates the nature of careers in austerity, emphasising the importance of context in understanding careers, as it can provide explanations regarding how people perceive and experience their careers. This happens because careers exist in a context and not in a vacuum (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009; Inkson et al., 2015), and they refer to actors' work-related experiences, in and outside of the organisation, that form a pattern over one's lifetime (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

Context refers to the external structures and events that create opportunities and difficulties in the way individuals experience their careers, and it involves many factors such as demographic, economic, social and cultural (Inkson et al., 2015). One contextual factor which impacts on individuals' career perceptions (Inkson et al., 2015) is the economy and more specifically the current financial crisis affecting many European countries. Another more specific contextual factor is the labour market factor. In Greece, the labour market has suffered due to the financial crisis, such as through pay cuts in public sector wages, the introduction of a new minimum wage, severe unemployment and the threat of the removal of public sector permanency (in.gr, 2010; Kakouris, 2013; Naftemboriki, 2013; Bitsika, 2014). The absence of an examination of careers in austerity, and particularly in Greece, as far as the researcher is concerned, is the main driver of the research endeavour.

In addition, from a scholarly point of view, 'career' is a common and simple notion, but despite the fact that everyone knows what constitutes a career, the problem with this perception rests on its vagueness (Collin, 2007). Since it is a concept experienced by different people, in different contexts, from a variety of perspectives and for a variety of purposes, it can convey different things. Career research has discovered the importance of context, as the career notion itself is idiosyncratic, and due to the peculiarity of the notion and its contextual influence, research scholars have debated the need to study careers in different contexts in order to gain a richer and deeper understanding (Darou, 1987; Juntunen et al., 2001; Granrose, 2007; Thomas and Inkson, 2007).

More specifically, researchers recommend that newly developed western career theories, such as intelligent careers or protean, to name but a few, are suitable as theoretical frameworks for studying the subject, though they warn that the reasons, prescriptions and concepts are probably irrelevant in different parts of the world and hence need to be explored in order to be understood (Khapova and Korotov, 2007; Baruch and Vardi,2016). This realisation brings to light reservations about the portability of newer career concepts beyond the USA (Hirsch and Shanley, 1996; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Tams and Arthur, 2007; Thomas and Inkson, 2007). Therefore, it is important to add to the debate the experiences of careers within particular national contexts. Hence, further research should explore career perceptions and experiences in different countries, since there are too few human resource management (HRM) and career studies which explicitly examine behaviours on this basis (Councell 1999; Councell and Popova, 2000).

In addition to the need to study and conceptualise career understanding in different contexts, scholars propose that research should aim to reconceptualise and build models as well as study the recent, dynamic type of career, in order to enhance our knowledge (Sullivan, 1999; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). In order to examine careers in austerity, the KCM, a new career model, will be utilised. Given the fact that the model is context-sensitive, by acknowledging boundaries in careers and the inseparability of work and non-work life, it adopts a holistic approach and is therefore considered suitable as a framework. In addition, as it is a newly developed model, emanating from the US, scholars argue that it needs further empirical examination, and so this research attempts to explore its relevancy in a completely different context by focusing on austerity (Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007a; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2008; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

As previously argued, since austerity is a relatively new concept in exploring careers, it lacks an empirical basis and hence justifies the research endeavour (Grau-Grau, 2013). Additionally, Greece is an under-researched country within management (Mihail, 2008; Bellou 2009a; b; Myloni

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et al., 2004) which has been severely hit by the crisis and therefore provides an excellent ground on which to study careers in austerity. Furthermore, the public sector is a controversial sector in Greece, in that it guarantees full-time employment through the constitution, and yet, during the financial crisis, individuals have been dismissed despite this assurance (Imerisia, 2014; Tsitsas, 2014; Bitsika, 2014; Vima, 2014; Karamanoli, 2014; Belegris, 2014). For the above reasons the Hellenic public sector has been chosen as the backdrop for this study. In accordance with the above claim about the need to study organisational careers in austerity, from a career theory perspective, although careers are evolving to suit the needs of the individual, research has discovered that employees still value hierarchical, stable occupations (Clarke, 2013).

This study aims at plugging the research gap by examining organisational careers in austerity through the lens on the kaleidoscope career model, since as far as the researcher is concerned there is limited empirical work on this subject.

1.3. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research therefore has the following objectives:

1.   To explore how careers are understood in austerity.

2.   To explore the relevancy of the KCMs' career needs in austerity.

3.   To discover the career needs of civil employees in austerity.

4.   To develop further the KCM, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity.

1.4. RESEARCH DESIGN

To answer the research question and meet the research objectives presented above, this thesis adopts a social constructionist epistemological approach. Ontologically, this approach suggests that reality is subjective and socially negotiated, structured through socio-economic, political and historical events (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Schwandt 2003). To examine career perspectives, this research understands careers as social constructions that are created, sustained and changed through talk (Burr,1995). In addition, following Easterby-Smith et al.'s (2008) position that truth is dependent on its creator, knowledge in this thesis is created through the

understandings of the researcher and the participants. The aim is to contribute to the existing empirical career theory by identifying and interpreting perceptions on the topic.

This research embraces a qualitative research strategy by focusing on 33 semi-structured interviews with full-time public sector employees, in order to investigate their career perceptions and needs. The empirical data, obtained via interviews, along with the reflexive stance of the researcher in terms of translation and analysis, via a research diary, support the reliability and validity of the study.

To analyse the data collected herein, Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was adopted with the intention of identifying and analysing career perceptions and needs. Within this practice, themes occurred that helped answer the research objectives. Overall, the research design enhances the existing knowledge on careers by concentrating on the perceptions and meanings that participants attribute to the examined concepts, using a social constructionist approach to answer the calls of scholars who argue for the need to implement research from this epistemological approach (Cohen et al., 2004 Blustein et al., 2004).

1.5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RESEARCH

The contribution of this research has four major implications namely theoretical, practical methodological and policy.

The theoretical contribution this research makes is an investigation into the currently under-researched notion of career in austerity. By doing so it investigates careers in the Hellenic context, which in itself is an under-investigated milieu. More specifically, it takes a close look at actors' perspectives and contributes to a largely underdeveloped part of the literature. The findings illustrate that an instrumental career orientation, where career is equated to job, exists within the Hellenic public sector bureaucracy, thereby challenging the common organisational career notion (Wilensky, 1961). In addition, the thesis examines and updates a well-respected career model, i.e. the kaleidoscope career model (KCM), in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity. The extension of the KCM leads to the incorporation of the notion of job, giving the model a different nuance rather than satisfying only higher-order needs (Maslow, 1943).

The practical contribution this research makes is that it provides organisational decision-makers and HR practitioners with a new model that reflects austerity and can be used as a tool or mechanism for enhancing organisational practice via the gratification of the proposed career

needs. Thus, the renewed KCM provides guidance by acknowledging the necessity to recognise employee needs in relation to their career. The implication to policy is based on the evidence which suggests the transformation of the current Labour Directive (4024/2011), in order to aid the career development of individuals, by abandoning strict and inflexible career development based on tenure and instead focusing on developing and rewarding individuals based on skills, work effort and qualifications.

The methodological contribution is found in the application of thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) in the context of austerity while researching careers and practicing reflexivity.

1.6. THESIS STRUCTURE

The thesis is divided into six chapters. It continues after this introductory chapter, which includes the background to the study subchapters, with a literature review examining the theoretical background of career research by critically scrutinising past research, and the theoretical framework, the kaleidoscope career model, while identifying research gaps. In addition, it argues about the importance of need, before moving on to discuss needs theories and the requirement to recognise career necessities. The second part provides background information on the methodology adopted herein, the findings section reports the findings while the chapter of discussion provides the discussion. Finally, a concluding chapter emphasises the contribution of the research, to theory and practice, and suggests limitations that may inform future studies. The rest of this section presents the summaries of each chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature review. This chapter investigates career meanings and theories while introducing the theoretical framework and providing justification for this choice. In addition, the chapter discusses the notion of need and present needs theories while arguing about the importance of considering the concept of need within career management, concluding with a summary as to why this research is required.

Chapter 3: Research methodology. This chapter presents the research methodology through a number of suitable and relevant justifications. It addresses the methods of data collection and analysis while establishing the epistemological and ontological underpinnings of the research. Information then follows about the sample selection, with a referral to ethical issues and the analysis and evaluation of the research data.

Chapter 4: Findings. This empirical chapter presents the findings from the interviews, emanating from Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis, while discussing and applying them to the literature.

Chapter 5: This chapter presents the discussion.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and implications. The last chapter synthesises the findings of Chapter 5 and aligns the findings with each of the four research questions in this research. It assesses the contribution to research and practitioners and provides suggestions for future research.

The discussion will move on to discuss the Hellenic context of austerity, as it is deemed important since it provides the foundation of the study along with its theoretical framework, the KCM.

1.7. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: THE CONTEXT OF HELLENIC AUSTERITY

The following sections set out to explain the Hellenic context of austerity by providing a short historical retrospect of the subject, aiming at highlighting key issues in order to provide the reader an understanding of the context. In addition, the Hellenic public sector will be explored in terms of career development.

Greece is a country with a rich history and cultural heritage. In July 1974, it emerged from a seven year-long dictatorship which had severed the country from the process of European formation and had halted its overall development in all aspects. In the referendum of 8 December 1974, the people, with an overwhelming majority, chose as a new form of democratic government the republic model. The Fifth Revisionary Parliament was entrusted with the task of shaping the new features of the democratic regime within the framework of the country's new Constitution. One year after the collapse of the dictatorship, the voting in of the Constitution of 1975 sealed the return of democracy to its birthplace. Since then, Greece has enjoyed freedoms connected with democracy (Veremis and Koliopoulos, 2013).

During the intervening period leading up to the financial crisis, Greece experienced prosperity and growth. The public sector especially expanded in manpower, through clientelism, and became the "Greek dream," since it provided job security, through the Constitution, and good pay (Giannakidis, 2013; Saiti and Papadopoulos, 2015). Clientelism refers to political favours conducted by politically powerful individuals, in exchange for votes. In Greece, the two major political parties (Pasok and New Democracy) which ruled for over thirty years, i.e. from the 1980s until the latest elections (25/1/2015), cultivated clientelism, by placing their voters in the public sector and guaranteeing them job security in exchange for votes (Mavrokordatos, 1997). These dubious political actions and fiscal policies of the past, during the 1980s and 1990s, increased public spending and created huge deficits (in.gr, 2010; Giannakidis, 2013).

In 2008, a major financial crisis affected many countries. While commencing in 2007 as a national banking crisis in the US, it quickly spread to other parts of the world, and by the end of 2008 it was declared a global financial crisis. As a result of the recession, many economies experienced a sharp downfall in production which consequently affected employment. At that point, the Greek government's inability to pay its debt, aligned with rising governmental corruption, led to the country entering the financial crisis with one of the highest economic imbalances in the euro area. Consequently, in May 2010, Greece received for the first time help from the IMF and the EMU by

means of a credit agreement in return for implementing a series of austerity measures (Kokkoris et al., 2010).

The debt crisis, along with its austerity measures, has had huge consequences on the Greek society, with unemployment currently being the highest in Europe at 26.1% (Eurostat, 2015), while pay cuts in pensions and salaries have affected all citizens. In the Greek public sector, in the first instance (measures taken in 2010), pay cuts were made up to 12% of total salaries (NBG, 2010) but more recently these pay cuts have reached up to 30% for specific worker categories – following the introduction of a universal public sector pay scale (Parliament, 2012). The consequences of the crisis have affected the private sector as well, where wages have also been in decline, and especially so in 2012 when minimum wages were cut by 22% following the introduction of law 4093/12 which set a level of 586 euros per month (Parliament, 2012). The decline in wages and the increase in unemployment have affected six out of ten households, while a large segment of the lower- and middle-class population is struggling to keep up with regular bill payments (Frangos et al., 2012).

Austerity has affected not only working people but even the unemployed, since in the latest round of cuts unemployment benefit in Greece has been reduced to 350 euros per month, available only to those who have up-to-date national insurance contributions, and even then this benefit only lasts for one year (Hadjimatheou, 2012b). In some parts of Greece, where only seasonal jobs are available within the tourism industry, individuals call themselves "insecure workers," since they do not have a steady career and income to rely on (Hadjimatheou, 2012a). Even when individuals have a career, such as working for DEI (The Greek Public Power Company), they still view their occupations as uncertain, since the privatisation of DEI has led to employees experiencing and perceiving their careers as competitive, uncertain and lacking cooperation (Burnes et al., 2004).

As Chrysoloras (2013) accurately argues, "*Whoever loses his or her job in Greece today has virtually no prospect of finding another one in the foreseeable future*" (2013, p.6). In the same vein, arguing about the impact of the recession on the Greek population, a sociologist at the National Centre for Social Research stated that "*Joblessness will continue to grow, the recession will get worse, more businesses will close. The big question is who will survive*" (Smith, 2013). As a result of the situation, almost one-third of the Greek population now lives below the poverty line, citizens are in despair without hope for their future and soup kitchens have become commonplace in major Greek cities, thus exhibiting the need to satisfy basic lower-level human needs such as physiological and safety (Maslow, 1943; Smith, 2013).

The negative impact of the crisis affects not only unemployment and cutbacks in public spending but also mental health, suicides and addiction (Kyriopoulos and Tsiantou, 2010). Analogous results regarding the increase in mental health disorders because of the crisis were also revealed in Spain among primary care attendees (Gili et al., 2012). Empirical research in Greece has discovered that suicide rates increased by 22% between 2010 and 2012 (Chrysoloras, 2013) and highlights that the most vulnerable groups are men, married individuals and those who experience financial difficulties (Economou et al., 2012). An obvious example of how the crisis has impacted on individuals is the suicide of a 77-year-old retired pharmacist who committed suicide in front of the Greek parliament, as he felt that he could no longer live a dignified life after his pension had been reduced. His suicide note stated that he could not face the possibility of "*scavenging through garbage bins for food and becoming a burden to my child,*" adding that "*I am not committing suicide. They are killing me*" (Kistantonis, 2012). Furthermore, Greek police data revealed a rise in crime (such as theft, assault and rape) and homelessness by 25% between 2010 and 2012 (European Commission, 2012).

Moreover, the condition of the national health system in Greece is worrisome. Due to cuts in hospital budgets since 2009, hospitals experience understaffing and the occasional shortage of medical supplies. Furthermore, the Greek state owes 8 billion euros to its suppliers and therefore has difficulties importing medicine (Kathemerini, 2012). Consequently, the deterioration of the Greek National Health Service has resulted in an increase in poor health (Vandoros et al., 2013). The negative aspect of austerity has been experienced by local authorities as well, who have reached the point of not being able to provide central heating in schools, leaving thousands of students in 53 schools in cold conditions (Staley, 2012). To make the situation even worse, the left-wing government of Syriza is now being accused by the opposition party of neglecting the country and worsening its finances, as during the 12 months it has been in power it has emphasised negotiating its debt with the European Union while neglecting important social spheres such as health, education and the public sector, thereby putting the country into more jeopardy while leading to more insecurity (Ta nea, 2015; Antypas, 2015; Diamantis, 2016; Skai News, 2016).

As few empirical studies exist which address the influence of the crisis on individuals Grau-Grau (2013) indicates that research on the impact of the crisis must be contextualised in local labour market structures, since (Gregory et al., 2013) individuals' choices are bounded by national cultures and labour markets and at the same time by organisational cultures which are determined by sector-specific cultures. Today, as growing numbers of employees in Europe are feeling

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insecure about their future employment (De Spiegelaere et al, 2014), examining their career needs and perceptions via the lens of the kaleidoscope career model, and adding these experiences to the debate, makes an important contribution to career theory. As a result, this study aims at plugging the research gap by exploring civil servant careers in austerity and specifically in Greece.

1.8. THE CONTEXT OF THE HELLENIC PUBLIC SECTOR

In order to explore careers in the public sector, it is necessary to reference the features of the sector as well as the way careers are enacted and developed therein.

The public sector has an enormous impact on all of us, since its principles of administration are based on serving the interest of the public, and its tasks are decided by politicians, whom we elect, thereby affecting everyone, whether they work within it or are served by it (Lane, 1997; Christensen and Lægreid, 2007). Public organisations are described as highly bureaucratic entities with a series of strict rules, guidelines and limitations, official procedures, formal channels of communication and hierarchical control (Perry and Porter 1982; Rainey 1983; Robertson and Seneviratne 1995). As such, work in the public sector is known to be monotonous and lacking in autonomy and creativity (Gabris and Simo, 1995; Korczynski 2004).

The Hellenic civil service is no exception, in that it is a large and complex system which consists of several types and diverse public organisations that provide different services (health, education, social services, financial, services, etc.) accounting for around 950,000 employees (Megas, 2006). Research conducted in the Greek civil service states that public administration is a bureaucratic, highly centralised, inflexible and inefficient system that needs urgent and radical changes if it is to survive in the current competitive European environment (Argyriadis, 1971, 1998; Mouzelis, 1978; Makrydimitris, 1991). Most of these public organisations are based in Athens; however, via the creation of the Kapodistrias Act in 1998, decentralisation became a reality and responsibilities were given to local authorities.

When exploring civil servant career perceptions there are several characteristics of the sector that should be considered, as they may influence opinions. Essentially, based on the fact that they have operated in monopolist conditions for a long time, civil organisations tend to demonstrate inattention to organisational effectiveness and efficiency (Alexiadis, 2005; Moschuris and Kondylis, 2006). Secondly, evidence suggests that political parties influence their actions. In quite

a few instances, political views influence the appointment of the directors of public organisations, who in turn ensure that employees who share the same ideology are treated positively, thereby permitting political discrimination that leads to disappointment and unfairness (Spanou, 1999; Koskina, 2008). Therefore, Hertzberg et al. (1959) argue about the importance of maintaining hygiene factors such as fairness, since it leads to the preservation of employee satisfaction. In the Hellenic public sector careers are viewed as having a political character whereby promotions are based mainly on political manifestations referring to clientelism as a key feature of the way in which careers are managed (Bourantas, and Papalexandris 1999; OECD, 2001; Koskina, 2008, 2009). Families in Greece (Patiniotis and Stavroulakis, 1997) believe that their offspring deserve better fortune, for example by taking up a position in the secure public sector, albeit by pulling a few strings. Hence, the choice of having a career is not driven by individual preference but by accepting one that satisfies needs as they exist rather than seeking an interesting and rewarding career covering their need for employment safety, a basic human need in the hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943).

In the specific national context, a generous civil service pension, benefits, complete job security and pay increases that are not based on performance have resulted in people queuing for public sector jobs (OECD, 2001). This positive image of state employment, however, mainly originates from the country's high unemployment rate, which is the weakness of the national labour market and the low wages offered in the private sector in comparison to other EU member states (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

More specifically, empirical data (Kioulafas et al., 1991) infer that public sector earnings are higher than those in the private sector and that this differential cannot be explained by differences in education and experience. On average, public sector male employees earn 19% more than their private sector counterparts, whereas in the case of women the wage differential is 42%. In addition, public sector salaries are secured by numerous extra payments such as productivity bonuses, compensation for participating in various committees and working groups and hardship allowances awarded to the majority of government employees, to mention just a few. Moreover, employment in the public sector is guarded by a very generous social protection system and working conditions are relaxed, while there are plenty of opportunities for corruption and clientelism (Demekas and Kontolemis, 2000).

Additionally the fact that the majority of civil servants are employed under some form of tenure, called "permanency," which presumes that the employment relationship is for life, is guaranteed by the Constitution (Republic, 1975) and is hardly ever reversed makes a career within the public

sector even more attractive (The Greek Ombudsman, 2003; Papapetrou, 2006). Although this permanency was intended to protect the independence of the public bureaucracy and prevent incoming governments from replacing existing public sector workers with members following their own political ideology, the public sector was used as a reservoir for political favours, and these political actions resulted in the removal of performance incentives and cultivated a low-effort ethos that led to low productivity (Christopoulou and Monastiriotis, 2014).

Even in circumstances of severe misdemeanours, it is very unlikely that employees will face disciplinary action on behalf of the organisation, because either the performance appraisal is not significant, linked neither to motives nor to penalties, or because political parties offer "protection" against unfavourable consequences. In fact, research conducted in the Hellenic context discovered that permanency was the most important reason why individuals prefer working for the public sector, and hence it was regarded as a haven which provided rewards for very low effort (Demekas and Kontolemis, 2000;Theophanidis 2006).

This favourable public sector career perception can be regarded as a cultural attribute (Hofstede, 1980). According to Hofstede (1980), Greece scores highest on the uncertainty avoidance cultural dimension, which considers how a society copes with an unknown and unforeseen future, such as austerity and/or job insecurity. In Greece, as in all high uncertainty avoidance societies, bureaucracy, laws, rules and employment security are very important in making the world much safer. In essence, Greeks are very emotional and exhibit emotions through body language, they need to have an excellent and tranquil social daily life, conversing with colleagues, enjoying a long meal or socialising, and cannot cope with ambiguities; therefore, a public sector position, which matches all of these prerequisites, is highly desirable (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). Moreover, Greece is considered to be an average collectivist society, where collectivism is characterised by a constricted social framework in which people make a distinction between in-groups and out-groups. In collectivistic societies people are born into extended families and expect their in-group or extended family, such as grandparents, uncles, etc., to look after them, in exchange for loyalty (Hofstede, 1980). In terms of work, hiring and promotion decisions take employees' in-groups into account, and so connection prevails over task, or in Greek terms "clientelism" (μεσον/βησμα). Moreover, beliefs surrounding equality prevail over ideologies of individual freedom such as bureaucratic laws, like the Labour Directive (4024/2011) in the case of the public sector, which applies to all employees in a similar way, and therefore collective interests prevail over individual interests (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995).

In accordance with the above discussion, research into Greek public administration has discovered that public servants have lower acceptance of ambiguity (job insecurity), lower expectations for career development and a more socialist orientation than private sector employees, who instead argue more for the need to contribute to society (Perry and Wise, 1990; Bourantas and Papalexandris, 1999).

Similar results within public sector research have been confirmed internationally by other scholars, as a public service career fulfils the need for job security and work-life balance (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Vandenabelee et al., 2004; Vandenabelee, 2008). Traditionally, the public sector has been regarded as an employer that offers strong extrinsic motivators such as pay or job security, all of which are thought of as appealing elements for considering work in the civil service (Vandenabelee et al., 2004). This suggests that the ideals of Hellenic civil servants are based on the model of a de facto profession within a single organisation which offers reliability, obligation and safety (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

Another feature of civil service positions is their generous, family-friendly working environment, based on the opinion that the private sector is concerned with overtime, work schedules and not providing enough compensation (Burtless, 2001). Therefore, the Hellenic public sector is viewed favourably, as it provides individuals with full-time employment and family friendliness, even though career development might be blurred by political exhibitions (Koskina, 2009).

Regarding the human resource management policies of the Hellenic public sector, these are designed and executed mainly by central authorities (Bellou, 2007). More specifically, Labour Directive 4024/11 (Labour Directive 4024/2011), which was promulgated during austerity, organises all promotion grades and career development. Accordingly, the predictable graded promotion scheme consists of an arrangement of six promotion grades into which four employee categories are slotted (compulsory, secondary, technical and higher education) (Labour Directive,4024/2011). A fixed time of service is attached to each employee category and each promotion grade, respectively. The highest promotion grade for employees with compulsory education is C, which only 80% will reach, while the remaining 20% will linger in the lower grades. Employees who are educated at secondary level may progress up to Grade B, but only 70% of them, as the other 30% will remain in the previous grades, as not everyone will progress every time. The change in grades represent changes within ranks and hence is associated with salary rises, but only for those who progress, as this will be decided based on certain criteria which will be judged typically on their appraisals, such as knowledge of work task, publications, etc. (Labour Directive 4024/2011).

Individuals with technical and higher education level qualifications may progress up to Grade A, and only those will be eligible for line management positions. Any promotion is based on certain criteria such as language skills, university qualifications such as an MA and/or a Ph.D, tenure and an interview. All of these factors are scored, and the employee with the highest score will become a line manager or a senior manager – as required by Labour Directive 4024/2011 (Labour Directive, 4024/2011). In order to reach a senior management position, the candidate must have had 20 years in service, be higher educated and have an A grading.

The possible main weakness of this system is that with the lack of excessive managerial layers within an already congested sector, career development for some employees will not be forthcoming (Koskina, 2008), because vacancies for middle-level and senior, managerial positions arise only when existing job holders have been promoted, retired or resigned (Koskina, 2008;2009). When such an instance arises and there is more than one suitably qualified candidate, the appointment is made formally by a service committee, as directed by Labour Directive 4024/2011, and informally through connections or clientelism (Labour Directive, 4024/2011; Koskina, 2008).

In addition, as the new directive prohibits the promotion of certain individuals, their careers have consequently already structurally plateaued, as they will not have the opportunity to change grades at any point (Bardwick, 1986). The new Labour Directive (4024/2011), which was voted in during austerity, has been met resentment by employees and trade unions, all of whom refuse to comply with it, because of the entailment of a forced classification system in the annual appraisal which forces managers to sort out and discriminate between high and low performers by categorising them into certain predetermined performance categories (Chattopadhyay and Ghosh, 2012). A formal, and very subjective, procedure for evaluating individual performance is also evident in Greek public administration (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2006). More specifically, the direct supervisors of civil servants complete a standardised evaluation sheet for every member of their department, assessing the level of knowledge about the task undertaken, the level of interest and job commitment shown, communication skills evidenced and the quality and quantity of service delivered. The outcome of this evaluation is not linked to the reward system, as promotion is automatic after a certain number of years of service in a defined position (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2006). Consequently, employees and unions have refused to implement the procedure, since it has engendered the ire of both the unions and public sector employees. Hence, to date, appraisals have not been conducted because this demands that a certain percentage of all employees must receive below-average wages, which literally means no change in grades and

salary (Labour Directive,4024/2011; Morfonios, 2014; Kyriazi, 2014; Bitsika, 2015). The new government, Syriza, has proposed to alter the evaluation system and unfreeze the predetermined categories and quotas in order to make it more objective and fair but the effectiveness of this remains to be seen, as at the time of writing nothing had been executed in this regard (Morfonios, 2014; Kyriazi, 2014; Bitsika, 2015; Kotronakis, 2015).

Each of these peculiarities may affect employees' career perceptions. For instance, the disregard for organisational efficiency may make individuals less willing to struggle to improve things. Similarly, political parties' interference may increase apathy and careless behaviour among those that have different political beliefs than those in charge of the organisation (Bellou, 2007). This finding is in accordance with Hertzberg et al. (1959), who argued that the absence of fairness, a hygiene need, leads to apathy. In addition, permanent employment relationships have been found to make employees careless (Bellou, 2009a).

Regardless of the administrative changes proposed by the government, the impact of austerity can be observed in public sector professions, since despite constitutionally guaranteed lifetime employment the financial problems of the country have led to people being dismissed, as the existence of the working position is linked to the corresponding statutory position. Hence, when the statutory working position ceases to exist, so does one's employment (Republic, 1975; Imerisia, 2014; Tsitsas, 2014; Bitsika, 2014; Vima, 2014; Karamanoli, 2014; Belegris, 2014). In Spain, which is currently facing a financial fate similar to that of Greece, research conducted in the public sector regarding the impact of the crisis on the work-life balance conflict has shown that the level of flexibility at work has been reduced due to public spending cuts. Another central finding, reported by Spanish public employees, is that autonomy has decreased because of austerity (Grau-Grau, 2013). Such an understanding of careers departs from social structures such as national context, which are not given adequate credibility in career theory development – an issue on which this thesis hopes to illuminate (Pringle and Mallon, 2003).

This subchapter has shed light on the Constitution of the Hellenic public sector, its features, the way careers are enacted within the sector and the context of austerity. The discussion will now move on to the concepts of career and career theory.

2. CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. OVERVIEW

The first part of the literature review focuses on the theoretical background of career research by critically examining past studies. The first section begins by marking out the origins and evolution of career research. In doing so, it aims at demonstrating the transition from traditional to contemporary career theory and examines different modern career theories while acknowledging the importance of the context within this subject area. As an antithesis for organisational careers, career plateaus are examined, followed by the KCM, the theoretical framework. The second part of the literature review reports on the concept of need and needs theories, by providing explanations regarding its importance within career theory while linking motivation with career theory. The chapter ends with a summary of the requirement for this research.

2.2. CAREER DEFINITIONS

A rich body of literature has been published on careers, with various definitions and interpretations thereof being proffered. The word "career" has become popular in our everyday vocabulary, rooted in the French word, *carriere*, referring to a road or a racecourse and extended to symbolise a journey (Inkson et al., 2015). This perception of career as a journey could not be more relevant in today's landscape, as traditional organisational careers have diminished and been replaced by new forms. In the current changing financial environment, individuals may acquire many different career experiences which may be described as journeys. Although a career belongs to the individual, in most cases it is managed by the organisation (Baruch, 2004a).

In Western career literature, the most cited definition is "*The evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time*" (Arthur et al., 1989, p.8). The fundamental focus of this definition is that of work, and what work means to anyone who has a job, as well as the experiences and the perceptions one has of the organisation(s), of society and of other people. Furthermore, it focuses on the time perspective and the relationship between the career actor and the organisation and how this shifts over time. For Sullivan and Baruch (2009) a career is "*an individual's work-related and other relevant experiences, both inside and outside of organisations, that form a unique pattern over the individual's life span*" (2009, p.1543). This definition acknowledges both physical movements, such as between levels, jobs, employers, occupations and industries, as well as the understanding of the individual, including his or her perceptions of career events (e.g. viewing job

loss as failure vs. as an opportunity for a new beginning), career alternatives (e.g. viewing limited vs. unlimited options) and outcomes (e.g. how one defines career success). Additionally, this definition acknowledges the context and argues that careers are influenced by many contextual factors, such as national culture, the economy and the political environment, as well as by personal factors, such as relationships with others (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). Therefore, due to its spherical view of the notion of career, it is considered appropriate for this study.

A more traditional career definition is provided by Wilensky (1961), namely that it is a "*succession of related jobs, arranged in a hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered (more-or less predictable) sequence*" (1961, p.523). This career,understanding has characterised the conventional public service career structure which has been regarded by scholars as vertical success, climbing the corporate pyramid and monetary reward, where, hard work and loyalty are rewarded through increased seniority (Selby Smith, 1993; Hall, 1996; Reitman and Schneer, 2003).

Nonetheless, this particular way of looking at careers, scholars argue (Baruch and Rosenstein, 1992), is somewhat restricted, as it does not match the new career notion whereby the individual alone manages his/her career. On the other hand (Baruch 2004a; 2006), as careers still take place within organisations and are largely managed by the HRM department, they should perhaps take a more balanced approach. This is mainly due to the fact that although organisational careers have changed and evolved as a result of environmental changes such as downsizing and layoffs, individuals still desire them and hence careers are in need of a redefinition in order to suit the current environment (Baruch, 2004a; 2006; Clarke, 2013). The proposition offered is that via a balanced view organisations take the lead role in managing and planning careers (Baruch, 2006).

From this balanced perspective a career is understood as a route of employee development via a trail of experience and jobs in an organisation/s (Baruch and Rosenstein, 1992), which reflects the understanding that although careers are the possession of the individual, they are managed by the HRM department and hence recognises the organisational influence which is still responsible for training and developing employees within a fair system aiming at achieving a fit between people and organisational needs (Herriot and Pemberton, 1996; Baruch, 2006). Hence, Baruch (2006) proposes that the organisation should take into consideration the needs of its employees and be supportive and developmental in order to enable career satisfaction.

The most important revolution of the career concept goes back to the 1970s when the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Arthur, 1994) tried to make a single definition of the term. The objective was to create a definition that would cover all types of workers and concluded that a career needs to entail four requirements (Arthur 1994). The first condition, is that it should be applied to all staff and all organisations; secondly, it should imply a time dimension. Thirdly, the definition should establish that a 'career' is not the personal property of anyone and that the study thereof must have an interdisciplinary dimension. Lastly, a career should be portrayed from both a subjective and an objective perspective, thereby justifying the social constructionist approach to studying careers (Derr and Laurent, 1989).

Despite the fact that a career should apply to all workers, not everyone perceives work in this way. Scholars (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al., 2007) argue that most people classify their work in three different categories: some view it as a "job," focusing on financial rewards and necessity rather than self-fulfilment or pleasure. Hence, people who hold that opinion are only interested in extrinsic rewards such as their benefits, limiting their aspiration to retirement and seeking alternative ambitions outside of their work. Work is a means to acquiring the resources necessary to enjoy time away from work; in other words, a job is a necessity, and if one could choose, again he/she would choose something else. For those who have the belief that their work is a career, their interest is in advancement and will hence invest more profoundly in their work, as their career brings self-esteem, higher social standing and power over one's occupation. A career in this instance is defined by promotions, changes and challenges in work tasks.

Finally, those who actually see their work as a calling find it inseparable from their life. Individuals with a calling work neither for money nor advancement but for the fulfilment and purpose it brings: it is something one would do free. A calling can be viewed as work that a person perceives as his or her life purpose (Hall and Chandler, 2005). From this perspective, the person evaluates work from a subjective point of view. The calling comes from intrinsic motivation that is not driven by instrumental goals. However, the context may impact on the career actor's ability to enact a calling referring to economic factors such as recession which may hinder growth opportunities within and outside organisations. Hence one's socio economic background can obstruct the pursuit of a calling (Hall and Chandler ,2005).

Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) surveyed professionals and administrators and discovered that employees in low-level occupations viewed themselves as having jobs and careers – specifically new employees in the organisation perceived having a career, as they aspired to move up the ladder and were willing to work harder to advance their higher expectations. Individuals who

worked longer within the organisation tended to perceive their work as a job, as it did not provide them with challenges and advancement as they were still on the same low level, meaning they had plateaued (Bardwick, 1986). In the same vein, Terkel's (1972) research about how individuals (blue collar and white collar workers) understood their work during the American Great Depression discovered that for the majority of his participants work was perceived as daily bread and a necessity, a means to an end having nothing to do with professional advancement.

Goldthorpe et al. (1969) also argued about individuals having an instrumental orientation toward their career whereby work was a means to an end, with little intrinsic motivation and no chance of reaching self-actualisation. Workers, mostly blue collar, wanted to maximise profits and job security, in order to achieve goals outside of work. Research has discovered that, for some, work is defined as violence to the mind as well as to the body and a way to survive the day, although for some it is a quest or search for meaning – a sort of recognition (Terkel, 1972). For plenty of individuals their work is equated to dissatisfaction. While interviewing a bank clerk, Terkel (1972) discovered that his career perception was that he was caged in his office, whereas the receptionist noted her tedious and repetitive work, which even a monkey could perform. Terkel's (1972) research argued that no matter how tedious and demeaning one's work task may be, and no matter how broken the spirit is, one needs to work, as it is perceived as a necessity in order to survive. As scholars have argued (Ruiz-Quintanilla and England, 1996) individuals during layoffs contend that their work is based on the exchange rationale, and view their work as a job, as it is what someone does in order to receive a salary.

From a Marxist point of view workers become alienated from work, as it implies losing control over their own labour. For Marx the issue of alienation from one's work arises when individuals are subordinated, i.e. having to depend on business owners to have work. This subordination leads the workers becoming machines, following orders and not fulfilling their potential, as the purpose of work is to self-realise. When man is forced to work in order to receive a wage, he is turned into a machine and work becomes a means to survive (Fromm, 1961; Fischer, 1996). Marx argued that it should be meaningful and lead to the process of self-realisation or, in Maslow's words, to self-actualise to become what one is capable of becoming (Maslow, 1954).

Fundamental to the debate about the connotation of work are ontological assumptions about the nature of man. Cotgrove (1972) argues that the works of Maslow (1943) and Hertzberg et al. (1959) rest on assumptions about human needs which require certain conditions for their realisation. As previously argued by Marx, the individual realises his/her potential via productive activity or labour, as all creativity is released and the individual reaches self-realisation. Since

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work is forced, it does not satisfy the ultimate need, which is self-realisation; rather it acts as a survival mechanism, and as work is external to the individual it leaves the individual feeling miserable and discontent (Fromm, 1961; Fischer, 1996). Goldthorpe et al. (1969) argued that the majority of workers choose their employment due to economic benefits and employment security despite the fact that their previous jobs may have been more intrinsically rewarding. Comments by workers in this study revealed a dilemma whether to remain within a challenging work or accept a job offering instrumental rewards, and despite the fact that they chose the latter, the decision was not easy. Concluding, the authors suggested that when workers display an instrumental orientation toward work, emphasising work as a means to an end, it becomes alienated from the rest of their life and thus their lives are dichotomised between work and non-work.

Thus, Cotgrove (1972) rightfully infers that alienation from work occurs when it is a means to an end, only there to satisfy income, such as in the case of the Luton workers (Goldthorpe et al., 1969), therefore failing to contribute to self-realisation which, according to Marx and Maslow, is the ultimate goal to become what one is capable of becoming, to be free, autonomous and develop via one's occupation (Maslow, 1943; Fromm, 1961; Fischer, 1996).

What one may conclude is that, depending on one's circumstances, one has a career, a job or a calling (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997) where one's circumstances are dictated by the context. As "*careers do not occur in a vacuum*" (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009, p.1549), they evolve within a country's unique historical, economic and socio-political contexts which influence career perceptions and experiences and appear from the interaction of individuals and society; hence, all of these factors need to be considered when researching careers (Collin and Watts, 1996; Collin, 1998; Inkson et al., 2015).

Acknowledging the context requires a special epistemology for researching careers, and so scholars (Derr and Laurent, 1989; Blustein et al., 2004) argue for the appropriateness of social constructionism, as both subjective and objective career experiences such as salary, tenure and perceptions need to be taken into account when looking to provide a complete picture. At a subjective level, the meaning of career has plenty of definitions, depending on an individual's cultural, social, historical and economic background (Blustein et al., 2004). For some they are an economic effort, while for others they represent a measure of social status and self-worth (Adamson et al., 1998). Therefore, this research adopts social constructionism as an epistemology through which to research careers, thereby answering the call of scholars (Collin and Young, 1986; Blustein et al., 2004), and examines the uniqueness of the career notion intertwined within the context of austerity.

2.3. THE CHANGING NATURE OF CAREERS

As mentioned above, individual careers emerge from the interaction between the person and the context. This interaction takes place within a social context which influences the career actor's actions and experiences via its boundaries and permitting forces. Career theory provides an analysis of work situations that places emphasis on the study of people and establishments within a time and from a social perspective (Kidd, 2006). Therefore, career theories are concerned with how the individual experiences his/her career and the environment in which it takes place, thereby emphasising the context.

Traditionally, careers were considered to be an individual's long-term relationship with one or a maximum of two employers, with such theories being linked to bureaucratic, hierarchically based organisations and concerned with career development within the limits of a single or very few organisations throughout an actor's lifetime (Kanter, 1993). Specifically, employment in the public sector is based on the notion of security of tenure and lifelong employment, where promotion is based on seniority and length of service (Selby Smith, 1993; Gardner and Palmer, 1997). In the late 1980s, however, environmental forces such as recession shifted the emphasis from administration to management and efficiency, and organisations were obliged to restructure, downsize and reinvent themselves, thus leading to changes in the way careers were defined, negotiated and carried out (Reitman and Schneer, 2003).

Consequently, career studies have diverted focus from the organisational career to the individual one, where the person alone is responsible for his/her career management, arguing that the old career form or traditional version thereof is dead and has been replaced by new career forms such as protean, KCM or boundary-less which accurately reflect the new-age working environment (Hall, 1976; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996). This change in thinking requires a new way of looking at and defining a career. Instead of seeing it as hierarchical progression within an organisation, it is now defined as the "*unfolding sequence of any person's work experiences over time*" (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996, pp.29–30).

An important distinguishing factor is that rather than taking place in one or two roles in one or two organisations, these new careers involve varied experiences across jobs, industries and organisations (Goffee and Jones, 2000; Peiperl et al., 2000). Indeed, several theoretical perspectives explaining new careers have been developed. These include the boundaryless career (Arthur, 1994; Arthur and Rousseau, 1996), the protean career (Hall, 1996), the intelligent career (Arthur et al., 1995), the portfolio career (Mallon, 1999), and the multi-directional career

(Baruch, 2004b). However, relatively few career theories have been shown to be robust and enduring, and few have been adopted by the career research community (Baruch et al., 2015). The most successful have been the boundaryless and protean career theories (Verbruggen, 2012), even though several critical arguments have been raised against both of these (Inkson, 2006; Arnold and Cohen, 2008; Inkson et al., 2012) for example, their inclination to downplay the importance of the structural factors. More recently. Baruch et al. (2015) identified several modern career perspectives and constructs which have shaped the career discipline, and these include the boundaryless career and the protean career – both of which have been mentioned above – but also include career resilience, intelligent career, post-corporate career, kaleidoscope career, sustainable career, customised career, nomadic career, butterfly careers. It is therefore necessary for this study to engage with a diverse range of theories in order to obtain a holistic and comprehensive background context.

The boundaryless career introduced by Arthur and Rousseau (1996) involves a new form of employability in which the individual, rather than the organisation, takes an active rather than a passive role in managing his or her career. "*Put simply, boundaryless careers are the opposite of 'organisational careers'*" – careers conceived to unfold in a single employment setting (1996, p.5). This type of career does not characterise any single form but numerous possible forms that challenge the traditional notion. Its most important form is that it moves through different employers, consequently overcoming the boundaries of one occupation.

Inkson et al (2012) argue that claiming the nonexistence of boundaries which newer career forms claim to have is like denying career research of its roots, which originated from the Chicago school where careers were conceptualised as taking place within organisations where each position was separated by boundaries. Hence, Inkson et al (2012) suggest that career boundaries have a subjective origin, enacted by career gatekeepers and career actors. This point of view suggests that boundaries as well as careers are social constructs created by people, in communities. Hence, although the literature claims that the boundaries have become blurred and disappeared, most remain clear and help shape and direct people's careers as well as maintain organisational career systems (Inkson et al, 2012; Baruch and Vardi, 2016). Indeed, the career ladders have changed, and the security we once knew no longer exists, as organisations are not responsible for our career development. This blurriness creates tensions, anxiety and pressure to the individual leading to demotivation, (Baruch and Vardi, 2016) and leads researchers to wonder if we really want the burden of the responsibility of managing our own career by chasing a boundaryless career (Baruch and Vardi, 2016).

The butterfly model is an extension and development of the boundaryless career (McCabe and Savery, 2007). This type of career, may arise due to the increase of the knowledge economy, which has provided a career movement whereby individuals "flutter in and out" of jobs and sectors and gain broad experience. Consequently, it could be claimed that career actors rely on their skills and competencies to move freely around jobs within a specific sector. From a managerial perspective, this mobility of individuals via butterflying between the sectors is positive as they build up their skills and professional experience or their ''know how'' (Arthur et al, 1995). This is analogous to the intelligent career, where the careerist brings fresh ideas and a new outlook to the firm (Saxenian, 1996). However, as Baruch and Vardi (2016) observe, although crossing boundaries and bringing new ideas might be refreshing for the company, for some career actors it may be stressful and lead to confusion.

The nomadic career is effectively a synonym for the boundaryless career. (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Cadin et al., 2000). Ideas about changes in career trajectories were preceded by ideas about changes in the organisation: first there was the nomadic company as a result of macro-economic changes and only then there was the nomadic career (Tremblay, 2003). Thinking about career changes emerged out of the thinking about organisational transformation. In fact, scholars studied boundaryless or nomadic organisations and then came nomadic careers as a result of the changing societal and financial context (Cadin et al. 2000; Trembley,2003). When envisioning the nomadic career, the concept of skill is important as usually these types of careers take place in the knowledge-based economy, and comprise of the knowing how, whom, and why (Cadin et al. 2000).

Another important aspect of this approach (Cadin et al. (2000) is that it considers careers on the basis of different social spaces. The new vision goes beyond this focus on the organisation, opening up the understanding of careers, learning and identity construction, to many other informal communities with which individuals are associated and in which information, ways of seeing, ways of thinking, and job opportunities are transmitted (Cadin et al. 2000). The nomadic career represents a trend in the knowledge economy, and in particular, it seems to be a growing trend with the younger cohorts and those within the IT sector (Saxenian, 1996; Cadin et al., 2000; Trembely, 2003). However, Valgaeren (2008) argues that support for the assumption that the nomadic career is a new career concept that can adequately describe the career trends of the knowledge workers could not be found. The assumption that IT-workers are job hoppers was not supported. Rather, Valgaeren (2008) discovered that respondents took their career into their own hands only at a time of conflict adding that part of the nomadic character of the career is caused

by involuntary career transitions. This contradicts some of the early literature on the nomadic career where the voluntary character of flexible career types is stressed (Arnold, 1997) and is close to the argument of Baruch and Vardi (2016) who claim that a boundaryless career is more rhetoric than reality.

The protean career presented by Hall (1996 a,b) is an individual-focused approach, in which it is claimed that individuals are responsible for their careers and that their unique human resource qualities are based on continuous learning and growth in the pursuit of professional goals. As suggested by the metaphor of the Greek god Proteus, who had the ability to change his form at will, a protean career implies adaptability: individuals adjust to evolving circumstances by changing the shape of their professions. In contrast to the traditional career, the protean example is characterised by relationships driven by the individual and is subject to reinvention by the person from time to time as the person and the environment change. In contrast to traditional careers, which involve vertical success, Hall (1996) argues that the protean version is defined by psychological success which is unique to the individual and can mean personal accomplishment and feelings of pride, achievement or family happiness. The personal qualities required for a successful protean career include continuous learning, self-awareness, personal responsibility and autonomy (Hall, 1996a; 2004; Hall and Moss, 1998). The question remains whether the protean career type fits every career actor as the majority of individuals might regard the constant shifting behaviour risky. Hence, instead of individuals reaching career maturity by adopting the protean career, it may have the opposite result (Baruch and Vardi,2016).

The intelligent career proposed by DeFillipi and Arthur (1994) is another form which speaks of the development of three "ways of knowing": knowing-why, knowing-how and knowing-whom, which are primarily individual assets of motivation, skills and networking. Later on, Arthur et al. (1995) offered an "intelligent career" framework involving the development of knowing why, knowing how and knowing whom competencies and promoted a new set of principles as being the cause of the intelligent firm's employment arrangements. An intelligent firm is one that removes hierarchies and outsources most of its activities, keeping the ones that it can identify with and sustain effectiveness. Central to this idea of the firm are its core competencies, the ones mentioned above, that lead to the firm's sustainability. Three fields of competency have been identified, namely the cultural beliefs, values and know how-skills and knowledge of the firm and its networks. Together these fields define the intangible assets of the firm. Scholars question (Baruch and Vardi,2016) if intelligent careers are applicable in sectors outside the knowledgebase economy. In addition, the intelligent career has been criticized for emphasizing on gaining or

exploiting the knowing whom competency (i.e. know whom) which can lead to favouritism and exploitation of social networks within and outside the organisation (Baruch and Vardi, 2016).

A sustainable career is one that fits into employees' life contexts and where employees remain healthy, dynamic, pleased and employable throughout (De Hauw and Greenhaus, 2015). Sustainable careers need the flexibility for employees to change career path to suit their own needs and the needs of the labour markets (Fugate et al., 2004; Van der Heijde and Van der Heijden, 2006). This type of career is well-integrated into individuals' personal lives, and provides employees with security and well-being. Security emanates from employees' hard work to remain employable (Forrier and Sels, 2003), and from their own essential know-how, which is constantly renewed, in order to retain their job and maximise income. Well-being, is acquired by maintaining one's physical and mental health, and one way of achieving this is by ensuring that one's career fits with the core values in one's life (Greenhaus and Kossek, 2014). This is, therefore, a self-managed career type, based on the alignment of personal needs satisfaction and context (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Hall, 2002). Since context and individual needs constantly change (Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007), employees need to adjust their current work experiences to keep their career on track and, as the KCM argues, they need to find authenticity, balance and challenge. Hence, in order to create a sustainable career, employees are faced with a plethora of career decisions such as accepting or quitting a job, or opting out (Mainiero and Sullivan,2007). To build a sustainable career through a series of career decisions, employees thus need multiple alternatives from which to choose, which the current ever-changing labour market is providing, since long-term employment has traded places with modern career paths.

Based on the above arguments, it is possible to distinguish the vital elements of this type of career. These are employability and workability: employability is the degree to which workers have the opportunity to be employed, and workability is the extent to which jobs represent reasonable expectations from employees (Lawrence et al, 2015). Hence, the issue of sustainable careers stresses the intersection between individuals and their work environments, and argues that in order for careers to be sustainable, they need to meet employee and employers needs. This is, of course, essentially the role of career management (Baruch, 2004a). Therefore, career actors (Lawrence et al, 2015) need education to support their careers in order for them to be sustainable. Initially, they need to acquire vital knowledge, skills and abilities in order to prepare for future. They also need to understand their own strengths and weaknesses in order to negotiate with their employers. Moreover, they need to be continuous learners by adapting and growing their self-

awareness. Although sustainable careers may be the ideal, Baruch and Vardi (2016) argue that the constant pursuit of skills, knowledge and employability put stress on the individual.

A portfolio career is a non-traditional form of work emphasising on entrepreneurism and knowledge services (Fenwick, 2006), where individuals contract their skills and knowledge to various organisations, consequently creating portfolio careers or acting as contractors (Cohen and Mallon,1999). This type of career is distinguished by three elements, namely commitment to long-term casual employment, developing and offering expert capability, and obtaining a sense of career identity, which does not depend on organisations and individuals. There are contrasting views about this type of career. Some discuss the freedom and choice such a career offers (e.g. Arthur and Rousseau, 2000), while others consider this career type as another form of work, which destabilises worker conditions such as salaries, benefits, and work conditions (Fenwick, 2003). In this view, a portfolio career is not an intended choice, but may be the only work alternative for the unemployed, who must compete with others for the chance to continue working at lower rates of pay. Portfolio workers are mobile and are active in designing their own careers (Arthur et al., 1999), and are able to take personal responsibility for their work, while contributing to constant knowledge construction (Sullivan, 1999). However, studies of self-employment have also highlighted its cruel and negative influence on work-life balance, which tends to govern portfolio careers (Mirchandani, 2000).

The post-corporate career describes careers that take place outside businesses, whereby career actors enact a plethora of options, including employment with smaller firms, self-employment, and/or working in project teams (Peiperl and Baruch, 1997). In this career type, individuals leave large firms because of the uncertainty. Post-corporate careerists have a permanent career, rather than a permanent job. This model supports the notion that individuals need to discard the stable career system within the organisation, and start to navigate their own careers. The advantage is that being in charge of their own careers, actors have multiple options to choose from and, hence, develop multi-directional careers (Baruch, 2004b). However, these type of careers, whether multidirectional and/or post corporate, are creating uncertainty, and are leading to a loss of confidence amongst employees (Baruch and Vardi, 2016).

Waterman et al. (1994) argue that a career-resilient workforce, is a group of employees who are dedicated to the firm, to continuous learning, to change, and who are responsible for managing their own career. Hence the career actors need to be self-driven in order to be able to survive (Baruch and Vardi,2016). Although being resilient is a positive attribute in today's uncertain labour

market, for some sensitive people, the pursuit of constant resilience can be detrimental to their wellbeing (Baruch and Vardi, 2016).

An additional, more recent, popular career form is the kaleidoscope career (KCM) (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), based and driven on three specific career needs, the ABC's, which will be explained fully later in the chapter, as this career model forms the theoretical framework of the present thesis. Modern career forms have been discovered in order to explain the new career environment and to exhibit how individuals manage their careers. As such, the move from organisational careers to so-called "new career types" has been discovered in a multitude of studies (Cohen and Mallon, 1999; Mallon, 1999; Gold and Fraser, 2002; Ackah and Heaton, 2004; Arthur et al., 2005; Currie et al, 2006; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). A fundamental assumption in many of these studies is that the transition to a more self-managed career, as demonstrated, for example, by the KCM, is driven by the desire to pursue careers that offer a good fit for personal values (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Mallon and Cohen (2001), for instance studied, managerial women who made the change from careers within an organisation to self-employment, observing that the decision to quit was influenced by personal circumstances and an awareness that the organisation was no longer a good match for their values (Mallon and Cohen, 2001). The same argument underpins KCM research, which highlights the change in men and women's career paths due the need to accommodate certain career needs, in order to find a good fit (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

A repeated criticism of the new career theory is that not all career paths are covered by the positive dynamic of self-validation, networking, and learning (Inkson et al., 2012). For a plethora of career actors, flexibility is understood as risky, unsecure working arrangements, and a marginalised socio-economic position (Hall, 1996; Van Buren, 2003;King et al., 2005). Indeed, empirical research is divided on the subject, where some studies demonstrate the presence of positive outcomes (Marler et al., 2002; Gerber et al., 2009; Volmer and Spurk, 2011), while others uncover an opposite effect (Valcour and Tolbert, 2003;Cheramie et al., 2007; Fuller, 2008). Scholars have also argued that protean and boundarlyess career constructs do not truthfully reflect definite careers (Inkson et al., 2012). For instance, Gratton et al.(2004) found no evidence of increased boundarylessness over several decades in multiple organisations. Other scholars have found only a small percentage of careers that could be described as boundaryless (Verbruggen et al., 2007 ;Dries et al., 2008; Rodrigues and Guest, 2010), leading scholars to infer that traditional careers are still vivid, and questioning whether careers have really shifted (Guest and Mackenzie Davey, 1996; Walton and Mallon, 2004;Clarke,2013). In addition, the study of

protean and boundaryless career concepts has overly stressed the tendency to view them as expressions of a common modern career (Baruch and Vardi, 2016), and has a lack of conceptual clearness about the meaning of the constructs (Inkson et al., 2012) and their relationships to one another (Briscoe et al., 2006).

Despite evidence that new career forms have replaced organisational careers, some studies have actually found the opposite to be true. Granrose and Baccili (2006) found that features of a traditional psychological contract, job security and hierarchical movement are still important to employees. More specifically they noticed that employees not only expected help from the organisation in terms of promotion (traditional career), but they also sought training that would assist the shift to another organisation sometime in the future, should that be needed. In other words, employees who receive career support feel wanted and appreciated, and loyalty and commitment are enhanced as the opportunities afforded by organisational careers provide a sense of security which improves the retainment of important employees (Granrose and Baccili 2006).

These results are consistent with McDonald et al.'s (2005) findings that many Australian managers still desire job security and upward mobility. Reitman and Schneer (2003) found that one- third of MBA graduates in America followed the promised path of traditional careers. Although the boundaryless career has been treated as de facto by many researchers (Becker and Haunschild, 2003), others (Jacoby, 1999) have discovered that the percentage of US workers who had worked for the same employer for 10 years or more remained stable from 1983 to 1998 and that the average tenure for older males remained virtually stable for over 21 years (from 1969 to 2002) (Stevens, 2005). In a more recent study, Clark (2013) discovered that organisational careers were valued by employees whose careers were perceived as hierarchies. In addition, Walton and Mallon (2004), when examining the career sense-making of employees in three organisations, found limited support for the boundaryless view; for these people, careers were understood as linear, progressive and hierarchically-focused.

Research provides additional evidence that the organisational career is alive and well. Several studies have focused on managerial and professional groups whose members appear to have been able to continue their professions over many years and within a single organisation (Gunz et al., 2000; Wajcman and Martin, 2001; Smith and Sheridan, 2006; Ituma and Simpson, 2006; Donnelly, 2008; Pang et al., 2008). This is mainly observable in bureaucracies, such as public sector organisations, where career patterns are still primarily characterised by long-term employment and linear career progression (McDonald et al., 2005). Wajcman and Martin (2001)

established that long-term careers, in one or two organisations, were not only preferred by young and older managers, but they were also beneficial for organisations through the retention of important skills and knowledge. Studies of recent graduates (King 2003) have discovered that developing a career within a single organisation is still highly valued and sought after (Sturges et al., 2000; Sturges and Guest, 2001). From an employee viewpoint, it is clear that organisational careers are still an attractive choice, albeit mainly in the public sector, where employees look to enjoy job security, familiar career paths and support from their employers in managing and developing their occupations (Sturges et al., 2002; Barnett and Bradley, 2007).

Clearly this section has illustrated that different career types exist; however, even though they have evolved due to recent trends such as globalisation and downsizings, and are becoming either boundaryless, protean or KCM, individuals still value the traditional mode of a career where the organisation manages it on their behalf. The evidence does not claim that new career models are insignificant – it only highlights that currently people value an organisational hierarchical career along with its attributes. Likewise, Baruch and Vardi (2016) argue about the dark side of careers critizing the newer career forms calling for more career research and a balanced perspective in the study of careers. Clarke (2013) wonders if we need to dismiss the organisational career or if it simply needs a redefinition to fit the modern working environment, by citing need to research organisational careers. Whatever the case may be, the researcher argues that we have perhaps neglected the older style, which may still be applicable to certain individuals, and instead have placed more emphasis on the newer forms. Although there is increasingly an emphasis on new formats, very few studies offer information about whether careers are perceived in this way (Gerber et al., 2009) and the appropriateness of these new forms for people in different contexts than the US (Khapova and Korotov, 2007). Emanating from the above discussion the question that begs an answer is how accurate are these newer career forms, such as the KCM, in helping us understand careers in contexts other than in the USA and how organisational careers are perceived in austerity. The discussion will move on to the antithesis of hierarchical advancement, the career plateau, which is typically experienced in the traditional career form, as the aim of the thesis is to understand careers in the public sector.

2.4. CAREER PLATEAU

The antithesis of hierarchical advancement can be viewed as career plateau which involves situations within which employees perceive a low likelihood of increased responsibility and hierarchical progression (Ference et al., 1977; Bardwick, 1986; Feldman and Weitz, 1988). Career plateauing is a natural phenomenon which occurs in different forms and with which, at some point, everyone will be confronted. Furthermore, it can even be regarded as a limitation or boundary to one's career (Bardwick, 1986; Godshalk and Fender, 2014).

Ference et al. (1977) were among the first researchers to suggest miscellaneous reasons why employees might plateau, such as organisational and personal (Ference et al., 1977). Organisational reasons are external to the employee, such as competition and the narrowing pyramid leading to fewer managerial jobs (Ference et al., 1977). The pyramid-shaped organisation allows fewer employees to move up to higher ranks. Downsizing, or the systematic reduction of hierarchical layers in order to increase organisational efficiency and profitability, may flatten the pyramid, thereby creating greater competition for fewer jobs (Gandolfi, 2013). The idea of a narrow, compressed pyramid points to insufficient higher levels of responsibility. Personal plateauing occurs when an employee's abilities do not match the needs of the job, and hence the employee decides not to seek further advancement. In either case, the realisation that future promotion is unlikely may cause the employee to experience increased stress and revise his/her self-image. Moreover, plateaued employees may perceive that they have plateaued because they think, or may have been led to believe, that the organisation has negatively assessed their capabilities (Ference et al., 1977). Bardwick (1986) distinguished three types of plateauing, where the first two ones are concerned with one's work and the third applies to one's life stage.

Structural plateauing is concerned with end of promotions and gains emanating from them such as money and status. In essence, promotions mean self-esteem, recognition and gratifying a high-order human need (Maslow, 1954), and as such it is intrinsically competitive (Bardwick, 1986). Furthermore, it means confirming one's self esteem, because as part of a career path it signals where the individual is going; the unfortunate situation at the end of a promotion path leaves the individual motionless, which can result in a structural career plateau. A structural plateau occurs mainly due to an individual's inability to access further hierarchical or structural levels within an organisation. The problem with this impasse lies in the fact that too many candidates apply for the same position, and with the downsizing of firms, where hierarchies flatten, everyone at some point will plateau (Bardwick, 1986). On this subject, in the Hellenic public sector, research has discovered that clientelism acts as a career barrier creator, as it creates structural plateaus to

those deprived of the ''knowing whom'' competency. Hence, the employee is able to see how far he/she could reach, but they cannot reach it due to the absence of connections (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

Content plateauing occurs when work tasks are mastered, leaving the employee with very little new to learn and hence eliminating any challenge at work. It is the feeling that "*in the long tunnel of the future there will never be any surprises*" (Bardwick, 1986, p.69). Challenge in one's career involves change and growth that appears from coming across new issues and conditions, i.e. it mainly involves learning (Bardwick, 1986). In the same vein, for the theoretical framework of this study (KCM), challenge means learning, growing and developing at work – it is a career motivator (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Bardwick (1986) argues that challenges, in the form of learning and mastering a craft or one's job, are important in affluent societies, as work on its own does not motivate as such, since individuals have higher expectations of life and work; one of those expectations is challenge in the form of learning and accomplishing. In essence, learning and taking on a challenge through work is an intrinsic reward which is considered more important than extrinsic rewards such as money, as it is already secured. In less affluent societies, however, the work itself can be regarded as a challenge, since employees are trying to survive (Bardwick, 1986). This can be paralleled with Maslow (1943) and Herzberg's (1959) theories, which state that money is a hygiene factor, as it does not bring fulfilment or satisfaction at work. However, individuals on lover hierarchical levels, such as in non-affluent societies, desire more extrinsic rewards such as money (Maslow, 1943).

Life plateauing occurs when work-committed individuals begin to feel unsuccessful in what they are doing, and this results in feelings of plateauing and being trapped in life (Bardwick, 1986). In order to eliminate content and structural plateaus, organisations should conduct honest appraisals, based on accurate ratings, because when appraisals are conducted only to tick the boxes and to please everyone by inflating scores, they raise the expectations of individuals which in turn can lead to them being traumatised when the desired promotion never arrives. Barwick (1986) postulated that people in this situation pass through two stages, namely resistance and resignation. During the resistance stage, people maintain an expectation of achieving promotion and continue to judge their progress against a time horizon. The result is that they rededicate their commitment to the company, to cope with their plateaued status. However, once they realise that they will not be promoted, they enter the resignation stage, during which time they gradually withdraw from work and become passive.

Empirical research has confirmed that career immovability affects performance, satisfaction and commitment, as plateaued employees are given very little chance to develop because most administrations focus on developing non-plateaued individuals (Ference et al., 1977; Near, 1980; Carnazza et al., 1981; Nachbagauer and Riedl, 2002). As a matter of fact, Ference et al. (1977) discovered that management tended to treat its plateaued employees in a passive way by denying them developmental events and challenging work. Many of these employees felt disappointed and slowly became demotivated. This issue is intensified if plateaued employees receive little or no feedback from management (Ference et al., 1977; Feldman and Weitz, 1988) and as a result begin to lower their performance, become less productive and move from being effective to "deadwood" (Bardwick, 1986, p.83). Furthermore, studies have found that plateauing impacts negatively on the person and organisation, as many of these types of employees have a lower level of job performance and are also more likely than their non-plateaued counterparts to rate their jobs as less challenging and less rewarding. They also have lower career aspirations, poor job attitudes and low estimation of their ability to perform, and ultimately they consider themselves to be less marketable (Slocum et al., 1985; Elass and Ralston, 1989; Choy and Savery, 1998).

Scholars have even reported that plateaued managers take more time off work (Hackett, 1989; Zaccaro et al., 1991; Chaudhury and Ng, 1992; Conlon and Stone, 1992; Drago and Wooden, 1992), have poor relationships with their peers (Near, 1985; Gilmour and Lansbury, 1986) and appear less healthy than their non-plateaued colleagues (Near, 1985; Kaye, 1989). With the tendency for more employees to level out earlier, Elsass and Ralston (1989, p.35) posit that "… *more individuals will fall into the low performance category sooner*". Hence, Ettington (1997) discusses how HRM can aid the situation through a well-functioning performance management system in which plateaued individuals can overcome plateaus, by providing training in new skills and knowledge to all staff, so that individuals can become employable or ready for newer challenges within the organisation (Choy and Savery, 1998).

To conclude, a career plateau is a natural career phenomenon which can occur to everyone, and as such it is crucial to recognise it especially when researching careers within the traditional organisational boundaries of the public sector. The discussion will now move on to the importance of context within career research.

2.5.   THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTEXT

As previously argued, a career does not occur in vacuum (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009) rather, it is influenced by context, and since this thesis is concerned with careers in austerity, context plays a key role which needs to be acknowledged and taken into serious consideration. When speaking about context, one must keep in mind all of the factors surrounding the individual, whether it is the institution the person works in, the national culture and economy, one's family or relationships with others which can aid or impede one's career (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

As an illustration, Chudzikowski et al. (2009) discuss that career choices and decisions are possibly linked to social, family, work and financial contexts. Consequently, careers in the US are expected to be individual choices rather than collectivist results, due to the importance of culture and its effect on career paths. As such, career research argues that in China, the Chinese culture, with its collectivistic values and traditions, influences career perceptions, in that collectivism and loyalty to one's superiors are valued as professional goals (Granrose, 2007). Likewise, research by Afiouni (2014) in the Middle East discovered that context is perceived as a boundary, since institutional and cultural factors very often impede female academics' careers. Similarly, Chinese women's careers reflected context, and in essence the career needs suggested by the KCM (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), took a very different form than in the US. For instance, while the career need of authenticity might mean being true to one's values, scholars discovered a contextual difference in the way it was understood and acted upon in China, as it proved to be an indication of subjecting oneself and one's interest to the group, thereby reflecting the collectivist values of the country (Woodhams et al., 2015).

Additionally, Arnold and Cohen (2008) contend that the socio-economic environment, characterised by the impact of globalisation and market competition, has led to a more individualistic approach to careers – in line with boundaryless and protean career models. Yet, at the same time, they note that their participants continued to define their careers in organisational terms, i.e. hierarchical (Arnold and Cohen, 2008). In a similar manner, in Bulgaria and Ethiopia, research has revealed that career perceptions are influenced by the political and financial factors of the country (Councell, 1999). The importance of context was also stressed by scholars when studying careers in a Native American environment, as they choose jobs that the community regards as necessary; hence, their career choices are bound by context (Darou, 1987; Juntunen et al., 2001).

In Greece, Bozionelos (2014) noted that context influences how career constructs are perceived and defined. The author discovered that "knowing whom" was an important career competency to develop in the Greek academia, if one wanted to enter and progress, referring to the importance of belonging to a group rather than having the important knowledge and skills for the job, in other words "know-how". In the Russian context, Khapova and Korotov (2007) discovered that western career attributes, such as those proposed by the intelligent career, have different connotations from their original western meaning and that these meanings change continuously in order to reflect the current social, political and financial environment. Therefore, the authors (Khapova and Korotov, 2007) recommend that western career theories such as newer models are suitable as theoretical frameworks for studying careers, albeit they warn that the reasons, prescriptions and concepts are probably irrelevant in different parts of the world and hence need to be explored in order to be understood. In a similar vein, Pringle and Mallon (2003) examined the boundaryless career in a New Zealand context and found that new career forms, such as the boundaryless, are more applicable to industrialised contexts and, hence, social structures such as national context, gender and ethnicity need to be given adequate importance in theory development. Yao et al (2014) studied Chinese expatriates, and found that even where they pursued a boundaryless career, some boundaries still remain. These include psychological boundaries associated with social pressures, which eventually result in physical boundaries constrained by cultural identity and social expectations. Hence, Yao et al (2014) argue strongly for importance of understanding cultural and social influences on career models. Fouad and Byars-Winston (2005) too argue about the acknowledgement of culture and context in research as it influences perceptionsin career related opportunities.

Similarly, Berkema et al (2015) argue about the importance of culture and context within management research and encourage further management research beyond the West, hence arguing about the need to explore newly emerging issues and management practices emanating from recent economic and social concerns such as austerity (Berkema et al, 2015). Leung (2008) also notes that the majority of career theories have emerged from the USA, and argues that there is a need for more "indigenous" efforts to develop theories and practice. This would meet the distinctive needs in various countries and would identify the collective as well as the unique experiences that are explicit to particular culture/ group (Leung, 2008). Hence, this process would result in career development concepts that have specific meanings within a culture (e.g. the effects of devotion on career choice in Asian cultures such as introduced by Woodhams et al., 2015), and career guidance methods that are grounded on specific cultural features, practice, and beliefs. In addition, indigenisation involves modifying existing career theories and practice (e.g.

the KCM) to maximise their degree of fit with local cultural contexts. Hence, the main objectives would be to recognise features of these theories that are relevant/irrelevant and valid/invalid for specific cultures, and to enunciate necessary cultural adaptations.

Thus, Leung (2008) argues that career theory scholars should examine how the context might intervene in the career development and choice process of the career actors. This would involve critically evaluating the respective theory to determine how the target variables (in this case authenticity, balance, and challenge) are being understood in a particular cultural context, and how such understanding is similar to or different from those proposed by the theory. Moreover, research should investigate if these variables are valid in that specific cultural context, and how cultural beliefs, values, and practices might influence the process, because it may be that there are native, culture-specific variables that could be incorporated into the career theory that would increase its explanatory power and comprehensiveness. In such cases, Leung (2008) argues in favour of qualitative methodologies as they yield rich in-depth data, which can lead to theory-building and the development of indigenous conceptual frameworks. Furthermore, career theories that have been indigenised should include cultural adaptations grounded in local social, cultural, and occupational features (Repetto, 2001) as the outcomes of these changes would shed light on the usefulness and relevance of various cultural adaptations, and would provide important clues to the cross-cultural validity of career theories.

Following the propositions of these scholars, this thesis adopts a context-sensitive stance and moves on to explain its theoretical framework.

2.6. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE KALEIDOSCOPE CAREER MODEL (KCM)

The kaleidoscope career model (KCM) is a more recent career model which is based on five years of research through the use of surveys, focus groups and interviews. The authors (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) use the metaphor of the kaleidoscope to emphasise changes in people's lives and careers. Like a kaleidoscope that changes patterns when its tube is rotated, so individuals change the patterns of their careers and lives to accommodate their needs.

Kaleidoscope careers are dynamic and on the move, defined by the individual and based on his/her own values and life choices – as people's lives change, they modify their careers to adjust to those changes rather than follow company career norms (Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007). The

KCM findings suggest that individuals leave corporations and opt out of the workforce – mainly, but not only, due to inflexibility, the lack of concern for work and family balance and because their careers are meaningless and non-satisfying (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005).

Unlike some of the other newer career models, such as the boundaryless career model, which have been criticised for not adequately considering context or possible boundaries (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009), the KCM, considers "*[…] how societal factors (e.g. discrimination, stereotyping, government policies) and environmental influences (e.g. organisational culture, workplace policies, supervisor attitudes and behaviours) influence the career choices of men and women*" (Sullivan and Crocitto, 2007, p.298) and argues that new careers are not boundaryless but operate within three major parameters, or career needs, the ABCs, which are required by individuals in their careers at any given point in time (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006 p.xiv). Therefore, this thesis argues that the assumption of the universality of the three career needs begs the question whether they are indeed universal and relevant in austerity, thereby justifying the selection of the KCM as a theoretical framework for this research.

Originally, the model provided a framework for analysing women's career decisions by bringing gender to the forefront, but more recently it has been used in various ways, such as to examine generational differences in work attitudes, to discover alpha and beta career patterns, to explore women's late life career development and to examine their career decision making (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Cabrera, 2007; Sullivan et al., 2009; August, 2011). Additionally, it has also been used to illuminate the careers of women entrepreneurs in Japan (Futagami and Helms, 2009) and the work-life integration experiences of mid-career professionals in Ireland (Grady and McCarthy, 2008). More recently, it has been used to study academics' sabbaticals through a career lens (Carraher et. al.2014) and female managers' careers in China (Woodhams et al., 2015)

As can be observed, the KCM has been applied to a number of different topics, including human resource development programmes, work stress, family-friendly organisational programmes and career counselling (Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007a, 2007b, 2008). Despite the KCM research already conducted, though, scholars suggest that the model needs further empirical examination. Given the fact that austerity is an under-researched context within the relevant literature, an attempt has been made by this thesis to examine the relevancy of the KCM in Hellenic austerity, thereby answering the call of scholars (Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2008; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009).

According to the KCM, the interaction between three parameters, or career needs, namely **authenticity, balance, and challenge**, influence career decisions. These encourage people to acknowledge their careers and make changes, transitions and decisions, in order to meet the requirements of their families and of themselves. Kaleidoscope careers, according to some authors (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), meet individuals' needs for their lives, families and themselves. These parameters reflect:

a) A person's need to find congruence between work and his/her own personal values, by asking questions such as what about me? How can I be authentic, true to myself and make genuine decisions for myself in my life? This is contrasted against:

b) A family's need for balance, relationships and caregiving duties and intersect with

c) An individual's need for a challenge, career advancement and self-worth.

This is the "ABC" model of kaleidoscope careers, which indicates that individuals have the following three major career needs. Alternatively, the kaleidoscope career suggests that individuals can direct their effort to wider life interests outside of work; however, it is rare those who look for balance will reach the higher levels of the organisational hierarchy. Devotion to one's work is crucial in order to climb the ladder. In addition, looking at the need to be authentic, the construct can be a luxury both to employees and to organizations alike (Baruch and Vardi, 2016). Hence, this thesis argues that it is essential to explore the relevance of the model within the context of austerity.

Authenticity

Authenticity is about being genuine to one's own values, whatever those might be – it is a person's need to find some form of congruence between work and his/her personal values. (Mainiero and Sullivan 2007) which simply implies that one acts and expresses him/herself according to one's true self, meaning that one's thoughts and feelings are consistent with one's actions (Michie and Gooty, 2005), it involves *"being true to oneself in most situations and living in accordance with one's values and beliefs"* (Wood et al., 2008, p.386). It drives people to make the required changes to accommodate their inner values at work and at home. In essence, it is about living according to those values. This parameter is the most difficult to identify, as the authors (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) mention, since it involves the quest to find one's true voice, to find one's

strengths and limitations. It is about answering questions such as "What about me?" "Did I make the right decision?"

Authenticity embodies the inner voice, the voice of conscience that remains after the trade-offs people make during their career. People who are authentic have a good knowledge of their values, priorities and preferences. They analyse their experiences by bringing their values and beliefs into focus with the way they spend their careers; hence, authenticity is not really a personality characteristic but is rather a state of mind, since it involves the agreement of daily actions with deeply held values and beliefs. In the KCM research, authenticity appears in many different ways, such as seeking the purpose of one's life, of doing the right thing, of listening to one's inner voice and speaking up, of respecting differences and being spiritual, of striving to accomplish a dream, of being a force that manifests in response to a crisis and the power to overcome any difficulty (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). The authors (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) argue that this need or parameter is the most difficult to describe, because it is covered in the discussion about bad bosses, lack of advancement, the demands of the caregiving role, etc. Career actors reflected upon their career decisions and asked themselves: did I make the right choice? Was the decision well-matched for me and the others around me?

In recent times, there has been a growing consciousness about people's longing for purpose. Participants in the KCM claim that life is too short, and so they do not wish to live to work but work to live, since there are more important things in life than work (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Individuals longing for purpose do not want to live what seems to be a falsehearted life – they want to be true to themselves and have a career that will give them pleasure and satisfaction. They ask themselves questions such as "Is that all there is to life?" "Could there be something more, something different from what I've already achieved?" "Does what I have done so far in life reflect who I really am and what I want to leave behind after I am gone?" (2006, p.158). People are on a quest, they want to align with what it is they need to do, what they want to do and what work demands from them. They desire authenticity (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). The construct of authenticity is believed to comprise three aspects; it is about being consistent on three levels, namely experience, awareness and action. More specifically, the first aspect of authenticity involves how one understands one's experiences, which implies that when the individual lacks self-awareness, then he/she is self-alienated because via experiences one develops self-awareness (Wood et al., 2008).

The second aspect involves correspondence between experience and behaviour, i.e. behaving in a consistent way with one's awareness, being true to oneself and living in accordance with one's

values and beliefs, similar to the KCM definition (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). The third aspect involves the extent to which one accepts the influence of other people and the belief one holds to conform to their expectations. When one is influenced by the view of others, it affects the individual's authenticity level as well as the feelings of self-alienation, because if one acts based on the expectations of others and is influenced by them, the authentic self becomes suppressed and self-alienation evolves. Taken together, self-alienation, authentic living and accepting (or not) external influence construct the ternary person-centred view of authenticity (Wood et al., 2008). This thinking can be paralleled through the thought of Marx (Fromm, 1961), who argued that if work was forced upon the person, it alienated man from his nature of being free and self-realising, or self-actualising in Maslow's (1954) words, hence widening the gap to being authentic.

In the KCM, being authentic in one's career is linked to finding purpose and meaning in life via one's work. Meaning in life (De Klerk, 2005) is concerned with the purpose of one's work and the significance and contribution of what can offer in the workplace. Purpose refers to what goes on in the individual's thinking regarding the reasons for which he/she works and what they intend to accomplish or realise (Brief and Nord, 1990). This purposefulness provides one with a reason for living. It makes life more than just a survival quest; rather, it involves experiencing one's life as having made or being able to make a difference in the world (Lips-Wiersma, 2002; De Klerk, 2005). If people's sense of purpose is congruent with their occupations or careers, their work becomes an expression of meaning. In such instances, their careers become the vehicles through which they can manifest the contributions they want to make to the world. The ultimate sense of meaning is reached if a person finds both life and his or her career meaningful. In this state, people will be motivated and committed to work beyond a personal sense of fulfilment and achievement, and personnel tend to stay in their careers in the face of difficulty (Ashforth, 1999). Hence, once a career overlaps with one's sense of meaning or purposefulness, it becomes more than just a career, it becomes a calling (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Dobrow, 2004).

The quest for meaning in organisations became widespread during the era of economising and redundancies in the 1980s, when the organisational image as a trustworthy community was disturbed (Ashmos and Duchon, 2000). Terkel (1972), through oral history, discovered that individuals were wounded by downsizing, and the author concluded that work is about searching for meaning as well as providing for everyday needs. Today's business realities, such as downscaling and competition, have enhanced meaning searching. Employees want meaning and connectedness in their lives, they desire to live to work, rather than work to live, in which case work is thus not merely a job but is also an opportunity of great significance that serves functions

other than merely earning a living (Cash, 2000; Sturges and Guest, 2004; De Klerk, 2005). Similarly, Mitroff and Denton (1999) wanted to discover what gives people meaning in their work. The participants argued that interesting work, realising one's potential and being associated with an ethical organisation, followed by making money, service to others and having good colleagues, were matters that made work meaningful. The authors also noted that their findings confirmed Maslow's need for self-actualisation, since money ceases to be the most important issue when higher needs develop. However, as the authors rightfully posited, the way one's work is perceived depends on the level on which it is located and the pay one receives (Mitroff and Denton, 1999).

In terms of a public sector career, the construct of public sector motivation (PSM) is a concept concerned with one's career in the public sector. When it comes to defining the notion of PSM a host of definitions exist. Some highlight selflessness and argue that it is a motivational force that encourages people to perform meaningful, community service or have a career within the public sector (Brewer and Selden, 1998), while others tend to stress its public character and a general altruistic motivation to serve humanity, a state or a nation (Perry and Wise, 1990; Rainey and Steinbauer, 1999; Vandenabeele, 2007).

According to Bright (2009), the need to act altruistically and serve humanity is a higher-order need, an intrinsic factor and part of public sector motivation. Hence, the construct can be seen as an intrinsic motivation in public management, due to its ability to gratify higher-order needs such as self-actualisation (Maslow, 1943; Perry and Wise, 1990; Anderfuhren-Biget et al., 2010). Therefore, one can argue that acting as a needs theory, it drives individuals to act in accordance with their principles as a way to gratify those higher needs (Maslow, 1954), thus justifying the reason why they work in the civil sector (Perry and Wise, 1990; Vandenabeele, 2008; Steijn, 2008).

Research has shown that in comparison to private sector workers, public sector employees value intrinsic rewards (meaningful and interesting) over extrinsic rewards such as money and prestige in their work (Wittmer, 1991; Houston, 2000; Buelens and Van den Broeck, 2007). Civil servants are also expected to report a sense of contributing to society (Jurkiewicz and Massey, 1997; Houston, 2000; Pattakos, 2004; Lyons et al., 2006). Research argues that individuals in public service may simply view working as being more about serving the community and less about receiving an income or prestige (Taylor, 2005). This, however, does not mean that although civil servants may be intrinsically motivated they do not value extrinsic rewards (e.g. money) public service employees may just place a lower emphasis on extrinsic rewards, because the government offers so few of them (Taylor, 2005) and/or may advocate that salary is not a main

concern (Houston, 2000). Then again, they may substitute a lower salary with other work choices, such as job security, good working conditions and work-life balance (Wittmer, 1991; Houston, 2000; Lewis and Frank, 2002; Buelens and Van den Broeck, 2007).

This construct, the researcher argues can be equated to the career need of authenticity, which, according to the KCM means, being congruent with one's values and not compromising them when having a career (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). This way of achieving authenticity in one's career can be regarded as a higher-order need. More specifically, in studies comparing private-to-public sector employees, it was demonstrated that civil servants are prone to be indifferent to extrinsic features such as pay and instead value intrinsic career features such as serving the common interest, thereby seeking a pro-social impact of their actions (Perry, 2000; Taylor, 2005; Lyons et al., 2006; Vandenabeele, 2007, 2008; Grant, 2008; Perry et al., 2009). In simple words, empirical research suggests that public sector employees aim at satisfying higher-order needs via their career, such as authenticity, or in Maslowian (1954) terms self-actualisation.

However, this begs the question whether this is the case in austerity. Since authenticity essentially means being true to oneself, it leads people to look for work that is compatible with their values (Cabrera, 2007). In Greece, research has proven that public sector employees value their job security as being very important, since they have careers in state employment because of the security it provides them (Hofstede, 1980; Bourantas and Papalexandris, 1996; Patiniotis Stavroulakis, 1997; Koskina, 2008, 2009; Saiti and Papadopoulos, 2015). Hence, they are satisfying their need for safety i.e. to have a secure employment and not self-actualising. As Lewis and Frank (2002) infer, despite the satisfaction of higher-order needs such as altruism and contribution, employees choose the public sector due to its provision of stability and family friendliness; hence, the need to feel secure is the major selling point when it comes to working for the government (Lewis and Frank, 2002).

Balance

Studies on the topic of work-life balance began to emerge in the 1960s, when Kahn et al. (1964) acknowledged work-family conflicts as a substantial cause of stress for employees. Lately, the concept of equilibrium between family and professional life (work-family balance) has been used to refer to the successful development of both areas. Although the concept is widely employed, a common definition has proven indefinable. Kalliath and Brough (2008) reviewed different conceptualisations found in the literature, proposing a new definition of the construct where work-

life balance is the view the individual has that work and non-work activities are compatible and promote growth in accordance with their present life significances. For Clark (2000), work-life balance means "*satisfaction and good functioning at work and at home with a minimum role conflict*" (Clark, 2000, p.751).

Previously, the relationships between the sphere of work and private life were studied mostly from the perspective of work and family roles, but recently there has been a suggestion to define the non-work dimension more broadly, to incorporate individuals without traditional family responsibilities who desire balance in work and non-work activities such as leisure (Galinsky et al., 1996; Guest, 2002a;b; Sturges and Guest, 2004; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Kalliath and Brough, 2008).

For the KCM, balance is usually referred to as the Holy Grail of life, combining personal life with work. As the authors (Mainiero and Sullivan,2005) mention, "*in our kaleidoscope model, 'family' and 'context' are more broadly defined as the set of connections representing individuals who deserve consideration as a weight in the decision, each with their own needs, wants*, and *desires that must be evaluated as parts of the whole*" (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005, p.111). According to the KCM, there are five major approaches people use in order to achieve balance, since a family's need for balance, relationships and care-giving overlaps with one's career. In their research, the authors found that the majority of the respondents tried "*the adjusting approach*" (2006, p.193) to balance, whereby instead of dropping out of work to raise their children, they adjust their careers to fit their personal life, thereby sacrificing personal needs and values. This pattern is usually adopted due to financial pressure, especially by the female baby boom generation, who are caught between caring for children, elderly relatives and work. Other approaches to fit balance are the "*consecutive*" (2006, p.197), where one partner drops out of the workforce and later on re-enters, the "*concurrent*" (2006, p.199), where dual earning couples juggle between family and work. There is also the *"alternating"* (2006, p.202) approach, where one spouse works and the other stays at home and when the time is right they switch positions, and finally the *"synergistic"* (2006, p.204) approach, where one can "have it all," meaning working and taking care of the family; an academic is given as an example, but although the mother did work from home and managed to take care of the family, the work done was not as adequate as it could have been.

The numerous roles individuals play in modern societies, as employees and parents, have been found to either enhance or cause conflicts in people's lives, whereby the incidents in one role diminish or advance the quality of life in another role (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Frone, 2003; Carlson et al., 2006; Bagger et al., 2008; Kinnunen and Mauno, 2008). Work-family conflict has

been associated with dissatisfaction, distress, ineffective performance at work and non-work domains, poor physical and psychological wellbeing and low quality of life (Frone et al., 1996; Parasuraman et al., 1996; Carlson and Kacmar, 2000; Frone, 2003). Nonetheless, work and family roles can likewise benefit each other, a notion known as "work-family enrichment" (Greenhaus and Powell, 2003), defined as the degree to which experiences in one role improve life quality in the other role. Particularly, enhancement focuses on resources from one domain used in the other, whereas balance refers to the management of work and non-work responsibilities.

Research has discovered that female expatriates experience both work-life conflict and enrichment. In general, the long working hours and the travelling cause stress for employees and their families; however, the work-life balance is seen as an ongoing process which changes over life and career stages, meaning that in their early careers expatriates place a strong focus on work, whereas in later stages the focus shifts towards private life (Mäkelä et al, 2011). This research is in accordance with the KCM, which claims that balance comes at a later career stage. Since balance and career perceptions are subjective, there is no "objectively" ideal balance, because every individual must develop his/her own way of integrating all aspects of life in terms of spending time and coping with stress (Greenhaus and Powell, 2003).

Cross cultural study of work family issues is a fairly new area of research (Joplin et al, 2003) which needs to pose a basic question of how generalisable the theoretical models, typically developed in the US, are in different contexts (Spector et al., 2004; Thomas and Inkson, 2007). For Joplin et al (2003) macro level conditions such as economic and social factors act as potential national level determinants of work family conflict since meaning of work, career and family differs across countries and cultures hence, contextual differences are to be expected (Joplin et al, 2003). Cross-cultural research has relied on differences in national cultures and public policy affecting women's labour market participation, in order to explain work-life balance differences. For instance, in Mediterranean countries such as Greece, Spain and Italy, which tend to be less individualistic than the Anglo Saxon world, and where the expanded family provides care support, caring is considered a private responsibility and therefore limited state support is provided. Hence, the work-life conflict is experienced differently (Poelmans et al., 2003).

In Hellenic society, as in most collectivist societies, work-life balance might not be an issue in one's career, as one's working performance/career may not necessarily be violated by one's family (Glaveli et al., 2013). This is due to the fact that people from birth onwards are incorporated into a group consisting of an extended family including grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins.

The existence of this group is to protect its members in exchange for loyalty (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). Hence, in Greece, due to strong family bonds, people tend to care for one another and get social support at home mainly from the elders in the family, primarily by grandmothers who usually look after the grandchildren. This family connection and aid allows employees to devote time and energy to their career. Consequently, any career is not threatened by the family role and vice versa (Greenhaus and Beutell, 1985; Carlson and Kacmar, 2000). Consequently, one's career is not evaluated as dissatisfying but rather as a satisfying regarding the work-life balance (Glaveli et al., 2013).

According to Giannikis and Mihail (2011a), flexible work options are less common in Greece than in the rest of the EU countries. Eurostat (2009) reveals that in terms of part-time employment within EU27, Greece has the lowest provision (5.7%). In addition, data from the European Working Conditions Survey 2000 highlight that a complete lack of all forms of flexibility in working time for parents employed full-time is most prevalent in Greece, and other Mediterranean countries such as Portugal and Spain, whereas the greatest flexibility is found in Scandinavian countries and the UK, arguing that cultural and contextual differences are relevant in this regard, which should be taken into consideration when researching (Aryee et al, 1999; European Foundation for Improvement Living and Working Conditions 2005).

In addition, research has discovered that the work-life balance, in Greece, is more valuable to private sector employees than to civil servants, possibly due to the fact that private sector careers are more demanding, both in terms of time and effort. In the case of those working in the Greek public sector, on most occasions there is no such thing as overtime beyond their 37.5 working hours per week (Katsimi and Tsakloglou, 2000). The gap between the sectors is especially obvious in Greece in relation to other countries, because almost 80% of the Greek public sector have employees that take parental leave compared to less than 50% of private firms, hence inferring that the public sector is considered to be a better provider of work-life balance in comparison to the private sector (Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a). One reason for these sectoral differences is the high proportion of women in the public sector workforce. Based on the custom that more mothers than fathers take up flexible working practices, then, naturally, labour flexibility is more widespread in the public sector, in order to satisfy its high proportion of female staff. Another reason is the work culture of public organisations, as they are more supportive of employees who make use of leave entitlements or other work-family reconciliation measures (Fagan et al., 2007). Indeed, in Greece, employment flexibility policies and financial provisions for statutory parental leave schemes are more generous in the public sector compared to private

firms. For instance, Labour Directives 3528/2007 and 4024/2011 (Labour Directive, 3528/2007; 4024/2011) recognise that in the public sector a parent can take paid leave for a period of 9 months until the child is 6 years old. On the other hand, Greek Law 1484/1984 (Law, 1484/1984) has established that in the private sector a parent can take an unpaid leave period of only 3.5 months – and only up until the child is 2.5 years old.

Research demonstrates the existence of certain obstacles that interfere with the execution and distribution of flexible working practices in Greece and which aim to foster a work-life balance (Krestos,2006) These obstacles include the negative attitudes of senior executives toward flexible working practices, due to concerns over growing labour costs, mainly in small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) which are predominant in the business sector of the economy (Krestos, 2006). Additionally, the male breadwinner role model, which considers men responsible for providing for the family and women responsible for caring for the family, is relatively strong in Greece (Mutari and Figart, 2001; Warren, 2007).

The research of Giannikis and Mihail (2011a) concluded that in Greece flexible work practices are more supportive for employees in the public sector, as they are implemented by a comprehensive institutional framework and warranted by the presence of trade unions. Additionally, and based on the fact that Greek public workers are permanent employees (Labour Directive 4024/2011) and that the reward system in the public sector is based mainly on seniority and less on employee performance (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2006), public employees, compared to private employees, perceive fewer costs or negative effects on career advancement, pay and/or interpersonal relationships from flexible work arrangements (Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a). Similar results have been found in the UK on the higher commitment of the public sector to the work-life balance than the private sector (Persaud, 2001).

The beneficial working nature of the Hellenic public sector in terms of work-life balance was also examined by Demoussis and Giannakopoulos (2007), who revealed that public sector employees are more satisfied than their private sector counterparts. The greater differences between public-private sector employees in terms of their work concerns job security followed by work-life balance and, finally, earnings. Given the generous features of the public sector, it seems logical for university graduates to desire employment in the civil service (Demoussis and Giannakopoulos, 2007). As empirical data illustrate, the public and private sector gap in Greece is evident and concerns issues, in order of importance, of job security, work-life balance and earnings. In other words, despite the fact that the Greek labour market is considered to be heavily protected, this

protection apparently applies only to public sector employees (OECD, 2001; Demoussis and Giannakopoulos, 2007).

With the current crisis and the highest unemployment in the EU (Eurostat, 2015) Greece is facing the worst recession in modern world history and is seeing a huge impact on people and companies (Thompson, 2012). As research has shown, context is a powerful influence on career perceptions, including work-life balance perceptions, and so this thesis aims to explore the relevancy of the work-life balance issue in austerity within the public sector.

Challenge

The challenge parameter is concerned with learning and developing as a person, about finding stimulating and exciting work, since the challenge of accomplishing a hard task is a key motivator in individuals' careers because challenge-seeking is part of an individual's intrinsic motivation (Amabile et al., 1994; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). A challenge can be viewed as a motivator or fuel toward self-discovery, expressing itself through different ways such as obtaining validation as careerists by accomplishing a hard task, because through that accomplishment the person starts to realise his/her strengths and potentials and gain greater respect and visibility in the organisation (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

Such positive career experiences lead people to discover who they are or their knowing why's, which refer to realising one's motivation for work and being clear on one's values while identifying with one's work (Inkson and Arthur, 2001). The "knowing why" competency involves different dimensions of the person's inner self, such as values, motives and character. Our career capital or competencies (knowing-why, knowing how and knowing-whom) are complementary functioning forms, since individual knowing why investments interact with the other competencies. For instance, each career change we make typically requires us to invest at least one competency, with consequences for the other two. Our "knowing whys" help us to develop our "knowing how" competencies, since having a clearer motivation for one's career can inspire the individual to acquire new skills. By building expertise and skills, self-confidence is improved, which in turn leads to greater interest in one's work (Inkson and Arthur, 2001).

Hence the need for a challenge, in the KCM, since it is a motivating factor, aids individuals to obtain affirmation in their career, which in turn helps their career identity or their ''knowing why'', which in turn affects their ''knowing how'' competency or skills since challenge , via exiting and

stimulating work improves one's skills. According to the KCM, the drive to be challenged at work is a powerful motivating force and is the main reason, other than money, why people work (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

One of the first surveys on employee motivation was conducted in 1946 in the US context (Hersey and Blanchard, 1969). The same survey was repeated in 1980, 1986 and in 1992. In the surveys conducted during 1946, 1980 and 1986, high wages was placed in fifth position among ten motivating factors; however, in 1992, it was placed in first position. In a reproduction of the initial US study in the Malaysian context (Islam and Ismail, 2004) the monetary incentive was found in first place as well. Wiley (1997) justifies response changes in the economic and political environments in the US. From 1946-1986, the US experienced prosperity and growth in its living standards, but in the 1990s a number of mergers and the downsizing of the corporations placed people in economic and career uncertainty, and in such times basic needs may be regarded as the most important motivators (Maslow, 1954).

With respect to Maslow's (1943) theory, salary is a significant incentive because it can satisfy many needs, such as provide workers with the means to purchase items in order to satisfy basic physiological and safety needs as well as to meet their esteem needs, since salary is linked to work and contributing. In a different study, Lord (2002) discovered that the main motivators of engineers are accomplishment, job responsibility and recognition, thus confirming the results of Herzberg's theory (Herzberg et al., 1959). For blue and white collar workers their motivation was found in good pay and recognition. Benefits, working environment and co-workers were also important but not as much as the previous two examples (Mani, 2002).

Research in Nordic countries, conducted by Eskildsen et al. (2004), studied the differences in intrinsic work motivation and job satisfaction among employees and discovered that job satisfaction and intrinsic motivation have a direct association with age and that higher-educated employees had higher levels of intrinsic motivation. On the other side of the globe, important motivators in the Japanese financial sector (Kubo and Saka, 2002) were money, development and autonomy. In Greece, Sarri and Trihopoulou (2005) investigated the personal characteristics and motivation of female entrepreneurs and confirmed that women are motivated to become entrepreneurs mainly due to financial reasons. The authors argued that women in Greece move into entrepreneurship when they have no other career choice, claiming that motives depend on the country and the time period. For instance, in an Italian study the women were motivated by being in control of deciding what kind of career they would have and how to apply their knowledge and develop their expertise (Sarri and Trihopoulou, 2005).

Since human nature is very complex, human needs and motivation differ according to the circumstances people face, their age and their expectations (Schein, 1980). For the KCM people choose their work, with the exception of money, due to the need to gain validation as experts, to have an impact in order to make things happen and to develop and grow in their profession. However, research in Greece has proved that people are motivated mainly by job security. Career growth, although desirable, is related to whom one knows, referring to clientelism and networking. In the Hellenic retail sector, Giannikis and Mihail (2011b) compared the motivation of part- and full-time female employees. Their findings revealed that for both part-timers and full-timers the three most valuable career motivators were the rewards of pay, co-worker friendliness and job security. In another study, by Manolopoulos (2006), Hellenic R&D professionals were motivated by economic compensation, thereby indicating that the basic needs for these professionals were monetary and status-driven. According to the author (Manolopoulos, 2006), the results meet the expectations for a middle-income peripheral European economy such as Greece, and he justifies the results by the fact that Greece at that time was in second-to-last place in the EU regarding wages, and so monetary compensation was anticipated. A survey on employees' motivational preferences in the Hellenic public sector also revealed that employee motivation was driven by job security, financial incentives and transparency in terms of promotion (Manolopoulos, 2008). Having taken these facts into consideration, this begs the question as to whether challenges represent a relevant career need in austerity. The discussion will now move on to the concept of need and the relevant need theories, arguing about the importance of basic needs satisfaction in the workplace as the concept of need is discussed in the KCM and hence need explanation.

2.7. THE CONCEPT OF NEED

According to the KCM, career actors discover ways to meet their career needs for, balance, challenge and authenticity by creating unique career patterns and putting the parameters or the ABCs to the forefront, in order to guide their career steps. However, the question remains as to what constitutes a need. Within the literature, several versions of human needs theory exist; common to them all is the assumption of certain universal needs rooted in the biological conditions of man. However, how one satisfies those needs is culturally determined (Ramashray, 1990).

Needs are considered the demands of human existence and development and are hence an important driving force (Gillwald, 1990). Cherrington (1991) argues that a need represents an internal state of disequilibrium or deficiency that has the capacity to trigger a behavioural response and determine what people want from the environment. Some scholars argue about the universality of needs common to all humankind across time and space, since they are organically programmed tendencies (Maslow, 1943; Sandole 1990). This was the thought of Maslow (1954), who saw needs as drivers which energise our actions. For Maslow (1954), need involved the drive to satisfy something that is absent, and therefore he formulated a hierarchy of needs theory, believing that everyone possessed a common set of the five universal needs, ordered in a ladder of importance. What Maslow (1954) referred to when arguing about the universality of needs was human commonality. Even though societies and cultures differ, the truth is that people are more alike than different, and hence the differences between humans are superficial rather than basic (e.g. tastes in clothes and food, type of governance). Needs theories are concerned with the subjective experiences of individuals while interacting within and with their environment, and therefore they enhance our understanding of individual differences by specifying some conditions that explain how people evolve their different needs strength depending on their circumstances. As such, need theories assume that everyone has existing needs or safety needs (universality), although, depending on context and time, the strength of the need may weaken or strengthen (Alderfer, 1977).

In essence, Maslow's (1954) universality in classifying needs accordingly is an attempt to exhibit this human commonness behind cultural diversity. As a result, the claim is that the basic human needs hierarchy, as proposed by Maslow (1954), is universal and more basic than superficial individual conscious desires and wants. Hence, this hierarchy takes a closer approach to mutual human characteristics, since basic needs are more common among humans than are superficial desires. In the same vein, Etzioni (1968) proposes that it is advantageous to assume that there is a universal set of basic human needs which have attributes of their own, and hence the authors

examine not only the universality of human needs, but also the differentiation between societies in their cultural patterns. As a consequence, societies differ in the extent to which their membership is able to satisfy their needs. Hence, an affluent society is able to satisfy the higher-order needs of its members effectively, whereas a non-affluent society strives to satisfy the more basic lower-order needs (Maslow, 1954; Etzioni, 1968; Bardwick, 1986).

The distinction between a need, a want, a desire and a wish is made by Galtung (1990), who argues that the latter are subjectively felt and expressed. Surely, they may express needs but they may not be necessary, as we may want and desire an expensive car, but do we really need it? Hence, one aspect of need is tied to the concept of necessity, which includes universality. Universality (Galtung, 1990) does not mean that a specific list of human needs can be drawn up; instead, it makes sense to talk about certain classes of needs such as security needs, freedom needs and welfare needs, suggesting that in one way or another humans everywhere and at all times have tried to understand these sorts of things in different ways (Galtung, 1990), sometimes as proposed by Maslow (1954). Hence, universality applies to needs and not to desires, as they are subjective.

The importance of the concept of need lies in its deficiency, as conflicts arise when the appropriate satisfiers involved are limited (Maslow, 1943; Gillwald, 1990). If needs are not satisfied, individual development is distorted, and if this happens on a large scale society becomes conflict-ridden (Maslow, 1943). The interest in human needs involves solving problems at societal level, as planning and analysing individual needs will help society in general, and so the accommodation of individual needs makes not only a happy person but a happier and more harmonious society or organisation (Burton, 1979; Ramashray, 1990). In addition, once needs are perceived and acknowledged as fundamental sources that can be employed to analyse and plan individual development, or in this case career development, the conflict will be easier to identify and solve (Ramasharay, 1990). As previously mentioned, needs theories contend that, by satisfying needs, the harmonious individual and society will develop (Maslow, 1943; Gillward, 1990; Ramashray, 1990). The claim of these theories is that satisfying higher-order needs helps the individual realise his/her potential, gain psychological health and become a whole or developed person, as this distinguishes man from animal (Maslow, 1954). This in turn is reflected in a well-functioning society, as the pursuit of individual good will become the vehicle to social and public good (Maslow, 1954).

Maslow (1954) argues that the socio-cultural environment functions as a support structure and represents a set of opportunities that individuals can exploit in order to realise capabilities inherent

in them. However, the road to self-actualisation demands several indicators, such as security. For instance, the need for security is not completely satisfied in a society which simply preserves law and order. Security is more than preserving life; it involves preserving liberty and its expansion so that the person is confident that he/she can choose what kind of life he/she desires and can also maintain it accordingly. To be able to feel secure, one must have a stable environment, which implies stability in expectations referring to social and financial conditions (Maslow, 1954; Ramashray, 1990). Hence, through the completion of the human as whole, by satisfying basic needs, one can expect a harmonious society or organisation. Therefore, looking at needs from a HR perspective, in order to remove or avoid conflicts in a society/organisation or an individual, basic needs have to be satisfied for the individual to develop fully by providing a condition or a sine qua non harmonious society (Ramashray, 1990). These arguments raise the question as to whether the context of austerity can aid the gratification of basic career needs, as the road to self-actualisation or authenticity demands several factors, such as security, to be in place.

2.8. NEEDS THEORIES

Content theories, also known as "needs theories," are concerned with the internal factors that motivate an individual. These theories suggest that an individual's needs keep changing and that in order to motivate someone it is important to take into consideration these needs and fulfil them accordingly. The greatest advancement of needs theories occurred between the 1930s and mid-70s, with the revolutionary work by Maslow (1943; 1954) and Herzberg et al. (1959), who investigated the motivation of individuals in organisations, based on human need. The hierarchical nature of human needs has been around for millennia, in fact Plato (1975) argued that the first and the greatest of our needs is the provision of food to support existence and life whereas the second of our needs is the arrangement of a home, the third of clothing, and so on (Plato,1975).

Prominent among the literature is Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (1943), as its impact on the work of other theorists is notable. Woolridge (1995) goes so far as to call Maslow the "high priest" of needs, as his theory is attractive because it provides us with a useful and logical picture of needs theory, hence one of the reasons why this research emphasises Maslow's needs theory.

The proposition of Maslow's theory rests on the premise that the individual is an integrated whole, which means that there is only one need for the whole the individual, i.e. it is Alex who wants food and not his stomach; therefore, satisfaction of the need comes to Alex, the whole individual, and not just his stomach. Consequently, when people are hungry they change their purposes. For

instance, perceptions change, and obtaining food is perceived more eagerly than at other times. The content of thinking also changes, whereby a hungry person will focus on how to obtain food rather than of finding purpose in life or a career challenge. In other words, when a person is hungry that person is hungry all over, and the non-satisfaction of the need makes the individual differ from what they are at other times, when the need is satisfied (Maslow, 1943), because humans are animals with needs which need to attain satisfaction. In essence, as one's desire is satisfied, another one surfaces.

Physiological needs represent the starting point for Maslow's theory (1943; 1954). If all needs are unsatisfied and the human organism is conquered by physiological needs, all other needs become non-existent. All capabilities of the human organism are put into action to satisfy the hunger need, and therefore the urge to purchase a new car, to obtain balance in life and connect spiritually are forgotten and placed in the background. For the extremely hungry, no other interest exists but food. Another distinguishing characteristic of our being when conquered by a need is that the whole viewpoint of the future tends to change. For the chronically hungry, utopia is a place with plenty of food. For the unemployed, finding full-time, secure employment is the ideal. The person thinks that if only food could be guaranteed for the rest of his life, happiness would follow and nothing else would be needed. Hence, life is defined in terms of eating, and anything else is unimportant. Maslow (1943) argues that needs emerge and are organised in a hierarchy. This means that gratification is important, because it relieves the organism from the power of a physiological need, thereby allowing the appearance of other social goals. Physiological needs, when satisfied, stop existing as active determinants of behaviour/action; they exist in a latent way and emerge to dominate the organism when they are prevented.

If physiological needs are satiated, a new set of needs emerges involving safety needs such as security, stability, protection, freedom, law, etc. The individual may be entirely dominated by these needs as well. However, these are desired to a lesser degree than the physiological examples mentioned above. In the western world, healthy adults have their safety needs largely satisfied, since we live in a stable society which provides safety from criminal assault, chaos and tyranny (Maslow, 1954, 2000). If we wish to see these safety needs directly we must turn to societies which suffer from war, conflict or chaos. In between the extremes of utopia and war we can perceive the expressions of the safety need only in phenomena such as common preferences for careers with tenure and protection, the desire to have a bank account and the desire for insurance (medical, pension, car, unemployment). Safety needs can become very pressing on society whenever there are real threats to law, order and authority. For instance, during corporation

downsizing, the safety need to maintain to one's occupation comes to the fore (Maslow, 1998; 2000). If both physiological and safety needs are satisfied, love, affection and belongingness needs will emerge and the whole cycle will repeat itself.

Esteem needs emerge when people have a need for self-respect and for the esteem of the others, when they need to be challenged at work, to gain expertise, etc. According to Maslow (1943), everyone has a need for a high evaluation of him/herself, for self-respect or self-esteem and for the esteem of others. These needs can be classified into two subsidiary sets, namely the desire for achievement and respect from others. For the KCM (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), it is the phase where the challenge takes the form of validation. Furthermore, we have the desire for prestige (Maslow, 1976; 1999) whereby the KCM challenge takes the form of gaining expertise and having an impact (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). By satisfying the needs of esteem, one improves self-confidence, worth and strength and reaches the level of adequacy.

When all of the previous needs are satisfied, self-actualisation emerges; this need is related to the desire for self-fulfilment, to become everything that one is capable of becoming. This need varies from individual to individual. For some it may be a wish to become a great parent, for others becoming an inventor or writing poems – at this level individual differences are the greatest, and the only commonality lies in the premise of having satisfied previous needs.

Maslow's (1943; 1954) five-stage model was expanded to include cognitive and aesthetic needs (Maslow, 1954) and finally transcendence needs (Maslow, 1976). Maslow (1976) noted that some people had moved beyond the stage of self-actualising and towards self-transcendence by identifying with something greater than the purely individual self, often immersing themselves in providing help to others, which is where the ego and its needs are transcended. For Koltko-Riviera (2004; 2006), Maslow's theory incorporates discussions on the meaning of life, as individuals construct their meaning in life depending on the various stages of the hierarchy in which their needs reside. All of these stages define worldviews in terms of meaning in life, which itself might be defined as searching for survival, safety, love, esteem and self-actualisation, or in terms of the KCM to search for balance, challenges or authenticity. The hierarchy of needs describes a framework which identifies and organises ideas around the purpose in life and by including self-transcendence. Maslow (1976) allows for a richer conceptualisation of the meaning of the life dimension, since the ultimate purpose is to reach the point at which one can self-transcend.

When discussing human needs satisfaction, the influence of the environment must be stressed, since human motivation actualises itself in behaviour in relation to context. Basic needs are

universal, since we are all humans; however, in any society, the motivational content of individuals will differ (Maslow, 1954). For Maslow (1954), culture influences our needs, since it is adapted by our reality. For that reason, perception plays a considerable role in needs development. The very existence of a need, and its definition, depends on how the individual apprehends reality and on the possibility and impossibility of satisfaction. For Maslow, culture satisfies rather than obstructs the need satisfaciton. Hofstede (1984) criticised Maslow for being ethnocentric, claiming that Maslow's hierarchy of needs represents a value choice based on US middle-class values of the time and reflecting individualistic values by putting self-actualisation at the top. However, Maslow (1976), added more levels on the hierarchy, putting self-transcendence on the top, emphasising the need to find the ultimate purpose in life, to act with altruism and helping others (Maslow, 1976; Koltko-Rivira, 2004; 2006).

Maslow (1943; 1954) thought of his model as a natural method of ranking human needs, later it became clear other fields of research could use this approach to better address human needs such as management. The fondness for Maslow by organisational behaviourists is explained as human needs are analysed, categorised and prioritised in a rigid manner (Mintzberg et al., 1998) In addition, the model helps leaders to better understand how to create workplace conditions to satisfy employee needs (Mustafa, 1992).

In the sphere of work, Maslow's model has the same five levels (Maslow, 2000; Benson and Dundis, 2003). Following physiological needs, the next categories are wages, job security and training (Benson and Dundis, 2003). Providing job security and training is a way of accommodating basic human needs and makes organisational good sense (Maslow, 1954; Pfeffer, 1995), as the bare threat of unemployment hinders the fulfilment of basic career needs and heralds the potential loss of finance on the part of the employer (De Witte, 1999).

In terms of employee needs, those defined and symbolized by Maslow are open to interpretation according to cultural influences (Harvard, 2010). When taking a closer look at Maslow's highest level, it is clear that the perception of self-fulfillment and subsequent happiness can vary based upon cultural definitions of various work-related values. For example, Maslow's proposed evolutionary chronology of employee needs can be inverted for wealthy retired European and American successful business executives. For some of these people, the apogee of material values and professional achievement is being able to buy and restore an old French country house and buy a yacht. Maslow can also be interpreted as having fewer levels, or having several levels being considered as one even non-existent (Harvard, 2010). For instance, in African countries, where famine and civil war are factors permanently influencing the local economy, the

continuous struggling in a life-and-death situation can transform Maslow's first level to a point where fulfilling physiological needs becomes a priority and is the very purpose of one's existence (Kolto-Rivera, 2004).

This thesis argues that in such a case, level one is so important it becomes its own pyramid. Therefore, the influence of local economy and culture must be integrated when trying to understand employee needs and behaviour (Harvard, 2010) as they can interfere with several levels of employee needs in Maslow's model. (For an interesting discussion about the development of Maslow's' hierarchy, see Harvard, 2010).

Maslow's theory did not have substantial impact initially, but gradually it started to become influential in psychological research (e.g. Bernstein and Crosby, 1980; Deci and Ryan, 2000). In the last few decades, it has also spread to other disciplines such as sociology (e.g. Doyal and Gough, 1984; Wolbring et al, 2011). However, one must acknowledge that several criticisms have been put forward over the years. It has been suggested that the hierarchy of needs is too inflexible (Harrison et al., 2013), the nature and the ordering of the levels is rather arbitrary (Henwood et al., 2015; King-Hill, 2015), and that some of the concepts are rather ambiguous (Huczynski and Buchanan, 2013; Al-Aufi and Al-Kalbani, 2014). Maslow's underlying methodology has been criticised because it makes unfounded leaps of 'logic' and makes assertions that are not supported by the evidence Maslow presents (see for instance Linstead et al., 2009). At best, it is argued, Maslow's ideas can only be applied to the 18 people he studied, and not to humanity in general (Cullen, 1994). Hoffman (1999) argues that Maslow's work lacks scientific rigour because there is a paucity of empirical support – a view supported by Sommers and Satel (2006) – and there is clearly some truth in this. An extensive survey of the literature reveals that the few empirical studies of its validity are rather old (examples are Wahba and Bridwell, 1973; Soper et al., 1995). This suggests that the time is ripe for a new empirical assessment, and this was one of the key factors in the author's choice of the model for the present study.

In spite of the above criticisms, and because Maslow's theory is now more than 70 years old, it might be thought that it has become obsolete. Whilst Sommers and Satel (2006 p.74) do not quite go as far as that, they do suggest that Maslow's ideas are no longer fashionable and are *"no longer taken seriously in the world of academic psychology"*. Others disagree, for instance, the hierarchy of needs was tested in an extensive study over a six-year period with more than 60,000 participants from over 120 countries (Tay and Diener, 2011), and it was found that the basic human needs identified by Maslow existed worldwide, irrespective of cultural differences. However, the study strongly suggested that these needs were all equally important and are

independent of hierarchy, and this has been reinforced by Ingram et al. (2013) who argued that needs are not sequential and that people have all of these needs simultaneously. Of course, Maslow himself recognised the limitations of his model, and extended his original five hierarchies to seven. Other authors have sought to improve upon Maslow's work and have developed alternative versions of the model (see for instance Ferguson et al., 2013; Nain, 2013; Nemati, 2013).

In spite of these alternatives, it is evident that Maslow's work continues to be influential. For instance, just within the past twelve months, the model has been used in a range of diverse contexts ranging from the prioritisation of adult social care needs (Wang, K. H. et al, 2016) to factors influencing job satisfaction (Sun et al, 2016), and from designing transport infrastructure (Mateo-Babiano, 2016) to exploring the reasons for academic achievement in schools (Marchetti et al. 2016).

Maslow's ideas have also been criticised as being rather ethnocentric and failing to take account of the needs of different cultures and societal structures (eg Jarkas et al, 2014; Kellerman, 2014). This is open to question, since the global importance of the model is very evident. For instance, it has been used to examine farming in Southern China (Wang, C. et al., 2016), state water policy in Texas (David and Tobin, 2016), printing companies in Brazil (Botana and Neto, 2015), tourism in Thailand (Ingram et al., 2013), and the sectarian troubles in Northern Ireland (Joyce and Lynch, 2015). Importantly for this study, the hierarchy of needs has also been extensively used to research within a Hellenic context. For example, in Cyprus, Akter and Nweke (2016) used it to examine the use of social media, and in Greece itself, it has been used to study contexts as diverse as health environments (Gaki et al, 2013), motivation within small firms (Panagiotakopoulos, 2013), innovation in business (Souitaris, 2001) the banking industry (Trivellas et al., 2010) and income levels and happiness (Drakopoulos and Grimami, 2013). Indeed, Drakopoulos and Grimami (2013)'s main empirical finding supports the notion of the hierarchy of needs and its relation to income level. Consequently, since Maslow's work is still relevant today, and is studied across the globe in a wide range of contexts, and has been explicitly used to understand various aspects of Hellenic culture, the author argues that it is appropriate to support the findings of the present study.

Whilst Maslow (1943) emphasised human biological, psychological and social needs, Hertzberg et al. (1959) determined that people have two categories of needs, namely hygiene factors and motivators in their careers. Hygiene factors contribute to the work context (Herzberg et al., 1959), but more specifically it was established that when individuals are dissatisfied with their work, they

are concerned about the working environment, whereas when they are satisfied the feeling of satisfaction is related to the work itself (Herzberg et al., 1959). Hence, the word "hygiene" means that it serves to eliminate risks or problems from the environment, and since these are never satisfied they have to be maintained continually. These factors, such as policies, job security and pay, are not an intrinsic part of the job; rather, they are related to the conditions in which the job is performed. These do not raise productivity but only prevent damage to job performance. When these conditions deteriorate they lead to job dissatisfaction, but the reverse does not hold true. On the other hand, motivators seem to encourage people to work to achieve superior performance and lead to people reporting being happy with their work through aspects such as achievement, recognition and advancement.

Herzberg et al.'s (1959) interview analysis highlighted that job security was the most important extrinsic factor, and it defined job security "*to include those features of the job situation which lead to assurance for continued employment, either within the same company or within the same type of work or profession*" (Herzberg et al., 1959, p.41). This definition focuses on continuity of employment, which is an essential characteristic of job security. It also suggests a useful distinction between organisational security and occupational or professional security. Herzberg et al. (1959), along with Maslow (1943; 1954), were concerned with the individual and how he or she could progress within the working environment. In addition, they recognised the importance of the individual in progressing and self-actualising in his/her work, claiming that *"self-actualization, or self-realization, as a man's ultimate goal has been a focal thought…"* (Hertzberg, 1959, p.53) and positing that work is one of the most important areas in achieving this goal. However, working conditions themselves cannot provide man with this outcome; rather, it is the performance of the task itself, and hygiene only meet the needs of the individual in avoiding unpleasant situations.

Herzberg et al.'s (1959) theory has been criticised regarding the classification of payment, as pay is regarded as a hygiene factor. However, for some people it can have an allegorical value, as it suggests advancement and status within the firm. Herzberg et al. (1959) concluded that salary belongs to hygiene, and they justify this view by referring to their empirical data. When salary was mentioned as a hygiene factor, it revolved around the unfair distribution of the pay system. In contrast to this, it was also mentioned as a perquisite that went along with promotions and achievement with the job; it was seen as a form of recognition. Yet, viewed within the context of events, it was concluded to be a factor which describes the job situation and was hence classified as a hygiene or a dissatisfier. Even for Herzberg et al. (1959), fairness was a condition mostly

noted within company policies and administration and which was needed in order to prevent job damage – as such, it did not motivate but it was a hygiene need, something that had to be in place in order for the employee to feel comfortable. Herzberg et al.'s (1959) participants noted unfair salary policies, a lack of information sharing and trust and as a consequence: "…*he slowed down in his work, putting jobs off if they were not essential*" (p.71), noting the importance of information sharing and fairness, as their absence leads to apathy (Herzberg et al.1959; Daileyl and Kirk, 1992; Pfeffer, 1995; Skarlicki and Folger, 1997).

As argued in the KCM, individuals need authenticity, balance and challenge and design their career paths accordingly. However, these needs are considered, higher-order needs or motivators (Maslow,1943; Hertzberg et al, 1959) which career development aims to satisfy via career progress. Hence, there is an impetus to move the discussion to explore the connection between motivation and career theory as that way we can understand the career behaviour of the individuals.

2.9.   ASSOCIATING CAREER THEORY WITH MOTIVATION

Based on the above exploration, it is evident that in the sphere of work the employee tries to realise his/her own needs and hence, via career development, aims to achieve the higher order needs by means of recognition, advancement, challenge and authenticity (Maslow,1943; Hertzberg et al ,1959; Baruch and Rosenstein, 1992). Scholars argue that HRM aims to develop employee careers and motivate staff (Storey,1992; Greenberg and Baron,2003;Robbins and Judge ,2009) concluding that HRM comprises of five key concepts : motivating, disciplining, managing conflict, staffing and training.

Research has linked the use of career management and development systems to the improvement of employees' career motivation and commitment (London and Mone, 1987; Noe,1996; London and Noe,1997*; Baruch,2004a) . London's (1983) model of career motivation suggests that individuals are motivated through career resilience, identity, and insight, and suggests that career motivation is a multidimensional concept internal to the individual, influenced by the situation, and reflected in the individual's decisions and behaviours. The individual characteristic dimensions are needs, interests, and personality variables potentially relevant to a person's career.

Career resilience is the inclination to adapt to changing circumstances, even under unfavourable circumstances. It consists of elements such as believing in oneself, need for achievement, and risk taking behaviour (London,1983). Career insight is about being realistic about oneself and one's career and to establishing goals based on those insights (London,1983). It contains the formation of clear career goals and knowing one's strengths and weaknesses.

Career identity refers to how central one's career is to one's identity and consists of two subdomains: work involvement and desire for progressing up the career ladder (London,1983). This focus on upward mobility is concerned with recognition, advancement and challenging work, involving job, organisational, and professional involvement, and individuals' need for a leadership role (London,1983).Similarly, the KCM argues that individuals are looking to satisfy their career need for self-esteem (London, 1983; Mainiero and Sullivan,2006). Career insight is theoretically similar to Super's vocational self-concept called crystallisation (Super, 1957) meaning, clarifying vocational goals and preparing to pursue them based on one's values and interests. Career insight is affected by goal-setting e.g., by the existence of career alternatives and assistance for setting career goals. Career identity is conceptually similar to Hall's (1976) model of career identification which argues that the importance the career has to an individual depends on his/her

awareness of one's predispositions (career insight) and being successful (which enhances self-confidence – a component of career resilience) (Hall, 1976). Career identity is influenced by fostering professionalism, by providing advancement opportunities, and whether there is potential for recognition, leadership opportunities, and monetary gain. Hence, it can be inferred that career identity directs motivation, insight is the stimulating element, and career resilience is the maintenance or tenacity factor (London, 1983).

London and Noe (1997) suggest that the three elements of the career motivation construct – resilience, insight, and identity – are grounded in trait-factor career theories. Resilience is conceptually similar to Holland's (1985) hypothesis that career decisions are influenced by the ability to face barriers, the need for information, the need for reassurance, and vocational identity (Holland, 1985). Moreover, career resilience is theoretically similar to the concepts of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977), and achievement motivation (McClelland, 1965), and to the conceptualisation of flexibility in the work adjustment theory (Dawes and Lofquist, 1984). Work adjustment theory stresses the need for a desirable fit between the person's skills and capabilities and the requirements of the job. Similarly, the closer the fit between the reinforcers of the role/position to the individual's values (e.g. achievement, status, safety) the more likely the individual will feel satisfaction and perform well. The flexibility of the individual will therefore define the degree of tolerance for absence of congruence between abilities and requirements and/or values and reinforcers. People who are strong in work adjustment are considered to be flexible and persistent (Dawes and Lofquist,1984).

The career motivation model (London, 1983; London and Noe, 1997) argues that context affects the career motivation of the individuals, their career decisions and actions. As such, opportunities to demonstrate achievement, support for learning and skill development, constructive performance feedback and encouragement of autonomy influence career resilience are all of prime importance. Hence, aspects of work setting are likely to be important to the construct such as staffing policies, career development programs, and the compensation system (London, 1983) since career motivation is affected by the context, and by the way the individual interprets it. More specifically, it is affected by prospective and retrospective rationality (London,1983). Prospective rationality is concerned with the predictions the individual makes about his/her career and of what he/she hopes will happen in the future. Hence, individual actions and decisions are guided by the desired results and one's expectations for attaining them, and these are closely linked to individuals' needs and contextual features (London,1983).

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This argument links closely to the KCM, where the career actors are weighing the pros and cons of their current careers and are actively seeking authenticity, balance and challenge (London, 1983; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Additionally, retrospective rationality processes argue that behaviours influence feelings of career motivation and perceptions of the situation. Retrospective rationality argues that social learning influences individual characteristics, which may change according to the importance attached to the situation and one's decisions and behaviour (London, 1983). For instance, challenge at work may affect positively one's engagement with the organisation and improve motivation and self-esteem (London,1983). Similarly, the KCM argues that individuals need to be challenged at work, if they want to develop as people and raise their self-esteem (Mainiero and Sullivan,2006)

Content theories of motivation, focus on the needs people try to gratify (Wood et al., 2004). Content theories identify two main sources of needs gratification. This can come from external factors, such as the job itself (eg. Hackman and Oldham, 1976; Hersey and Blanchard, 1977 Deci et al., 1999; 2001; Deci and Ryan, 2000;) or from internal factors within the individual employee (eg. McClelland, 1956; Latham and Pinder, 2005; Safiullah, 2015). These theories, exemplified by the work of Maslow (1954), and Herzberg et al. (1959), assume future rationality assumptions in that they identify what an individual will try to achieve in the future, via needs gratification. Hence, anticipated future rationality is the process by which individuals' career decisions are affected by what they believe will happen in the future. In an affluent environment where there is a plethora of jobs individuals might opt out of work to pursue balance and/or authenticity due to the anticipated rationality through which they assess the context, whether financial, working, social, and their future in it (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Therefore, there is a clear connection between motivation, content theories and career theories, as individuals navigate their careers via their needs, and via their future anticipation regarding their careers.

The link between motivation and career is not new, for instance Schein's (1978; 1990) work on career anchors assumes that career motivation is driven by an individual's personal understanding of their own abilities, needs, and values – a view supported by Land (1987). Hence, people make choices that are consistent with this understanding hoping to obtain a satisfying career. Similarly, Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) argue about job crafting suggesting that three individual needs – the need for personal control, the need for a positive self-image and the need for connection to others are motivational factors in whether or not individuals choose to craft their career. In addition, King's (2004) antecedents to career self-management, (self-efficacy and desire for control over career outcomes) are motivational variables. Regarding the need to gain

control over career outcomes, Hackman and Oldham's (1980) job features theory, identifies autonomy as a key motivational variable because individuals are more motivated if they feel they are in charge of their work. Similarly, for the KCM, three careers needs act as motivators and direct one's career steps in order to gratify the specific career needs (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

In combination, therefore, career resilience, insight, and identity form a pattern that describes individuals' career motivation.   London and Mone (1987) found various patterns of career development, such as people who start their careers with strong resilience and are able to use information about themselves and the environment to establish meaningful, long-lasting career identities and people who redirect their careers because of the barriers they face. These findings are supported by the KCM where individuals assessed their own strengths and the environment and changed their career pattern (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

To summarise, this section has tried to draw the connection between motivation, content theories and career theories. This link becomes obvious when individuals navigate their careers via their needs, and via their future anticipation regarding their careers. The theoretical framework of this study (KCM) argues about three universal career needs, authenticity, balance and challenge driving people's careers. The claim of the universality of these needs begs the question, whether these three specific career needs are relevant for the public sector employees in austerity and how careers are understood by the simple employee. The discussion will move on to the need for this research.

2.10. SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW: THE NEED FOR THIS RESEARCH

The literature review reveals that to obtain a full understanding of the issues, there is impetus and a need for scholars to examine careers in different contexts (Khapova and Korotov, 2007; Tams and Arthur, 2007; Inkson et al, 2012; Berkema et al, 2015; Inkson et al., 2015), since what works in one context may not work in another. It is important to consider the differences between countries in terms of career attributes (for example, career definitions, subjective and objective careers, etc.) and career environmental factors (i.e. economic, political, social factors) particularly outside the USA, where most career research has focused. This is especially important when

taking a social constructionism epistemological stance, since every individual constructs his/her meaning and definition of what a career entails (Burr, 2003; Purkhardt, 2015). In addition, Baruch (2004a; 2006) and Clarke (2013) argue that there is a need to investigate organisational careers in order to identify the current situation, as these are evolving due to contextual circumstances and hence perhaps need a redefinition. Since austerity is a relatively new concept in exploring careers, it lacks empirical research and this therefore justifies the present project (Grau-Grau, 2013). Additionally, Greece is an under-researched country within management and career research (Myloni et al., 2004; Mihail, 2008; Bellou, 2009a) which has been severely hit by the crisis. Moreover, the Hellenic public sector is controversial, because although it guarantees employment permanency, the wisdom of this has been questioned during austerity following the aforementioned dismissals. This makes it a fruitful area of study, for the present research.

The KCM is a recently developed, well-respected, context-sensitive career model, which argues that careers operate within three specific parameters – authenticity, balance and challenge – as individuals aspire to gratify these specific needs (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; August 2011). For the KCM, the three career needs act as causes and direct one's career steps in order to reach gratification (Mainiero and Sullivan,2006). Although the model has been explored in different contexts, scholars argue for more research (Sullivan and Baruch, 2009; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2008) and this is one of the main drivers for this study.

Research suggests that there is an established link between motivation and career theory(Schein, 1978; London 1983; London and Mone, 1987; Schein, 1990; Noe, 1996; Wrzesniewski and Dutton, 2001; Baruch, 2004a) . For example, London (1983) argues that, aspects of the workplace are important motivators, and also claims that one's future expectation, of one's career along with social learning, influences one's career motivation and affect one's career decisions. Content theories of motivation argue about human needs and their gratification aiming to identify what people will try to achieve in the future. Motivational content theories such as Maslow's (1954) provide explanations of future expectations, via needs gratification. Hence, when the individual expects to be able to find another job, in order to satisfy the need for esteem then he/she opts out of the old job to start something new. Similarly, the KCM argues about people opting out to search for new careers based on their needs for authenticity, balance and challenge (Mainiero and Sullivan,2006).

Research has acknowledged the importance of employee needs satisfaction, for instance via the provision of job security, training and maintaining fairness at work, as ultimately these provisions will lead to organisational performance (Pfeffer,1995). This is because when needs are

dissatisfied, conflict in the individual and as a consequence in the society will occur (Maslow, 1943; Pfeffer, 1995). Research within the Hellenic context has discovered that the career needs of individuals reflect a society stigmatised by unemployment and career uncertainty (OECD, 2001; Koskina, 2009). The KCM assumption presupposes the universality of the three specific needs located at the top of the human needs hierarchy (Maslow, 1954) and takes for granted the satisfaction of previous lower-order needs. This therefore begs the question how relevant these higher-order career needs are in the context of austerity and how careers are perceived in a context characterised by financial uncertainty.

From the literature review analysis, the following research aims emerge:

1.   To explore how careers are understood in austerity.

2.   To explore the relevancy of the KCM's career needs in austerity.

3.   To discover the career needs of civil employees in austerity.

4.   To develop further the KCM in order to extend its applicability to the austerity context.

3. CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1. OVERVIEW

The aim of the current chapter is to outline and justify the research methods to be used in the current thesis. The next section will provide background information on the philosophy, research approach, data collection and analysis. The research is situated within the constructivist paradigm and adopts qualitative data collection methods following a social constructionist perspective, in order to understand careers in austerity as proposed by scholars (Burr, 1995; Cohen et al., 2004). The chapter demonstrates the researcher's position, which supports the approach taken and leads to rigorous outcomes. The starting point is the demarcation of the philosophical positon of the researcher, in respect of reality and knowledge (ontology and epistemology), by identifying the implications of this for the research methodology followed by data collection, analysis and ethics.

3.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND ITS FOUNDATIONS

Qualitative inquiry is intended to study the life of individuals, and it has the overall objective of describing and clarifying experience as it is lived and created (Polkinghorne, 2005). As such, it is appropriate for answering "how" and "what" questions as opposed to "why" (Creswell, 2005). In addition, it is most appropriate when one needs to present a detailed and in-depth view of a phenomenon. The foundational element of qualitative enquiry rests on its philosophical underpinnings.

An overabundance of taxonomies exists with the purpose of describing research paradigms, whereby the paradigm refers to a world view, a set of beliefs, that guide research action and contains the researcher's epistemological, ontological, axiological and methodological assumptions. Ontology, from the Greek word *οντολογία*, means the study of being (*ov*, being). It is concerned with how research views the nature of reality, what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact. Epistemology, or *επιστημολογια*, means the theory of knowledge and is the study of how we know things. It is interested in the claims made about the ways in which we can gain knowledge from this reality (Hughes, 1990; Blaikie, 1993). Axiology (*αξιολογια*) has to do with values (*αξιες*) and their place in one's research, and finally a

methodology (*μεθοδολογια*) emerges from ontology, epistemology and axiology and addresses the question of how the researcher gains knowledge (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), paradigms fall within two broad categories: the positivist/empiricist and the constructivist/phenomenological (or in their definition the naturalistic). A constructivist paradigm has a relativist ontology, where many realities exist, and where meanings are co-constructed via the interaction of participants and the investigator, implying a subjectivist epistemology (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Within this paradigm, the values of the researcher (axiology, αξιες) exist and are embraced, and subjectivity is a fundamental part of the research. The research paradigm considered most suitable for the current research was social constructionism, the suitability of which is explained below.

3.3.   SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM: THE CHOSEN RESEARCH APPROACH

According to social constructionism, human criteria for identifying actions or events are highly bounded by culture, history and the social context. Social constructionism concentrates on how people construct and make sense of their world; as such, we need to know how all actors understand their situation, before we can begin to describe their actions (Charmaz, 2006). The focus of the enquiry within social constructionism is on the social practices engaged in by people and their interactions, in this case their public sector careers, in order to construct meaning. Social constructionism is based on four assumptions (Burr, 2003). The first is being critical of taken-for-granted knowledge, referring to the reality being objective and fixed. Social constructionism challenges researchers to understand the procedures through which the truth exists. In this research I doubt the taken-for-granted knowledge produced by the KCM, arguing about three universal career needs; instead, I argue that a career is an idiosyncratic notion which represents a unique interaction between self- and social experience (Young and Collin, 2004).

From a social constructionist perspective careers are socially constructed, culturally and socially derived and usually referring to White Americans or Anglo Saxons. This, as previously argued in the literature review, emphasises the parochialism of career literature in assuming that one model applies to all (Stead, 2004; Thomas and Inkson, 2007). Context-bounded career research provides awareness that multiple truths exist in the way individuals construct their career perceptions (Collin and Young, 2000; Juntuneen et al., 2001). Hence, taken-for-granted knowledge such as career models and theories should be examined in other contexts, in order to be understood fully.

This notion is connected to the second assumption about historical and cultural specificity. We cannot view the world as static; rather, we must accept that it evolves, and hence we need to view the world historically and culturally. Social constructionism argues that our understandings are products of particular cultures and historical periods, depending upon specific social and economic arrangements prevailing in that culture at that time (Burr, 2003). In terms of careers, in order to understand internal and external careers one must look at the ecology that surrounds them and which influences the perceptions of individuals. Culture provides reliability to the socially constructed reality in the career field and supports the suggestion that careers are understood as symbolic representations of work patterns instead of objective universal work. Also embedded in this perspective of the socially constructed career is the idea that the internal career is more than an individual perspective, since it imposes on and influences organisational practices and systems. i.e. an external career. As such, there is a duality of careers (Derr and Laurent, 1989). Within this approach, what we have thought about as a career has changed throughout history – what was relevant at a certain point in time and place may no longer be relevant. This implies ways of understanding careers as historically and culturally relative, specific to time and space and products of culture. Thus, socially constructed categories such as careers can be seen to be flexible and open to change (Derr and Laurent, 1989).

The third assumption is that knowledge is constantly maintained by social processes – it is a creation people engage in producing and recreating daily through social repetition and action. Therefore, the truth is not anything external but replicates our internal reality as we perceive it, meaning it is how we interpret our reality. Consequently, our "truth," which differs historically and culturally, is our current accepted way of understanding the world.

These understandings lead to the fourth assumption, namely that knowledge and action go together, as each construction invites a different kind of action from social actors. For instance, in the past, slavery was considered "normal" and Black people inferior to White in the US. Thinking about it now, we realise the incorrect mentality of the past; however, the constructions of the world then, in that time and place, allowed and accepted people to be discriminated against on the grounds of their race. As Burr (2003) argues, our construction of the world is bound up with power relations, because they have implications for what is acceptable for people to do and how to treat each other. Therefore, knowledge and action go together, which means that our understanding of reality leads us to act in a certain way.

Blustein et al. (2004) and Cohen et al. (2004) claim that the career domain is ripe for social constructionism research, as the notion of career is an interaction between the individual and

society through which the individual travels through time. The term "career" has different meanings, and these different meanings and definitions create difficulties in understanding what scholars and/or individuals mean when they refer to the notion (Collin and Young, 2000). The conceptual power of this idea links the changing social world with the individual. This power, however, is lost through positivistic approaches and their tendency towards reductionism at the expense of the dynamic holistic explanation which social constructionism offers (Cohen et al., 2004).

Each of these four assumptions is important for studying careers, because they inform how and what the researcher studies, i.e. social constructionism encourages the researcher to question common career notions and definitions. Furthermore, the epistemology of social constructionism encourages the researcher to question her own assumptions about what career definitions exist and how careers are understood. Therefore, in order to investigate career meanings, understandings and needs in austerity, an epistemology which argues for the plethora of meanings, which claims that meanings differ across contexts and no word or thought is an expression of a reality that reflects nature, though they are considered to be socially and culturally constructed, is deemed necessary for this study and hence justifies the selection of social constructionism (Stead, 2004).

3.4. THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM TO UNDERSTANDING CAREERS, AND CRITICISM

According to Cohen et al. (2004), social constructionism contributes to career research in several ways – initially, it allows the research to transcend theoretical reductionism, and so there is no taken-for-granted knowledge; in this case the relevancy of the KCM cannot be taken for granted to be relevant everywhere. Moreover, it enables a contextual analysis, and finally it emphasises knowledge and action. In this thesis the social constructionist approach highlighted the objective and subjective aspects of careers, as will be detailed later, whereby the objective consisted of pay cuts, hierarchies and typical bureaucratic work, whereas the subjective element at the same time provided insights into their feelings and perceptions, how individuals experienced their public sector careers how they made sense of them and the actions they took to enact them accordingly (Cohen et al., 2004). As mentioned previously, a central feature of social constructionism is examining phenomena in their historical and social contexts. In accordance with Cohen et al.'s thesis individuals described the reasons for choosing to work in the public sector as well as

remaining in the job, influenced by the societal context and the Hellenic mentality of the public sector being the "Greek Dream."

Reflecting on their careers, the respondents described how, on numerous occasions, they went along with existing social practices within the organisation, such as perceived unfairness. The importance of context was also obvious in terms of personal lives, in addition to the organisational context which was the main focus of this study. This research highlighted the personal context, referring to their families as both limiting and/or supporting them in terms of their careers. Furthermore, it emphasised the societal context, which provides laws that affect their careers, as well as cultural beliefs. Finally, the participants referred to the context of clientelism, which determines the way in which civil servants' careers are managed.

As noted earlier, the career notion has the potential to illuminate the relationship between individuals, organisations and wider social contexts. However, within much career theory, these fundamental social relationships remain unrecognised (Collin and Young, 2000). Utilising a social constructionist perspective makes it not only possible to approach those aspects of context which individuals see as influential, but also to increase our understanding of the ways in which individuals inconsistently comprehend their relationship with their contexts (Burr, 2003; Cohen et al., 2004).

The subjective career is much less dominant in career research and has been given less HRM attention (Walton and Mallon, 2004; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007a). Chaichanasakul et al. (2010) examined the *Journal of Career Development International* (1972-2007) in terms of studies conducted between (1972-2007) and revealed that there was a preference for published articles to use mainly quantitative research methods. However, attitudes towards the constructionist paradigm have changed, and the journal had increased its publication of qualitative research by 41 per cent (n = 19). Scholars (Cochran, 1990; Ornstein and Isabella, 1993; Chope, 2005) argue that, due to changes imposed on the world of work, e.g. austerity in this case, alternative research methods to the quantitative approach are needed, to reflect the multiple realities of the career notion as experienced by employees. These multiple realities can be researched adequately within social constructionism by using qualitative research methods. As an example, Sullivan and Mainiero (2007b) used interviews and life stories/narratives to develop an understanding of how people enact their careers, and they developed a model which implies that people achieve this based on the values of balance, authenticity and challenges. Walton and Mallon (2004) also conducted a qualitative study through the use of interviews in order to discover how individuals made sense of and enacted their career.

Regarding needs research, according to Maslow (1954), human needs are universal and hierarchically developed, albeit culturally dependent. As mentioned in the literature review, Maslow's theory attracted criticism from Hofstede (1984), who debated the importance of culture in defining needs. As needs are culturally dependent but universal, in their humanness (Maslow, 1954), the researcher argued that the importance of culture and context demands an epistemology which demands cultural specificity; therefore, social constructionism would be a good choice in this instance, as it can accommodate the understanding of career needs emanating from a specific context.

The constructionist career suffers from a narrative discourse when representing phenomena, meaning that most of its concepts and theories are unclear in their substance. The social constructionism link in terms of obtaining knowledge through discourses and meaning creation (Schwandt, 2003) has led numerous authors (e.g. Craib, 1997) to criticise social constructionism as a belief which fails to make judgments about which account of reality or truth is better than another. Angen (2000) contends that the major debate now centres on the issue of validity. Advocates of positivist quantitative research frequently suggest that qualitative, especially interpretivist, approaches to human inquiry are so rife with threats to validity that they are no longer of any scientific value.

Finally, constructionists use different criteria to judge the results of their studies. While positivists adhere to concepts of reliability and validity in their assessment of research findings, constructionists evaluate in terms of trustworthiness, which includes credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In the long run, how valid a piece of constructivist research is depends upon the transparency of the research, how the selection of the informants was made, access to them and the creation and analysis of data (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012).

Since social constructionists reason that that there is not one absolute objective truth about people, this multiple existence of truths challenges any attempts of interpretivists to justify their inductive inferences that are meant to show theories to be true or probably true (Bury, 1986). Hence, this research deals with the possession of multiple truths as created by the researcher and the participants. This means that the picture provided by the researcher regarding careers in the Hellenic context is an interpretive portrayal of the studied world and not an exact picture thereof (Charmaz, 2006), which hopefully will aid business leaders to comprehend the career understandings and needs of their employees in a specific time and place.

By following the advice of Easterby-Smith et al. (2012) the researcher aimed to achieve "validity" by creating a highly transparent methodology section and a research diary which was part of the reflexivity subchapter. Thus far, the researcher has claimed that she locates her work within a social constructionist paradigm, claiming that both "career" and "needs" are socially constructed phenomena, products of interactions and relationships rooted within society and its history. Careers are seen to be constructed, personified and rooted in society and culture. Since the study is context-specific, social constructionism is thought of as an appropriate approach.

3.5.   DATA COLLECTION METHODS

The following subsections discuss issues relevant to this research regarding the methods used to collect data, the generation of an appropriate sample, ethical issues that needed consideration, data analysis and issues regarding translation. At the same time, reflexivity is acknowledged and defended, while a few diary notes are published, in order to demonstrate the usefulness of a diary within qualitative research.

3.5.1. Sampling

Data sources in qualitative research differ from quantitative sources, as they are usually gathered from a limited sample that is purposefully selected. As the purpose of a qualitative study is to gather rich descriptions, it is important to consider possible sampling strategies and how to select them. Patton (2002) outlines 15 sampling strategies while noting that "*There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know; the purpose of the inquiry; what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources*" (p.244). Whilst acknowledging time limitations and resources, the researcher decided to use the following three sampling strategies in order to determine her sample.

Table 1: Purposive sampling strategies

Sampling type	explanation	utilisation
Homogeneous sampling	Sampling with the purpose of describing a particular subgroup in depth.	The thesis focuses on civil servants working in the public sector.
Criterion sampling	Making certain that the sample meets prearranged criteria.	The predetermined criteria before the start of the research were that all participants must be civil servants.
Snowball sampling	A procedure for locating information-rich cases or participants in this case by asking well-situated individuals.	Participants were asked if they knew other civil servants who might be interested in discussing their careers.

Source: Adapted from Patton (2002)

One issue regarding sampling that a researcher needs to consider is size. Qualitative researchers usually refer to the terms "theoretical saturation" or "data redundancy" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Patton (2002) suggests that qualitative research demands a minimum sample based on covering the phenomenon rationally and without indicating a number, where the amount of participants is a question of peer and personal judgement – like all aspects of research. Therefore, what is crucial is that the sampling procedures and decisions are described, explained and justified so that peer reviewers have the appropriate context for judging the sample.

The sample consisted of 33 permanent full-time civil servants, who undertake a range of different roles,of the 33 civil servants, 10 were men (n=10) and 23 were women (n=23) from different educational backgrounds, i.e. some were lyceum-educated (n=8), others had a university degree (n=8), while others were educated at a technological level (n=9) and some had a   postgraduate degree (MA) (n=7) and only one (n=1) had received compulsory education. All of them entered the sector pre-crisis, as recent appointments in the sector are rare, due to austerity. Out of the 33 participants, six were middle managers and two were senior managers, while the rest were front-line employees (please refer to the appendix). All of them worked in two of the largest insurance companies in the Hellenic public sector and lived in the same small city in Northern Greece

This may, perhaps, be considered to be a small sample, but this misses the point of qualitative research. The purpose of qualitative research is not to generalise to the wider population; rather its aim is to obtain a rich and detailed explanation of a particular phenomenon (Easterby-Smith et al., 2002;Creswell, 2012). There is no magic number of participants where this depth of

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understanding is automatically obtained (Jankowicz, 2005), and therefore the 'correct' sample size cannot be determined in advance of the study (Patton, 2002; Starks and Brown Trinidad, 2007). Hence, what essentially matters is not sample size but theoretical saturation (Douglas, 2005; Flick, 2009; Saunders et al., 2012). This is defined as the time when "*no additional data are being found whereby the [researcher] can develop properties of the category. As he sees similar instances over and over again, the researcher becomes empirically confident that a category is saturated*" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 61).

In the present study, saturation occurred after 33 interviews, at which point as new data were processed, they merely repeated what had already been said by others, and this added nothing to what was already known about the category (Miller and Fredericks, 1999). As Gummesson (2000) observes, it is perfectly possible for a small number of instances to quickly saturate a category, and indeed, by this stage, it was clear that the main themes centred around the general context and clientelism or perceived unfairness, participants' careers, being a job without a challenge, training or development, and a perceived absence of job safety. At this point, because saturation had been reached, further repetition would have been pointless and counter-productive (Creswell, 2003), and the researcher therefore stopped coding for the category in question and she began to work on another category. This continued to the very end of the study and this allowed the author to follow up emerging themes.

The theoretical reasons for choosing the specific sample rest on the call of scholars who argue that there is an impetus to examine career understandings of non-professionals in order to advance career theory, and to bring forward voices inaccessible to the wider audience such as the Hellenic Public sector (Koskina,2008; Gerber et al, 2009; Lyons et al 2015; Baruch et al, 2016). In addition, Gerber et al (2009) argue that career research is in need of a wide supply of employees at different levels and different workplaces. Furthermore, scholars (King,2000; Walton and Mallon, 2004; Koskina,2008; Wilson,2009; Clarke,2013) call for research into white collar careers .Additionally, the homogeneity of the sample of civil servants had limited within-group differences in demographic characteristics (eg. age, gender, length of service, education level) which makes it ideal in work, related investigations in order to avoid the potential confusing effects of respondents' different socioeconomic status that a heterogeneous sample might bring (Rodríguez, et al 2001; Wong and Lin, 2007; Qu and Zhao,2012). Moreover, this thesis extends the approach of Wyatt and Silvester (2015) who interviewed UK public sector managers and argue for more studies extending their research into other contexts.

New career theories such as the KCM have led to a plethora of empirical studies where, the majority have focused on highly skilled individuals such as managers and professionals (Baruch et al, 2016; Mainiero and Sullivan,2006). Consequently, career research has emphasised on career actors who have reached the upper range of the hierarchy rather than those on the lower ranks. By following the suggestions of Baruch et al (2016) who argue that research should bring forward the career perceptions of non-professionals, this study aims to illuminate career theory and address the gap by exploring career perceptions and needs of civil servants .

3.5.2. Interviews

Any data collection method needs to be considered carefully, in order to fit the research objectives (Creswell, 2007). Considering this thesis is primarily concerned with employees' career views, it needs to reflect upon appropriate methods whereby the researcher can interact with public sector employees. Qualitative research pays a great deal of attention to accessing rich data, because they lead to more accurate and detailed interpretations and meanings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). Interviews are included in the qualitative research paradigm and allow researchers to explore different research questions in a holistic way. Therefore, the researcher chose interviewing as a data collection method in which she would be a source of understanding through the use of social encounters such as interviews (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

Individual interviews instead of focus groups were preferred as the data collection method, since, the researcher wished to maximise her time with each individual participant, in order to allow them to share detailed accounts of their experiences in their own terms, without the pressure of other group members. Additionally, the researcher took into account the possibility of dominant group members who may speak above others and/or influence their opinions, which could in turn limit the input from more reserved members of the group who may otherwise provide a valuable contribution, hence justifying the decision to undertake individual interviews (Flick, 2009).

An interview is a technique suitable for accessing rich sources of data, and for that reason it is regarded as key to lending credibility and persuasive strength to qualitative studies (Kvale, 1996). Silverman (1993) argues that we are part of an interview society which regards interviews to be central to making sense of our lives. The interview pervades and produces our contemporary cultural experiences and knowledge of our personal lives, and furthermore it gives an insight into subjectivity, voices and the lived experience. As a result, it draws on everyday practices of asking and answering questions. Rapley (2004) argues that interviewers do not need to be experts in order to conduct interviews, since talk is a product that emerges from the interaction of speakers. Moreover, interviewers should just get on with the interaction and not worry about whether their

questions are too leading, since interviews are basically social encounters where speakers work together to produce versions of their own thoughts, feelings, experiences and understanding. Instead, the focus should be on interacting and exploring ideas, as the interview is a conversational act guided by the interviewer, who actually poses the questions and keeps a level of control. Terkel (1972), when conducting his interviews for his book "Working," claimed that he just turned on the tape recorder and simply asked people to talk. He argued that of course there were questions, but these were simple ones, i.e. the sort one would ask when inviting a friend over for a drink or a coffee; it was just a conversation (Terkel, 1972).

The researcher followed Rapley (2004) and Terkel's (1972) approach and initiated rapport by talking generally about life and making sure the respondents were relaxed, before explaining the reason for the research and giving the participants consent forms to sign. Confidentiality was promised, and so pseudonyms are used herein to ensure complete privacy. The interviews commenced with a short conversation to create a relaxing atmosphere. The interviewing style was simply conversational, and this encouraged the participants to talk about their career experiences.

The main aim during the interviews was to help the participants describe their career experiences and perceptions. Therefore, the researcher would begin the interview with a broad, open-ended question and then follow on from there, dependent on the participant's answer. By doing so, the researcher tried to create a climate in which the participants would feel comfortable and respond honestly and comprehensively. To be consistent, the researcher would start by asking the same question: "Talk to me about your career so far, what were your career steps and what does the word 'career' mean to you." After describing their career steps, the researcher would ask them to comment on the word "career," what it meant to them and if the career definition they had provided corresponded with their career, following which the focus would turn completely to their organisational careers and their experiences and perceptions. The researcher would meet them, in quiet cafés, in their homes and even in their offices after work. Before the meeting the researcher called them in order to brief them about the study and to answer any queries they might have. This procedure was very helpful in reducing the amount of stress for both parties and in helping the participants understand what this study involved. The whole interview process was conducted on a friendly basis, consisting of two individuals interacting and discussing career perceptions, where the interviewer could control the themes to be discussed through the interview guide (please consult the appendix). The interviews themselves lasted between 35 and 45 minutes and were taped and transcribed and then, in part, translated into English, meaning only

quotes necessary for the thesis. Data analysis was ongoing throughout the project, and a research diary was kept on every interview occasion, in order for the researcher to practice reflexivity.

Semi-structured interviews refer *to* "*a context in which the interviewer has a series of questions that are in the general form of an interview schedule but is able to vary the sequence of questions*" (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p.213). Semi-structured interviews offer the advantage of approaching complicated topics in a better way, as they can transform either the question's wording, provide explanations or even change the sequence of the questions, if necessary. In that sense, the conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee can be enriched with more questions, if needed. Hence, semi-structured interviews offer a flexible approach which can be used to collect data from individuals from different knowledge backgrounds and professional experience (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Flick, 2009). However, an unstructured interview approach is not a suitable option, because it limits the ability of the researcher to guide the conversation and can lead to issues around complicated data analysis and interpretation.

All interview questions were informed by both research methods literature and by the career literature. The research methods literature informed the structure and general approach to data collection. For instance, all key questions were open questions to probe the thoughts of respondents, whilst simultaneously encouraging them to think deeply about their answers (Reagan, 2002), and the author took considerable care to ensure that the language she was using was clear and unambiguous (Jankowicz, 2005), and that she was *actually* asking what participants *thought* she was asking (Saunders et al., 2003;Creswell, 2012). As the interviews progressed, the nature of some of the questions changed, because people in one interview frequently raised important issues that were necessary to explore further in subsequent sessions. Thus, questions were informed by the data itself (Oliver, 1997;Fisher, 2004; Rubin and Rubin, 2011).

In the case of the career literature, the first question was general and focused on understanding participants' career paths up to that point. This was exactly the same approach that was taken when the original version of the KCM was being developed (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007b), and it was therefore logical for the present study to begin in the same way. As the interviews progressed, the questions that were arising from the data were supplemented by questions that emanated from the career literature. Typical examples were questions such as *''how do you understand the notion of career?''* (Walton and Mallon, 2004; Khapova and Korotov, 2007). This was important, because the way in which people understand their career may differ

due to their contextual and situational circumstances. These 'general' career-literature questions then led into more 'specific' KCM-literature-inspired questions, such as: *"what motivates you in your career?", "how do you understand the notion of work-life balance?'', ''how do you understand challenge at work?",* and *''what is your dream job?''* (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007b), and so forth in order to examine the relevance of the KCM to participants. In this way, the questions were informed by theory and by the emerging interview data, and the study therefore possessed relevance to both (Shaw, 2003;Pauleen et al., 2007).

3.6.   DATA ANALYSIS: THEMATIC ANALYSIS

The analysis which was used in the research investigation was thematic in nature. Thematic analysis is defined as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data which describes qualitative data in rich detail and with minimal organisation (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). The version of thematic analysis chosen for this research project was Braun and Clarke's version (2006). Thematic analysis is considered a foundational method that is used as a tool in other methods of qualitative analysis, such as grounded theory or phenomenology (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that it should be seen as a method in its own right, and they describe the process of data analysis through different phases, starting with familiarising oneself with the data through transcribing, reading and rereading and then moving on to generating initial codes, searching for themes and so forth.

One reason why thematic analysis was chosen as the preferred methodology as opposed to alternatives such as grounded theory regards the stance of grounded theory towards pre-existing literature. The classic grounded theory is assumption-free and assumptions-based, and hence it starts broadly with a question, such discovering a main concern, and waits for a theory to emerge purely from the data. Thereafter, the researcher reads the relevant literature, which in turn may lead to new concepts in other disciplines (Glaser, 1992; Christiansen, 2007). In classic grounded theory, a theoretical lens prior to the discovery of the theory is not possible (Glaser, 1992), since preconception distorts the emergence of the main concern and its resolution, which is the ultimate theory.

This research takes the worldview of constructionism and argues that we co-create our knowledge while interacting – knowledge does not wait to be discovered; rather, it is out there being created

through interaction and socialisation. Therefore, new knowledge does not necessarily have to have existed previously or be independent of existing knowledge; furthermore, it adopts the framework of the KCM, in order to guide the research, and so classic grounded theory cannot be applied.

Other versions of grounded theory (Charmaz, Strauss and Corbin) are regarded as deviating from the orthodox grounded theory that only Glaser advocates; therefore, the researcher did not want to engage with them. For instance, the Straussian and Charmaz's approaches begin with specific questions on a particular area; in contrast, the Glasarian version starts with a desire to know more about a substantive area but has no preconceived questions prior to the study (Glaser, 1992). Similar to Straussian grounded theory, constructivist grounded theory begins with a review of the literature to determine what has been done before in the area of interest. This difference in the timing and approach to literature is a key difference found in both Charmaz and Strauss's approaches (Evans, 2013). Glaser (1992) argues that his version of grounded theory allows data to be developed without preconceived ideas and will integrate previous work during the comparative analysis, not before. Hence, for this study, since it commenced with a theoretical framework in mind (KCM), the researcher could not adopt the classic grounded theory and hence choose thematic analysis.

The second reason this thesis chose thematic analysis as the preferred qualitative methodology is for its approach to coding. The term "coding" in qualitative research can be defined as "*the process whereby data is broken down into component parts, which are given names*" (Bryman and Bell, 2007, p.725). Coding is one of the most significant steps taken during data analysis, to make sense of data, and is considered an essential part of thematic analysis (Guest et al., 2012). In order to obtain themes, the researcher codes and analyses information that seems to be an accurate reflection of the whole set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Themes within data can be identified in one of two primary ways in thematic analysis, in an inductive or bottom up way or in a theoretical or deductive "top down" way (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this case, the researcher coded with the research questions in mind, and as Braun and Clarke (2006) argue, it is theoretically-driven coding because the theme captures key elements of the data in relation to the research question (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

It is important to decide on the type of thematic analysis the researcher desires to do in relation to the dataset and the claims that wish to be made. For instance, one might wish to offer a rich thematic description of the whole dataset, so that the reader gets a sense of the important themes. In this case, the themes, which will be identified, coded and analysed, will need to be a precise

reflection of the content of the entire dataset. In such an analysis, some depth and complexity are necessarily lost, but a rich overall description will be preserved as the reader gets a sense of the predominant themes across the dataset. This is a principally useful method when one is exploring an under-researched area, or with participants whose views on the topic are not known, such as within this thesis.

Another data analysis decision considers the level at which themes are to be identified, namely at a semantic or an explicit level, or at a latent or an interpretative level (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). In the semantic way, coding and theme development reflect the clear content of the data. The semantic method is a clear analysis in which themes are identified within explicit, face-value meanings of the data. This also suggests that there is a summarisation where there is an attempt to look at significant patterns, their meanings and implications in relation to previous research. The analytic procedure at this level involves a movement from description, where the data have been organised to show patterns, to interpretation. Consequently, there is an attempt to theorise the importance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications (Patton, 1990) often in relation to previous literature (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This form of analysis was chosen for this study, as the researcher aimed at redeveloping the model and therefore needed to interpret the data to decide on the relevance of the model.

Another key decision is whether or not to use a computer package in order to store and analyse the data. In this case, the researcher chose to conduct manual analysis, in order to stay close to the data, as the data was in Greek (a rich and expressive language which often does not have a direct translation into English). The issues faced by the researcher when translating the data to English can be found elsewhere in this thesis. Moreover, the computer package provided by the university is Nvivo, which does not support the Greek language, this would require translating everything into English, where data would lose its original meaning because the researcher would be forced to paraphrase the data into English (Xian, 2008). Although the use of software packages such as NVivo is common within qualitative research, it is also normal for researchers to forego this in favour of manual approaches to coding and analysis (Hassard et al 2012).

In addition, Glaser (1992) argues that researchers should stay close to their data and not rely on a computer package as it distorts the analysis. Glaser (1998) warns against the dangers of relying upon data analysis tools to code the research data, because they create unnecessary restrictions upon the coding - effectively, the programme could assign the codes rather than the researcher doing so (Glaser,1998). This, Glaser (1998) argues, completely misses the point of coding whereby the researcher needs to be open to the subtleties and nuances contained within the data,

and must react accordingly to small indications that might have significant implications. Moreover, from a practical point of view, Glaser (1998) argues that reliance on technology inhibits the researcher's development of skills and imposes time-consuming learning curves that can be avoided if the researcher immerses themselves fully in the data.

Based on the above arguments, the researcher concluded that, whilst NVivo was indeed an appropriate system, its functionality was largely replicated in the manual adopted for this study . The following diagram outlines the general approach to thematic analysis used in this study, and closely mirrors Braun and Clarke (2006).

Figure 1: Overall approach of this study

Phase 1: Transcribe the data

| Phase 2: Initial coding | Phase 3: Collating codes to themes | Phase 4: Review and integrate themes | Phase 5: Defining and naming themes |

Phase 6: Selecting examples to support themes
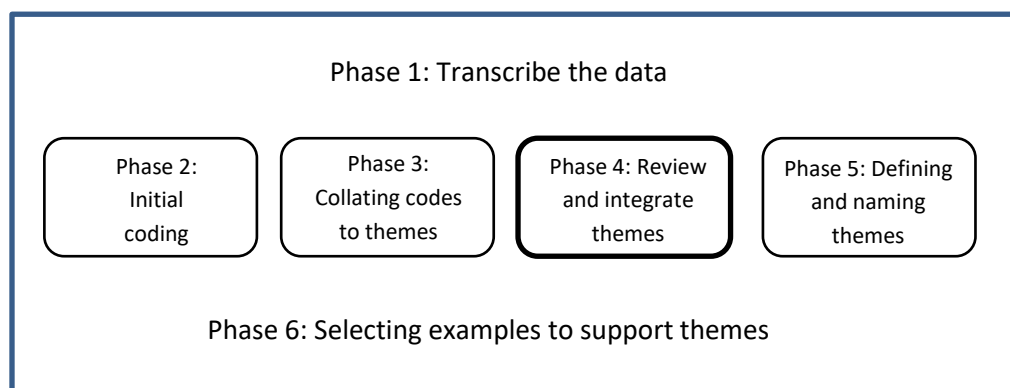
Phase 1 merely involves transcribing the data verbatim from the author's notes. Phases 2-5 inclusive represent the bulk of the analysis. Phase 6 arises when the analysis is complete. Each of these stages is discussed below, and each includes representative worked examples to illustrate the process.

Phase 1: transcribe the data

The first stage is data familiarisation. This includes transcribing data, reading and re-reading them and noting down any initial ideas. This first step is vital, as in this case it allowed the researcher to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of the data and to perform a more in-depth analysis. The researcher transcribed every interview immediately after it had taken place and wrote in her diary how the interview went along with anything that was peculiar or interesting, in order to capture thoughts and feelings after the interview. Furthermore, the diary was also a way to ensure transferability.

Phase 2: Initial coding

The second phase involved generating initial codes in order to organise the data by identifying interesting and unique features, whilst gathering data relevant to each code. In this step the researcher read each interview and coded notable perceptions within each story, finally bring together all related information under each code. Below is an example of how the researcher generated initially codes.

Table 2: Examples of coding

Quote	Code
''The private sector is more objective regarding the skills and abilities of the employees, more objective.	*The private sector is objective*
For instance, let us say that I am the best employee in the public sector, my position will not change neither my salary, I will remain in the same position, and continue to perform the same things, because my years in service lead up to that specific position.	*Best employee not recognized Remain in the same position Perform similar tasks*
I cannot do anything more, and moreover there is no competition to be able to demand a better position. In the private sector, my abilities can bring me a better, higher salary, my proposals or ideas can help me rise and make a career''	*Bureaucracy restrictions to career development Not in his power Realization of not advancing Private sector career exist*

Phase 3: Collating codes to themes

The third stage involves searching for themes by organising codes into potential theme information. This was achieved by merging codes to reveal themes. For instance, the theme "career" included codes which were developed from the research question in mind. These naturally separated into two sub-themes: the understanding of their own career and the definition of what the notion of 'career' means to them. As a result, codes emerged such as hierarchy, climbing, rising, advancing and status, referring to how they understand the notion, and bureaucracy, tedious, job, daily bread, work and so forth, where the participants described their own career. The following table illustrates some typical examples of codes and themes

Table 3: Examples of codes and themes

Quote	Codes	Theme
"career is to be able to develop and rise salary wise" "I believe that a career means developing and getting higher up the hierarchy." "I think about developing to a better position, more money and better quality of life" "career is hierarchy and working progress/development. Its relevant to developing within ones career and getting more specialized knowledge and training"	Developing	Career
"career is being the super employee, trying hard and getting advantages or perks, not only monetary but advantages such as status, rank, etc."	Advantages	
"a careerist is someone who gets out and hunts, who changes jobs, has motives and bonus in his work, who learns and develops, he is the one who has a career"	Hunting	
"We don't have a career, does anyone have one? You enter the public sector. You are relaxed, you won't leave and you do the tasks assigned to you, you don't try because there is no career."	Nonexistent	
"I am just an employee I follow orders. I have a job."	Following orders	
"Career for me is, how can I say it, not something you do due to necessity"	Necessity	
"I am not interested in career, I work in the public sector in an organization"	Work	
"I have a job, there is no career because, you don't see the prospect of developing and rising… I see it as payment"	Payment	
"the public sector is purely hierarchical.." "one must wait his turn"	Hierarchy	
"every day the same thing no excitement, we just wait for someone to come in" "we are drowning in papers"	Tedious	
"yes it is a professional experience but not a career'	Professional experience	
"The public sector in Greece is unfair and there is no correct distribution regarding tasks, duties and placements" "I don't believe that people are correctly distributed to places " "The person the manager liked or had better relationships with would get benefits be placed somewhere better. Maybe due to political ideology. Yes even today clientelism exists in the public sector" "I mean, there, every government elected places its own secretaries, managers etc. the well-known windows (παραθυρακια) people with connections and they can claim a better position and get it, claim and get something more and better than the one who has nothing "	Distributions	Connections

Phase 4: Reviewing and integrating themes

This stage involved the integration of the themes. A typical example is shown below. This table illustrates the codes that were assigned in the initial coding phase. Alongside these are themes that emerged:

Table 4: Example of the integration

Codes	Themes
Nonexistent career *Career as necessity* *Career is daily bread*	*Career characterization* = **Job**
Career is immovable *Career is inflexible*	Nature of career = **hierarchical plateau**
No incentives/motivation *No new things at work/repetition* *Boring*	*Nature of work* = **content plateau**
Situation in Greece-blurred, frozen, New labor directive *No utensils, lack of founds*	Careers in austerity **- frozen**

The difference between this phase and the previous one is that the themes are now being integrated into the literature. The researcher read and re-read the coded extracts and considered having the research questions in mind whether they formed a pattern. The above example discusses career understanding, and this contained stories about the insecurity the participants felt in relation to austerity and their work. This process was continued whereby themes were themselves analysed into sub-themes using exactly the same approach. To quote a single example for illustrative purposes, the 'Job' theme was subdivided as follows:

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: How do Hellenic civil servants perceive their career in austerity?
Figure 2 - Mind map of Theme Job
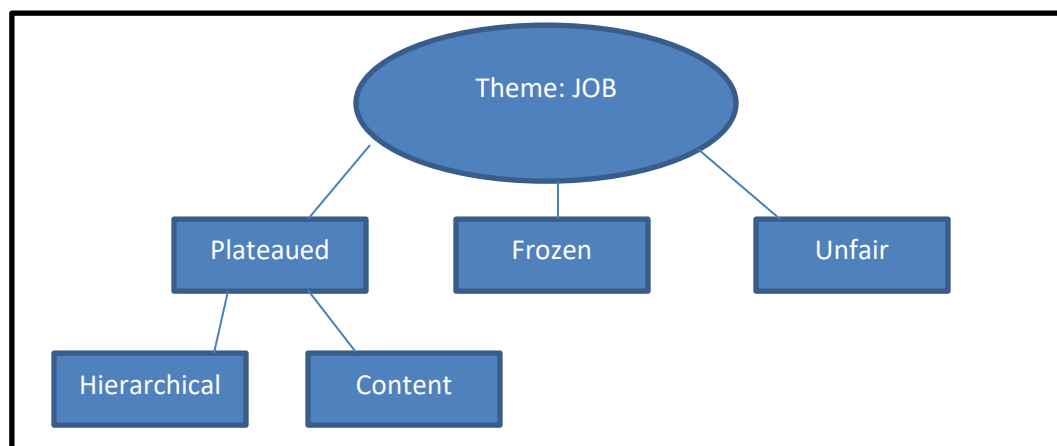
The detail and explanation of the themes can be found in the findings and discussion chapters.

Phase 5: Reviewing and integrating themes

Phase five involved generating clear definitions and names for each theme, which means constant analysis to improve the details of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme. In this case, the researcher carefully reviewed her themes and decided on theme names that captured the story. Therefore, when the participants reflected upon the appraisal process and gave examples and stories, they referred to the unfairness that exists within the sector, and so "fairness" as a theme name emerged, as it contained codes from stories and perceptions reflecting this unfairness.

The resulting themes were a combination – some emerged from the data, and others arose from the literature. This impacted directly upon the research questions themselves. The first research question asks how the notion of career was understood by participants, and the second asks how relevant the KCM model was. These questions were theoretically driven because the literature formed the basis of the analysis. However, research question three asked what the individual career needs of these particular participants were. Clearly, therefore, this could only come from the participants themselves: it emerged from the data. Research question four brought everything together to extend the model. Again, it is evident that this can only flow from the emergent question three, and it is therefore itself emergent.

Phase 6: Selecting examples to support themes

The final opportunity for analysis involved selecting rich, persuasive examples to support the analysis, and how these themes represent the research findings as a whole (Braun and Clarke 2006). The results are illustrated in the findings section, where the researcher chose quotes from the participants' interviews to display themes relating the analysis to the research question after the quotes had been translated into English (Braun and Clarke 2006).

3.7. DATA QUALITY

In qualitative research the quality of data is demonstrated by the concept of trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), which itself suggests that the truth can be a subjective concept based on multiple realities. Therefore, subjectivity can become useful when the examined phenomenon is all about different people (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Guba (1981) proposes four criteria that should be considered by researchers for a trustworthy study: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Credibility refers to the idea of multiple realities, where the researcher's job is to represent them in the best possible way so that people who also share that experience will immediately recognise the descriptions and in such a way gain credibility (Guba 1981). The problem with credibility within social constructionism is the acceptance of multiple realities and truths; therefore, no method can deliver the ultimate truth, since knowledge is never value-free. As such, cultural researchers (Moisander and Valtonen, 2006) cannot gain access to the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth about how things are. One strategy, used to deal with the issue in order to ensure credibility, is to practice researcher reflexivity (Krefting, 1991), which the researcher practiced through the use of a diary after every interview and during her analysis. Since within the social constructionism approach the researcher is part of the research and not separate therefrom, she must constantly reflect on her own characteristics and examine how they influence data gathering and analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Agar, 1986). In addition, the interviews were tape-recorded to ensure credibility, and the Greek transcripts were checked by the sample to confirm the credibility of the information, meaning confirming that the transcripts reflected their perspectives. None of the participants commented on or disagreed with the accuracy of the transcripts.

The second criterion of trustworthiness in qualitative research refers to transferability (Guba, 1981). Research meets this criterion when the researcher presents adequate descriptive data to allow comparison (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It is critical that researchers provide dense background information about informants and the research context and setting, to allow others to assess the transferability of the findings. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, the researcher should provide an adequate database to allow transferability judgments to be made by others. This is dealt with in this thesis with rich descriptions, quotes and the database. Furthermore, the sampling strategy of choosing a homogenous group was deemed necessary in order to illustrate the perceptions of public sector employees. In addition, responses were triangulated with the literature (Guba and Lincoln, 1985).

The third criterion of trustworthiness is dependability, which examines the consistency of the data, i.e. whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects or in a similar context. Guba's (1981) concept of dependability implies being able to identify sources, such as increasing insights on the part of the researcher, regarding informants and their life circumstances by incorporating a range of experiences. Hence, even though an individual might not be completely representative of a group, his or her experience is considered important. Therefore, the exact methods of data gathering, analysis and interpretation in qualitative research must be described. Such a dense description of methods provides information as to how

repeatable the study might be or how unique the situation is overall. In this case the recorded interviews, rich descriptions and exact methods of data analysis and gathering fulfilled the criterion of dependability for consulting the supervisory team, before conducting the interviews, i.e. agreeing upon an interview schedule.

The fourth criterion of trustworthiness is confirmability, meaning how much the findings are exclusively the perspectives of the informants and the conditions of the research and not prone to other biases, motivations and perspectives (Guba, 1981). Qualitative researchers try to increase the worth of their findings by diminishing the distance between the researcher and the participants, for example through lengthy contact with informants or lengthy periods of observation. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasise more on the neutrality of the data and not of the researcher by looking at conformability as a principle for evaluating neutrality. This is accomplished when truth-value and applicability are established. Practicing reflexivity, as previously mentioned, helps to strengthen conformability; furthermore, individual interviews were conducted instead of focus groups, in order to minimise the opportunity for the interviewees to discuss and exchange ideas and, as a result, possibly influence each other. In addition, the participants received a letter explaining the aims and purpose of the study, and before each interview a statement was read to the interviewee including information about anonymity and the possibility of not answering a question. Finally, comparisons were made with the literature review and the responses of other interviewees (Guba, 1981).

3.8. ETHICS

Ethical issues are vital considerations for any type of research. Ethics are principles associated with the avoidance of harm, i.e. by implementing appropriate ethical principles, harm can be eliminated. The researcher followed MMU ethical guidelines, which suggest that the following concepts need to be considered before and during research: informed consent, confidentiality, harm to participants, right to withdraw, deception and debrief. Before the interviews, the purpose of the research investigation was explained, initially verbally by the interviewer to the participants and thereafter through a form, which was given to all participants, explaining the purpose of the study (in English and Greek) and issues of confidentiality.

Confidentiality concerns the extent to which the anonymity of the participants is maintained. This is a key aspect of research ethics, as it protects the dignity of the participants and offers protection in terms of any responses they make that may be sensitive to an individual's position in

employment. Establishing and maintaining confidentiality is a fundamental principle of good ethical guidelines for a research study. Participant confidentiality was made clear to each participant in the standardised instructions before the interviews and reiterated in the consent form given to them prior to the interview. In order to maintain confidentiality pseudonyms were used, instead of the participants' real names and all information which can be used to identify the organizations they work in and the city they live in was removed. This element of ethics is extremely important when conducting research, as it allows the participants to feel comfortable in a safe research environment.

3.9.   REFLEXIVITY IN RESEARCH

Since objectivity is an impossibility with social constructionism, the task of the researcher is to acknowledge her involvement in the research process and the part this plays in the final product. Hence, scholars argue about encouraging researcher reflexivity within this epistemological approach (Johnson and Duberley, 2003; Nadin and Cassell, 2006). It is necessary that researchers taking this perspective recognise that as epistemic subjects they are part of the research process through which they socially construct versions of reality. Thus, it is compulsory for us to reflect on our own assumptions in our social construction of any version of reality.

Reflexivity engenders equal status between the researcher and the participants as well as of the accounts offered by each other. From a social constructionist point of view, reflexivity recognises itself as a social construction and as another way of creating interpretations; therefore, researchers should reflect upon their role in the production of the discourse they end up analysing. This belief is followed by the assumption that acknowledging explicitly how personal and political values as well as perspectives inform the research and explore the ways in which the researcher's own history and biography may have shaped the research sheds more light on the research (Burr, 2003). Reflexivity, after all, is a process of evaluating the researcher's position within the study and involves reflecting on the way research is carried out and understanding how the entire research process shapes its results. As the process of conducting research within a social constructionist epistemology is subjected to different influences which impact upon the interpretations we make as researchers, a reflexive stance is required in order to identify and understand these influences (Nadin and Cassell, 2006).

A reflexive stance on the part of the researcher will provide certain benefits to the research, such as providing an understanding of the role and impact of the researcher, increasing the reliability

of the data and adding integrity to the whole research process (Agar, 1986; Krefting, 1991; Finlay, 2002). At the very least reflexivity implies that the researcher makes visible her individuality and its effect on the research process in an attempt to highlight motivations, interests and attitudes which the researcher has imported into the research and how these affect each stage.

This subjectivity can be considered as bias, but recognising the personal dimension is signalled as inspiring and informative (Gough, 2003). For instance, one can acknowledge academic reasons for choosing the particular research, such as plugging a gap or the limited knowledge of careers in austerity, but if the researcher takes time to examine the subjective investment in the topic, it can yield fruitful results. I chose to use a research diary as a tool for reflexive analysis but also to increase trustworthiness. Furthermore, as Finlay (2002) notes, the process of reflexivity can be seen as an act of coming out, as voicing the outspoken – it can empower the researcher and participants, as their unspoken actions will provide a better picture of the research, and the thoughts of the researcher will shed light on the process and the reason for the existence of the research.

The decision to use a diary was made before the process of data collection and on completion of the literature review. I was already a committed qualitative researcher, but reading further on methodological issues I became aware of the necessity of a research diary. The diary was essentially a plain notebook which I would consult each time I visited my participants, I noted down thoughts ideas, body language, things that the participants told me which made an impression on me, how I felt the interview went, what the emphasis was in our conversations and their body language or the unspoken word, such as emotional expressions. These comments in my notebook helped me understand the data better. For instance, an irritate participant, due to the questions being posed, would make me wonder about the reason behind this reaction. Subsequently, looking at the data after they had been transcribed while simultaneously viewing my notes, which had recorded the participant's body language when discussing a certain topic, assisted in the analysis and interpretation of the data.

One way of ensuring reflexivity is by examining one's choice of research questions as a means of clarifying one's research interests. The following reflexive section from my research diary illustrates the process through which a problem, initially based on theoretical concerns, gradually developed an emotional character by using reflexivity combined with subjective personal experience:

"Initially, the concern that generated my investigation was a purely theoretical interest in understanding careers. What is a career? It is a common word but yet so complicated. My journey began by looking at different models in an open manner. While I was reading, a model caught my attention; it was the kaleidoscope career model, a luxurious model developed in the US, arguing about certain career needs which influence our decisions. I could not help but wonder how the particular model could relate to the non-professional. I was reading about the ease with which one can change jobs, gain skills within or outside work and pursue self-management, and I thought that this would not be possible for everyone, especially in contexts such as austerity where there is a shortage of jobs. Consequently, I began to doubt the KCM's career needs as being important to everyone.

My wider career reading inspired my thinking and led me to conclude that context is an influential power regarding career perceptions. Therefore, what might appear relevant in an affluent US society might not be in a troubled economy such as the Greek example, regarding career perceptions and needs. Having worked myself in the public sector in Greece and experienced austerity made me recognise that I would like to investigate the career experiences of individuals working in this climate and in particular their career needs, as the ones proposed by the KCM seemed too luxurious for 'my' context. On my way to collect data for the first time I am frightened and excited – what will I find out? The banks in Greece have been closed for almost a week and the referendum about whether to stay or leave the euro was almost 10 days ago. I am wondering how people will understand their careers and what their needs are. I am also wondering if things are as bad as they are presented on TV. "

Reflecting upon my decisions now as to why I chose the public sector, why Greece, why these research questions, it becomes obvious to me that apart from my academic interest in careers I believe that the KCM, triggered my curiosity. Beginning with the assumption that context is very powerful in how we perceive issues and phenomena, and having a constructionist belief that culture and society influences our meaning making and understanding, I questioned the model's relevancy and sought of ways to explore it further. I realised that this could be done by investigating perceptions though interviews, as exploration would be allowed. I realise that my personal history influenced my research questions and research, as I have experienced austerity and worked in the Hellenic public sector for 10 years (Krefting, 1991). I also accept that my emotional stance played a crucial role as to why I picked this specific sector. In a way, as a former public sector employee who had worked in austerity, my motivation was to raise awareness and get the message out. I wanted to raise awareness by inviting voices or stories, inaccessible to a

wider audience, as access in the Hellenic public sector is not obvious. In addition, recruiting participants would not be a problem, as access was easy due to my previous working experience.

3.10. REFLECTING ON THE INTERVIEWS

The aim of the interviews was to invite participants to talk freely and express their views regarding their career.

The interviews where tape-recorded and transcribed in Greek and translated into English, when necessary, meaning that when I needed to incorporate them in the findings, many aspects were lost in the translation, in the transcription and in the mere act of speaking. This happens because transcription as a practice does not capture the exact reproduction of the act of speaking, and as a result many aspects of our communication are lost, such as our emotions, our body language and our voices (Arvay, 2003). This non-verbal communication, which is co-created by us during the interview process, was saved and reproduced in my diary. For instance, when I interviewed Sofia P., I sensed hostility towards her work or the "system," since her tone was harsh, she was irritated when she spoke about it and she even asked me "Is this thing [the recorder] on? Record everything so they know in England what is going on here" in a trembling voice. Sofia had felt she had been treated badly at work. In fact, she did not have anything against the work itself; rather, she was moved by the unfairness which prevails in the Hellenic public sector and relationships based on connections prohibiting people from developing career-wise.

This non-verbal interaction was documented in my diary and illustrated in the example below

> "I asked Sofia to tell me about her values in life and if they correspond or are aligned with her career; she gives me some examples of how it does in a way, as she chose this profession because of her academic background. Moreover, she wanted to feel safe, and so the public sector was appropriate. She concludes with "feeling like a fool". I sensed that she had this feeling like a "fool" (νιωθεις κοροιδο) often, so I asked her, "Does this happen often – that you feel like a fool?" (συμβαινει συχνα να νιωθεις σαν κοροιδο?).

> Sofia replied yes and continued with asking me "Do you want me to give you an example? "

> She was passionate and quite angry; she really felt betrayed by the system. Her voice was harsh, her eyes became at some points watery and I felt awkward, I felt as if I had done something wrong by invoking these emotions, and I believe she was about to

cry. I nodded my head to show her that I understood how she felt, and I replied yes, go on. Sofia's body language revealed a person with a lot of resentment. Now that I am thinking about it she did look very annoyed. She sat with her legs crossed and moved her upper leg impatiently, her voice had a tone of resentment and was trembling when she was speaking about work, and it only softened when she mentioned her children being her meaning in life.

She was impatient to "reveal" everything and asked me if this thing is on, pointing at the recorder and telling me to record everything so that people in England would know what is happening in Greece. Sofia needed to speak out and share her problems.

She talked to me about her problems at home, financial- and health-wise, regarding her mother, about her wanting to transfer badly to another place closer to home as she does not live here permanently [name of the city], she only works here. This annoys her and makes her feel like an idiot. She talked about her dad visiting MPs to ask for favours, she mentioned her brother-in law, who wanted to pull a few strings, in order for her to be transferred but could not, she felt trapped, she said. What a horrible feeling. I asked her to tell me more about her situation. I encouraged her to continue and she provided me with more examples of the unfairness."

Reflecting upon the interview, I take for granted Sofia's subjective experience, and in terms of analysing my reflexive stance it is quite clear that both of us are social actors sharing assumptions about the nature of perception and internal experience. Moreover, it is me who articulates the question "Does it occur often – the feeling of being a fool in the public sector?" as I am interested in knowing what she means by that, although I have already understood that by being a social actor with cultural comprehensions and by being an ex-public sector employee that she refers to the injustice. Reflecting upon my journal on that specific interview with Sofia P. I realise that the use of these notes facilitated my interpretation, as her feelings and emotions triggered by the unfair system helped me realise that fairness is absent in the sector and hence needed in their careers. Looking at it from a social constructionist understanding, my conversations with the participants displayed career perceptions influenced by historic and cultural specificity and hence cannot generalise; rather, assumptions about taken-for-granted knowledge, such as affluent career theories like the KCM, contrast with the context and are being questioned.

Another example of the non-verbal data captured in the diary which facilitates interpretation comes from the interview with Christina:

"Just finished talking to Christina – she is a mother of two, educated at MBA level and feels that she could do much better career-wise but she is in the sector because of the safety. When I asked her if her career definition corresponds to her career in

the public sector, she simply said no. I asked why she believed that she laughed and replied in a somewhat ironic way "What are you asking now?" ("τι ρωτας τωρα"). Christina was implying that it is a fact that careers do not exist there and that my question is out of context. However, I asked her to explain to me what she meant by saying no and encouraged her to share her thoughts. She explained to me that careers and the public sector are incompatible terms and gave reasons for these beliefs. Christina's ironic stance toward my questions appeared from the idea that context is important and influences our perceptions. I realise that the Hellenic culture, society and generally context are important aspects in this study and need to be highlighted."

The ironic reaction I received from my participant could not have been transmitted otherwise to the process without my diary. This makes the diary a valuable tool. The irony concerning my questions arose from the fact that careers are incompatible with the civil service, and particularly nowadays this fact is considered common knowledge. This made me realise the importance of context in career theory and perception. From a social constructionist perspective society transmits its beliefs to us and we are born into them (Crotty, 1998). When we narrate our story the voice of our culture is reflected, and so the ironic comment or tone and the question "What are you asking now?" come from a cultural background which admits that careers and the public sector do not correspond.

An example of my diary that brings to light the emotions and body language that an interview can evoke when speaking about one's career comes from Chrysa D., who claimed that challenges in her work meant problem-solving – and this motivated her.

"Chrysa D. described to me her career as 'challenging'. I believe that so far she has been the only to perceive it that way. For Chrysa, helping people is very important. She told me a story about when she helped an old lady with her debt from a German insurance company. The old lady thanked her deeply, and while Chrysa was narrating the story to me she got goosebumps and her eyes became watery, saying to me "Look, I am affected only by thinking about it," while showing me her goosebumps (οταν σου δινουν ευχες και κλαινε μπροσα σου για μενα αυο τα λεει ολα, δεν υπαρχει καλυτερο συναισθημα μονο που το σκεφτομαι συγγκινουμε να δες). I realise that contributing is very important to Chrysa, not only through her words and stories, but also from the response of her body."

The recording of Chrysa D's emotions in my diary, and her goosebumps, is a way to ensure that non-verbal communication is not lost. In addition, I believe that Chrysa D's perspective on contributing to society by providing a service via one's work, and her body language, helped me realise when analysing the findings that contribution was a part of their careers. As Nadin and

Cassell (2006) argue, the research diary is an important tool in aiding the reflexive process, as it focuses attention on issues that otherwise might have been lost. In addition, given that the research situation is a social encounter, we need to reflect upon the factors which impact upon our interpretations. The non-verbal data captured in the diary did influence my interpretations, making certain issues such as unfairness and contribution more prominent.

For a novice researcher such as myself, being reflective means being aware of certain issues such as my epistemological position, my thoughts and feelings about the research, how I experienced the social encounters and the influence that this had on our produced interpretations (Nadin and Cassell, 2006). In my case, the diary helped me realise why I chose my topic and my questions, the importance of context in understanding and interpreting issues and non-verbal data which in turn facilitated the interpretation, as it brought to light important themes.

3.11. TRANSLATION ISSUES AND REFLEXIVITY

It has been posited that if translation is used within qualitative research, the researcher should carefully consider its process, as it raises some important questions on which to reflect. This emanates from the belief that the translator has the potential to influence the research significantly via their attempt to transfer meaning from a language and culture that might be unknown to the reader, especially when the researcher holds dual roles of translating and researching. As such, decisions about translation have an impact on the credibility of the research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The translator infers and assumes meaning through the text, and this transforms the translator into an analyst and cultural agent as well his or her main role (Temple and Young, 2004).

In this study, I alone translated the parts of the interviews necessary for use in the thesis, after they had been transcribed verbatim in Greek. Occupying a dual role as a researcher-translator gave me the opportunity to examine the meanings of the phenomena which had created the main discussions in my project and therefore aided my analysis (Xian, 2008). By being a native speaker, I was able to use my experience to make sense, as translation is a sense-making activity for which my knowledge, social background and experience came into play (Xian, 2008). As a social constructionist I acknowledge the power of language as providing the channel to comprehend culturally fixed concepts such as career perceptions, career needs and slang. Furthermore, I argue that there is no single correct translation, and so my location, knowledge, experience and perceptions can affect my translation. I also understand that my translation is

interwoven with the Greek language and that this carries cultural meanings tied to the described reality (Burr, 2003).

Researchers who see the social world in these terms do not advocate the view that there is only one correct way in which to describe the social world, as both the researcher and the participant are both producers of interpretations and their social location in the world influences how they come to experience and describe it. As a translator coming from a social constructionist epistemology I acknowledge that my location within the social world influences the way in which I see myself; consequently, as a translator, I am part of the process of forming knowledge. People have specific histories and inhabit social positions, which means that they do not see the world from another's standpoint, although they may understand each other through dialogue (Temple, 1997).

However, there are challenges for me as a researcher and translator found in the language and cultural differences between Greek and English, and any failure to address these might result in flaws in the study (Larkin et al., 2007). From a social constructionist point of view the translator-researcher constructs social and cultural meanings (Xian, 2008). Initially, since from my role as a translator I transfer meanings from one language to another, and since a surfeit of words cannot be fully understood without reference to the historical and cultural context in which they have emerged, I must discover a way to minimise the gap between these two different cultures and languages; hence, I construct meaning from the transcripts.

One issue faced in the translation was the linguistic difference between the languages, as some words or expressions did not have an equivalent in English. This can create research anomalies, as the translation of research into written English may mean that the ties between language and culture are lost through the problematic nature of meaning (Temple and Young, 2004; Xian, 2008). I therefore chose to base my analysis on the Greek data, in order to prevent any loss of cultural and linguistic ties, which is often the case when data are translated into another language (Temple and Young, 2004), i.e. the obvious and implicit meanings of speech may be lost when translated. This was deemed necessary because the Greek language is a very rich and expressive language replete with many metaphors which are hard to translate into English without losing the meaning.

Furthermore, I was confronted with the usage of slang on the part of the participants. I interpreted this as them being comfortable with me as an interviewer and therefore felling they could speak freely and express themselves in any manner they desired. The usage of slang has certain issues, though; for instance, how does one translate it correctly? In several cases that was not an option,

so I considered the meaning of the slang word and the context to which it was referring, in order to be able to translate it so that I could maintain cultural and linguistic ties with the original text.

For example, Giannis mentioned the word "ακυρωνω" in Greek, which means "cancel" in English but in this context actually refers to "being put off something" when used as slang. Therefore, translation was aided by the fact that I am a native speaker and understand the culture and the connotation of the word. I understood that transferring all the knowledge coming out of these interactions to my readers was the first priority, so I decided to replace slang or idioms with similar expressions that function in a similar way but did not compromise on the essence of what was said, although I placed in brackets the Greek word/expression. The translation issue posed another question, though – should I send my translation quotes to the participants in order to receive their opinion and obtain verification? However, this would depend on the English proficiency of the participants (Marschan-Piekkarri and Reis, 2004). I did not proceed in this regards, as I did not believe that my participants would be confident in engaging with the English language. In addition, they had already checked the Greek version on which the analysis was based.

This discussion asks whether my life experiences affected the quality and implications of translation, as my life experiences and understanding can deepen my ability to reflect upon its content (Temple, 1997; Larkin et al., 2007). Being a former public sector employee, my own working experience within the context of the public sector and austerity aided my understanding, as sector-specific terms were used in the interviews by the participants, such as appraisal procedures, the names of different laws concerning careers in the public sector or working documents. This knowledge aided my analysis and translation, as some things did not need to be translated exactly, as their precise meaning would not affect the analysis. In addition, through the act of translating I am telling another person's story in my words and in another language through an interpretative structure based upon my own experiences, assumptions and private knowledge of being a public sector employee in Greece. By encouraging and practicing reflexivity on general issues as well as translation, I aimed at enhancing trustworthiness (Xian, 2008).

Another challenge is the socio-cultural aspect associated with translating idioms, metaphors or proverbs originating from Greek mythology to social phenomena (Xian, 2008). For instance, in the interviews the participants referred to the unfair system of Hellenic society and used the slang words δοντι (tooth), Βησμα (socket), Μεσον (instrument), διαπλεκομενα (interests, interwinings) and ρουσφετι (bribery, special favour), all which refer to connections, intertwinings or clientelism. The meaning and understanding of δοντι (tooth), for instance, in Greek relates to the social

phenomenon of clientelism, something common in the Hellenic discourse but very uncommon in the English version. Hence, I had to encourage my participants to explain the concept for me in their words, although I understood what they meant, from my experience, but I deemed it necessary so that my translation would be closer to their thoughts.

This move was driven by the fact that as a translator I did not simply translate but made sense of the data, before adapting it to another language (Xian, 2008). I grasp that my own experiences within Hellenic society aided my understanding and hence my translation, as our experiences influence our understanding when reading a text, since we refer to our own experiences in order to make sense of concepts (Temple and Young, 2004; Xian, 2008).

Furthermore, I was challenged by the methodological issue of whether my translated data could enhance a reader's understanding of a different culture and mean the same as it would to a Greek reader. This was aided through discussion with three of my peers, two English-speaking and one Greek Cypriot, as their valuable comments ensured that the data were suitable for my target audience.

To conclude this chapter, I argue that through translation the researcher actively constructs "reality," and so I adopted a reflexive approach – as suggested by scholars – which aided my understanding and interpretation of the data (Burr, 2003; Xian, 2008). By being reflexive, I acknowledge my assumptions, interpretations of and interactions with the data, thereby making me more aware of the way in which different linguistic or cultural elements are merged into the process of knowledge development, during which time data are interpreted translated and written in a different language (Xian, 2008).

3.12. CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to outline the methodology used in this study in order to fulfil the research objectives. The research questions emerged from my interest and previous work experience in the Hellenic public sector context as well as via my academic interest in careers, something which is acceptable within the constructivist paradigm (Remenyi et al., 1998). A literature review was carried out regarding the topic of careers, which informed the research objectives. These objectives sought to consider the relevance of the current framework, the KCM, and furthermore they sought to address gaps in the existing literature by emphasising the context of austerity. Moreover, the conceptual framework argued about particular career needs driving the career enactment of individuals, helping the researcher raise the question of the universality of those career needs, emphasising again the context of austerity.

The discussion will now move on to the findings.

4. CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

The interview results were analysed in terms of answering the following research questions. How are careers perceived in austerity by civil servants? What are their career needs? And how relevant is the KCM?

The purpose of the interviews was to investigate, in an exploratory manner, their understanding of the notion of career and how they perceived their own career. In addition, there was impetus to explore the relevancy of the KCM and the career needs of the participants. The method of analysis used was thematic analysis, which has been described as an inherent, coherent way of organising material into specific research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). When investigating the experiences of civil servants in Greece, 33 semi-structured interviews, lasting on average 35-45 minutes, were conducted. The following main themes emerged from the analysis: job, safety, fairness, training, authenticity, balance and challenges. Some of the aforementioned themes have also been divided into various sub-themes. This is illustrated below (shown as theme, then sub-theme):

Figure 3: Themes and subthemes identified in this study

- Job
  - Plateau
  - Unfair
  - Frozen
- Safety
- Training
- Fairness
  - Distributive
  - Procedural
- Authenticity
- Balance
- Challenge
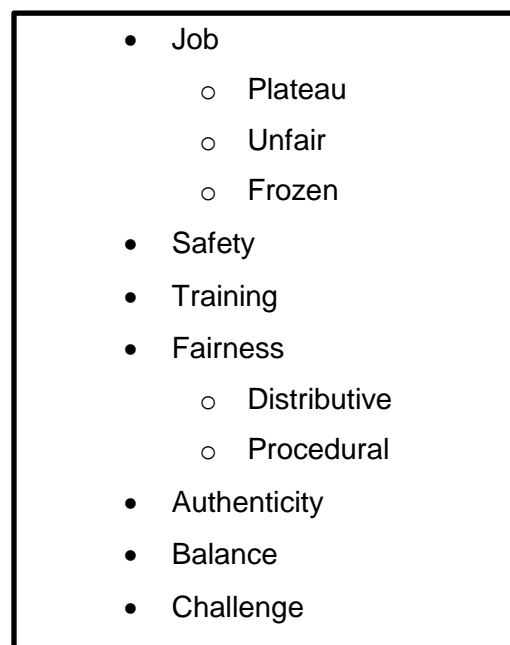
4.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 1: TO UNDERSTAND HOW CAREERS ARE PERCEIVED IN AUSTERITY

Career perceived as a job

The data indicate that conceptualisations used to describe the notion of career in austerity focus on an instrumental orientation. Although a career was understood as climbing the hierarchy by the participants, referring to a traditional bureaucratic career most common to the public sector, their own career differed somewhat, as their understanding was based on it being a "job" or "daily bread." The realisation of a job instead of a career is due to its different attributes such as: plateaued, frozen and unfair, which became the sub-themes of the general theme, as they all provide explanations as to why a career is understood as a job. More specifically, the career perception as a job or daily bread was made explicitly by the participants, as they were encouraged to explore the notion of a career and its meaning while reflecting upon their own career. Hence, the researcher asked "*Tell me what you understand when you hear the word 'career',*" followed by "*Does this definition you have provided me fit with your own career?*"

The following extract illustrates how Gianna perceived her own career:

"*I see it as payment – you go there, do your job and come home.*"

Gianna argues that what she has is "payment;" her career is a means to secure necessities such as making a living and saving for retirement. Her career in the public sector, she argued, happened because it "just happened." Her father, back in the old days, had some friends who helped her get into the sector, and hence she happened to be a civil servant, not because it was her dream but because it was a way to earn a living – it was serendipity. This is in accordance with the literature which claims that people in Greece saw the public sector as the "Greek Dream" because of its safety provision and its pay, and parents pulled a few strings so that their children would have a good income (Patiniotis and Starvoulakis, 1997). This is a cultural trait of Greece which Hofstede (1980) named "uncertainty avoidance," as employment security in this case is important. Furthermore, a job is something one does out of necessity or in order to gain security and money, not because it is one's dream or calling (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al., 2007). According to the literature, employment encompasses different meanings. When seen as a job, work is a way of making money and a living which supports the individual. It is defined by economic success, security and all that money can buy, and from a needs point of view it focuses on extrinsic rewards such as salary and job security (Maslow, 1954; Herzberg et al., 1959). In

the same way, for others, their career was seen as a means to an end and defined as "*daily bread*" (μεροκαματο).

> "*There is no career, we do not go for the career, we go for daily bread. A career is for the big bosses – we simple employees don't have that; we go for the daily bread (μεροκαματο)*" (Michalis)

For Michalis, there is no career because he works for the "*daily bread,*" it is something people do out of necessity and not due to attractiveness. This is consistent with Terkel's (1972) research, which discovered that work in the American recession was a means of just getting by. In this situation, in austerity, the employees thought of their work as daily bread, as it helped them pay bills and maintain themselves and their families. Hence, for Michalis, a career is "*for the big bosses,*" something people at the top do, not those struggling to survive. In this sense, a career is seen as advancement, success and achievement and incorporates status and recognition, something not applicable to low-level employees. Drawing from the literature, Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) revealed that employees in low-level occupations viewed themselves as having jobs, as they lacked high salaries, recognition and challenges.

For the participants a career entailed money, advancement, giving orders and recognition, and it even entailed "*hunting for opportunities and money.*" The following extract illustrates the perception of a careerist:

> "*A careerist is someone who gets out and hunts, who changes jobs, has motives and bonuses in his work, who learns and develops; he is the one who has a career, the manager has a career. What kind of career can an employee with a specific job have? It's definitely not possible, at least for the employees lower on the hierarchy... a simple employee in an organisation, with working hours 7-3 and 1000 euros salary, I do not consider it to be career, it is work.*" (Giannis)

Giannis argues that the careerist is the hunter who seeks promotions and opportunities. Drawing from the literature, the careerist Giannis describes fits the boundary-less career, introduced by Arthur and Rousseau (1996), which involves a new form of employability in which the individual takes an active role in managing his or her career. This type of career does not characterise any single form but numerous forms that challenge the traditional career. Its most important aspect is that it moves through different employers, consequently overcoming the boundaries of one employment and hence illustrating Gianni's "*hunter*". When Giannis argues about "*the simple*

employee" he refers to front line workers, just as himself, who do not claim to have a career but rather a low-paid job, lacking bonuses and motivation, training and development, all of which are important aspects of a career (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al., 2007).

For Giannis his ambitions and desires are outside the working environment, as everything commences after 3 pm work "*is just a part or role… the 8 hours I have to work to make a living. With what I have earned, I will manage to get by....*" When employees look at their work as a job, their ambitions lie outside of their working environment and their only prospect is found in retirement (Bellah et al., 2007). Similarly, Sofia K. does not consider herself or any other employee to have a career, which she justifies by saying:

> "*No one has a career in the public sector; I am just a civil servant... I do not have a position of responsibility... I do not coordinate, train or develop. I just execute orders from above.*"

For Sofia K., "*No one has a career,*" as she does not have a position of responsibility. She argued that a career is "*about doing something important, achieving, having responsibilities,*" whereas she only executes "orders from above," thereby emphasising her low-level career understanding and referring to the idea of a job (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al., 2007). When Sofia was asked who has a career she said "*Only the CEO of my organisation.*" Magda echoes Sofia's perceptions when she states:

> "*I don't have a career, I am appointed to a position, the public sector does not provide careers.*"

For Magda, there is no career in the public sector, it is an appointment that one takes to survive, since a career means progressing and acquiring knowledge. Toula provides a more expansive career definition, stating:

> "*A career for me is something more, how can I say this? It's not something you do due to needs, it's something you do after you have secured the necessities and you say yes I will have a career, I will devote myself to something I really like. How can I say this now? I mean you do what you like, something like you commit totally [Greek idiom, πεφτω με τα μουτρα], you follow what you like.*"
> (Toula)

When the researcher asked her if she had a career, Toula noted:

> *"Here in X [name of organisation]? Let me say I work, I have the notion [of a career] in my mind but no, it's work – a career is something more than work, I don't know if I am mistaken."* (Toula)

Toula also argues about the necessity to work in her statement "*it's not something you do due to needs.*" For her, a career is something one does after he/she has secured the necessities – it is a luxury, something one likes, and this too is supported by the literature (Terkel, 1972; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al.,2007). Koula (senior manager) argued that:

> *'' a career is rising; I imagine (φαντάζομαι) it consists of money, status."*

When the researcher asked her why she used the word *''imagine''* and asked if her career is in accordance with the notion of career she claimed:

> *''I say I imagine because the way things have become we can only imagine it [the notion]. The crisis has eliminated everything. Besides the sector was never a career provider, I mean it is an appointment, a way to secure your future and if you are lucky you might become more than a senior manager, but I don't think it is a career, as perhaps it might be understood abroad, where the system is more organised, people are being developed, based on their abilities and knowledge and earn a lot of money. Here the system is different, if you understand what I mean…My career started from being appointed as front line staff, then moved to become middle manager in the finance department, then I became middle manager in the control division and later senior manager when the former senior manager retired. I do not think that the career of status and money is similar to mine. I was appointed to a position and reached finally after more than 25 years within the sector the level of senior manager. I mean I reached possibly the highest level in the branch but I cannot reach further and I do not earn money that will make me believe that I have a career.''*

For Koula, her own career did not provide her with money and status. Even before the crisis, her wages were not enormous, but with the crisis everything vanished and a sense of disappointment in relation to her career was obvious. Before, the crisis, she claimed that things were better, she could *"rise and develop"*, but now with the crisis, she could not as the ladder had shrunk and the competition was more intense due to the reduction in positions. In addition, she argued about being *"lucky"* in order to succeed referring to the connections one needs to have in order to be able to have a career, as Koula argued those with the connections usually progressed higher, ie

became area managers or even more. This was not austerity driven: rather, "luck" was a contextual element. From Koula's statement, it is clear that although she reached the highest level of the branch, she does not consider herself to have a career. Similarly, Koula, as one of the front line staff, argues that the ladder has shrunk due to austerity and hence she does not believe that she will rise within her organisation. Her prospects are limited and this is a fundamental reason why she does not regard her work as career; for her a career is rising and earning money, which she does not do today.

Hence, a career in austerity is perceived as a job (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997; Bellah et al.,2007) These quotations suggest that the participants did not consider having a career; rather, a public sector career is defined as daily bread or as a job.

This begs the question whether austerity has influenced career perceptions or if the public sector in general offers jobs. To answer the question, the researcher will highlight Giannis' claims, when he argued "*we did not come here for that [for the challenge] and we knew that it was going to be like that…*" By this Giannis reflects the common rational choice of safety and permanency when he says "*we knew it was going to be like that,*" and so he was aware in advance that he would not have a career but a job, as the sector does not offer careers in the sense of providing challenges and advancement, even pre-crisis. What one can infer is that the sector provides jobs and austerity has simply increased this feeling due to cuts and uncertainty. The main finding here is that all of the 33 participants interviewed identified the absence of a career; rather, they had jobs that acted as a means to an end (Goldthorpe, 1968; 1969).

A plateaued career

Another important sub-theme highlighted repeatedly within the interviews, when discussing and describing careers, was the perception of a plateaued career. This idea emerged as a sub-theme for the majority of the employees, as only two senior managers were interviewed. A plateaued career was one of the reasons why the participants did not believe they had a career. The particular theme occurred mainly because of the organisational structure of the Hellenic public sector, i.e. hierarchical with just a few managerial positions only. More specifically, the employees mentioned that their career or work was hierarchically dependent, based on tenure, which caused inflexibility and issues and emanated from the bureaucratic roots of the sector such as the Labour Directive, which prohibits advancement for everyone (Labour Directive, 4024/2011).

As argued in the literature review, austerity led to the introduction of a new Labour Directive (4024/2011) which augmented the necessary years required in order to change ranks and hence receive a promotion, which is a consequence of the tenure along with a compulsory salary raise. Furthermore, the new Labour Directive (4024/2011) placed restrictions on how far an employee can reach, i.e. only a certain percentage of higher-educated individuals can reach grade A. Therefore, their career was conceptualised as having plateaued, even at an early stage, as the structure was purely hierarchical and immovable, without any prospect of developing (Bardwick, 1986). On the other hand, job content plateauing occurs when an individual lacks a challenge in his or her work, which was another issue raised by the majority of the participants (Bardwick, 1986).

The following section will discuss the plateaued career sub-theme as developed and highlighted within the interviews.

Hierarchical or structural plateauing

Participants who had not reached management level argued about the plateauing of their career from the very outset, as their career is restricted by the strict Labour Directive (4024/2011), which prohibits upward mobility for everyone, as only a certain percentage can climb and change ranks depending on the results of the appraisal, which is in itself considered biased. Once they have reached the level required to apply for the position, the participants argued about the necessity to have connections to be able to get the position.

For instance, Zaharias argued about the "*inflexibility*" of the system, referring to the strict hierarchy where everyone needs to wait his /her turn to get a promotion based on years of tenure. For some this promotion might never come, since connections are important and competition is high, as there is only ever one senior management position available in every branch (Koskina, 2008; 2009). Therefore, Zaharias noted:

> *"Unfortunately the Greek public sector does not correspond [o the notion of career], since there is immovability. I say that because I am in this position where I was newly appointed 12 years ago. Now, logically, in any other firm let's say I would have progressed, I would have… progressed upwards. That is progress, but until now nothing has happened."*

Zaharias, as many others, had experienced "*immovability*" in his career, as he had been in the same position for the last 12 years, doing the same task, without progressing upwards. For him,

a career meant progressing upwards. He stated that "*logically,*" in any other organisation, referring to the private sector, he would have progressed. This has always been the situation in the Hellenic public sector, as inflexibility has always been present; austerity has just deteriorated the situation by introducing stricter laws (Labour Directive, 4024/2011). When the researcher asked Zaharias how this made him feel, he said:

> *"Surely it does not motivate me to work, to try for something better. I mean I try to be as correct and formal I can be regarding work, but, it does not give me the motivation to develop."*

According to Herzberg et al. (1959), workers are motivated and happier in their work when provided with advancement and growth. In this case, as the evidence suggests, there is a lack of advancement which is due to the way the sector is built based on policies such as the recent Labour Directive (4024/2011). Hence, careers tend to plateau before they actually get going. In addition, Athanasia highlighted the lack of advancement, questioning the possibility of everyone advancing:

> *"… a career with the sense of utilising my knowledge and qualifications and advancing and climbing into positions. I do not believe that everyone can climb and reach somewhere, and one cannot do it in the entire public sector. Perhaps this can happen in some ministries, somewhere else. I take our organisation as an example. How many of us are going to advance, especially now with the new employees who have Masters [degrees]? How many will manage to climb and become something, such as middle managers or a senior manager, which is only one position per branch. You cannot develop your 'career' in public sector organisations, not that much anyway… the conclusion I come to is that I never believed that everyone can develop, especially when I saw people with Masters being appointed in the civil service. At that time, I began to question how all those people with qualifications would develop."*

Athanasia does not believe that a career in the sense of climbing the ladder is possible in the public sector. She began to question hers and others' career development, when she realised that there were very few managerial positions in her particular organisation. This is illustrated when she says "*only one position per branch,*" referring to the only senior management position within the organisation. Therefore, career progress is impossible for everyone, and in essence nearly everyone has already structurally plateaued, due to the scarcity of managerial positions.

For Stella, a career means developing and progressing, referring to the traditional career view of climbing the ladder and becoming a senior manager or even more. However, in her career definition, Stella argues that "*I do not see any possibilities of progress,*" as her career has already structurally plateaued, due to the limited number of managerial places. For Stella, a career involves training and developing, but these tools for advancement do not happen as a result of austerity: "*as things are today,*" referring to austerity, pay cuts and a reduction in the public purse.

Theodor echoes the findings from the previous participants (Zacharias, Stella and Athanasia) when stating "*I do not have prospects of having a career, one must be university qualified to be able to apply for senior management, so this will never happen. In previous years it was possible – even individuals educated at lyceum level could become senior and/or middle managers….*" Theodor does not have any career prospects, due to his lack of qualifications. For him as well, a career is bound to managerial positions, and he concludes with some certainty that this "*will never happen*".

With the new Labour Directive (4024/2011), employees who are lyceum-educated are not permitted to reach managerial positions, and so their career development stops at grade B, after 22 years in the service and where only 70% of the employees will reach. Eleftheria provided the researcher with an example of how she understands her career as being structurally plateaued:

> "*Look, before the public sector I thought it [career] was very different, because I was working in the private sector [before entering the public sector]. In the private sector careers were more concrete and specific; you knew that if you worked hard you could go somewhere, you would get a chance. For instance, you did an MA and you knew you would get the chance of a better position, anything. There was a prospect of becoming something else and moving from position zero to position one or two, but in the public sector this [situation] doesn't exist.*"

Eleftheria, worked for 8 years in the private sector, initially in a bank and afterwards at Lidl, within the accounting department. For her, careers were "*concrete and specific*" with the element of becoming something else, meaning advancing. When she entered the public sector, her opinion of the notion of career changed, as there was no prospect of advancement. Vaso echoed Eleftheria's claims:

> "*Before you entered the public sector you had another perception [about your career], as you entered you realised things were different. You realised that*

promotions and progress, for instance, happen at a different pace in the public
sector."

Vaso argued also realised that development happens at a slower pace. When asked how, she realised, she replied: "*Because you get to know the system of progress,*" referring to the strict bureaucracy and specifically Labour Directive (4024/2011). Eleni (middle manager), provided the researcher the reasons why she believed her career was structurally plateaued arguying about austerity and its impact:

''…Before yes we changed ranks quicker, today we wait, we wait more years
and some will never reach anywhere. I have reached as far as I could as I am
not university qualified, and the new law says only those can progress to senior
management or even further…our (development) is based on tenure and
qualifications, but essentially it is who you know.''

Eleni argued about the plateau she has reached, and the fact that she cannot change ranks as she used to because of the austerity driven Labour Directive (Labour Directive 4024/2011). Furthermore, because of the specific (Labour Directive 4024/2011), she is unlikely to reach senior management as she is not university qualified; hence her career has reached its peak*.*

Similarly, Parthena, (middle manager) claimed that

''In the sector in order to be able to advance you have to have certain years in
the service. I became a manager after 25 years of service. Today we change
ranks slower than before. For those who want to move upwards it takes
longer…"

According to the two middle managers (Eleni and Parthena), their careers have plateaued as the new Labour Directive (4024/2011) prohibits non-university graduates from reaching senior management grades and above. Hence, they too, as the front-line staff, consider themselves hierarchically plateaued due to the crisis. The findings suggest that careers in the public sector structurally plateau from the very outset. This happens because, as the participants argued, there are limited managerial places; consequently, very few will advance. This was a trait of the sector even pre-crisis, something the participants realised after they had started work. Furthermore, restrictions as a result of the new austerity-driven Labour Directive (4024/2011) lead to the realisation of a structurally plateaued career. In addition, even the career development of higher-

educated employees will at some point cease before reaching grade A. All of these attributes of the public sector have detrimental effects on the career perceptions and development of employees. Hence, although the sector originally offered hierarchically plateaued careers, austerity increased the feeling by adding further restrictions.

Content Career Plateauing

A career plateau does not necessarily have to be structural but even job content or subjective plateau due to low job involvement and tedious work tasks. As the literature points out (Bardwick, 1986; Feldman and Weitz, 1988), jobs deficient of intrinsic motivation can lead to job content career plateaus. In terms of individual needs (Feldman and Weitz, 1988), individuals exhibiting a strong need to progress and who have the need for challenging work assignments (Maslow, 1954) might feel that their careers have levelled out. According to the literature, if there is an absence of intrinsic motivations, employees perceive their work as tedious and unchallenging; consequently, these employees will feel unmotivated (Bardwick, 1986). When the individual is no longer motivated, they will either resist the plateau, by hoping to achieve promotion, or resign and become passive (Barwick, 1986).

The public sector is perceived by the participants as a bureaucratic mechanism providing less challenging and exciting work, and due to high unemployment rates and austerity they cannot resigning; instead, they have become passive (Bardwick, 1986). This example illustrates the job content career plateau:

> "I have a job; there is no career, because you do not see the prospect of developing and rising. So you become content in inactivity, since there are no new things to learn, no educational provision or training from the employer… because you start in an organisation and the same thing follows you, you just change departments; besides that, it's the same thing over and over again. Bureaucracy, laws, papers, confusion. The same concept repeatedly… because papers swamp us…" (Gianna)

Gianna, who has worked within the sector for more than 20 years, argues about "*the same thing*" that follows you all the time, from the minute one enters the public sector. It is a sector full of bureaucracy, papers, tedious work and lack of intrinsic motivation or challenge. Hence, she has never had a career in the public sector, due to the repetition of tasks. In her own words, "*it is the*

same thing over and over again," referring to the classic features of the public sector. As a result, Gianna has reached a point of both structural and job content career plateau.

For Gianna, there is no public sector career, because there is no "*prospect of developing and rising,*" as there are "*no new things to learn,*" no training provision from the employer. She therefore feels that "*one becomes content in this inactivity.*" Furthermore, Gianna and Theodor contended that the only prospect "*retirement*" (Near, 1985; Bardwick, 1986; Feldman and Weitz, 1988). This understanding reinforces the belief that they have jobs instead of a career, since their organisational career plateaued in the early years and hence their only prospect is retirement. This is further reinforced by the recognition in their own words that the lack of challenging tasks and the perception of tedious, repetitive work leads to a job content or subjective plateau (Bardwick, 1986; Feldman and Weitz, 1988).

As Iliana argues, she would like to "*… be able to develop professionally, although in the position I am I learn nothing, hence no development,*" claiming that her position is characterised by "*daily routine tasks.*"

Another example of a job content plateaued career was provided by Eleftheria, who gave the researcher an example of a friend of hers who works as a front liner while having a Ph.D in social security:

> *"I cannot believe that the person who has a Ph.D. in social security does not know more things than the rest, in order to be given a better position. He is wasted – his talent, skills, everything wasted. The public sector has very educated people who are wasted. People in the public sector are overqualified, working in simple jobs without being utilised properly and it's sad… And then the people are overqualified and work in these kinds of jobs have no interest in work (απαξιουν); they dismiss, they don't go the extra mile, because they aren't given any incentives…."*

Parthena (middle manager) similarly maintained that "*…for instance, in administration (γραμματεια) there is a lady who studied law at the university – what does that mean? They don't utilise fully her skills: she types documents instead of conducting work related to her degree.*" Parthena and Eleftheria both provided the researcher with examples of individuals with qualifications who carry out "*simple jobs*" and are not being fully utilised by the sector, thereby describing individuals who experience content plateaus in their careers. Christina talked about her career perceptions:

"You feel that your qualifications are not utilised... The underestimation (απαξίωση) was always there, I believe, in the public sector; however, due to earnings being very satisfactory a lot of people did not think of it and said ok, maybe the work is routine, it's not creative, it doesn't fulfill me, but in either case, we earn very good money, we leave early. Ok, when they cut the earnings, which were a big incentive, along with permanency the balance inside you starts to change."

Christina argued about her skills and knowledge not being fully utilised and having reached a plateau, as her "*work is a routine.*" She explained to the researcher that the underestimation came from the careers the state provided, and she also admitted that this underestimation in relation to her career was "*always there*" even at the very start, as she knew that she would not have a career in terms challenging work, due to the routine, strict laws and the non-utilisation of skills/knowledge. However, due to these advantages, she "*did not think of it*" as the good salary, but permanency and working hours compensated for these disadvantages. On the other hand, because of austerity measures "*the balance inside you starts to change… so you wonder is this as far as I want to reach?*" Basically, she questioned if it was worth accepting the appointment due to the measures which removed incentives and reinforced the realisation of a plateaued career which cannot be rewarded properly.

Drawing from the literature, Barwick (1986) hypothesised that people experiencing job content plateau, once they realised that they will not be promoted, enter the resignation stage, during which they gradually withdraw from work and become passive, as in the case of Gianna and Theodor waiting for retirement or just like in the case Eleftheria described, where they become passive or "*dismissive*" (απαξιουν). In a similar manner Chrysa D (middle manager) explained the difference between being a civil servant and a tradesman, arguing about the inactivity and the routine within the sector, which leads individuals to reach bottom (βαλτωνω), as career development is minimal.

''…if you happen to be a person who looks for more and is more active you reach bottom (βαλτωνεις) in the public sector because of the system, you end up resting on your laurels (επαναπαυεσαι)… For instance a civil servant is always a civil servant, whether he/she is manager, the civil servant is not the person who looks for opportunities, who seeks to do something more than what he/she is doing, to have a career. The tasks are similar everyday, day in, day out, and you hit bottom at some point (Slang, hitting bottom = βαλτωνεις).

> *For instance, our job is not similar to let us say traders, who participate in trade and become successful and happy tradesmen. This will never happen for us, he/she (the civil servant) will settle for what he/she has and what he/she does. It is what we call inactivity, you are being influenced by the system, the routine, the security (σε τρωει η καρεκλα idiom, literally meaning being eaten by the chair).''*

Chrysa D discussed the influence of the system arguing about inactivity, and reaching bottom (βαλτωνω). She felt that the system demotivates people via the provision of repetitive tasks and the absence of intrinsic motivations as the system has socially constructed them into becoming inactive. Hence in Chrysa's words if someone is proactive he/she will *''hit bottom''* in the sector due to the content plateaued careers it offers (Bardwick,1986; Burr, 2003). Parthena (middle manager) echoed Chrysa D's perceptions claiming

> *"As manager the only difference from the front liner, is a small salary rise, nothing else. We do exactly the same things (tasks) we did before."*

The managers too, argued that their careers were repetitive and lacked challenge. The findings suggest that careers have reached structural and job content plateau, which in turn has effects on their motivation and performance (Hertzberg et al., 1959). As scholars argue (Bardwick, 1986; Nachbagauer and Riedl, 2002), career immovability affects performance, satisfaction and commitment. The understanding of a structural plateau emanates from the strict bureaucracy which intensified during austerity, as the new Labour Directive impedes the promotion of all employees, due to quotas on every employee category. In addition, content plateaued careers seem to be attributes of the sector, and this is acknowledged for instance by Christina, when she argued that "the underestimation (απαξίωση) was always there" which she overlooked pre-crisis due to the good salary, working hours and permanency. Hence, although the sector offered content and structurally plateaued careers, the arrival of austerity worsened the situation and consequently civil servants' career perceptions.

A career perceived as unfair

A career perceived being unfair was a significant theme which consistently emerged as a Hellenic reality which one must accept, as this is the way the system works. Hence, the Hellenic reality of unfairness, or visma (βησμα), leaves the window open for those with powerful contacts to develop

their structurally plateaued career and thence achieve limited managerial positions. For those who lacked connections, their career, or rather job, was unfair and hence justified the reason why they perceived their career as a job. All participants in one way or another referred to the absence of justice within the public sector in terms of promotions, as through contacts one could advance his/her career. An unequal career refers to the perception that it develops based on inequity, as development or promotion are based on connections or clientelism and not on personal effort and qualifications. Evidence in this regard was recorded in the research interviews. The following statement by Apostolos illustrates the unfair career perception in the public sector:

> *"A career is climbing the ladder, but for the public sector it's purely hierarchy, there is no career in the public sector, there are years in service which simply give you every three years a small salary rise and after some years, in the future, you can become a senior manager or a middle-level manager. Things are very specific, meaning you cannot climb positions faster, there is the absolute hierarchy and then there are the connections [Meson=μεσον/βησμα refers to clientelism/ connections old boys' network], meaning when two individuals are after the same positions, with the same qualifications, the Meson/μεσον [connections, old boys' network] will determine who gets it."*

This extract identifies an understanding of the career notion as "*climbing the ladder*," referring to the traditional notion of organisational careers. Apostolos classifies a career in accordance with the sector's tendency to provide careers relevant to "*years in service*". His statement argues about the traditional organisational career when he mentions "*purely hierarchy*;" however, Apostolos talks about a different reality which is a peculiarity of the Hellenic society, namely the "connections" which aid and determine a person's career development. Hence, instead of a career being structurally plateaued it can move upwards with the help of connections. In terms of fairness, there is an understanding that there is absence in the rule of equity (Cropanzano et al., 2007)

For Chrysa G. as well, a career involves developing and rising in the hierarchy, but she argues that this does not happen due to the absence of organisational justice, in terms of distribution. More specifically, Chrysa G. mentioned:

> *"I believe that a career means developing and getting higher up the hierarchy. However, in my job careers do not exist… there is lack of good administration and fair promotions"* (Chrysa, G.)

For Sofia K. a career is an impossibility in the public sector:

> *"… before, you were naïve and thought I might have a career or rise in the hierarchy, but now you know you won't."*

Sofia K. was asked why she believed this and claimed "*the moment you start working you realise the things that take place, inequalities, connections, you understand that you do not stand a chance, so your views change.*"

Additionally, Petros, confirming Chrysa G., Sofia and Apostolo's claims, contended:

> *"In the public sector people are promoted based on years of work and not if they really work, i.e. put in effort… furthermore, it [connections] can improve or not [a career]. If you have connections you will become a manager; if not, you won't."* (Petros)

Similarly, Chrysa D, (middle manager), argued that

> *"Everything has a cost, you place yourself out there you do it because you are active interested in helping and in return you get something back. Do you know what I mean? … I mean the career of status let us say, is possible if you know someone. I will progress when the position senior and area manager becomes vacant and if I chase it."*

Chrysa D. was politically active within the community. This helped her get to know people, and although she is interested in helping the community, she wants something in return. Hence, she admits that she will progress to senior management or even are management when the position becomes vacant and if she decides to "chase it''. Chrysa D as middle manager admits that the knowing whom career competency is important when chasing a public sector career (Inkson and Arthur 2001)

The unfair system within the Hellenic public sector, perceived as a Greek reality, results in unjust promotions (Koskina, 2009; Spanou, 1999). The above employees stated that Visma (βησμα) or meson (Μεσον), referring to clientelism, was a factor which affects careers, as it can "*improve*" one's occupation. The findings suggest that a career is perceived as unfair, as it is based on connections, and so as there are limited places for advancement, the only criterion which will make a difference is connections/clientelism and not the effort one has exhibited and/or the qualifications /skills one may have in abundance. This, however, was perceived as being detached from the impact of austerity.

Frozen careers

A prominent sub-theme emerging from the interviews regarding career perceptions was that a career was understood as "frozen" due the measures taken in austerity and this subtheme reflects the career perception with the nuance of austerity. Measures such as prescribed by Labour Directive (4024/2011), which increase the years required to change rank, slow down development, reduce salary rises and exclude certain employees from advancement. These types of austerity measures produced the perception of a frozen career in every story. At the time of the interviews, Greece's banks were closed and the employees doubted if they would be paid their salaries for the forthcoming months. Thus, they discussed the blurriness of the situation and about their careers being frozen (Ta Nea, 2015; Antypas, 2015; Diamantis, 2016; Skai News, 2016).

The following extract illustrates how a career was perceived in austerity by Eleftheria:

> *"My career never existed [in the public sector] in the sense it exists in the private sector, the crisis just disorganised it even more, or let's say it froze everything… at the moment in Greece everything has frozen, nothing happens; for instance, for me being an employee for 13 years, I should change rank (κλιμακιο) according to years in service, but also since I have an MBA. But, due to the law [refers to the Labour Directive,4024/2011] (νομος του μεσοπροθεσμου, 2011) everything regarding career development in the public service has frozen. I mean they do not even give you the minimum, the rank, which is according to the law concerned with career promotions/development. I am still stuck in the rank I was."*

Eleftheria talked about how the crisis had affected her career, when mentioning it was "*disorganised*" or "*froze everything*". By this she meant that there was immovability in terms of career development. Furthermore, she had not promoted to a *"minimum"* rank. By this she meant that she could not advance and receive an anticipated salary raise. Others expressed similar views about the crisis and its impact on their careers. For instance, the old stable employment relationship they once knew had become blurred and tougher. Nikos claimed:

> *"There is no career, there is work. I believe that I try hard in my job or in my career, and I feel trapped in this system. I think about employees in European countries who have more career opportunities and salary than me, who*

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develop. There are no resources in Greece, no control, no meritocracy – there
is nothing, neither structure nor organisation."

For Nikos there was "*nothing*" in Greece, and he felt trapped in the "*system*," as he had no career or development opportunities due to the situation.

"It was much better [before] in Greece and in the public sector; now nothing
moves, especially after the referendum. Before, you could plan, you knew that
you would go to work and you would get paid, they have not paid us yet the
salary for the first 15 days of the month – we don't even have the obvious, the
salary. What career are we talking about?" (Makis)

Makis, compares how his career was before the crisis and points out the immovability which is rife in the country, as at the time of the interviews the participants had not received their salary on time. As Makis stated, "*we don't even have the obvious, the salary. What career are we talking about?*", emphasising what was happening at that point in time in Greece when everything stopped. Similarly, Petros noted:

"Things have gotten tougher in terms of getting training, payment and entering
the public sector, since nothing happens… before, in 2010, 2009, it [pay] was
very satisfactory, you could save money, go on holidays, support your family
on your wage. You could buy a car, you could invest in something, but
nowadays you live to pay the bills, if you can do that." (Petros)

Iliana, in the same vein, argues that "*... since the public sector is related with the government nothing happens. Now that we have Syriza [name of the party in government], everything is a bit frozen, so we don't know what is going on.*" Eleni, (middle manager), explained how the crisis had affected her work:

"With the crisis everything stopped. Imagine, even the desk utensils are limited.
I mean we save on everything, from there on work remains as it was, even the
judgements on senior managers and middle managers, from what I know, have
not been done, and appraisals have not been done in two years. In general,
nothing is moving."

The crisis led not only to economising on utilities, but also appraisals had not been conducted and middle managers had not been developed, where needed. This led to people viewing their career as frozen, as unions and employees cannot come to an agreement with the government

regarding the new Labour Directive and its restrictions on career development for the public sector.

Urania (middle manager) similarly told the researcher about how the crisis had influenced her career:

> *"When I started working, more than 20 years ago, things were different, predictable, you were working and you knew that you were going to get paid, have stability. You were, safe, but today it is different. We are constantly surprised' today the banks are closed, tomorrow who knows? Everything is changing, and at the same time it remains immovable, or even worse it becomes worse, the public sector is just deteriorating, there is no money, there is no advancement in pay or levels. It is just stagnating."*

Urania mentions how things have changed from when she started working, and she explains how things pre-crisis were "*predictable,*" referring to the stability of the country. The stability she once knew had been replaced by being "*constantly surprised,*" as the Hellenics are faced with changing circumstances in the country, but these changes are for the "*worse*" as there is a level of stagnation due to the absence of money and advancement at work. Stella echoes the findings of Urania, Eleni and Petros when she claims:

> *"I believed [before entering] that I would be able to get a promotion and develop, something which is not easy in the public sector. I realised that after a while, especially now when everything has frozen, it is almost impossible."*

Stella argues about how austerity has affected their lives and career, as the state is in a condition of immovability regarding the career development of its civil servants.

Since the public sector is related to the government, and the specific government from January 2015 to July 2015, when the interviews took place, focused on negotiating its debt, the employees argued that it did not pay any attention to the public sector – it had been forgotten. Since the commencement of the crisis, the sector has only experienced pay cuts and cuts in spending. Hence, their careers were considered frozen due to the recession. Herminone (senior manager) painted a picture of why a career is frozen arguing that.

> *'' the changes we saw with the crisis are enormous. Services have been minimized and the state saves on everything. I bring stationary from home … this affects of course both work and us, we are all wondering where this is*

going is this going to end. Will it get worse? This has led to everything being on a halt.

Due to the financial crisis public spending consequently has been cut. We do not have investments in the country and this affects everything. This means everything regarding the so-called career is on a halt. The head office and ministry does not give money to training, to stationary, the visits outside the office we do due to work related issues, all these have been cut. There is a general pause. The positions have been cut too, instead of let's say six area managers, you have three now. The positions have been minimized and the development of the employees too."

Hermione gave the researcher an example of how the crisis stopped everything from moving, arguing about being on a *"general pause"*. Hence her career has frozen as her own development from senior management to area management depends on many things, such as '*"connections and competition"* and the new Labour Directive (Labour Directive, 4024/2011). This was due to austerity, as development had halted at the time of the interviews, and the positions had been minimised. Equally, Koula (senior manager) argued that:

"…Today when our wages have been cut (μειωθηκαν) and the state is ill (idiom refers to terrible conditions, το κρατος νοσει) what do you expect? … A career..."

Koula was disappointed with the way things have developed since the crisis, referring to the cuts in payment and the blurriness of the situation. The nuance of austerity in her career understanding can be found in her claim about *"the state being ill"* justifying her reasons for a frozen career.

The findings in this subsection have shown that frozen careers were experienced by all employees – whether managers or not – in terms of changing ranks, gaining promotions and developing were rife at the time of the interviews, as the government was focusing almost exclusively on negotiating its debt. Hence, the participants felt indignation, as everything was blurred and stationary.

4.2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 2: TO EXPLORE THE RELEVANCY OF THE KCM IN AUSTERITY

The discussion will now move on to look at the findings from the prism of the KCM and try to discover its relevancy in austerity. In order to do so the author posed some questions related to the KCM needs (authenticity balance and challenge) to the participants, in order to discover their perceptions.

Authenticity

It has been suggested that how one perceives one's career is idiosyncratic and subjective, and hence it becomes meaningless to try to generalise on this issue. On the other hand, the KCM argues about three universal career needs (authenticity, balance and challenge) which are sought after by every employee. At this point, it is wise to move the discussion of the findings to the model and see how relevant the ABCs are in austerity. Since authenticity means being true to one's values, one should act according to them in life. As a career need, authenticity may take many forms (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), such as finding purpose and meaning in life, following one's dream, etc.

The career actors in the KCM research reflected upon their career decisions and asked themselves "Did I make the right choice?" "Was the decision well-matched for me and others around me?" "Could there be something more, something different from what I've already achieved?" "Does what I have done so far in life reflect who I really am – and what I want to leave behind after I am gone?" (2006, p.158). People are on a quest, they want to align with what it is they need to do, what they want to do and what work demands from them. In short, they desire authenticity (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

The questions in this part evolve around authenticity perceptions; therefore, the researcher asked questions about what they value in their work, the reasons they chose this type of career, if they found purpose and meaning in life through their career and what their dream job was, followed by prompts. More specifically, regarding finding purpose and meaning in life through their work, all of the participants argued that it had nothing to do with their career, as meaning and purpose in life were outside work, in their families. This extract, from Sofia P's interview illustrates the perception of finding meaning in life outside work:

> *"… meaning in life comes from the children, the family… I believe other things*
> *fulfill me, such as my children…"*

For Sofia P., meaning in life is connected to her family, especially her children, and hence it cannot be found in her career. The realisation that meaning in life is not found through one's career is further substantiated by Giannis:

> *"No, no, definitely that's another phase [meaning in life], something different.*
> *Another thing is meaning in life and another is work; for sure its outside working*
> *hours, that's where I find the meaning, after 3 pm, that's where the real life is,*
> *this is just a part or role. This is the role of work: the 8 hours I have to work to*
> *make a living. With what I have earned, I will manage to get by and find*
> *meaning in life, so it's after 3 pm."*

For Giannis, meaning in life was clearly outside working hours, as this is only a role that he fulfils in order to make a living and through that find enjoyment "*after 3 pm*". The way an individual understands one's work is related to the level of pay and status (Mitroff and Denton, 1999). Therefore, individuals who have reached a certain work and salary level find meaning in their work in terms of stimulating tasks, realising their potential and providing a service to others, thereby confirming Maslow's (1954) hierarchy which argues that when higher needs develop money stops being the most important issue. In this case, work was only a matter of survival and a role one plays; therefore, it did not create meaning in life. When people's purpose and meaning in life are congruent with their careers, their work is an expression of significance or calling (Ashforth, 1999; Bellah et al., 2007). In the same manner, Sofia K. claimed:

> *"My family, my health; I mean it has nothing to do with my career."*

Sofia K. also argued that meaning and purpose in life had nothing to do with her career, probably because she did not believe she had a career in the first place. In addition, cuts in her salary did not allow her to find meaning and purpose in life through her career, as she was more concerned with financial survival (Maslow, 1954; Mitroff and Denton, 1999). Stella argued that her career did not provide meaning in life; rather, she tried to develop herself via interaction with citizens:

> *"My public sector career doesn't give me that. I try to get something out of my*
> *career. To develop myself, via the interaction with people, because I believe*
> *that giving back or offering your services is a way of providing meaning, not in*
> *life but in one's career."*

For Nikos, who recently became a father, his child was the meaning in life and not his work:

> *"My son, I believe that from the moment you become a parent, they are the beginning and the end of one's life… my career has nothing to do with meaning and purpose in life."*

Similarly, for Koula, (senior manager), meaning in life and career are not linked:

> *''meaning in life comes from one's family, from the children, from the husband. I lost my husband a few months ago and I feel that I lost my meaning in life. We were together for more than 30 years, I had a great husband, a compassionate partner, very educated … my work has nothing to do with my meaning in life; it is something that gives me a salary…I don't believe meaning in life is found in work. No it is something outside work''*

For Nikos and Koula, their family brings meaning and purpose in life, and so in this context authenticity in the sense of finding meaning and purpose in life through one's career was not relevant – it was to be found outside work as they did not believe that meaning in life comes via one's work.

In order to explore further the notion of authenticity, the researcher was interested in learning about why they chose the public sector, what their dream job was and what they valued the most in their work. The employees stated that they chose a public sector career due to its safety; however, they had had other dreams, either doing something artistic or being entrepreneurs. Hence, in this case the safety need guided them and not the need to be authentic. Theodor mentioned his dream when he was younger and how he started in the public sector:

> *"I wanted to become a teacher, but I did not manage. I took the exams twice but failed and gave up, so I turned to the private sector and then to the public sector."*

Theodor argued about the unfortunate circumstances twice of not passing exams in order to become a teacher. Without any other choice, he turned to the private sector, initially selling shoes and later on working in a factory. Finally, 10 years later, he turned to the public sector, because he wanted "*to secure my future*", as this would mean a safe and stable paycheck and employment, or in Theodor's words "*to secure the daily bread*" (να εξασφαλισω το μεροκαματο). When the researcher asked Theodor how he felt when he was initially appointed to the public sector, he replied "*sad*". Naturally the researcher asked him why, and Theodor replied:

"Because I already had a job but I took it as an opportunity to secure my future... where I worked, I earned more money at that time than the public sector was offering me. Finally, as things have turned out, it was better that I came here, because today the place where I used to work at, is open only seasonally with the possibility of shouting down."

Theodor reflects upon his career choice and notes that he made a wise choice to accept the position in the public sector, as it helped him secure his future and daily bread. As a result, Theodor did not accept a career based on his values in the sense KCM argues, but rather he acted upon his uncertainty avoidance (Goldthopre et al., 1969; Hofstede, 1980). Although the employees acknowledged their dreams, they continued with their civil service positions, hoping to hold on to their belongings. As Apostolos argued:

"I wanted to enter law school, but I did not make it. I did several jobs in the private sector and finally I came here... In the public sector what kind of targets can a person have? I want to hold on to my belongings (θελω να διατηρησω τα υπαρχοντα μου)"

Apostolos had the dream of becoming a lawyer, but he ended up in the public service, as his father arranged for him to have a safe job via connections. Apostolos contends that in the public sector, as targets are absent and the work is tedious, the only thing left for him is to hold on to his belongings, referring to his salary and his job. Similarly Chrysa D , (middle manager) argued about her dream job and how she became a civil servant

"...for me this was not the dream [job], I was appointed to the sector, I don't know why I choose it, I was 22 years old and maybe I choose it because of the way we were brought up. I mean it was a safety, it gave stability, a wage, it was different back then, that is how we saw it then, today things are different… My father suggested this (appointment) for me, I mean, you knew it was a stable path and you took it. I had a degree in foreign languages and wanted to become a teacher, but instead I came here."

Chrysa D, similarly as the other participants, did not dream of becoming a civil servant. She had studied German, hoping to become a teacher. Despite that, she accepted the appointment as this was the way she was '' *brought up"* as she said, to work somewhere with security (Hofstede,1980). Hence, Chrysa as many others, gave up her dream of being authentic in her

career, and instead took the safe path of job permanency, influenced by the context(Wood et al.2008). Sofia K. argued about her dream job working in tourism, claiming:

> *"I cannot leave my job now, especially due to the unemployment, which is huge; if you lose your job you can't get another one. Although before the crisis there was still unemployment, now it's worse."*

For Sofia K. too, the reason for accepting employment in the public sector was due to the need to secure her future, even before the crisis. As she argues, "*I cannot leave my job now*" emphasising the current financial situation of the country. Thus she cannot pursue her dream job and achieve authenticity in terms of her career. Toula, shared similar thoughts with the above participants, claiming:

> *"Look, when I started working the criterion was to be able to manage financially, and it still is, that was the motive and that was the meaning in life, to survive."*

For Toula, finding meaning in life through her career is expressed by surviving, as in this case the public sector itself provides a safety net and work is seen as daily bread or simply work (Terkel, 1972). Similar results are supported by Goldthorpe et al. (1969), who argued that the workers in their study held an instrumental career perception in relation to securing their needs and hence accepting a job due to its extrinsic rewards.

Furthermore, in the specific context, the employment safety of the public sector provided the participants with an alignment of their values and their career, as the need to feel safe at one's work is important for Greeks (Hofstede, 1980). This is emphasised in the statement of Athanasia, who said "*I chose the public sector for survival and permanency purely (καθαρά)... it is purely an issue of survival.*" While Athanasia explained why she works and why she chose the public sector as her employer, due to safety, she described her dream job of working with children or doing something more creative. If she could have a career choice she claimed that she would not choose the public sector, she would choose something that would make her happy, something more creative such as doing crafts and arts. Christina mentioned the absence of meaning and purpose in life through her career:

> *"With this specific work, no, I believe that I could do more interesting and important things, but it's my choice to stay here. I don't blame anyone else. I mean, I can't, since I cannot leave the job that I have and do something else,*

which might be more interesting and fulfilling, since there are no jobs, there is
unemployment." (Christina)

For Christina, purpose and meaning in life were not to be found in the civil service; she was aware of it but had decided to stay there as context restrained her. Hence, authenticity in KCM terms of finding alignment with what one desires career-wise and what work demands of her/him is not apparent; rather, living in austere country does not allow people to self-actualise, as Maslow (1943) suggests, as the lower needs are not satisfied, i.e. employment stability. Zaharias also mentioned how he finally arrived in the public sector:

"I came here for the security the public sector offered, as well as the future
guarantees, let's say, the working hours and some privileges which are fading
away slowly."

Zaharias refers to the permanency and good working hours, as well as generous holidays, the public sector offers, all of which drove him to choose the public sector but which are slowly "*fading away*" due to austerity and cuts. For Stella as well, her values rest in the safety of the sector, which is why she chose this career, since she felt "*relief, safety*" when she was appointed: "*I value my safety.*" However, what she wants to do career-wise and what she actually does are incompatible:

"I love to paint, but this is not connected to my career."

As the interviewees accessed public sector employment due to the security it provided, authenticity in the sense of finding purpose and meaning in life through one's career, as the KCM argues, was not present. This is further emphasised in the statement of Sofia P., who asserted her need to survive and hence accepted a position within the public sector, pre-crisis, "*… because up until recently we thought of it as reassurance (εξασφαλιση) in Greece, that is why.*" When the researcher asked what they valued in their work, they all answered being able to actually have a job. As Giannis said, "*Important certainly is the continuation of the 'career'.*" For Giannis and the rest of the participants the prospect of actually having a career in the future is important, since it is not as certain as once it may have been.

In this section, the evidence suggests that an authentic career, as outlined by the KCM, is not reflected in austerity, as individuals chose the public sector as their employer due to the safety net it provided even pre-crisis, as it was considered vital. Hence, they argued that they valued primarily the safety their career brings and therefore expressed an instrumental work orientation

(Goldthorpe et al., 1969). Their public sector career was irrelevant to accomplishing a dream and/or finding purpose and meaning in life via one's career, as the KCM argues (Mainiero and Sullivan 2006). This suggests that this career need is unfulfilled, and as it is located on the highest level of needs it should be fulfilled in order for the individual to be complete.

Balance

The KCM states that the need to balance one's life drives people to choose careers and/or to find strategies to balance their lives. In the Hellenic public sector working hours are more or less stable, usually from 7am-3pm, and overtime is almost never an issue, thus making it an ideal working place in the specific context. According to the employees who had previously worked in the private sector, they chose the public sector certainly for the safety element but also for the need to balance their lives. The following extract illustrates this point:

> *"Yes, quality of life, I mean more free time, and that was a decisive part as well when choosing the public sector. I mean I may earn less now, but I have more time to do what I like. In the bank, where I was working previously, I worked over 10 hours a day, I had no spare time, my children were little, my wife was nagging and I wanted to find a job where I could have more free time."*

For Zaharias, the public sector not only provided him with safety, but also with "*quality of life*", giving him plenty of time to pursue leisure activities and be with family, as he worked more than 10 hours a day. Drawing from the literature, conflicts occur when combining working and personal roles, as Zaharias showed in his example. In order to eliminate the conflict, Zaharias chose to seek work in the public sector, as it provided "*more free time*". When role conflicts between these two different life spheres are minimal and one is satisfied, the situation is known as having a good work-life balance (Clark, 2000). Iliana similarly argued about why she chose to work in the public sector:

> *"I don't have long working hours, and one of the reasons I chose the public sector is that I am not a careerist, I need to have a life. However, nowadays I think that even if they made the working hours longer, no one would say 'I quit'."*

As Iliana states, "*nowadays*" the need to preserve one's job is more important than to achieve work-life balance, since as priorities change, the need to maintain one's job becomes more prominent. Furthermore, for those who are in the public sector, the need to balance is not an

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issue, but the need for balance was a motivator in choosing the public sector, especially for those who had previously worked in the private sector for many years. Toula, when discussing the issue of work-life balance, mentioned:

> *"Look, I cannot say I am very tired, that I finish late, that I have crazy working hours. In the private sector the work was more demanding, the responsibilities, the overtime, whereas now we are relaxed. Look, it's OK to think about work-life balance, but when searching for a career when I was unemployed, I did not think about it – all I wanted was security, due to the unpleasant experience [of getting fired]. That was the criterion for the public sector and I will say it again: the private sector was a school, as when I was unemployed it affected my family, less money, children, private tutoring, it was a problem so I wanted a job with safety."*

For Toula, the criterion for entering the public sector was its safety provision, as the work-life balance never really bothered her as much as her need to survive, meaning she needed to make sure her family and herself had their physiological and safety needs covered (Maslow, 1954). This point is supported by Sofia P:

> *"I know that I thought about it then (before I got the job), because you believe that you will be better off here [public sector], more balanced, with the children and that, it will be easier than the private sector and it was, they support you more in the public sector, the working conditions are different..."*

Sofia P. had previously worked for more than ten years in the private sector, in different jobs, before she was appointed to the public sector. She admits that she "*thought about it then*," meaning the work-life balance issue, and compares the public with the private sector, stating that the working conditions were much better in the public sector, where she was offered support in terms of advantages such as "*benefits and sick days off*". In the same vein, Nikos mentioned:

> *"I have not thought about it [work-life balance], but I can tell you that after my son was born there was no work after work. I shut down, I am totally committed [to my son] and I believe I have work-life balance and plenty certainly (μάλιστα), I have a great working hours, I spend time with my son, I am ok."*

Theodor also shared the same view when he was asked about the work-life balance:

"I have not thought about it. No, it has never bothered me, I have always put family above all and in general I have never thought about it, it was there always."

Theodor was never really bothered with the work-life balance; for him, family always came first and foremost. Furthermore, "*I finish at 3pm.*" Petros also argued about having found a work-life balance in the public sector:

"Yes, it [the public sector] does, I have plenty of free time and it was a factor for changing career to the public sector. From the private, which was stressful… yes, I have [achieved], I am happy to go to work every day and know that I will finish on time."

Petros, argued about his previous work in the bank as stressful and conclude that the has achieved work-life balance in the public sector by having plenty of free time and finishing on time, meaning no overtime, since as he claimed, in his previous job, at the bank, he would normally work 10 hours per day or even more.

The findings have displayed that balance in the Hellenic public sector is not an issue when the participants compared their previous jobs in the private sector with the public sector, they all mentioned working overtime, and not being able to balance their lives. Hence the reason that they moved to the public sector, pre-crisis, besides the permanency, was to achieve balance. Thus there is a perception that the public sector is a generous employer compared to the private sector supporting previous research conducted in Greece about work-life balance issues (Katsimi and Tsakiroglou, 2000; Mihail and Giannikis, 2011a; Glaveli et al, 2013). As Iliana noted, "*I think that even if they made the working hours longer, no one would say 'I quit'*," pointing out the necessity to work during austerity, rather than to find equilibrium, emphasizing on an instrumental career orientation.

The section has shown that the issue of the work-life balance in the context of the public sector and in austerity, in general, is not a concern once you are working within the public sector. This is due to the fact that the working hours are regular and the work is not perceived as stressful compared to the private sector. The findings of the thesis are reflected in the literature, which highlights the good working hours of the public sector and its privileges such as plentiful paid holidays and good working hours in comparison to the private sector (Katsimi and Tsakiroglou, 2000; Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013).

Challenge

For the KCM, the reasons why people choose their work, except for money, are because they need to gain validation as experts, in order to have an impact and make things happen, develop and grow in their career. Challenges can be the motivator or the road that leads to self-discovery. According to the KCM, the drive to be challenged at work is a powerful motivating force and is the reason why people work (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). In this study the researcher asked the participants questions related to challenges, such as how do you understand challenges at work? Do you consider that your career provides you with challenging work? And in what way? How important is it to have a challenge in your career? What motivates you in your work, and why? And why do you work?

More specifically, the researcher asked why they worked, in order to discover if challenges were their reason except for money. All of the public sector employees answered that it was to be able to survive and to provide their services, as they did not see any challenge in their work but would very much like to. The participants argued that having a challenge in one's career is important, and they defined through competition, incentives, targets and promotion. The participants, when asked why they work, responded that they did it to survive and secondly to contribute to society.

For Litsa, (middle manager), her reasons are:

> *"To be financially and professionally compensated..."*

Litsa mentioned the need to be financially and professionally compensated by securing a safe job in the public sector, and so the reason she works is survival and having the opportunity to utilise her qualifications. In the same manner, Gianna said that the reason she works is "*to support myself and my family.*" Hence, a challenge in the way it is conceptualised in the KCM as accomplishing a hard task, learning and developing, is not a motivator to work but financial security. For Hermione (senior manager), her reasons for working are:

> *"One major reason is survival. For this reason, any one could do any job to secure money. Why am I doing it? Surely not only for the money, because this is unpayable; furthermore, I did not seek to become a senior manager, it happened… so why am I doing it? For the offering/contribution."*

Hermione, notes that the reason she works is survival, as her appointment in the public sector helped her to stabilise her life financially. On the other hand, she mentions the contribution to

society as being important. This pro-social behaviour is very typical of public sector employees, as suggested by the public sector motivation literature, and it was found in all the stories of the participants (Perry and Wise, 1990). Intrinsic factors such as helping others is an important part of a public sector career which motivates individuals, but caution should be taken, as the participants initially chose the sector due to its safety, money and good working conditions and secondly due to their need to contribute (Perry and Wise, 1990; Lewis and Frank, 2002).

For both Toula and Apostolos too, the reason they work is mainly surviving and secondly offering:

> *"For survival and to have something to do in life, to offer and contribute"* (Toula).

> *"A motivation/incentive in my work is to be able to help people so they leave happily and thank me…"* (Apostolos).

Apostolos sees the contribution to society as an incentive to work or a motivation in his career, and so in this case the public sector motivation acts as a needs theory by satisfying his higher-order needs, altruism or contribution (Maslow, 1954; Perry and Wise, 1990). Moreover, it relates to the career competency of knowing why, which debates the reasons people work, which in this case are survival and contributing (Inkson and Arthur, 2001). Vaso, (middle manager), also mentioned her need to provide:

> *"I don't think that I could self-actualise in my career… I would like to have a greater feeling of offering to society."*

Vaso argues about the feeling of providing services and about the absence of challenges when she says that she cannot self-actualise in her career and become something higher up in the hierarchy with more interesting work. For her, a challenge involves "*having small goals which you can accomplish, I mean accomplishing a new task. Usually medium goals are given and challenges are the result.*" When asked if she believed that her career was challenging, she argued "*no, since the public sector system is bureaucratic and has structural weaknesses (δομικές αδυναμίες).*" Vaso referred to bureaucracy and tedious work, as "*structural weakness,*" where the majority had reached the stage of content plateau and challenges were therefore in very short supply. Stella, in a similar way, talked about helping the public as an important component in her career, apart from her salary:

> *"I am here to provide my services the best way I can. I appreciate my salary and position. I also feel that as a human being offering help is important, it is part of our nature, so we should help each other any way we can."*

Moreover, for Stella, giving back to society is a getting meaning in one's career: "I *believe that giving back or offering your services is a way of providing meaning, not in life but in one's career.*" Challenges for Magda involved "*… being able to accomplish things at work, to contribute the best way.*" Nonetheless, in her career challenges were absent due to the makeup of the public sector: "*No, not at all…since we do specific things [referring to tasks] and no challenges are available.*" The researcher asked the participants what the word "challenge" means to them and if their career had provided them with one. It was defined as competiveness, incentives and targets in order to improve one's position.

> *"'Challenge' means competitiveness for me, to be able to show something better than your colleague in order to be able to advance. My career does not give me that; in fact, the public sector never did. In the public sector progressing means becoming a senior or a middle manager, according to years in service and qualifications, typically, atypically, it's also connections (Βῆμα). It has nothing to do with whether you have presented anything good or not."*

Christina defines a challenge as competitiveness, it means being able to show something better than others in order to develop one's career, i.e. to receive a promotion. However, this does not happen in the public sector, as career advancement has nothing to do with challenging work; rather, it is a typical bureaucratic career based on tenure and connections (Bardwick, 1986; Koskina, 2009). For the participants, challenging work meant targets, promotions and incentives, but for Petros these aspects were missing:

> *"We don't have targets to work toward; we just go there and wait for someone to come in. Targets are needed in order to provide incentives/motivation and challenges… because that way you know what you are doing and why, but with targets you increase productivity. You have an incentive."*

For Petros, a challenge means stimulating work which increases the adrenalin, the accomplishment of targets, but this does not happen as they do not have targets to work toward. Targets provide an incentive to work and provide a challenge. Iliana mentioned that her work presented no challenges:

> *"No, it is a daily routine especially where I am positioned. Before, in the 'good'*
> *or interesting departments, yes I might say it was challenging. Controllers, for*
> *instance, learn more from their cases, where every case is a gamble."*

For Iliana, a challenge means learning and developing, but her work is a routine and tedious job dealing with papers, where challenges are absent. Drawing upon the literature, their careers are content plateaued, characterised by repetitive tasks (Bardwick, 1986). For Chrysa D., a middle manager, though, her work is considered challenging, as a challenge is associated with solving problems. Problem-solving motivates her, and as this response differed from the other respondents, the researcher, needed to explore Chrysa's opinion and therefore asked her to provide an example of challenging and motivating work and how she solves it:

> *"The satisfaction of people is my motivation and challenge. When an 80-year-*
> *old lady comes to the office and you provide a solution to her problem and she*
> *returns wishes (ευχες) and cries in front of you and tells you 'I do not know how*
> *to thank you', I believe this [behaviour] says it all, there is no better feeling. I*
> *am affected only by thinking of it."*

For Chrysa D., a challenge is defined as accomplishing something hard, in order to please citizens, as satisfying them is pure motivation. Hence, in this case a challenge was regarded as contributing better to public sector motivation than a challenge in terms of learning. For Parthena, (middle manager) challenge at work is

> *"Look, challenge at work is something like the elixir of life, I think. It fullfils you*
> *it makes you create… my work is bureaucratic, I mean in my post I am*
> *responsible for sickness (paying benefits), I have done this for more than 10*
> *years, the same thing… before I became middle manager I did the same job,*
> *only difference is that I now get the extra benefit (επιδομα προισταμενου), and*
> *the title, now I am middle manager… a motive is money nowadays. When they*
> *cut the salaries and rise the prices and the taxes constantly, what kind of*
> *motive can you have?"*

Parthena argued about challenge being the *''elixir of life''* as it makes employees work and create. However, she considered that her work was bureaucratic and tedious, as she did *''the same thing''* the last ten years. As far as what motivated her, she stated that money was key, because the crisis has affected her income.

To summarise, during austerity the absence of money and jobs makes one compromise and remain in a current job. In terms of authenticity, the specific career need was not discovered in the sense the KCM describes it, such as following one's dream job, as even pre-crisis the participants compromised their dream and accepted a safe appointment in the sector. Today, austerity has intensified the safety need. However, this need is considered relevant by the researcher, as this is the ultimate career need and hence employees should aim to satisfy it accordingly (Maslow, 1954).

For the participants a challenge was understood through competitiveness, targets, money, learning and developing, but these elements did not exist in their career. In the Hellenic public sector in the context of austerity, challenges are absent and work is seen as tedious, repetitive, bureaucratic and therefore understood as a job, since a career would entail challenges, as proposed by scholars (Gabris and Simo, 1995; Wrezsniewsky et al., 1997; Korczynski, 2004; Bellah et al., 2007). This perception was not due to austerity only, as the sector has been characterised as a provider of content and structural plateaued careers without targets and incentives. If one did indeed have a chance of moving upwards, pre-crisis, with the previous Labour Directive (3825/2007), austerity deprived individuals of that hope by introducing the new Labour Directive (4024/2011) with its restrictions.

As Bardwick (1986) argues, content plateauing results from continuing to work with tasks already mastered, along with repetition and similar responsibilities. In non-affluent societies the sense of challenge is created by trying to survive, but economically comfortable individuals are not satisfied with just work; rather' they desire to be intrinsically motivated in their work such as learning and mastering something new (Maslow, 1954; Bardwick, 1986). In this case the evidence suggested that the participants do not have challenging job tasks, and although their careers are enacted in a non-affluent society, they desire challenges but cannot achieve them, as resigning is inconceivable due to the high unemployment austerity has brought. In addition, they chose this type of employment originally due to its safety and not due to the need to be challenged.

This is in accordance with previous research conducted with public sector employees who were driven by job security and money, and hence the reason for working remains the same despite the crisis (Manolopoulos, 2006; 2008). The researcher considers this career need as being absent and important as the employees argued that they need to develop and learn in their careers, to accomplish hard tasks through competitiveness and targets. Balance is an important need, as everyone needs to find equilibrium between both spheres. For the majority of the participants, and especially for those who worked many years in the private sector, the step toward the public

sector was initiated by the need for employment safety and balance, and so this need is relevant both before and during the crisis.

4.3.   RESEARCH OBJECTIVE 3: TO DISCOVER THE CAREER NEEDS OF THE PARTICIPANTS

This section will highlight topics centered on the idea of career needs, which are related to one's career. The theoretical framework of this study (KCM) has discussed the existence of three needs, namely authenticity, balance and challenge. This section will highlight career needs in relation to the crisis, as understood by the participants and interpreted by the researcher.

The need for safety

The need for safety took the form of employment safety and payment safety. For the participants, the need to feel safe in their environment was critical, as the majority of the civil servants mentioned that they entered the public sector hoping to secure employment and financial stability, since those who had previously worked in this area mentioned its harsh reality. Hence the public sector was considered a haven. The need for security or uncertainty avoidance is a trait of Hellenic culture, as Greeks have a tendency to want to feel safe (Hofstede, 1980).

The need for employment safety was prominent in all participant stories, and so it was a salient theme as the participants expressed their worries about how the recession had affected their career and how insecure they felt. This extract illustrates the safety worries of the participants:

> *"One day they say this, the other day they vote that, you don't know what to do, what is going on, will they cut my salary again? What is happening is stressful, and of course you think different things, but what can I say? Surely we want to have things as they were before, when you did not have to worry, but nowadays you don't know – you might get a letter to transfer somewhere where you are needed more [due to organisational needs], so you either go or you get fired."* (Maria G.)

Maria G. mentioned her worries, the insecurity she experiences in her daily life, caused by the recession and the lost sense of security, as the crisis has blurred employment stability. She felt that the laws which are constantly changing might have consequences for them, as they might receive a "*letter to transfer*" anytime into another branch, due to organisational needs, along with the ultimatum of either going or being dismissed. All insecurity is caused by the crisis, as new laws are being voted in constantly and she refers to the good old days, when she notes that "*surely we want to have things as they were before, when you did not have to worry.*" Maria and the rest of the public sector employees had a sense of security before which has now disappeared.

Maria G. provided the researcher with an example of a colleague of hers who happened to be transferred to Thessaloniki, although he did not request it. Initially the move was meant to be for one month, but he had been there for almost four months. While his family lived in another city, he was paying for a hotel in Thessaloniki and hoping to be moved back to his initial post. This made Maria worry about insecurity. Iliana also mentioned here concerns about being transferred:

> "*Now I feel insecure with everything that happens… you might end up in another public sector organisation from the reforms and mergers, they scare us all the time. We had, I believe, 10 colleagues of ours who went to other public sector organisations due to overstaffing in this office, and some ended up in different cities. The unionists say do not worry, but the uncertainty is general and strong. Especially before the elections, it was very strong…*"

For Iliana, insecurity in the working arena is everywhere. Her lack of safety is expressed when she says "*they scare us all the time.*" Additionally, another participant highlighted her feelings regarding the crisis and its impact on the employment relationship:

> "*Well now I am not safe, I am thinking what if... there is the issue of the fairness of the new appraisal system – what if they follow it and what if I get below average? If one gets that low and they need to fire people, they will fire the ones with the low score… I worry about my survival. I don't know for how much longer the public service will need my services. I might be a good employee, but the public service might decide that I am not needed and hence cancel my position, and when that disappears then I will leave too... here in our organisation the social workers were fired last year, because although they were guaranteed lifetime employment by the constitution*

(μονημοτητα/permanency), the ministry cancelled the positions so they were both fired, even though they were exceptional employees, well-behaved and well-liked by their colleagues and hard working." (Chrysa G.)

Chrysa G. explained clearly her worries about being without work in the future due to the recession when claiming "*Well now I am not safe, I am thinking what if...*". Chrysa is insecure and wonders what will happen in the future, by thinking "what if". She clearly expresses her worry about survival, as she does not know for how long she will be needed by the public service, as the security they once had has vanished. This was clearly expressed when she mentioned "*I worry about my survival; I don't know for how much longer the public service will need my services.*" Her worry is further emphasised when she wonders what will happen if her position is cancelled and she finds herself without a job suddenly. She also recounted the story of two social workers who were fired, as their positions had been cancelled.

Drawing upon the literature of job insecurity, the participants all claimed that there was a strong need to feel secure at work. According to Bardwick (1986), individuals in less affluent societies are more concerned with survival and employment security than with anything else in their careers. Today, a growing number of employees in Europe are feeling insecure about their future employment due to the financial circumstances in many countries (De Spiegelaere et al., 2014). In this case Chrysa mentioned the unjust appraisal system emanating from the new Labour Directive (4024/2011) which is based on a forced distribution system, discriminating between high and low performers by categorising them into some prearranged categories (Chattopadhyay and Ghosh, 2012). Hence, Chrysa wondered what would happen if she were to receive a low mark on her appraisal and the public sector decided to make some employees redundant. For Chrysa, this would mean, that those with a low score would be without job; hence, although she might be a good employee who works hard, she might be slotted into the low scores and this may lead to redundancy in the future.

Konstantina similarly expressed her worries when she talked about the recession and its impact on her career:

"When we were students [at university], we thought that we would do the ASEP exams (Civil Service Staffing Council examination) and after that we would be immediately appointed as civil servants. Suddenly, due to the recession, everything has changed. And while I was planning how my life was going to be after the appointment, now I have to find something very different to do as a

> *backup plan, in case I get fired or not paid in the next few months, since my*
> *plans have been ruined."*

Konstantina explained how the crisis had affected her career, requiring her to change her life plans, since they were based on a safe job appointment, and to think of a backup plan in case she lost her job or was not paid. She noted particularly that her plans had been "*ruined*" due to the uncertainty. Sofia P., in the same vein, expressed the following:

> *"Until recently, the public sector was considered secure in Greece, up until the*
> *crisis, because nowadays nothing is safe."*

Sofia argued about the pre-crisis perception of the public sector being considered safe in terms of employment; however, as she pointed out, "*nowadays nothing is safe*" because of the uncertainty austerity has brought. Theodor claimed:

> *"The crisis, yes, it affected us, with suspension (διαθεσημοτητα). I experienced*
> *it, it was the era where we all were in danger and especially the newly*
> *employed, and yes it did create insecurity – you might become unemployed at*
> *47 years, and then where would you work? With two children, it is a problem."*

Despite the fact that the public sector has become uncertain during the crisis, most of the employees would still choose to work there, as it is still considered a safer bet than the private sector. As Urania (middle manager) stated:

> *"People are being laid off now, so it's not that safe anymore [public sector],*
> *although I would still work in the public sector. Because at least things are*
> *much better than the private sector, where wages are really low and there are*
> *no jobs. We have also been through pay cuts, but we still have something. It's*
> *important to keep one's job now, because if you lose it, you won't find*
> *anything."*

Theodor also mentioned:

> *"Yes, again the public sector, I will tell you why, because outside there are no*
> *jobs, the market is dead. At this moment for any young person only the public*
> *sector exists, since it is the only one which offers work at this moment. One*
> *finishes law school and works in xx [public sector organisation]."*

Both Urania and Theodor highlighted a labour market characterised by huge unemployment. Urania noted the need to maintain her position, since there are no jobs in the labour market and the sector has become unsafe. Koula (senior manager) echoed the perceptions of Urania and Theodor claiming

> *"…surely we came here for the safety, when my generation started working in the sector 30 years ago we thought of it as a relief (ανακουφιση). We had secured our future and our childrens'. Today it is not like that… I am going to retire in a couple of years, but until then what will happen? Maybe they will force us to stay longer until 67 or 70? The benefit for the pensioners (Εφαπαξ) is cut, and all the money that I have paid for my pension insurance all those years are gone and I am not getting them back."*

Koula, as with all the participants, is worried about her future. The appointment was a relief, but today the crisis has changed everything and she is sad and disappointed that she will not get the money from the pension insurance she has paid over time.

It is clear that austerity has brought insecurity, which in turn has led people to fear for their future and jobs. Hence, instead of feeling safe while working in a permanently safe environment, they all feel insecure and afraid, as their hygiene needs (Hertzberg et al., 1959) are not being met. Hence, there is a need for safety, as it is a basic need at the bottom of Maslow's hierarchy which has to be satisfied if higher needs are to be satisfied (Maslow, 1954).

The need for training

It has been argued that learning is important, as it helps an organisation achieve competitive advantage and the individual to excel in his/her work. As evident from the interviews, the employees argued that they were in need of learning in the form of seminars, as they had not received enough training from their employer which would facilitate their work. All participants reported their need for learning in terms of their need to provide better services. They described the way they received training, which was in the form of on-the-job sessions. This, however, could be erroneous if the person, usually the colleague, did not comprehend the working object well enough. Furthermore, they argued about the lack of training in the form of seminars, due to the absence of public funds. This extract illustrates the way the majority of the participants' employees learn.

"We learn the wrong way, we learn by ourselves, we are looking for the answer, either by reading in order to be updated, or by someone who has been in the object longer, or we phone another colleague in another branch who works on the same sort of task, to get help. So, for instance, if your colleague got it wrong in the beginning, he/she will give you the wrong information and the fault will continue. We need education. This is a huge problem, as we don't go to seminars to learn and this is problematic – we learn on the wrong basis, we learn incorrectly, we make mistakes and everything moves very slowly" (Chrysa G.).

Chrysa G. claims that they learn the "*wrong way*" and refers to the on-the-job training provision and the issues it may entail when she states that "*if your colleague got it wrong in the beginning he/she will give you the wrong information and the fault will continue.*" This is a common concern of the on-the-job training (Sisson, 2001). For Chrysa G. the best way to learn would be through the provision of seminars provided by the organisation, in order to fill knowledge gaps and therefore help facilitate her work. In order to remedy this situation, Chrysa M. described how she had arranged a seminar with some branches on her own initiative, in order to clear up issues because there was not going to be any training on the part of the organisation due to lack of money. She noted dryly, "*Which head office? It is only about positions, status and connections.*" She then described how she had managed to organise the training:

"Two years after the beginning of XYZ [name of department], in 2013, I arranged for us [colleagues] to meet others in similar positions in other branches… I called them and said, 'Guys, listen, we must get ourselves organised, as I believe we share the same problems'. And we met in Kavala on a Saturday morning with our papers and we decided that we, representing the six branches in Northern Greece, in the same position would work in a similar way."

Training is an important part of individual and organisational performance, but austerity has led to cuts in public spending, leading to employees suffering from its absence. In order to remedy the situation, they used their creativity to set up meetings so that they could discuss and solve common issues. Hermione (senior manager) discussed the absence of training from the point of view of a manager, claiming that:

"…seminars aren't being conducted, if you want to go on anything you have to pay it on your own and seek for it on your own, the headquarters have a very limited budget for that. For instance, the staff asked for IT training, but there were no seminars running from us (the organization) so I told them to fund them on their own. At least that is what I did for my IT training. The staff complains and asks about training but I cannot help them, there is nothing from the head office."

Hermione argues about the absence of training due to the lack of funds which unfortunately brings disappointment to her staff and to herself. Moreover, the absence of training made the employees feel inadequate in front of the citizens. Zaharias mentioned the absence of training in the form of seminars and educational provision which would otherwise have helped him gain more knowledge and be more confident in his work. As Zaharias stated, he would feel *"exposed and inadequate"* when dealing with the public, when citizens would come in and ask him things related to his work and he could not advise correctly, as he lacked training. Therefore, the only strategy to employ was to ask older colleagues and try to read on his own. Sofia P. took this point further:

"I feel insecure. Look, there is no career, and basically there is no educational provision, not from the employer, not from anywhere, so that we can gain some kind of specialisation in order to be able to help the citizens and to know our working objectives as well. It was the same before [the crisis] in the public sector, although over the last few years there have been no seminars due to the crisis. I believe that we need education."

This participant highlighted her employment insecurity and the absence of a career, justifying her statement by claiming that there is "*no educational provision from the employer*". For Sofia P., receiving training and even specialisation would allow her to do her work better and contribute to society, arguing that they "*need education*". Parthena, (middle manager) also mentioned the need to receive training:

"We would like more education. We did not have any seminars. Basically it was just a daily meeting and I learned everything on my own, along with my colleagues, by reading the laws."

Parthena described the training she received from her employer when she changed department, almost three years previously. As she mentioned, she was sent off to a "daily meeting," a brief seminar which did not cover her needs. Hence, when she returned to work she had to learn

everything on her own, by consulting colleagues and reading. For Parthena this was insufficient, but this was the only training she received. Eleni, (middle manager) stated:

> *"At work we have to deal with more than one objective, for instance pensions and registration, and although pensions are interesting they keep changing [laws] and one needs to be updated. When you have more than one objective it is more likely that you will make mistakes, and consequently this can lead to issues. I believe that we could benefit from seminars or any form of training to be updated with the latest information."*

Both managerial and front line staff argued about the absence of training. Maslow (1954) claimed that training and education are vital and a basic need to satisfy in the hierarchy of needs, as they signal one's worth from the organisational point of view. Furthermore, training shows that the firm is interested in engaging with the employee (Pfeffer, 1995; Marescaux, 2012). In order for a whole human to be, developed education is considered important, and in organisational terms offering training implies creating a climate in which employees can develop to their fullest potential (Pfeffer, 1995). Failure to do so could increase employee frustration and result in poorer performance, lower job satisfaction and increased withdrawal from the organisation. Looking at the career literature, this finding points to the work of Granrose and Baccilli (2006), who found that employees not only expect their employer to promote them, but also to provide them with training opportunities, as this behaviour will provide them with feelings of security and appreciation. In the UK public sector, due to the cutbacks, training has become smarter (Felstead et al., 2010; Galie et al, 2014) instead of being completely removed, meaning it has adapted to the circumstances. However, as scholars argue (Rodokanakis and Vlachos 2013; Mitsakis, 2014), the Hellenic public sector has suffered tremendous cutbacks which have led to the removal of training due to the hard reality of the recession.

Concluding the theme of training needs, the question that begs an answer is how and if austerity has affected the training provision. As the evidence shows, austerity has been responsible for major cutbacks in training, and in many cases it has ceased. Although the Hellenic public sector was not seen as a huge training provider, during austerity training provision suffered and made the participants feel exposed to citizens. In order to remedy the situation, they created their own ways of learning, such as reading on their own, consulting other colleagues and initiating training groups.

The need for fairness

The next salient theme within the interviews was the perception that their career was unjust and there was a need for fairness. The need for fairness is highly related to the organisational justice literature and was expressed by the employees in terms of allocations, distributions and procedures. The participants expressed their concerns about the absence of fairness in terms of positions and promotions and in terms of procedures, referring to the appraisal system. This section will be divided into two sub-themes, explaining both types of fairness which are absent and needed.

Distributive justice

When asked to reflect on their career, many participants readily expressed the absence of justice. For instance, Giannis explained how promotions happen in the Hellenic public service:

> *"In Greece it happens [progress] through different ways and with personal relationships and with intertwining, with connections, the well-known (βησμα) visma or rousfeti (ρουσφετι), it's not necessary to be a political help, it can be your middle manager who knows someone who can help you, or maybe you have someone in the hierarchy of your work and he/she can help you, put you in a place higher up than you deserve. There are a lot of things/issues and these bring disappointment over the years."*

Giannis depicts an everyday reality, a common scene of distributive injustice, as connections intervene within the organisation, and hence instead of someone being promoted through meritocracy, he/she is promoted either through favouritism, political connections or clientelism (Koskina, 2009; Christopoulou and Monastiriotis, 2014). These types of action eliminate the rule of equity, which states that everyone should be rewarded according to his/her contribution (Cropanzano et al., 2007).

This, Giannis mentions, brings disappointment as there is no meritocracy which will decide who progresses, arguing about the system "cancelling" (slang, ακυρωνει) the good employees, meaning putting them off by not giving them anything in return. As Giannis argues *"We have become all one, a mass (slang, μαζα) everything is one, everything is flat and it's not like that, it's not like that."* Giannis argues about the equality rule which prevails throughout the sector in terms of salary and positions, as via the Labour Directive (4024/2011) everyone on the same grade

receives the same salary. This, Giannis argues, homogenises the employees and therefore claims that they have become "one, mass".

For Giannis, there should be a system in place to reward hard-working individuals with skills and promote them accordingly. Instead, this does not occur, and all employees are considered the same, but this is not the case, Giannis argued. This leads to disappointment and apathy, and as a consequence Giannis "*cannot be bothered*" to go the extra mile, as there is nothing to separate employees. Therefore, "*I will do the anticipated and then goodbye*". He was also concerned about incentives, such as money. According to equity theory (Adams, 1965), he weighs up his own input against the output of others and concludes that as he is more capable or more efficient than the others who get the same pay as him. Since the system has made everything into "*a mass*" he decides that he will not go above and beyond what is expected of him.

This leads to a realisation that the civil service in Greece suffers from a paradox, as it promotes equality via Labour Directive (4024/2011) in terms of payment, but this equality leads to perceived inequality, as individuals feel that they should be rewarded based on their contributions when compared to others. In addition, the sector exhibits inequity in terms of permitting clientelism to be active and deciding who will progress and when. As the literature observes, people who feel a sense of inequality will exhibit reactions such as apathy and dissatisfaction and will not over-perform (Brief, 1998; Kacmar et al., 1999; Vigoda, 2000). Furthermore, high performers might be put off by the internal equality and seek work elsewhere (Cropanzano et al., 2007). In this case, as there is a shortage of jobs due to the recession and high unemployment in the country, Giannis exhibits the behaviour of doing only what is necessary at work. In order for individuals to perform well and satisfy basic needs, scholars cite the introduction of merit pay, as it aids certain people. However, according to the public sector motivation theory, pay can have detrimental effects on individuals who are intrinsically motivated and work for purposes higher than monetary reward, such as making a contribution. However, this does not seem to be the case in austerity, as pay was regarded as important (Pfeffer, 1995; Perry et al., 2009; Marescaux et al., 2012), and according to Maslow (1954) pay can be a motivator for those located on the lowest levels of the hierarchy.

Comments about the injustice in terms of promotions and placement were very common by all participants. For example, Petros stated:

> *"People usually called their 'friends' before the crisis especially, to be placed in the control division, because it's prestigious, usually leads to management*

positions and they got 300 euros extra per month tax-free because they worked
there. So yes, only those with connections would be placed there, and yes,
even I used my connections to be placed there before the crisis since it paid
extra money. Nowadays it doesn't; it [the extra payment] was cut during the
crisis."

Hence, connections helped employees to be placed in prestigious departments and not objective criteria such as knowledge. The importance of knowing someone, a career competency, was deemed necessary in order to progress in the Hellenic public sector (Inkson and Arthur 2001; Bozionelos, 2014).   Chrysa G. considered the processes of distributive justice as unfair, particularly as one of her colleagues had been wrongly placed in a specific department, due to the "system" of knowing someone, or clientelism (Inkson and Arthur 2001; Koskina, 2008):

"In the relaxed departments, i.e. finance, one leaves with a pension and the
new employee is placed there instead of, for instance, in the pensions
department where the employees are few and they are up to their necks with
work. That is because the senior manager is friends with the new employee's
parents or he/she received a call from the local MP or any other political person
asking the manager for a favour to put the employee in the relaxed
department."

Chrysa G. mentions the unfairness and bias that takes place within the sector in terms of placements, with a tone of disappointment. Research has highlighted (Macfarlyn and Sweeney, 1992) that the impartiality of a firm's procedures has a big impact on employee perceptions, possibly because procedures define the organisation's capacity to treat employees fairly. If employees see that processes are honest, referring to distributive justice, then they may view the organisation in a positive way, even if they are currently displeased with their own outcomes such as salary. In this case Chrysa G. had a negative perception about the procedures and their outcomes, arguing about people not being placed in low-staffed departments where employees were "*up to their necks with work*". Koula, (senior manager) echoes Chrysa G's comments when arguing:

"The phone calls are there, have always been, will always be. This is the
system, about securing (βολεμα). Whether it is promotion, better position, I
mean for the control department, mainly. It is the way it works (στεγανα, slang
means literally waterproof)"

Koula mentions the phone calls, referring to factors outside the organisation which influence their work, claiming that this is the way the sector works mainly. Hence, confirming previous utterances of front line staff about the unfair system (Koskina, 2008). Sofia P. illustrates her disappointment about how the knowing whom competency (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1994; Arthur et al., 1995) can benefit one's career in terms of appointments/placements:

"... the public sector consists of cliques, that's how things are being done in Greece. I mean I was appointed through ASEP (Civil Service Staffing Council examination), through meritocracy, but apart from that everything is mud/swamp (βουρκος) [idiomatic expression meaning dirt] where nothing happens without a clique or tooth (Greek idiom δοντι=tooth).

I believe that employee appointments are made through connections. For instance, I see that during working hours the senior manager leaves the office to do personal errands, to the bank or shopping, and allows her best friends who are colleagues of mine to do so as well. They have been placed in a relaxed department, without any paperwork, sitting and reading magazines during work time while there are departments where we have no time at all and we run all the time, and this is done with the tolerance of the seniors.

I called the responsible ministry to ask something and I spoke to an unexperienced employee who wanted to advise me what to do when I reported what was going on here. I told her that things here had gotten out of control and something needed to be done, but of course nothing happened."

Sofia mentioned "*cliques*" in the public sector and characterised the system as mud/swamp (βουρκος), as it allowed favouritism to rule the organisation. Unfairness occurred through "*the tolerance of the seniors,*" which had consequences for people lacking connections. When she mentioned "*we run all the time*" it meant that they are placed in positions with plenty of workload*.* Sofia P. highlighted the Greek reality of connections and felt a great deal of indignation as a result of the absence of distributive justice (Koskina, 2008). Additionally, Magda argued for the need to have correct help in one's career, in order to progress:

"… progress in the public sector is related to one's political beliefs. If the employee's political beliefs are not those of the party in government, he/she might find obstacles possibly in her/his career progression… it was always there in Greece..."

For Magda, sharing similar political beliefs with the governmental party can aid one's career progress and was hence deemed necessary in order to get on. This quote recognises that career development is bounded by unfairness, as it creates boundaries, thus representing a Greek reality (Koskina, 2008). Makis echoed the same feelings:

> *"Everything is connections; the branch manager is a political individual, and this causes problems... when the manager is openly politicised and supports a party and has connections in the whole city, even if you deserve a promotion you will not get it. He/she will promote the individual who shares her/his opinion. The manager is biased and looks at things through a political prism…"*

Similarly, Parthena (middle manager), claimed:

> *"…the senior manager decides where everyone is placed, I don't decide that. She will look at the needs of the departments and place someone there accordingly… this can be a matter of judgement, and a matter of other factors. It is not a secret that if you know someone you can get a better position."*

Thus, it can be observed that for the participants there is an issue of distributive injustice, highlighting obstacles to one's career progress. These obstacles are related to promotions and/or placements in relaxed departments, and they are driven by one's contacts or clientelism, or to refer to career theory, to the knowing whom competency (Bozionelos, 2014). This thus begs the question whether the perceived unfairness is a result of austerity. Consistent with previous research in the Hellenic public sector, the evidence has shown (Koskina, 2008; Bozionelos, 2014) that the issue of clientelism has always been present in and hence has not been affected by austerity; rather, it can be argued that it is a trait of the sector (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

The need for procedural justice

The need for procedural fairness was expressed by the participants in their stories when mentioning the appraisal system and its poor quality (Brown et al., 2010). Hence, the need for procedural fairness was another salient sub-theme within the need for justice. According to the participants, the whole notion of the appraisal is considered as unfair, as everyone is treated the same way, i.e. everyone gets high scores independent of effort. The participants in their stories highlighted past appraisals, as they had not had appraisals for two years, since the former government proposed an appraisal based on a forced distribution system which the unions and

employees rejected and therefore did not implement. The following extract, from Eleftheria, illustrates their perception of the appraisals:

> *"The appraisal was not based on objectivity or objective criteria... because everyone gets high marks, even though he/she works or not, you see? The manager always gives an 8, or a 9, because lower than 5 needs to be justified and 10 needs to be justified too, something like that, so most people are between 7, 8 occasionally 9. How can we all have the same mark? Because he/she does not want to upset anyone. There are people doing nothing, no effort, how can they be a 7 or an 8?*
>
> *There is no real system of appraisal. They could have one, based on efficiency and how good an employee is, but it does not exist, they do not do it. They could have targets and say for instance in this position I need 10 controls (ελεγχους) every month and hence I have 50 employees, so 500 (ελεγχους) each month. They have not done that while they could and can."*

Eleftheria illustrates that everyone received high marks even though they were not being effective. This happened because the management "*does not want to upset anyone,*" meaning that since relationships are built on exchanging favours, management need to give high marks to everyone and hence place everyone between 7 and 8. Eleftheria argued for the need to adopt a proper and fair appraisal system which would objectively evaluate individuals (Ohemeng et al., 2015).

Another issue highlighted regarding procedural justice was the perception of not ever having had a proper appraisal, as the previous appraisal system was superficial. That said, during the previous two years they had not even had an appraisal, due to the changes in the system according to Labour Directive (4024/11). As Athanasia argued:

> *"No one cared; we would send them and they were usually put in the bin."*

Athanasia explained that the appraisals which were conducted were sent to the central administration, where no one cared about them, and hence they were typical tick box exercises and not proper appraisals. "*They were usually put in the bin*" indicates that appraisals were pretty much meaningless.

According to the literature, a good quality appraisal raises the legitimacy of the organisation and allows employees to comply with organisational goals; however, the finding herein cites the absence of a good appraisal arising from injustice (Brown et al., 2010). This is in accordance with

the literature, especially in the Ghanaian public sector, where Ohemeng et al. (2015) identified that appraisals were just forms to be filled and no one really bothered about them. Nikos shared similar thoughts with Athanasia:

> *"No, there is no appraisal. There is no appraisal in our organisation, I do not know how it could be done, we have not done one in two years now, although some are surely being treated unfairly, because of the ratings other people receive. Some get almost merit while for me they should be rated 5 (base). This is due to the intertwining (διαπλεκομενα, slang for connections). I know they do not want to spoil their relationship with others (να χαλαστουν, slang.) and I am sure it would be better if we did not have any appraisals, because from the moment everyone gets the same high score it is pointless – why do it? There is no purpose, I don't know how to do one properly, but surely not like this. Not that I got less than I deserve; it's just that people get more than they deserve, according to me. And this is not only me saying that about certain individuals – everyone thinks it. They have good relationships with their senior and middle managers and hence score high on the ratings."*

Nikos argues strongly about the non-existence of the appraisal, because for him it is "typical," meaning it is done only to tick boxes (Ohemeng et al., 2015). In addition, just like Eleftheria and Athanasia, he contends that the appraisal is unfair, because individuals who are not effective receive the same high ratings as others, "*due to the intertwining,*" i.e. favouritism and relationships. Nikos is certain that it would be better if they did not have any appraisal at all, as he deems the whole process to be pointless if it is not conducted properly. Drawing upon the literature, favouritism affects ratings and relationships and leads to subjective appraisals, inefficiency and conflict in people management (Nalbandian, 1981). Procedural justice is vital to preserve official validity. When personnel decisions are made, individuals are likely to receive certain outcomes. In this case, for instance, when others receive a high score on their appraisals, the outcome of favourability perceived in the appraisal system affects Nikos and his peers adversely. As the literature highlights (Cropanzano et al., 2007), if the process is fair, employees will display greater loyalty and more willingness to behave in the organisation's best interests. In the same way Magda stated:

> *"The relationships you have with the line manager and the senior manager are all part of the appraisal and play a part; you know, gossip might interfere and affect judgements..."*

For Magda, the appraisal is not based on fairness; rather, it is based on politics, and hence maintaining good relationships with one's peers is important, as it will result in better scores. When political evaluations are part of the appraisal they become a source of dissatisfaction (Cardy and Dobbins, 1994; Skarlicki and Folger, 1997) and contribute negatively to individual and organisational performance (Boswell and Boudreau, 2000). Similarly, from a needs theory point of view, when the employees are confronted with unfairness dissatisfaction will be the outcome and lead to lower organisational commitment and loss of trust (Hertzberg et al., 1959). Indeed, Makis noted:

> *"The evaluation is purely typical; you just fill in forms, and then your middle and senior manager fill in the rest and that is it. At some point you wonder why it is done, when you see everyone getting high scores – what is the point? When no one takes the time to truly evaluate you, then I don't see the point."*

For Makis, the appraisal is "*typical,*" referring to a bureaucratic exercise (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2006), and therefore he wonders why they are conducted in the first place, as everyone gets high scores. When the researcher asked him why this was happening, Makis replied:

> *"… because relationships are built on clientelism (πελατειακες σχεσεις), as we say, and the employee might have connections with local MPs. Someone else might have, I don't know, something else and so the manager doesn't want to destroy their relationship, because tomorrow he/she [manager] might want to ask for his/her [employee] vote or ask for a favour inside the public sector – it's a lot."*

Makis felt that clientelism interfered with the evaluation, since relationships are built on clientelism and based on the well-known "I scratch your back, you scratch mine" syndrome, and thus ratings are inflated to serve different purposes (Nalbandian, 1981; Aguinis, 2009; Ohemeng et al., 2015). Herminione (senior manager) discussed the issues managers were faced with when conducting the appraisals:

> *"The appraisal is conducted every year although it has not been conducted the last two years and it is a typical task where we evaluate by putting numbers on the employee based on his/her knowledge of the task… surely there are some interjections (περεμβολες) such as ''yes lets help the situation,'' (ας βοηθησουμε την κατασταση) if you understand what I mean."*

Eleni (middle manager) also claimed that situation which characterises the appraisals is unfair:

> *"I don't believe in evaluation, I mean, put 10 because she is worth it. It is put*
> *10 because she knows X, it is chaos here."*

Eleni argues that the public sector is chaotic, referring to the 'knowing whom' career competency (Inkson and Arthur 2001), as the scores are being given due to favoritism and not whether the indivudal really deserves it. Hermione, in the same way, argues about ''interjections'' aiming to benefit the situation, i.e the employee under evaluation. Similarly, Iianna argued about the appraisal being incomplete when she criticised the new appraisal system introduced by the recent Labour Directive (4024/2011): "*The appraisal is biased and subjective, which creates uncertainty. They made it up, the new one, to be able to fire us if we get low scores.*" The new universal appraisal system, which was proposed by the previous government through Labour Directive 4024/2011 (Law 4024/2011), was rejected by employees and the unions, as it is based on a forced ranking system which creates tension and uncertainty within the workplace. The new government has promised to invent a new appraisal system, but at the time of writing it had not happened (Kotronakis, 2015).

The discussion will now move on to discuss the findings in relation to previous research and then redevelop the KCM, in order to ensure it is more suitable for the context of austerity.

5. CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

The thesis has successfully fulfilled its objectives, namely to investigate how public sector careers are understood in austerity. A picture of the Hellenic public sector career emerged throughout the thesis with the help of interviews reinforcing the idea that career perceptions are context-bound (Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Thomas and Inkson, 2007). This section will explain the current findings in the light of previous research investigations and revisit the key findings raised by the study in relation to the research objectives. These objectives refer to career perceptions and career needs in austerity while examining the relevancy of the model, thereby leading to a redeveloped model that reflects austerity.

5.1. Research Objective 1: To explore how public sector careers are perceived in austerity

The perception of the participants that was identified from their stories was that they did not have a career; instead, they claimed to have just a job, enough to earn their daily bread. The reasons they cited were that their careers had plateaued and were frozen and unfair. These sub-themes encapsulated the perception of the participants and offered a basis on which their workplace environment could be conceptualised. Each of these themes revealed the subjective experiences of a public sector career as explained by individuals within the confinements of the broader context, meaning the country, its limited public sector and specifically their own work (Burr, 1995).

The findings demonstrated that a career in the civil service is not perceived as such; rather, it is just a job. The participants justified this point by arguing that it should be something which involves developing, status and money. Participants considered that a 'career' involves climbing up the ladder or progressing through the hierarchy, and this was reflected in the similarity of the definitions from managers and front-line staff alike. In this sense they all provided the same classical organisational career descriptions based on tenure as those described by scholars (Wilensky, 1961; Kanter, 1989) however, in their case, these descriptions did not apply to their particular circumstances as career development has ceased during austerity.

The identified themes of classifying one's work as a job rather than as a career appear to be similar to the work of Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) and Bellah et al. (2007), who argue that, when people categorise their work as a job they focus on financial rewards and look at it as a necessity rather than as self-fulfilment or pleasure. These people are only interested in extrinsic rewards, such as their benefits, thereby limiting their career aspiration to retirement. For them, work is a

means of acquiring the resources needed to enjoy their time away from work, and hence their ambitions are not connected to their job.

In other words, a job is a necessity, and if one could choose, again he/she would choose something else. The identification of a career as bringing in the daily bread or as a necessity is similar to Terkel's (1972) study about the American Great Depression, where individuals saw their work as a means to an end, "a way to pay bills," as Mihalis claimed when he argued about not having a career but rather a job. It is a way to survive the day. The notion of a job was reflected in the participants' stories about life beginning after "*3pm,*" as Giannis noted, or when Theodor and Apostolos claimed they chose this type of work in order to secure the necessities in life, as their dreams were to become a teacher and a lawyer, respectively. As such, their aspirations lay outside the office, and the only reason they accepted this employment was because of the need to secure employment. The perception of their career as just a job is in accordance with the literature, as individuals on the lower level of the hierarchy usually believe this notion. What was remarkable was the fact that even managers (two senior managers and eight middle managers) did not believe that they had a career; they understood their appointment as a financial *''relief'',* and Koula's quote above was typical of all. This was mainly due to their upbringing and the cultural belief that securing a position is more important than following a dream (Hofstede,1980). Especially during downsizings and layoffs, research has illustrated that employees claim that their work is based on the exchange rationale (Ruiz-Quintanilla and England, 1996). This was clearly the career perspective for the sample within this thesis. Additionally, if employees categorise their work as a job, then they comprehend it as a necessity by focusing on the payment and not something one does because of enjoyment or due to purpose and meaning in life (Ruiz-Quintanilla and England, 1996).

The findings of the thesis are consistent with the work of Goldthorpe et al. (1969), who established that the workers in their study developed instrumental career orientations whereby work was means to an end, in order to maximise profits and job security and achieve goals beyond the sphere of work. Although the participants revealed the dilemma of whether to choose a civil service appointment or stay in the private sector, they claimed that they chose the public sector while being aware that they would not have a career, due to the strict bureaucratic features of the sector and the absence of challenges or intrinsic motivation (Goldthorpe et al., 1969). As a result, the perception of a job instead of career emanates from the sector and the way careers are maintained, and austerity has simply flattened their perception by cutting their salaries,

augmenting how long it takes to change rank and adding quotas on how to progress through the new Labour Directive (4024/2011).

The participants described their career as a job consisting of three elements, namely frozen, plateaued and unfair, thus justifying the reasons for being perceived as a job rather than as a career. This raises the question on the impact of austerity and whether careers actually existed before the recession. According to the evidence, those participants who had entered the public sector pre-crisis did so in order to secure employment, as the Hellenic labour market was always weak in terms of providing jobs (OECD, 2001; Koskina, 2008). Thus, the reason for choosing a civil servant career was driven due to the need to avoid uncertainty within the working arena or to satisfy a lower basic human need (Maslow, 2000). This perception has been constantly sustained throughout the years, as the Hellenic public sector was looked upon as a haven and as the 'Greek Dream', not because it provided challenges and accomplishment but security.

Hence, the austerity nuance in their career was obvious in their characterisation of the frozen element, due to the economic situation. Specifically, the participants referred to the blurriness of not only the employment situation, but also society, as no one knew what was happening. At the time of the interviews, the Hellenic government had just conducted a referendum on whether or not to exit the euro. Furthermore, banks were closed and the employees doubted that they were going to get their salaries that month, or even the next. As such, they described the working situation as blurred and frozen, where everything was insecure (Ta nea, 2015; Antypas, 2015; Diamantis, 2016; Skai News, 2016).

The perception of a frozen career was reinforced by austerity measures affecting the previous Labour Directive (3528/2007) and which determined the career development of the employees, such as their rank and salary. Austerity measures required the renewal of the Labour Directive (4024/2011), adding more years in order to change rank and restrictions on how many individuals can actually progress every time, by putting limitations and quotas into the career development process. For instance, changing from grade F to E is applicable to all departmental employees, but changing ranks/grade from E to F will only apply to 90% of the employees; hence, 10% will not advance or are prohibited from advancing. This is due to the fact that a forced score appraisal is operated according to Labour Directive (4024/2011). Even more as a result of the recession, the obligatory years to change ranks has increased, while more pay cuts have taken place (Labour Directive 4024/2011).

Moreover, during the last two years there have been no appraisals, as the proposed appraisal system by the previous government was forced score in nature (Chattopadhayay and Ghosh, 2012) and forced the unions and employees to reject it and put everything on hold until the recent Syriza party took office (Morfonios, 2014; Kyriazi, 2014; Bitsika, 2015). This new government proposed a different form of appraisal which would unfreeze the quotas, but still nothing has been implemented at the time of writing. For these reasons, the participants considered their careers as frozen, as there was no movement in any direction. Since the crisis has stopped everything from functioning the way it previously did, no rank changes have occurred and no appraisals have been conducted for more than two years, and so it comes as no surprise that the participants felt their careers were on hold.

The understanding of a plateaued career comes from the fact that the public sector is considered an employer which provides tedious and bureaucratic work, with similar activities performed daily, consistent with previous work in the field (Gabris and Simo, 1995; Korczynski, 2004). This was a reality for the employees in this study, who considered themselves to be content in inactivity, as they did not learn anything new, they had already mastered their tasks and their work did not provide them with any challenges and opportunities to grow; hence, they had reached a content plateau (Ference et al., 1977; Bardwick, 1986). Scholars (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997) argue that when individuals work for a long time in an organisation, they tend to perceive their work as a job, as it does not provide them with a challenge. In this case, the thesis has argued that challenges are absent.

Due to the limited amount of available managerial places within an organisation, not everyone can reach that position (Bardwick, 1986), and so at some point one reaches the structural or hierarchical plateau stage (Ference et al., 1977; Bardwick, 1986). In this case this occurred, as a structural plateau is a natural phenomenon, as Bardwick (1986) agues, which can affect anyone, anywhere. What was remarkable from the evidence was the realisation and acceptance of the participants that they had reached a plateau, even in the early stages of their career, and even pre-crisis. This occurred since the structure of the Hellenic public sector prohibits individuals from applying for managerial positions until they have served a certain amount of years (20 for university graduates). With austerity, however, only a certain percentage of higher-educated employees (30%) will reach grade A according to the recent Labour Directive (4024/2011), which was voted through as part of the recent austerity measures. Vaso, a middle manager, more specifically, claimed that the construction of the sector has "structural weaknesses," which leads to a structural plateau, as there are limited managerial places. This is further enhanced by the

strict bureaucracy that determines when someone is ready to progress, and hence a career plateau is a realisation everyone has and accepts even before entering the sector (Bardwick, 1986; Labour Directive 4024/2011). For the participants they had already reached a career plateau, as they did not believe that they would advance or receive more responsibility or challenges within their work (Feldman and Weitz, 1988). As Eleni and Parthena, two middle managers argued, they had reached as far as they could as they were not university qualified, hence their careers had plateaued. Moreover, Parthena, a middle manager, argued about doing the same tasks day in and out, even before she became a manager. From a needs theory point of view, career advancement means recognition, status and challenge, nut the consciousness of experiencing career plateaus means that higher-order needs such as recognition and challenges cannot be satisfied, which is the case in the Hellenic public sector (Maslow, 1954; Bardwick, 1986).

This raises the question again as to whether austerity has impacted on plateaus and, if so, in what way. According to the evidence, the participants did not choose this type of career because of its promise of challenging and developmental work; instead, they chose it for its safety. Hence, they were aware of the fact that they would not have a challenging career. The participants knew beforehand that their career would be content and structurally plateaued at some point, but at least there was a guarantee via the previous Labour Directive (3825/2007) that they would be developed by changing ranks and receiving salary increases which would be applicable to all employees, something which today does not occur.

Austerity impacted on their career development by augmenting the amount of years' service required to change rank, by introducing quotas in order to change ranks and consequently affecting salary increases and by reducing the number of managerial positions as argued by the managers. More specifically, austerity ensured that certain individuals would plateau hierarchically, quicker than others, due to the introduction of quotas in the appraisal system, which demand that only a certain percentage of the employees within a certain rank will progress to the next rank/grade (Labour Directive 4024/2011). As a consequence, salary raises would not occur as often as earlier, as discussed by Eleftheria, who contended that they were not given even the minimum salary increase.

However, what was interesting was that the way to eliminate structural plateaus. As the participants indicated in their stories, one could use one's connections or clientelism in order to obtain a place, which was usually undeserved. From the interviews, it was clear that the participants were annoyed and disappointed with the system of clientelism and its interference in

organisational life. As a result, careers where considered unfair, as people used their networking connections to rise higher up in the hierarchy, as the only criterion to judge the appropriateness of two individuals competing with each other was clientelism. This was a Greek reality, experienced and mentioned by all the participants, which was irrelevant to the context of austerity. Hence, an unfair career comprises unfairness within the distribution of positions. From a career theory point of view those who have the "knowing whom competency," in this case, will progress (DeFillipi and Arthur, 1994; Arthur et al., 1995).

Research suggests that when we perceive unfairness we might be driven to take action to reduce any perceived inequity and/or to lower our job performance, due to the feeling of dissatisfaction unfairness brings (Greenberg, 1988; Cowherd and Levine, 1992; Pfeffer and Langton, 1993; Greenberg, 1993; Brief, 1998; Cropanzano et al., 2007; McCain et al., 2010).

In this case as suggested by the evidence the participants, both managers and front line staff considered fairness to be an issue, as the 'knowing whom' interfered with their work. As Chrysa D.(middle manager) mentioned, *"everything has a cost"* referring to her politically active work outside the office which helps her progress within (Spanou, 1999). Therefore, according to the evidence, in order to be able to claim to have a career, according to front line staff, one must be located at the top of the hierarchy, such as CEOs or senior managers, who are usually placed there through clientelism. However, from a managerial point of view, their perception was that they had jobs, as they choose the profession due to its security and hence in order to climb the ladder, one must possess the '*"knowing whom"* competency too, arguing about plateauing due to the crisis resulting in reduction of the career ladder (Inkson and Arthur, 2001).

This finding is consistent with previous research that describes the peculiarities of the Hellenic public sector and the political appointment of its CEOs and senior managers who are assigned by political parties and in turn commit political discrimination, as they treat favourably employees with the same political ideology (Spanou, 1999; Koskina, 2009). This argument led to the belief of the lay employees that they do not have careers but are instead appointed to a position, as they experienced unfairness.

Hence, one can infer that the combination of structurally and content plateaued careers in the early start of one's career within the sector, unfairness in the distribution of positions and promotions and austerity with its pay cuts and measures, lengthening the obligatory time to remain in one rank, led the participants to perceive their careers as just jobs. Emanating from the sectorial features of delivering repetitive working tasks, with little challenge and autonomy, along

with strict rules around tenure, the employees understood their work as jobs, even pre-crisis, although austerity intensified this perception.

5.2. **Research Objective 2: to explore the relevancy of the KCM in austerity**

The study explored how relevant the career needs of the KCM are in austerity. It was discovered that authenticity, balance and challenges were viewed differently, as perceptions are influenced by context. As such, the career need **of authenticity** was not related to finding meaning and purpose in life via one's career, accomplishing a dream via one's career or being spiritual at work (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). In the context of public sector austerity, it was absent. In the KCM authenticity means knowing one's values and acting according to them in one's career. Authenticity rotates around the aspiration to make decisions in order to satisfy one's own needs rather than the needs of others (August, 2011). It is about being consistent on three levels – experiences, awareness and actions – meaning being aware of one's self, to understand one's experiences and act based on one's values and needs, without the influence of context (Wood et al., 2008). Therefore, the career actor might choose to opt out of his/her career in order to pursue a meaningful career and self-actualise or be authentic (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Maslow, 1943).

It is the person who is the crucial element and not the surrounding context. Therefore, all decisions start off by looking at one's values and acting upon them. If looking upon the term authenticity as *"being genuine to oneself"* (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006, p.115), anyone who chooses to pursue a career anywhere, based on his/her values, is then authentic (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). From the participants' stories it became clear that they had chosen a career, pre-crisis, not with the intention of satisfying higher-order needs, such as being authentic and reaching self-fulfilment as the KCM suggests, but rather of feeling safe at work, i.e. permanency drove them to that profession and not to find purpose and meaning in life via their career, or satisfying the need for stimulating work or acting on their dreams. Drawing upon the literature, the Greek Dream was and may still be considered to be a public sector appointment, as the labour market always struggled to provide jobs (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

As such, the public sector was regarded as a haven, as it provided permanency (Patiniotis and Stavroulakis, 1997). In fact, even immediate families played a crucial role in obtaining these types of appointment. By pulling a few strings here and there they tried to ensure that their children would be secure financially in the future (Koskina, 2008; 2009). This type of action was reflected

in the stories of the participants, who talked about how they used their connections, or visma (Βησμα, socket, slang, for connections), to gain employment. This was always the perception of the public sector, which has remained the same even during austerity, as in the words of the participants they would still choose the civil service to have a career, as the market outside is "dead". As a matter of fact, austerity just made the need to feel safe even stronger, as dismissals have taken place and hence the participants fear for their positions (in.gr, 2010; Kakouris, 2013; Naftemboriki, 2013; Bitsika, 2014).

As a feature of the public sector, permanency from a cultural point of view is a means to avoid uncertainties in life, since Greeks are keen to avoid career doubts (Hofstede, 1980). However, the specific values, of avoiding employment uncertainties via permanency aim to satisfy lower-order human needs (Maslow, 1943) such as job security and a salary, and they are not related to the satisfaction of higher-order needs, such as authenticity in KCM terms, which argues about the need to leave current careers in order to pursue more meaningful pursuits (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

From a needs theory point of view (Maslow, 1954; Mitroff and Denton, 1999), discovering meaning in work in terms of stimulating work or self-actualising occurs once the lower needs have been secured. According to the literature, how one locates and understands one's work has to do with one's the level of pay and status. For people who have reached a certain status, for instance CEOs, they find meaning in their work in terms of stimulating tasks, whereas people on the lower levels are more concerned with securing necessities (Maslow, 1954; Mitroff and Denton, 1999).

In the quest to find meaning within one's career, authenticity did not exist in the same sense as it did for the KCM, as aligning meaning and purpose in one's life with one's career was irrelevant (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Purpose and meaning in life were "definitely" things that were located outside of work, and this meant that life was located within the family or generally outside the office both for front-line and managerial staff. The literature argues that purposefulness in one's career makes life more than a quest for survival – it is about experiencing one's life and career and being able to make a difference in the world (Lips-Wiersma, 2002; De Klerk, 2005). Moreover, purpose refers to what the person believes are the reasons for working and what he/she wants to accomplish via work (Brief and Nord, 1990). In this case, however, their jobs were understood via the prism of surviving, as purpose and meaning in life were detached from their occupation (Goldthorpe et al., 1969).

The civil servants (both managers and front-line staff) exhibited an instrumental career orientation, whereby work did not allow them to self-actualise, as their career was incompatible with their inner desire, i.e. what they desired to become did not match their current work. This was further established when the participants described their dream jobs, which were certainly not connected to being a public sector employee. The majority of the participants claimed that initially they were sceptical about entering the sector, as they already had jobs which were intrinsically motivating, through challenges and advancement, but nonetheless they opted for the civil service due to its security. This leads to the dichotomisation of work and non-work, as the participants believed that meaning in life lies outside of work. Similar results were established by Goldthorpe et al. (1969), where workers were in a dilemma whether to accept the secure position or remain in the more motivating one. As a consequence, when choosing work which is distinct from one's purpose and meaning in life, an authentic career cannot be pursued, since, as the KCM argues, authenticity means pursuing one's dream job and setting self-actualisation as the top priority (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

Concluding, one can infer that authenticity as a career need in this case does not exist (Maslow, 1943; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). From the discussions with the participants (managers and front line staff) securing a permanent position was the main reason for choosing the sector, as context influenced their decisions (Wood et al., 2008). Hence, they exhibited an instrumental attitude toward work, which is consistent with the findings of Goldthorpe et al. (1969). The participants, both managers and front-line staff, argued about not being happy to enter the sector, as their dream job was something else, but the need to secure payment was more urgent than to self-actualise and pursue one's dream job (Maslow, 1943; Goldthorpe, 1969). This does not mean that as a career need authenticity should be dismissed, though, since the ultimate goal of the human is to satisfy higher-order needs and to become what one is capable of becoming (Maslow, 1943). What this study implies is that in order to become authentic one must secure initially the basic-level needs which are absent. In this case, due to the way the sector delivers careers, i.e. allows clientelism to prevail, votes for laws which prohibit advancement and due to austerity which has impacted on the sector with pay cuts and insecurity authenticity or self-actualisation might be difficult to reach. The perceived insecurity made the participants feel stronger about the need to remain in their jobs, as even though they might be able to do more interesting things they remained in the dead-end job as austerity had exhausted the labour market and hence no jobs were available.

Balance is a need which involves balancing personal and professional life (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). As Clark (2000) argues, when the individual has reached a good work-life balance, there is minimal conflict between these two. The majority of the participants talked about having satisfied the need for balance when they started working within the public sector, as it provided generous holidays, a more relaxed working environment and better working hours and salaries in comparison to the private sector (Katsimi and Tsakiroglou, 2000; Poelmans et al., 2003). For the participants, managers and front-line staff, balance meant separating work and non-work, where the sphere of work was detached from the sphere of private life, and hence the majority felt they had achieved this goal. Drawing from the literature (Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013), it has been discovered that public sector employees experience less conflict with work-life balance issues, and research has argued that there is a differential in the career perceptions between public and private sector employees regarding the work-life balance (Demoussis and Giannakopoulos, 2007).

This is due to the fact that Greek public institutions are more generous in terms of offering leave, such as parental leave, compared to Greek private firms. One reason for these sectoral differences is the work culture of public organisations, as they are more supportive (Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a). As the participants themselves noted (front line and managers) balance was an issue when choosing to enter the public sector, as they were aware of the generous policies the civil service offers in terms of balance in comparison to the private sector (Sotirakou and Zeppou, 2006; Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a). This was mentioned in the stories about leaving the private sector, where they had worked in banks which required long, stressful working days with overtime, to a more relaxed sector which gave them holidays and good working hours. Despite the fact that the Greek labour market is considered to be heavily protected (OECD, 2001), this protection concerns only public sector employees (Demoussis and Giannakopoulos, 2007).

Concluding, the need to balance life in the context of the Hellenic public sector had already been achieved when they entered the sector. This need is considered relevant, though, as along with the need for permanency it drove them to pursue a civil servant career.

The need for a **challenge** in the KCM took the form of accomplishing a hard task, being experts and growing and developing in one's career, and it is considered a motivator in one's career (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). In simple terms, it is concerned with the individual's desire to learn and grow in his/her job and find stimulating and interesting working tasks (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Such tasks provide the employee not only with job satisfaction, but also with meaning and motivation (August, 2011). The participants reported that they understood challenges at work as

accomplishing a difficult task and proving one's worth, of excelling and/or gaining a big promotion. Challenges were related to an incentive, a target. In their work, however, these challenges were not present.

For the sample, the need for a challenge was absent because their careers were content plateaued. The participants, managers and front liner staff, characterised their work as tedious and repetitive, without any surprises or stimulating tasks as it was purely bureauratic. In essence, they had become *"content in inactivity."* According to scholars, plateaued employees rate their jobs as less challenging and rewarding, as there are no surprises left. Furthermore, career plateaus are boundaries in one's career, as they limit the prospects of development, and so naturally no challenges can occur (Bardwick, 1986; Slocum et al., 1987; Feldman and Weitz, 1988). For that reason, the participants desired challenges in their work.

The perception that a challenge means promotions and the acknowledgment of the fact by the participants that there is immovability due to the features of the public sector, such as the Labour Directive (4024/2011) along with limited managerial places, led the participants to not only realise the end of promotions, i.e. structural plateau, but even the end of the gains emanating from a promotion, such as status and money, which in this case were absent (Bardwick, 1986). As the managers argued their career did not provide them with status and monetary gains, the only difference between them and the front-line staff was the small extra benefit they received. In addition, the bureaucratic features of the sector, such as tedious work with very little to learn, and limited managerial positions did not come from austerity; these features were characteristic of Greek civil service work (Koskina, 2008; 2009). However, the impact of austerity deteriorated the situation by limiting promotions and ranks, and reducing the career ladder for upper management (Labour Directive 4024/2011). Hence as Hermione, a senior manager, argued, the positions have been reduced, and so has the development of all the employees as well. A challenge, as the literature argues, involves learning and growing at work and mastering tasks (Bardwick, 1986; Mainiero and Sullivan 2006) hence, as the KCM argues it is a career motivator (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

When answering the question what motivates you in your career and why, the participants argued that money was an incentive mainly, as well as the contribution or offering to society. According to scholars, a challenge in the form of learning and mastering one's tasks is important in affluent societies and acts as a motivator, as people have secured the necessities and hence have higher expectations of their life and work by focusing on intrinsic rewards as they locate themselves and their meaning in life in higher levels of the basic need hierarchy (Maslow, 1954; Bardwick, 1986;

Kolto-Rivera, 2006). The importance of the financial and social context in career perceptions is once again obvious, because when countries experience growth and prosperity, individuals pay less attention to extrinsic rewards and focus on intrinsic aspects, whereas in times of downsizing basic needs become important motivators (Maslow, 1954; Wiley, 1997; Islam and Ismail, 2004).

From a needs theory perspective, the findings are consistent with the arguments of Maslow (1943) and Hertzberg et al. (1959), in that money is a factor which does not bring job satisfaction or fulfilment per se; rather, it is a hygiene factor which employees who are usually located on lower hierarchical levels and/or in non-affluent societies desire more. This explains the reason why the participants expressed their incentive to work in monetary terms. From a needs theory perspective, climbing up the ladder means not only monetary gains, but also esteem, recognition, challenges and the gratification of higher order needs, since the promotion signals to the employee that he/she is valued by the company (Hertzberg et al., 1959).

In Greece and in non-affluent societies a motivator is money and job security, as the individuals are located on the lowest parts of the hierarchy of needs and hence need to satisfy those instead, before they can move on (Maslow, 1943). Hence, the satisfaction of accomplishing a hard task, or intrinsic rewards such as challenging and stimulating work, comes second (Maslow, 1943; Manolopoulos, 2008; 2009). In addition, the existence of a plateaued career acts as a limit, as climbing the ladder accompanied with the benefits of status, money and esteem is not possible (Maslow, 1954; Bardwick, 1986). Research conducted in the Hellenic public sector even before the crisis, regarding job satisfaction and motivators, discovered that employees desired monetary compensation. The author (Manolopoulos, 2006) concluded that the results met expectations for an economy the size and shape of Greece before the crisis (2006), because Greece at that time (2006) was in second-to-last place in the EU regarding wages, and so monetary compensation was anticipated.

Two years later, the same scholar (Manolopoulos, 2008) discovered again that public sector employees were driven by job security and financial incentives. Similarly, Greek females were motivated to start their own business, as they did not have any other career choice due to unemployment in the labour market (Sarri and Trihopoulou, 2005).

From a career theory perspective, the career experiences of the career actor, whether negative or positive, lead the actor to comprehend his/her knowing why's which refer to realising one's motivation to work and being clear on one's values while identifying with one's work (Inkson and Arthur ,2001). In the Hellenic public sector, during austerity, the knowing why's or the motivation

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to work was purely survival, and hence their values evolved around the economic situation and their safety.

As previously argued, when answering the question what motivates you in your work and why, the participants replied that they work mainly for money and secondly for what they can contribute to society. As Pattakos (2004) contends, although the average employee entered the sector due to attributes such as security, rather than search for meaning in life or to self-actualise he/she strives to add value to his/her work via human interaction. The average civil servant is interested in having an impact via one's work, such as helping citizens and making their life simpler and happier (Pattakos, 2004). This kind of impact adds value to their work and to themselves, and it motivates them accordingly. This was reflected in the interviews in which the participants claimed to be pleased and motivated by their job, via what they could do to help or offer back to society.

Chrysa D. was a vivid example of Pattakos' (2004) description of a public sector employee, as she found motivation in her work through helping people and providing solutions to their problems. Chrysa D. saw her career as challenging, as a challenge meant to her solving problems, and via her work she would gain satisfaction by helping people. The need to offer something back to society is a feature of those working in the public sector (Perry and Wise, 1990). The sincerity in Chrysa D.'s tale was proven when she showed the researcher her goosebumps because she was deeply affected by her work when narrating about it. Hence, although the participants did not find meaning in life, they did find motivation and satisfaction in their career via human interaction and contribution (Lewis and Frank, 2002; Pattakos, 2004). However, Lewis and Frank (2002) posit that despite the satisfaction of higher-order needs such as making a contribution, employees choose the public sector due to its provision of stability and family friendliness, which is superior compared to the private sector. Even when individuals are interested in autonomy and creativity, the need to feel secure is the major selling point when it comes to working for the government, and this was proven by all the participants (Lewis and Frank, 2002).

Thus, although the KCM cites challenges as being a career motivators and a reason why people work, in the Hellenic public sector, people were motivated to work due to its permanency and not the challenge, as they needed to satisfy lower-order needs such as employment safety. This is consistent with previous research, as this is a Greek reality, independent of austerity, since the Greek labour market was always considered weak (OECD, 2001) and hence there was always a need for secure employment and to avoid uncertainties by making a rational decision to look for work which satisfied the need to survive. This again reinforces the argument of the importance of context when researching careers, as context in terms of a weak economy – and nowadays

austerity – motivates individuals to look for work which will give them initially the means to survive and not to receive a challenge.

Moreover, challenges were absent, as their careers suffered from structural and content plateaus which reduce their occupations down to merely jobs. This is partly due to the features of austerity, i.e. the new Labour Directive, which automatically leads to structural plateaus, and partly due to the attributes of the sector, i.e. tedious work, which leads to content plateaus. Furthermore, clientelism, seen as a type of barrier, leads to structural plateaus for many employees who do not possess the "knowing whom" competency (Inkson and Arthur 2001). This reality was understood by both managers and front line staff, before they entered the sector, as everyone in order to progress even from a managerial position to advance higher up needs, the knowing whom competency. Hence, as Pattakos (2004) argues, civil servants accept public sector jobs due to the job security provision, hoping to add value to their work via interaction with citizens.

This thesis has therefore discovered that Hellenic civil servants in austerity work due to safety and financial reasons. In fact, they entered the sector due to the safety, even before austerity, as the Hellenic private sector is not considered to be a generous employer. For instance, in terms of balance, working hours are precise in the public sector as well as leave of absence compared to the private sector. Furthermore, in the case of the public sector, employment rights are warranted by a strong framework and trade unions, and so balance is achieved. The employees realised that they cannot self-actualise in their work, as it is considered a means of survival. This contradicts the notion of authenticity, as in order to achieve authenticity one's purpose and meaning in life should be aligned with one's work, and work should be a calling or at the very least a career. In this case, this did not occur. As a matter of fact, meaning in life was detached from work, and this realisation provides evidence that careers do not exist. Moreover, the belief that they could do more in their lives, such as follow a dream, but instead chose to remain in the sector due to its permanency, makes the argument stronger, in that authenticity is not exhibited in this case.

If authenticity is to be an appropriate career need, then the civil servant needs not only to act upon his/her values, but also ensure they are not influenced by context (Wood et al., 2008). In this case, the high rate of unemployment, even pre-crisis, led the participants to make rational choices, as they chose a career in the sector while realising that this was not their dream job, i.e. they were being authentic in terms of knowing their values but did not act according to them; rather, they were influenced by context. As all of the participants entered the sector pre-crisis, one can infer that the authentic employee, as the KCM (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006) outlines,

was never present in this sample. This raises the question whether austerity impacted on their career views. Indeed, as the participants claimed, the crisis made insecurities stronger, and as the labour market is considered exhausted, even if they wanted to pursue their career dreams it would be impossible to do so today.

This, however, raises another question: whether they are being authentic when they avoid uncertainties in search for safe employment (Hofstede, 1980). This, the researcher argues, is not the case, as an authentic individual does not perform work which does not allow him/her to self-realise, (Fromm, 1961), since the authentic individual stays true to his/her values and does not accept the influence of the social context. Instead, he/she via experiences her authentic self and pursues a career which allows that to occur (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Wood et al., 2008).

In terms of challenge, the participants argued that their motivation is found in permanency and salary and secondly what they can contribute to society. This contradicts the KCM, which suggests that challenge is a motivator to work (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006), but it does confirm previous studies conducted in the Hellenic public sector about the need to have stable work and a salary, which has been intensified in austerity. The need to contribute to society came as an alternative way to work in the sector, as the need to survive was the important reason. From a public sector motivation view, the need to contribute is the ultimate need people choose for joining the civil service; however, in this case, this was not the issue, since the main aim to become a civil servant was to secure necessities, both before and during the crisis (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

To conclude, authenticity is considered by the researcher as being unconnected to a Hellenic public sector career, since the participants' actions were not aligned with their core values – they were governed by society and the need to avoid uncertainties, and so they were not being authentic. Nonetheless, as the purpose of the individual is to reach the highest level, which means self-actualisation, this need, although not wholly applicable, is considered by the researcher as being important within the model.

Balance was a need which was considered relevant, as it governed the participants' decisions to enter the sector in order to achieve balance. Challenges were absent as a career motivator but desired within the context of content and structurally plateaued jobs. As such, the participants argued for the importance of having a challenge at work. This need is also considered important by the researcher.

5.3. Research Objective 3: To explore the career needs of the participants

The participants cited three career needs as being important to them, namely safety, fairness and training. As such, the career needs deemed important by the participants were irrelevant to the KCM; rather, they were focused on survival. Basic human needs are located in the lower part of Maslow's (1954) hierarchy. More specifically, the participants talked about the **need for safety in terms of employment safety**, meaning being able to have stable secure work, as they deemed this important, since they felt the threat of losing their jobs, by providing examples of individuals who had been dismissed during austerity. The need to feel safe at work, or to be in a position where one enjoys job security, was a very important reason for choosing this type of employment, due to its permanency provision, which in their words was "*fading away*". For Maslow (1954), safety and security are used interchangeably, and in the working arena the notion takes the form of a job with tenure and protection (Maslow, 1954). He defines safety as "*security, stability, dependency, protection, freedom from fear... need for structure, order...*" (Maslow, 1954, p.39). Although his need hierarchy was not considered as a business theory, Maslow himself proposed its appropriateness to organisational situations: "*We can perceive the expressions of safety needs...in such phenomena such as...the common preference for a job with tenure and protection*" (1954, p.87). Super (1957) viewed security as "*one of the dominant needs and one of the principal reasons for working*" (1957, p.13) and observed that the subjective meaning associated with security differs while the key elements of job security are always the same, namely seniority and a stable company, referring to the traditional career notion. For Hertzberg et al. (1959), the need for a worker to be safe at work also included the assurance of continued employment within the company, thereby showing that job security was indeed the most extrinsic motivating factor. Along the same lines, Pfeffer (1995) listed it as his number one best HRM practice, arguing that it is unreasonable to ask individuals to commit to the organisation without providing them with basic security, which entails a salary, in order to cover other needs (Maslow, 1954).

The belief and the need to maintain a secure job comes from the fact that work is responsible for providing an income and contributes to our personal development through learning tasks and socialising. This makes work a central aspect of our lives, as it aids us in satisfying basic needs, such as survival, as well as social needs, such as the need to belong (Maslow, 1943). The bare threat of unemployment involves hindering these needs being fulfilled and the potential loss of important monetary resources (De Witte, 1999).

Sverke et al. (2002) concluded that the job insecurity perception is related to an individual's labour market positon, which is contextually affected. In fact (De Witte,1999), the antecedents of job

insecurity can be found on the macro level, meaning they are related to the country and organisation. Examples are national unemployment rates, and labour market conditions such as austerity (Ashford et al., 1989; Hartley et al., 1991; Green et al., 2000; De Weerdt et al., 2004; Nätti et al., 2005; Linz and Semykina 2008).

The effect of the recent financial crisis on career perceptions and job insecurity was discovered in the US by Kuroki (2015), who inferred that it increased during years of austerity, due to the subsequent increase in unemployment and redundancies. In addition, job insecurity is a good reflection of an individual's real chances and position in the labour market due to its subjective nature (Näswall and De Witte, 2003). The evidence from this thesis suggests that the insecurity felt was indeed a reflection of the impact of austerity.

Drawing from the literature, individuals unconsciously construct their meaning in life depending on the stages of the basic needs hierarchy they find themselves located in (Maslow, 1954; Koltko-Riviera, 2004; 2006). Participants discussed their fears of being made redundant and the job insecurity they experienced, and hence they located their meaning in life in the safety need. As today's working environment has changed dramatically with the recession, job insecurity is naturally occurring and individuals are worried more than ever about the continuation of their employment. Hence, Roskies and Louis-Guerin's (1990) research remains relevant today. The findings of the thesis confirm previous research that has discovered that the way employees understand the risk of unemployment is related to context, and so when unemployment is rife the need to feel safe at work becomes paramount (Green et al., 2000; Linz and Semykina, 2008).

The need to feel safe was stressed further. For instance, when Giannis claimed that in order to have a career in the future it presupposes having a job tomorrow, which is not as de facto as it once was. Hence, there is a conflict about the level of security they once had and the situation they are experiencing now (Greenhalgh and Rosenblatt, 1984; Hartley et al., 1991). From a career theory point of view, the promise via their psychological contract of job security, and its violation in terms of dismissals in the public sector, leads to increased job insecurity (King, 2000). In the case of the Hellenic public sector, the employees narrated stories about individuals who had lost their jobs, due to the removal of their statutory positions, and they feared for their own jobs, as there was a perception that whoever loses his/her job will never find a new one because outside the public sector the market is "dead" (Chrysoloras 2013; Smith, 2013).

From a business point of view, offering individuals job security makes sense, as it signals their worth and satisfies their basic needs, such as survival and belonging (Maslow, 1954; Pfeffer,

1995; Maresceaux et al., 2012). In terms of the KCM and its needs, the need to feel safe at work was not discussed, as the model was developed in a context of prosperity and before the recent financial crisis of 2008. Hence, the findings contradict the higher-order needs of the KCM.

In terms of the specific career need of safety, this study's findings suggest that personnel take into consideration changes in labour market conditions when assessing their career needs and their chances of unemployment (King, 2000); therefore, the need to feel safe at work reflects the current financial and social context of Greece.

The **need for fairness** incorporates the need to receive just treatment in the workplace in terms of distribution and procedures. It is highly related to the concept of organisational justice (Greenberg,1993). Organisational justice has generally been assumed to include three different elements: distributive justice, procedural justice and interactional justice (Greenberg, 1993). Distributive justice stems from Adams' equity theory (1965) and, is concerned with the reality that not all workers are treated alike; the allocation of outcomes is differentiated in the workplace, and therefore individuals are concerned with whether or not they have received unfairness. Sometimes things are distributed fairly, such as when the most qualified person is promoted, but other times they are not, such as when advancement goes to insiders with a political relationship with upper management. For instance, as noted above, in the present study, Koula (senior manager) argued that *phone calls continually* interfere with her work, whether it is a request for a favour in order to promote an individual or place him/her in a better position.

Maslow (1954) argued that a properly functioning society which is able to gratify basic human needs requires certain preconditions, such as: freedom of speech, freedom to defend oneself, honesty and orderliness in society, and combined justice with fairness, honesty and orderliness as a prerequisite. He concluded that injustice is an impediment to human development (Eccleston and Ward, 2006). Taylor (2006) contends that justice is a social construct, because it does not arise in a social vacuum (Fischer and Skitka, 2006). Hence, Taylor (2006) argues that justice should be a basic safety need, because individuals need to be treated fairly to ensure that they thrive psychologically, socially, emotionally, take on board society's values, and make changes to laws in order to serve humanity better. In fact, how we perceive our social world will influence how we deal with justice and fairness. Although the tendency to judge what is fair or not appears to rest on standards, which are universal, what is considered as a relevant guideline is in fact influenced by culture. For instance, in some parts of the world, individuals believe that equal allocations are fairer than based on merit. In the present study, fixed rates of pay have led to homogenisation – a factor raised by several participants. Thus, the introduction of performance

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related pay would support the views of Fischer and Smith (2004), who argue that employees supporting self-enhanced values such as achievement and power perceive HR decisions to be much fairer if management considers individual work performance. Moreover, in this present study, the participants deemed the issue of fairness important as the unjust environment affected their careers and lives, hence fairness as a career need, was absent and needed.

The participants mentioned the need to receive fair treatment in terms of **distributive justice**, as promotions and placements in the "good" divisions where conducted due to clientelism or knowing whom (Inkson and Arthur, 2001; Koskina, 2009; Bozionelos, 2014; Christopoulou and Monastiriotis, 2014). In fact, as the findings have shown, people are placed in different departments and gain promotions due to the knowing whom (Bozionelos, 2014). In the present study, distributive justice in terms of equality is perceived as an oxymoron, because even though career development appears to be a prerogative for all employees based on equality, not everyone will move upward. The existence of clientelism decides who of the potential candidates will indeed move upwards and get the promotion along with the rewards (Koskina, 2008). This study therefore supports the findings of previous research, such as that undertaken by Sinh et al. (2011) and Odunlade (2012).

The absence of meritocracy led to disappointment, and so the participants did not want to put extra effort into their work. The existence of clientelism eliminates the rule of equity, as rewards such as promotions and/or placements in different departments are not given according to contributions (Cropanzano et al., 2007), instead, they go to those who exhibit the knowing whom competency (Inkson and Arthur 2001). Hence, according to the literature, people who feel a sense of inequality will exhibit apathy and dissatisfaction and will not over-perform (Brief, 1998; Kacmar et al., 1999; Vigoda, 2000). More specifically, the participants talked about the need to have a fair system in place which would distinguish top performers and reward them accordingly, because, in their own words, "*they have become a mass*".

The homogenisation of employees emanates from the equality principle which prevails throughout the sector, since it follows a strict reward and career development pattern based on equality whereby everyone, whether a man or a woman, receives exactly the same salary according to one's rank (Labour Directive, 4024/2011). The paradox in this case is found in the statements of the participants, which although they discuss the need for fairness, they themselves admit that they had used their own connections to either enter the sector or gain a better position in a more relaxed or prestigious department. For instance, in this study Petros claimed that he used his connections in order to be placed in the control division, as before the crisis those working there

received 300 euros extra per month, whereas with the crisis this benefit was removed. These findings are consistent with previous empirical research conducted within the Hellenic context and specifically within the public sector (Koskina, 2008; 2009).

In discussions about the need for fairness, the need for distributive fairness took the form of equity (Cropanzano et al., 2007), i.e. everyone should be rewarded according to his/her performance and hence avoid homogenisation. The need to be treated equally in payment and promotion terms was intense when the participants compared their inputs and outputs to those of their colleagues (Adams, 1965). From a HR perspective equity cannot be stressed enough, as it signals to the employee that his/her effort is recognised and valued (Cropanzano et al., 2007; Aguinis, 2009). Research has shown that when employees perceive unfairness at work they are more likely to become apathetic and seek work somewhere else. In this case, seeking work somewhere else was not an option, as the market was considered dead, and so, as they claimed, they did not go the extra mile and did only what was expected of them (Brief, 1998; Kacmar et al., 1999; Vigoda, 2000).

From the discussions with the participants it became clear that they wanted a system which would reward and promote people fairly, according to their inputs (Aguinis, 2009). Drawing from the appropriate HR literature this is mentioned as "performance management," which uses merit- or performance-related pay to motivate and distinguish top performers and is considered best practice in order to accommodate employee needs (Pfeffer, 1995; Atkinson and Shaw, 2006). This can be problematic, though, since research has shown that the public sector does not respond well to monetary incentives, as work within the sector is driven by values expressed by higher-order needs such as altruism and self-actualisation (Marsden and Richardson, 1994; Perry et al., 2009). Furthermore, empirical research has highlighted the contextual impact on the way rewards and appraisals are conducted, for instance in collectivist countries, whereby organisations differentiate between their employees based on seniority and not on performance (Milliman et al., 2002). Moreover, in collectivist societies the in-group is taken into consideration when deciding about promotion issues, as connections prevail over task, or in the Hellenic public sector terms clientelism prevails over knowledge, skills and effort (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995).

In the Hellenic public sector, the reward system is based on seniority, in which case the performance of the individual does not increase or decrease ones' salary. Furthermore, due to the oxymoron of equality, the former Labour Directive (3528/2007) gave everyone the benefit of performance according to their salary rank and not whether they performed or not. This is a typical

trait of collectivism in terms of work, as equality within the group prevails over individual performance (Triandis, 1995).

On the other hand, according to needs theories, money or reward is a good incentive if one is located in the lower needs of the hierarchy, such as employees who are coping with austerity and desire this type of payment (Maslow, 1954). In addition, research has argued that when individuals are not satisfied with their work they are very much concerned with factors related to their work, such as their salary and their job security, and therefore they are in need of improving them (Hertzerg et al., 1959). In order for merit pay and fairness to apply at all levels, research (Dahlstrom and Lapuente, 2010) suggests that the administrative system of a country needs to be separated from its politicians, so that civil servant managers are not forced to break the trust of their employees by complying with the wishes of party representatives. This argument can be paralleled with the Hellenic public sector, empirical data for which has shown that every government has sought to replace the CEOs of public sector institutions with those closer to their political ideology, leading to issues of transparency (Spanou, 1999). Furthermore, when individuals perceive that they have received distributive injustice in terms of rewards, they report less pay and job satisfaction, stressing the need to feel that justice has been done (McFarlin and Sweeney, 1992).

In terms of **procedural justice**, the need to receive fair appraisals was mentioned by the majority of the participants, who mentioned unfair ratings, based on subjectivity, rooted in clientelism or favouritism, as supervisors or managers did not want to upset their co-workers. Suspected unfair appraisals lead to mistrust in management (Brown et al., 2010; Youngcourt et al., 2007). This was expressed in the stories about how appraisals were conducted, where everyone scores high, with certain individuals receiving high scores due to favouritism or due to exchanges of favours.

According to the findings, appraisals in the Hellenic public sector are conducted for the sake thereof, and ratings are inflated to serve different purposes (Nalbandian, 1981; Aguinis, 2009; Ohemeng et al., 2015). Furthermore, appraisals in the Hellenic public sector are not linked to the reward system, so they have become a very typical bureaucratic practice, where standard forms are filled in and inflated ratings are given based on different factors, such as clientelism and favouritism (Chattopadhyay and Ghosh, 2012; Morfonios, 2014). More specifically, the employees were displeased with the way the appraisals were conducted, and they stressed the redundancy of appraisals, as they were not based on objectivity. This finding is consistent with previous studies within the Hellenic context; for instance, Amygdalos et al. (2014) discovered that they were based on subjective criteria referring to political interference and clientelism as well as

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cliques. Koskina (2008; 2009) also identified the existence of clientelism interfering with the career development of civil servants by prohibiting fairness within the sector via appraisals. Similar results were discovered in the Ghanaian public sector by Ohemeng et al. (2015), where appraisals were used in exchange for favours. In addition, research in the US confirmed that appraisals were dictated by political considerations, as some managers inflated ratings in order to promote an individual or in order to display a high score for his/her department (Longnecker et al., 1987).

The appraisal is a vital HRM tool which, if implemented correctly, leads to individual and organisational exceptional performance, which serve a plethora of purposes such as training needs, and enhancing the career development of the employees via feedback (Baruch, 1996). Indeed, it is believed that an appraisal system can be effective if it is put into appropriate practice and as a result can contribute to employee meritocracy (Amygdalos et al., 2014). Moreover, when employees have a voice in the appraisal process, they are more satisfied, see the process being fairer, and are more motivated (Cawley et al, 1998). Where the employee voice is lacking, this thesis supports Taylor et al. (1995) who argue that the result is failure of the appraisal process. Nonetheless, to some extent, this is subjective and depends on the perception of the employees (Roberts, 1992; Cardy and Dobbins, 1994; Longenecker and Nykodym, 1996, Skarlicki and Folger, 1997; Jawahar, 2007). This means that accurate rating of the appraisee is important as inaccurate rating based on favouritism can lead to mistrust, disappointment and incorrect decisions being made (Fletcher, 2001; Murphy et al., 2004; Curtis et al., 2005; Nalbandian, 1981; Feldman, 2000; Youngcourt et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2010). This is supported by the findings of this thesis, when the participants claimed that there was no need to have appraisials as they led to dissapointment.

Training provisions at work are important to boost organisational and individual performance by means of enhancing work performance and improving knowledge, skills and attitudes, thus ensuring work quality improvement (Romanowska, 1993; Birdi et al., 2008; Aguinis, 2009; Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011). Participants in this study argued that the **need for training** is paramount, since they did not receive the support necessary from their employer in order to conduct their work tasks properly. Training provisions at work are important to boost organisational and individual performance by means of enhancing work performance and improving knowledge, skills and attitudes, thus ensuring work quality improvement (Romanowska, 1993; Pfeffer, 1995; Birdi et al., 2008; Aguinis and Kraiger, 2009; Aguinis, 2009; Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011). At the safety need level, training at work occupies a vital position, since the employee, when searching to cover

his/her safety needs, consciously or subconsciously relates training at work to safety (Pfeffer, 1995; Maslow, 2000; Benson and Dundis, 2003).

As training involves learning and acquiring knowledge it is closely linked to education (Aguinis and Kraiger, 2009), which itself is considered a basic human need aimed at helping the individual reach self-actualisation (Maslow, 1954; 1973; Noor, 1981). In the sphere of work, training is part of education by means of providing people with fundamental knowledge, skills, values and attitudes, and it enhances their capacity to change and their willingness to accept new ideas (Noon, 1981). Indeed, Harvard (2010) even argues that by gaining knowledge one is able satisfy one's employee needs. Moreover, it is conceived as a *basic* human need, since it is the *process* that enhances work performance and improves knowledge, skills and attitudes, thus ensuring work quality improvement (Romanowska, 1993).

In addition, training strengthens one's position within the organisation, and the provision of training on the part of the organisation signals the worth the company places on the employee (Pfeffer, 1995; Benson and Dundis, 2003). Maslow (2000) states that "*it is a rare individual who is completely secure in his work environment*" (2000, p.2), but training supports the feeling of security (Pfeffer, 1995; Benson and Dundis, 2003). Additionally, training provides the opportunities to meet people at work, socialise and fulfil the need for belonging and once skills are obtained, one's self esteem increases, thus satisfying need of confidence, ensuring recognition and leading to self-actualisation. In Maslow's words (2000), *"duty becomes pleasure and pleasure is merged with duty"* (2000, p.25), emphasising the effects of learning and growing within one's work environment.

It follows, then, that the skills and performances of people are critical, and so organisations spend resources in training its staff, in the belief that via training employee performance will be enhanced and as a consequence so will organisational performance. This is because training and development is the most important HR factor for service quality and productivity across EU nations (Pfeffer, 1999; Brinkerhoff 2006; Stavrou et al., 2007; Birdi et al., 2008; Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011; Cozzarin and Jeffrey, 2014).

Once training needs have been identified, via a rigorous performance management system (Torrington et al, 2014), a broad range of training approaches is available for delivering solutions. The participants mentioned seminars as good examples of training provision, but the kind of training they received was normally on-the-job, referring to older workers providing help or insights into how to solve an issue. This was considered insufficient by the participants, because although

this is a common method of receiving training and the most cost-effective, it can be problematic (Sisson, 2001), as 'trainers' might pass on the wrong information (Reid et al., 2004). In order to remedy the situation, the participants described methods they used to receive training, such as organising informal training groups in order to discuss common problems within work and to find solutions, as training has not happened for a while in the public sector. The finding is consistent with the work of other scholars who claim that societies differ in the extent to which their membership is able to satisfy needs. Hence, a wealthy society is capable of satisfying higher-order needs for its followers, whereas a non-affluent society attempts to satisfy the more basic low-order needs (Maslow, 1954; Etzioni, 1968; Bardwick, 1986). More specifically, the impact of austerity on training budgets has been evident in different countries, not only Greece. For instance, in the UK, public sector training transformed into smart training, where in-house provision and online help became the norm, aiming to become cost-efficient.

However, how training is delivered and by whom is governed by the financial circumstances of the country (Felstead et al., 2010; Jewson et al., 2015). Scholars (Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011) argue that context may play a vital role in training provision, because certain contextual factors, such as the economic environment and culture, can affect both organisational activities and employee perceptions. Peretz and Rosenblatt (2011) suggested that in countries with high uncertainty avoidance, training investment was high. Similarly, in a comparative study between Australia, Britain, France and Germany, Noble (1997) identified significant country differences in government intervention in the training market. By the same token, empirical studies (Sparrow and Wu, 1998; Hofstede and Peterson, 2000) have shown that cultural practices at the national level predict organisational processes and managerial activities. For instance, in cultures high on uncertainty avoidance, such as Greece (Hofstede, 1980), establishments are likely to develop HRM strategies that emphasise training in order to avoid ambiguities. In Germany, for instance, firms spend a significantly greater proportion of their corporate budget on training than U.S. firms, due to the greater cultural preference for uncertainty avoidance in Germany than in the U.S. (Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011).

In the Hellenic public sector, which is in the grasp of a severe austerity context, many cuts have been made in public spending, thereby justifying the statement of Rodokanakis and Vlachos (2013) that the current situation in Greece has led to low levels of training investment compared to the rest of the EU. As such, while in the UK public sector training has become smarter (Felstead et al., 2012; Jewson et al., 2015), in Greece it has ceased – as exhibited by the evidence – due to the crisis (Rodokanakis and Vlachos, 2013 ; Mitsakis, 2014). According to Lynn (2011), Greek

industry remains stuck in the past and largely unable to compete in the modern world, because the "Mediterranean model of economy", within which Greece resides, is characterised by extensive governmental intervention, the relative weakness of its educational and training systems and difficulties in implementing strategic approaches for highly valued outcomes (Mitsakis, 2014).

Therefore, although training might be a worthwhile HR practice which produces positive outcomes and is considered a basic need in the sphere of work, both the published literature and the present research has shown that in countries such as Greece the practice has suffered, whereas in countries with less severe austerity, such as the UK, training has taken another turn by moving into smarter training solutions (Felstead et al., 2012; Jewson et al, 2015).

From a needs theory point of view, Maslow (1954) noted the importance of any form of education, as it improves knowledge and skills. Consequently, it is considered a basic safety need, as through education one will learn to satisfy higher-order needs by developing necessary skills. In this case, training was absent, as seminars were not being conducted during austerity due to the cutbacks in the sector.

To conclude, the participants explained their career needs through issues that bothered them and they wanted to improve. Consequently, they emphasised their need to feel safe at work, their need to be treated fairly and their need to receive training. Seen from a needs theory point of view, a need is a deficiency, something that is missing and needs satisfying in order to avoid conflict (Maslow, 1943; Ramasharay, 1990). In this case, conflict would be all of those negative outcomes resulting from the non-satisfaction of particular needs, such as mistrust of management when treated unfairly at work, apathy, reduced commitment and faults at work due to non-adequate training (Brief, 1998; Kacmar et al., 1999; Vigoda, 2000; Sisson, 2001; Cropanzano et al., 2007; Youngcourt et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2010). The discussion will continue with the redevelopment of the KCM, in order to reflect austerity, as this is considered necessary by the researcher due to the evidence within the data.

5.4. Research Objective 4: To redevelop further the KCM, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity

The data presented herein are context-dependent, and so career perceptions are idiosyncratic and highly context-specific. This, the researcher argues, supports the suggestion that there are no definite sets of universal career needs, as career perceptions are socially constructed and context-dependent (Thomas and Inkson, 2007). The final research objective of the thesis discusses the need to develop further the KCM, in order for the model to become more appropriate for a non-affluent context such as austerity. The stories of the participants helped to develop the KCM further, in order to reflect austerity based on the findings from the interviews, as the needs identified were dissimilar from those proposed by the model. As such, in this section the researcher will commence by describing the model in its initial conceptualisation and continue by adding to it the new parameter, in order to reflect the contexts of austerity and the Hellenic public sector.

The KCM concentrates on three specific needs. **Authenticity** is simply defined as being genuine to your own values, whatever those may be. It is a person's need to find a resemblance between work and his/her personal values. **Balance** is referred to as the Holy Grail of life, combining personal life with work. A **Challenge** is a motivator to work and reflects the need a worker has to learn, grow as a person and find stimulating, exciting work.

While considering the relevance of the KCM's career needs, attention was drawn to similarities and differences in the perceptions of individuals in relation to KCM needs while analysing the data according to the research objectives. As such, according to the findings, the career needs considered relevant in austerity by the civil servants were safety, fairness and training. Based on the evidence, the researcher argues that the KCM needs to redevelop to reflect the specific context of austerity and the public sector.

More specifically, **Authenticity** is a higher-order need which involves being true to one's values and self-actualising at work. This was not discovered by the researcher, as the participants expressed an instrumental career orientation which has become more intense during the recession. More specifically, within the Hellenic public sector, authenticity was not present in terms of following one's dreams and values and acting based on them, without the influence of the surrounding context.

During the interviews, the discussion about authenticity took the form of reflecting upon their decisions to work in the public sector and the reasons for them what their dreams and aspirations

were and the absence of alternative employment in the Hellenic labour market. These notions were present in the voices of men and women. For the participants, the need to survive was the primary reason for entering the sector pre-crisis, as it was considered a safe sector and a rational career choice (Bourantas and Papalexandris, 1999; Manolopoulos, 2006; Koskina, 2008; 2009), because through a public sector appointment one would satisfy the need for safety and hence live according to the cultural Hellenic values of uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980). The participants expressed that their dreams and aspirations in terms of employment lay outside of the public sector, but due to the security of the civil service, they had accepted a position (OECD, 2001). Hence, the findings did not exhibit work conceptualised as a calling or a career which aims at self-actualisation; rather, it was a job, an instrumental career orientation, where the emphasis is on money and security (Goldthorpe, 1969). Austerity at this point had only strengthened the need for safety, as even though civil servants are guaranteed permanency by the constitution, dismissals have taken place, and so the need to feel safe within the working arena rather than self-actualising is more important. The findings of the study contradict the traditional KCM, which argues that individuals are being authentic in their careers. Hence, this study suggests that that not everybody can reach the higher level of authenticity, due to contextual constraints (Wood et al, 2008).

In terms of the career need for **Balance**, it is regarded in the KCM as the way to find equilibrium between personal and professional life. Demanding working hours, long trips to work and the non-existence of childcare help, for example, put a stress on working families (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). According to the evidence, balance as a career need is not relevant in context of the Hellenic public sector, once one is appointed; however, it did drive certain individuals to choose the public sector as their employer. More specifically, the participants did not really consider the work-life balance to be an issue in their lives. This is due to the fact that the reason they chose the public sector was for its permanency and the advantages it provides, such as the aforementioned work-life balance. The findings have displayed that balance in the Hellenic public sector is not an issue, and perhaps it is taken for granted by the participants since they claimed that the public sector compared to the private has always been generous in providing benefits, sick days and holidays.

In addition, the literature has pointed out the benefits of working in the Hellenic public sector in comparison to the private sector as well as the common perception of the sector being a haven and a generous employer (Patiniotis and Stavroulakis, 1997; Koskina, 2008; 2009). In terms of austerity, according to the evidence, it has not affected the issue of balance in the public sector,

and so thee work-life balance is perceived in a similar way as it was pre-crisis (Katsimi and Tsakiroglou, 2000; Mihail and Giannikis 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013). The researcher contends that this need is relevant, as along with the permanency, it drove the participants to this profession, and even though it is taken for granted by the participants it was present in their stories about the reasons why they chose the specific career. The findings of this thesis, confirm the KCM model, when arguing that balance was an important career need to gratify when the participants choose the civil service as their employer. However it should be noted that, the KCM does not make a distinction between private and public sector employees , while this study focuses on the latter.

Challenge for the KCM reflects a worker's need to learn, grow as a person and find stimulating and exciting work. A challenge is a motivator to work on its own rather than money (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). For the participants, challenges were absent but desired, as it meant accomplishing hard tasks, excelling, climbing the ladder and proving oneself. This was absent, though, as their careers had reached the point of content and structural plateau. This need is regarded as being important, as public sector careers were considered structurally and content plateaued, due to the bureaucratic features of the Hellenic public sector which provides tedious and repetitive work tasks (Bardwick, 1986; Gabris and Simo, 1995; Korczynski 2004). Furthermore, Hellenic public sector employees do not choose this type of employment for the challenge (motivator) it provides but rather for the safety (Manolopoulos, 2006; 2008; Koskina, 2008; 2009). The reason they worked was not to take on a challenge, as they were already aware before entering the sector that they were going to have a non-challenging career, but to survive financially. In addition to their need to survive, the need to contribute to society was highlighted as a motivator. The latter reason is related to public sector motivation (Perry and Wise, 1990). Although the civil servants were keen on offering their services, the reason they entered the sector, pre-crisis, was the need for employment safety and not to contribute or be challenged. This again places an emphasis on context, where in the UK, for instance, the pro-social features of the civil service are reasons why people choose this type of career (Jurkiewicz and Massey, 1997; Houston, 2000). In the case outlined herein, even pre-crisis, they chose the public sector, for safety and other advantages such as work-life balance in comparison to the private sector (Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013). Hence, challenge, as a career need, in the way it is conceptualised in the KCM as accomplishing a hard task, learning and developing within one's work via tasks/assignments, and being a motivator to work; was not discovered in this context.

Although challenges were absent generally in the public sector, during austerity they intensified as development happens at a slower pace than before and training ceased leading to a lesser amount of learning. Consequently, in the context of austerity, money remained a motivator to work, which is in accordance with the theory of Maslow (1954) arguing about hierarchical needs gratification and meaning in life, as one's meaning in life is found depending on the level of needs he/she desires (Maslow, 1943; Kolto Rivera, 2006). Hence, this thesis contradicts the traditional KCM, as challenge is not a career motivator and is absent in terms of the features proposed by the KCM.

Based on the findings, the researcher suggests that there is impetus to redevelop the model, to reflect the specific context of austerity. The following table presents a summary comparison between the present study and the KCM literature. It is based on the foregoing analysis and therefore needs no further explanation, because the detailed discussion can be found above (please see research objective 3 in the discussion chapter).

Table 5: Comparison of the traditional KCM model and the present study (1)

Themes	Findings of this study	Literature (model)	Literature (other)
Authenticity	Meaning and purpose in life comes from outside work Work is the daily bread Authenticity is perceived as uncertainty avoidance as people who are following their own values, aspire to secure a position in the sector	The KCM argues about authenticity being aligned with one's values in life, and hence basing one's career decisions on them such as pursuing one's dream job, opting out of the workforce etc (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006)	Similar results to this study were found by (Manolopoulos,2006;Demoussis and Giannakopoulos,2007; Manolopoulos,2008; Koskina, 2009; Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013).
Balance	Balance is perceived as keeping both spheres separate, in the case of the participants, balance was found when they entered the sector, as the public sector is considered a generous balance provider compared to the private sector.	Balance is a need, which deals with how people try to find balance in their lifes, using different strategies to manage work and children (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).	Similar results to this study were found by (Manolopoulos,2006; Demoussis and Giannakopoulos,2007; Manolopoulos,2008; Giannikis and Mihail, 2011a; Glaveli et al., 2013).
Challenge	Challenge was perceived as stimulating, existing work, completing hard tasks, and gaining promotions. In this study challenge, was not a motivator, as money and employment security was. Moreover, challenging work was absent as work was considered content plateaued.	The KCM argues that challenge is a motivator, as individuals work for money and challenge (Mainiero and Sullivan,2006)	Platueaed careers offer nothing new and hence the individuals are considered dead wood (Bardwick,1986) i.e. not developing. Job security and pay were motivators which were found in other studies in the Hellenic context (Manolopoulos 2006;2008)

Clearly, there are differences between the KCM theory, and the findings of this study. Even a cursory glance at the above table shows that in some places there is close alignment between the KCM theory and the findings of this study. However, this is not the case in every area. The situation can be summarised as follows:

Table 6: Comparison of the traditional KCM model and the present study (2)

	Authenticity	Balance	Challenge
KCM theory and this thesis agree		X	
This thesis contradicts the KCM theory	X (rather uncertainty avoidance)	X (only when arguing about the differences between private and public sector, which the KCM does not distinguish)	X (as challenge is absent the way its is conceptualised by the KCM and it is not a motivator in the Hellenic Public Sector)

As is evident by the findings of the thesis, there is an impetus to further develop the KCM in order to accommodate the context of austerity, since the participants argued about the need for safety, fairness and training at work, as these needs were absent. From a needs theory point of view, as needs develop hierarchically, this thesis argues that apparently we cannot become what we are capable of becoming prior to gratifying needs located at the safety level (Maslow,1943; Fromm,1961), therefore argues about the need to further develop the model. The table below, summarises the important career needs discovered by the thesis, which need to be added to the model in order to accommodate the context of austerity and the Hellenic public sector. Hence, the table represents an extension of the existing KCM theory

Table 7: Career needs that need to be added to the existing KCM model

Themes	Current literature	Findings of this study
Safety	Current literature on job security states that the perception of job security is influenced by the context, i.e. the economy of the state. In addition, how one perceives job insecurity is very subjective (De Witte,1999; Green et al., 2000; Sverke et al. 2002; Sverke and Hellgren,2002; Linz and Semykina, 2008)	The participants referred to the need to have employment safety and provided with examples which illustrated their feeling of job insecurity.
Fairness	Current literature argues about the importance to have a just system in terms of distributive and procedural justice, in order for the employees to feel valued and function at their best (Nalbandian, 1981; Feldman, 2000; Fletcher, 2001; Murphy et al., 2004; Curtis et al., 2005; Cropanzano et al,2007; Youngcourt et al., 2007; Brown et al., 2010)	The participants claimed that they received distributive and procedural justice in terms of wages, placements, promotions and appraisals.
Training	The literature argues about the importance to provide training to the employees (Romanowska, 1993; Pfeffer, 1995; Birdi et al., 2008; Aguinis and Kraiger, 2009; Aguinis, 2009; Peretz and Rosenblatt, 2011)	The participants argued about not receiving training and learning by themselves due to the cuts in the budget. This however was the norm in the public sector of providing very few training opportunities which the austerity completely ended

This analysis provides the framework for a new version of the KCM model. This thesis proposes the acronym ABCS (authenticity, balance, challenge and safety), in order to reflect the Hellenic public sector in austerity.

Figure 4: The new KCM, based on the findings of this study.
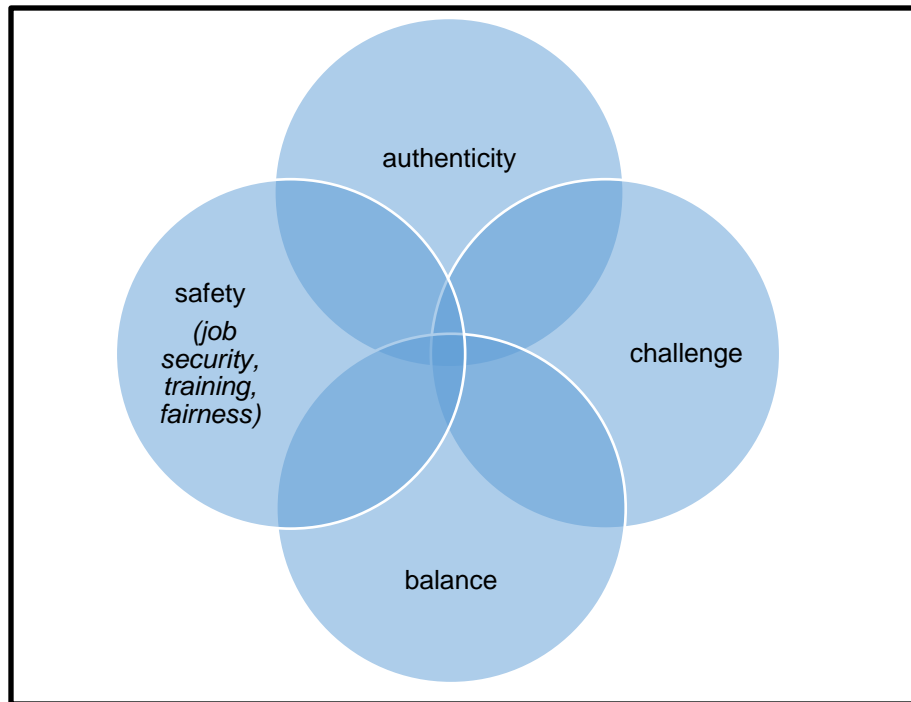
Authenticity is being genuine to one's own values, whatever those may be. It is a person's need to find some resemblance between work and his/her personal values. The thesis suggests that not everybody can reach the level of authenticity, due to contextual constraints. This realisation forces the discussion to acknowledge the fact that lower-level needs, such as safety, must be fulfilled before one can speak of the gratification of higher-order needs such as authenticity. The need to satisfy lower-order needs, such as employment security, fairness and training has not been taken into consideration by the previous version of the KCM as it was developed in a different context, which perhaps offered more to its employees than the Hellenic public sector does (Maslow, 1943; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006).

As a result, the thesis argues that there is impetus to incorporate a lower-order need in the model which will accommodate career actors in need of satisfying lower-order needs. This is important as even though one cannot self-actualise in his/her work or be authentic, as suggested by this thesis, by focusing on a lower need such as the need for safety and rotating the kaleidoscope to that need, the emphasis will be placed there, and once that is satisfied, to a certain degree or fully, then the focus will move to the other needs, since after all the ultimate need is to be authentic or self-actualise (Maslow, 1943). That way the dynamic nature of the KCM will remain as it is, but with an added lower-order need which will give the model an inclusive appearance where the

majority of basic human needs are represented (Maslow, 1943). Therefore, the researcher proposes that the need for authenticity remains as it is in the model, since it is a higher-order need, which is the ultimate need for humans (Maslow, 1943).

Balance is referred to as the Holy Grail of life, combining personal life with work. Reflecting upon the evidence of this study the researcher proposes that the career need of Balance remains unchanged in the model as balance was an important career need to the participants. The only difference from the KCM, was found in stories of the participants, when they compared between private and public sector, where balance was an issue for those who previosly worked in the private sector.

Challenge is a motivator to work and reflects the need a worker has to learn, grow as a person and find stimulating, exciting work. Due to the experience of content career plateaus and lack of career challenges, this need did not exist at present among participants (Bardwick, 1986). However, the researcher suggests that this need remains in the model, because participants felt the need was aspirational. Moreover, challenge was not a career motivator in the present study; whereas money and permanency were more important.

Safety reflects the worker's need for safety within the working environment, and hence it incorporates the need for job security, training, and justice/fairness at work and a prerequisite to the KCM (Maslow, 1954; Noon, 1981; Bardwick; 1986; Taylor, 2006; Sverke et al., 2002). Each of these individual components ihas been discussed as part of the 3rd research objective, in the discussion chapter and hence need not to be repeteated.

The previous research objectives of the discussion chapter have explored the relevancy of the components of the KCM in the Hellenic Sector and the career perceptions and needs of the participants. The findings suggested a need to redevelop the KCM, as its components were not deemed necessary. Rather, other needs were deemed more important to satisfy. In addition, some of the components of the KCM were contradicted by the findings. For instance, authenticity was not reached in bureaucratic work and instead, uncertainty avoidance was the motivation. Moreover, challenge in one's career was not perceived when considering having a plateaud career and nor did the need for challenge act as a motivator to enter the public sector or act as a career motivator. Again, the motivators were uncertainty avoidance and money. What is more, balance was not an issue in the public sector, whereas in the KCM balance is a big issue. Although the participants did argue about the importance to balance one's life due to the good working conditions, in comparison to the private sector it was perhaps taken for granted.

Hence, the context specificity brings an impetus to redevelop the KCM since the vital career needs are located in the need of safety incorporating fairness and training. Scholars have acknowledged the importance of basic needs gratification, arguing that the results of satisfying basic employee needs are employee commitment, improved performance and job satisfaction (Baard et al., 2004; Edgar and Geare, 2005; Greguras and Diefendorff, 2009; Marescaux et al., 2012). In addition, the section has explained the importance of the safety need, namely job security, training and fairness, as the gratification of these needs plays a vital role in how employees perceive their careers. Hence, this thesis suggests that safety is a prerequisite to the model, as without the safety need, the remaining career needs of the KCM cannot exist.

Concluding, the researcher suggests that the thesis achieved its objectives and has produced a description of how public service employees in Greece understand their careers as well as their needs. The findings and discussion have led to the redevelopment of the KCM, adding the need for safety incorporating job security, training, and fairness, thus altering the ABC acronym to ABCS in order to accommodate the context of austerity. The discussion of the thesis will now move to the conclusion and implications of the study.

6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

6.1. OVERVIEW

This study set out to investigate the career understanding and career needs of Hellenic civil servants in austerity while exploring the relevancy of a well-respected career model (KCM). The importance of this research is to be found in the illuminations of career theory within the boundaries of the context of austerity, as it is an under-researched area within career management. With an increasingly diverse and global economy, being aware of different contexts is becoming ever more important. More specifically, this research looks at careers from a contextual point of view while examining the relevancy of an established career model (Sullivan, 1999; Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009). In addition, this research provides an insight into organisational careers specifically within the Hellenic public sector in austerity, as management studies in this regard are limited, especially within the public sector (Bourantas and Papalexandris, 1999; Myloni et al 2004; Mihail, 2008; Koskina, 2008; Bellou, 2009a).

This is important, because although career research has flourished in the past decades with many emerging career models aiming to explain the new careerist, there is impetus to understand and explore the organisational career, as it might need a redefinition in order to fit the changing financial and working environment (Clarke, 2013). The study therefore aimed to answer the following research objectives:

- To explore how careers are understood in austerity.
- To explore the relevancy of the KCM's career needs in austerity.
- To discover the career needs of civil employees in austerity.
- To develop further the KCM, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity.

This chapter is a critical reflection of the key research findings, implications, contributions to the literature and practice of careers while revisiting the key findings of the study in relation to the research objectives. The chapter is structured as follows. Initially, it addresses how the empirical findings respond to the formerly under-investigated areas of career research via the research objectives, and secondly it introduces the main conceptual and practical methodological and policy contributions of this thesis. Finally, through critically reflecting on the limitations of this study, it presents recommendations for further development.

6.2. EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The main empirical findings were discussed and summarised in the discussion chapter, so this section will synthesise and then conclude on the findings in order to display how the study answered the research objectives.

6.2.1. Research objective 1: To explore how careers are understood in austerity

The initial research objective was constructed from the literature review and focused on addressing the limitations of existing research relating to careers and career perceptions in different contexts, and more specifically in the context of austerity, by utilising career actors' perspectives as the primary unit of analysis (Pringle and Mallon, 2003; Tams and Arthur, 2007; Thomas and Inkson, 2007; Khapova and Korotov, 2007). This is justified by the fact (Peiperl and Baruch, 1997; Baruch, 2004a, b; Thomas and Inkson, 2007) that the career landscape has changed due to many social and economic forces. Hence, the view that the organisational career provides stability in employment, advancement via tenure, training and job security is questioned today in austerity (Baruch, 2004a). Thus, there is impetus to understand the notion in the context of financial strain. Furthermore, due to the precedence of recent career models within career research, organisational careers have been possibly neglected by researchers, so there is an incentive to examine and try to understand organisational careers in case they have changed due to the evolving career landscape (Clarke, 2013). In addition, it responds to the calls of scholars who have argued about more management research in the under-researched context of Hellenic organisations (Bourantas and Papalexandris, 1999; Myloni et al., 2004; Mihail, 2008; Koskina, 2008; Bellou, 2009a).

The findings suggest that the organisational career in Hellenic public sector austerity is interpreted as a job, due to the sectoral features of the Hellenic civil service, referring to its strict bureaucratic law and the way it provides careers. In addition, the recent Labour Directive, which was promulgated during austerity (Labour Directive 4024/2011) aiming to freeze the career development of employees by introducing quotas which regulate advancement, has reinforced this perception. The findings also point to an instrumental view of working, confirming studies of Terkel (1972) and Goldthorpe et al. (1969), who argued about working as a means to survive and not as a means to take on a challenge, advancement and self-actualisation (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). Moreover, it challenges the common assumption that within bureaucracy white-collar workers perceive to have careers, since the evidence suggests that they have jobs – a

notion commonly associated with blue collar workers (Thomas, 1989; Hennequin, 2007; Hu et al, 2010).

6.2.2. **Research objective 2: To explore the relevancy of the KCM's career needs in austerity**

The second research objective was also based on the literature review and was concerned with exploring the relevancy of the KCM in austerity by investigating participants' perceptions regarding authenticity, balance and challenge. The findings that were attributed to this research objective made a significant contribution to the current model, as it was examined during a recession, a completely different context than the original from which the model originates (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006). The findings also suggest that there is a conflict between the career needs proposed by the KCM and their comprehensive applicability in Hellenic austerity. More specifically, authenticity was a career need which was not discovered, as individuals sought public sector employment as a way to secure employability. The evidence suggests that it was not related to living according to one's values and reaching self-actualisation via work; rather, the public sector was a means to secure employment and avoid uncertainties (Hofstede, 1980).

In terms of balance, the work-life balance issue was not perceived as strongly as argued in the KCM, where career actors try to balance their lives by utilising different strategies. This might be explained by sectorial features, as the public sector is considered a generous employer providing good working hours and relaxed working conditions in comparison to the private sector, leading to the importance of context, which in this case takes the form of the employment sector (Glaveli et al., 2013).

Challenge was not found to be a motivator to work, as the KCM argues; instead, survival and employment security are motivators to seek employment in the public sector, which emanates from high unemployment in the country and the volatile labour market (Manolopoulos, 2006; Koskina, 2008). As the evidence suggests, more people aim to enter the sector today, as the labour market is considered "dead". The perception of working in the safe public sector was always strong in Greece, and one could argue that it is a cultural feature (Hofstede, 1980); however, austerity worsened the situation and made insecurity more intense. On the other hand, the content plateaued jobs which the public sector offers, where employees are content in inactivity, without any prospect of developing due to the sector but also due to the new Labour Directive (4024/2011), have made individuals long for more challenging working tasks driven by targets, which will lead to advancements and development.

Overall, the findings from the interviews provided in-depth, context-specific examples of how relevant the KCM is in austerity, simply concluding that austerity has influenced and strengthened the perceptions of individuals in terms of maintaining safe employment.

6.2.3. **Research objective 3: To understand the career needs of civil servants**

The examination of career needs in austerity contributes to the career literature, as career research in austerity is under-developed (Grau-Grau, 2013). The study discovered three career needs in need of gratification, namely safety, fairness and training. More specifically, the participants referred to the need to have employment safety and provided some examples which illustrated their feelings of job insecurity emanating from the context. In addition, the participants claimed that they received distributive and procedural injustice in terms of wages, placements and appraisals and argued about not receiving training due to budgetary cuts. Nevertheless, this was seen as the norm in the public sector. Overall, the study demonstrated that for the participants all career perceptions were grounded in the social context of the public sector and austerity. Concluding, the findings of the interviews illustrate that the theoretical framework (KCM) is not wholly appropriate for explaining the career needs of the Hellenic public sector in austerity. On the other hand, the findings of the thesis illustrated that safety, fairness and training are basic career needs which are required when the individual locates himself/herself and his/her meaning and purpose in life on the basic level of the hierarchy (Maslow, 1954; Taylor, 2006). In addition, the findings suggest that basic needs need to be satisfied before higher-order needs (Maslow, 1943). The findings of this research objective have theoretical implications for the model, as they are reflected in its redevelopment and hence provide another nuance.

6.2.4. **Research objective 4: To develop further the KCM, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity**

The fourth research objective of this thesis aims to redevelop the model in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity. Hence, the final research objective proposes a redeveloped KCM, by adding the career need of safety, which leads to the realisation that organisational careers in austerity took the form of jobs and hence gives the KCM a different appearance. Instead of only accommodating higher-order needs which correspond to the notion of a career regarding work perceptions, the redeveloped KCM now corresponds also to the

understanding of work as a job, thus allowing the inclusion of more workers who may necessarily not self-actualise in their work although they would like to do so, as that should be the ultimate goal (Maslow, 1943).

In essence, the newly revisited career model adopts a holistic approach and illustrates current careers by incorporating and satisfying basic low-level needs while reflecting the existing context , since a career in austerity is a concept that stands at the nexus of political and economic interests dominated by contextual influences (Maslow, 1954; Taylor, 2006; Noon, 1981). By recognising and accepting the fact that careers do not occur in a vacuum but are influenced by context (Khapova and Korotov, 2007; Thomas and Inkson, 2007; Sullivan and Baruch, 2009), the researcher concludes and proposes that the model, in order to reflect austerity, needs to incorporate the safety need, which includes safety, fairness and training. As such, the KCM becomes A, B, C, S, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity.

6.3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THEORY, PRACTICE, POLICY, AND METHODOLOGY

6.3.1. Theoretical contributions

The research started out with four research objectives, and in meeting those it has contributed to the existing career literature in different of ways. More specifically, the initial research objective was to explore career perceptions in austerity. This may be the first study to focus specifically on this situation, and we know a great deal more about how organisational careers are understood in the Hellenic public sector than was known at the outset. In particular, we now have a much clearer idea of how austerity and the sectorial features of bureaucracy along with clientelism influence the career perceptions of civil servants.

The theoretical implication of the findings, i.e. that an organisational career in the Hellenic public sector in austerity is understood as a job, answers the calls of scholars who argue about the need to understand careers in different contexts such as austerity, in order to illuminate career theory (Burr, 1995; Young and Collin, 2004; Khapova and Korotov, 2007; Thomas and Inkson, 2007). This finding suggests that the public sector employee in austerity does not fulfil his/her potential, as the purpose of work is to become what one is capable of becoming i.e. self-realising, based on his/her values and finding meaning and purpose in life via one's work (Maslow, 1954; Mainirero

and Sullivan, 2006). Hence, the findings of this research objective extend current knowledge about careers by adding the instrumental work orientation to the understanding of civil servants' careers in austerity.

The second research objective was concerned with the relevancy of the KCM. This is the first time KCM has been explored in austerity, and therefore this is the theoretical contribution of this research objective.

The third research objective aimed to discover the career needs of civil servants. The examination of career needs in austerity contributes to the career literature, as it is under-developed (Grau-Grau, 2013) and this may be the first study to focus on the subject.

The fourth theoretical contribution of this thesis is the introduction of a redeveloped KCM which will accommodate the context of financial recession by adding the safety need. This is because the needs discovered by the thesis differ from the lower-order ones proposed by the KCM, located at the end of the human needs hierarchy (Maslow, 1943). Hence, we notice a conflict in needs, from an affluent society to a non-affluent society.

6.3.2. Practical contributions

The theoretical contributions to knowledge are undoubtedly important. However, this study has also identified several important contributions to practice. This study has revealed that employees can perceive their working careers as a 'job', rather than as a 'career'. In other words, they focus on an instrumental career orientation, seeing work as a means to an end, valuing their future retirement and salary as their work does not provide them challenges and advancement arguing about being plateaued. This is important to understand, as when someone perceives one's work as a means to an end, the individual becomes alienated from his/her work , and hence not only is self-actualisation prohibited, but he/she is demotivated which consequently leads to poor performance, affecting the organisation (Maslow, 1943; Fromm, 1961; Goldthorpe et al. 1969 ;Cotgrove ,1972; Wrzesniewski et al., 1997)

Participants identified a range of contributory factors to this, ranging from a poor economic environment within their country, clientelism (knowing whom) interfering daily with their working lives, and the reluctance of the state to develop careers following a strict bureaucratic model. This study therefore shines a light on a hitherto under-explored area, and this has allowed the author to identify several contributions to practice.

Clearly, different types of organisations need different career management systems in place in order to match the needs of the employees to those of the organisation (Herriot and Pemberton, 1996; Baruch, 2004a). Moreover, previous research has shown that individuals' career goals may change over time. These factors have combined to make it difficult for senior managers and HR professionals to develop a consistent strategy and a related set of coherent and interlinked policies. Hence, a key cornerstone of this thesis is a revised and updated version of the well-respected KCM model. The new version of the model incorporates the parameter of *safety* - which is itself comprised of employment security, fairness and training. Therefore, the new KCM is more flexible and versatile than previous iterations. It can help senior managers and HR practitioners to focus their attention on the key areas within the new framework. This therefore allows them to focus on areas of potential success, rather than on barriers and constraints, which represents a complete reversal in thinking in some cases. Moreover, the fact that management functions are prioritised in this way means that the new version of the model allows this focus to be maintained even when there is considerable turbulence and uncertainty within the wider business environment.

Career motivation has long been recognised as key to improving organisational performance (e.g. Maslow,1954; London,1983; Pfeffer,1995). Hence, by emphasising employees' career needs, the new version of the KCM also allows managers to better align the management of individuals with enterprise-wide key performance drivers, because as these needs are satisfied, businesses will benefit from committed employees who will maximise their productivity to the firm's advantage. This link between career satisfaction and performance is even relevant in the current climate of austerity: as Baruch and Hind (2000) argue, when redundancy is properly managed issues such as demoralisation, insecurity and stress are reduced, and managers who understand the importance of these issues and how they affect the motivation of individuals will be able to enhance the performance of both employees and the organisation itself. Indeed, the need to develop a fair and realistic performance management system which will satisfy the safety needs is a key recommendation for HR managers. Such a system will reward performance according to the outputs of the employee, rather than on intangible and unsupported evidence.

This approach also extends to areas of HR such as recruitment and selection, promotion, and job content and enrichment. This study clearly shows that overly-bureaucratic procedures can be just as damaging as promotion based on 'who you know', but 'who you know' is a cause of particular resentment. The new version of the KCM offers a middle ground, and avoids the trap of content and structural plateaus, because it opens up the opportunity for everyone who meets

the essential criteria for a post to apply for a management position and not necessarily 'wait their turn'. Similarly, this study demonstrates that where challenging work is lacking, this leads to a loss in motivation and morale. This thesis therefore gives an incentive to senior managers and HR professionals to develop jobs in such a way that they incorporate more stimulating work in order to provide challenges. A way to achieve that is via job rotation and/or training provision, which this study has found to be necessary in order to avoid the plateau trap, minimise mistakes and commit employees (Bardwick, 1986; Choy and Savery 1998; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2006; Sullivan and Mainiero, 2007a, b).

This study also has implications for those who teach and train managers – both at university and in the workplace. A recent call from the Chartered Management Institute (CMI) asks university business schools to teach 'real-world' management as opposed to theory (Wood, 2013). Given the importance of the issues raised by this thesis to managers in the workplace (and to their employees), it is clear that if the CMI requirements are to be met, then teaching needs to embrace the same issues. The new version of the KCM provides a useful empirically-based framework to underpin teaching practice, and therefore students might be better served by learning about these current issues rather than by sticking to purely academic curricula that may be out of date. Similarly, in-workplace training methods such as shadowing and mentoring will of necessity need to address these issues and are therefore more likely to be relevant and useful than other methods. At the very least, the new version of the KCM can help as part of a blended training programme, and as such, it is a key contribution to practice in this area too.

6.3.3. Contributions to policy

Further to the conceptual and practical contributions, the study has identified implications for policy. The particular policy which determines the career development of civil servants is Labour Directive (4024/2011). However, evidence from this thesis seems to point to the fact that career development is not in the ascendancy, due to the specific Labour Directive which is a reflection of austerity; instead, it is stagnating. The thesis, via the evidence, puts forward that the current Labour Directive (4024/2011) is not having the anticipated effect, namely to develop careers and satisfy at the very least employees' basic career needs. This impacts on the way work is carried out in the public sector, because if the public sector wants a committed and satisfied workforce and as a result achieve competiveness, its leaders should consider developing policies which will meet employees' career needs.

The study suggests, based on the evidence, that the Labour Directive should be transformed, as its foundations are old-fashioned and strict, without any flexibility. One way of doing that is by abandoning the strict bureaucratic career model where tenure means hierarchy and instead provide employees with different opportunities to apply, without waiting their turn, which would mean changing or modernising the current policy. This step can help individuals avoid plateaus, as it will not only provide them with hierarchical advancement, but also lead to more challenging jobs, as they will be able to exhibit their skills and abilities to receive a promotion and hence accomplish something essential for their career, thus satisfying their need for a challenge. Another way to transform the Labour Directive (4024/2011) is by designing a fairer system in terms of distribution and procedures and supporting the vision of new KCM by ensuring that rewards are based on performance. This could provide a challenge to employees, as individuals would be rewarded for their superior performance. In addition, the transformation of the Directive reinforces the argument of a rigorous performance management system based on fairness, which would commit adequate resources to training, development and equipment and meet the needs of training and challenges.

6.3.4. Methodological contributions

Although the research method used in this study was not new, it was used in a way that had not been done previously. This thesis utilised the thematic analysis as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) to analyse the findings. Therefore, this research contributes to the research methodology by applying thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) in the context of austerity. Moreover, the reflexive stance taken during the study, via the research diary which aided the analysis and interpretation of the findings, is another methodological contribution.

6.4. LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

As with any research, the research implemented for this thesis has several limitations of its own which need to be acknowledged, as it would have been impossible for a single investigation to emphasise all the relevant and important issues on careers in austerity. Therefore, limitations are acknowledged in this section.

Firstly, the study utilised 33 semi-structured interviews with public sector employees. As such, we cannot generalise from the findings, and so care should be taken when interpreting these

outcomes. Although the sample consisted of front line staff and managers (middle and senior managers: n=8) saturation was reached. However, a longitudinal study might lead to different results due to (for instance) changes in the external environment of participants or, indeed, a change in their personal circumstances – each of which might alter their personal and professional needs and desires.

Secondly, from a methodological point of view, although data collection ceased when saturation occurred, the researcher acknowledges the fact that utilising a different research design such as case study might have aided the exploration of the phenomenon in depth by utilising more data collection methods such as observation, i.e. triangulation.

6.5. POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As far as further research is concerned, to begin with it would be wise to expand the study and see if the redeveloped KCM applies to the public and private sectors of another country such as Spain and/or Portugal, meaning countries suffering from the recession. In addition, it could be explored in affluent countries such as the UK. By further researching the new model in different contexts, it will contribute to developing practice which in turn will benefit employees and employers alike, as organisational competitiveness is achieved via employees and by accommodating their needs.

In addition, the redeveloped KCM could be applied in the Hellenic private sector, in order to examine careers in that area and to explore how relevant it is there. More specifically, in terms of balance, the evidence suggests that balance was relevant in the Hellenic public sector, but it was taken for granted due to the generous entitlements the public sector provides in comparison to the private sector. As a result, the researcher suggests examining its relevancy in the Hellenic private sector. Additionally, as far as challenge is concerned, in the Hellenic public sector it was deemed necessary and absent, which begs the question how relevant it is in the private sector. Hence, the researcher suggests further research in terms of examining the redeveloped KCM in the Hellenic private sector.

Moreover, future research could explore how the notion of a career is understood in the private sector in austerity. In addition, a longitudinal study could increase understanding of career perceptions, as careers do not occur in a vacuum and are therefore influenced by socio-political and economic forces which may change over time. In addition the realization, of not having a

career, from the managerial sample n=8 (6 middle managers and 2 senior managers) opens the avenue for further research, as traditionally managers are considered to perceieve their work as career and not as job. Therefore the notion of career and its comprehension could be explored within a sample of managers from the public and private sector.

Furthermore, the notion of fairness could be further explored within the KCM model. For instance, there is potential debate about whether fairness is a need (as per Maslow's hierarchy) or a fundamental principle upon which the model rests and, hence, which is a prerequisite for its existence. Indeed, the author intends to explore this very question in subsequent research over the coming months.

6.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This research aimed at adding to the rich body of career theory and to redevelop a well-respected career model, in order to extend its applicability to the context of austerity. This research fills calls for studies that explore careers in austerity, and it provides an insight into the Hellenic public sector. More specifically, following the call by Clarke (2013), it was indicated that the organisational career needs to be researched, to discover whether we need to dismiss it or simply redefine it. The current research argues that it does not need to be dismissed, as individuals still value employment security, which traditionally an organisational career was considered to provide.

In addition, this research provides further information to extend the kaleidoscope career model, as in this economic climate the idea of satisfying the proposed career needs by the model may not be wholly applicable, as suggested by the findings. The context of austerity has pointed to the need to satisfy lower-order career needs. It is suggested by this thesis that human resource professionals and governmental bureaucrats within the public sector modernise the sector and the Labour Directive by developing a performance management system based on fairness, which will aid the career development of civil servants by avoiding plateaus, introducing fairness at all levels and helping to identify the strengths and weaknesses of each employee. Hence, this study has fulfilled its purpose by investigating careers and career needs in austerity while simultaneously redeveloping the KCM.

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8. APPENDICES

8.1. Interview with Giannis

Generating codes	Original Transcript
1.Career is a course **2.within a timeframe,** **3. uncertain today** **4. Uncertain** **5.Time frame depends;** **6.subjective:** **7. skills; studies;** **9.different jobs.jobs important in development** **10. Career takes place in a time frame** **11. Development within a timeframe** **12. changed many jobs**	M: **Gianni, please talk to me about your career, what do you understand when you hear the word career, what does it mean to you?** G: eee (pauses to think) I understand a course (1)within the different working environments, from the (2) time space of everyone's working life, which today is not certain at all(3). M: **so you think about a course within the working environment**, G: yes, but it's not certain (4) M: **what do you mean?** G: it depends(5), for some it is 35 years, for others less, for others more(6). and eee (thinking) the development of the individuals within these years, whatever development anyone can have, according to ones (7)studies or qualifications, eee (thinking) the (8)different jobs one might have had, the type of jobs, because in certain jobs, one cannot develop, or one can develop less than others(9), that is a career in generally(σε γενικες γραμμες). Or let me say it takes place (10)within a frame (πλαισιο), it is development within a working and time frame(11) M: **Right, now how about yourself when you reflect upon your own career, how do you understand your own career** G: eee (thinking) so far I have changed plenty of working environments (12).

	M: **Ok, so tell me about that, how did your career start?**
13.Changes many jobs	G: well in terms of any serious employment, not the ones you do when you are studying, I have been working for the last 12-13 years and I have worked in many different cities and jobs(13). with different tasks(14), it was (15)developing but not anymore, before or until recently it was pretty developing, because(16) I have had plenty of changes, and I did not have time to stall(17) (slang in greek, βαλτος =svamp, the verb βαλτωνω= reach dead end, plateaued, δεν προλαβα να βαλτωσω).eee (thinking) certainly this cannot happen for ever(18), I mean you cannot within 35 years, change constantly, I mean change 15 jobs, you do not have(19) time to adapt, as the years go by. Eee (pauses) until now I have been (20)satisfied with my career, I have changed many jobs(21), I have done a lot.
14 different tasks	
15. was developing not anymore	
16. developing due to changes	
17. did not have time to plateau	
18 realise this cannot go on forever	
19.need time to adapt.	
20. Until now satisfied with career done a lot.	
21.Plethora of jobs,	
	M; **tell me about your jobs, what have you done?**
22 variation in tasks=no content plateau	G: the different jobs(22) I have held vary from retirement homes, hospitals,psychiatric units(23), institutions of different causes, and now XX (name of insurance company) different tasks, but you learn, you get something out of everything(24), which gives you a different point of view(25), a broader. And due to the first jobs that I held, working tasks, and the changes, I see things differently, regarding disabled peple because they were housed within the jobs that I held, I was in the office they were in the institution. All of these things have made me (26)more sensitive. So I believe that except of the (27)monetary incentive that we work for, which is very important, since we work to get a
23 different jobs ex.	
24 learn from jobs	
25, broadened this views,	
26.became sensitive.	
27. Monetary	

incentive important to work as well as ethical reward. **28.ethical satisfaction**	salary, it's the <u>ethical reward</u> as well, its is everything. I mean when you do something good, at work and you help someone that is, it cannot be measured in monetary terms, it is the (28)<u>ethical satisfaction</u>, it's a lot. M **Ok Gianni, just a couple of questions based on what you said so that I understand, you mentioned that you stalled here (βαλτωσατε) is this how you feel and why? Secondly you mentioned now the satisfaction of helping and becoming sensitised, can you explain that bit too, a bit please?**
29 work to get a salary (**if they don't pay me I won't do it**) **30. Job as contribution to society** **31work for money and to contribute**	G: Ok, look <u>ethical satisfaction</u> means that I am (29)<u>working for a cause, surely</u> for the money, if they <u>don't pay me I will stop coming</u>, but it is more than that,(30) <u>work is about doing a good thing</u>, it is about helping someone it is about, how can I say, it is <u>about offering(31),</u> and feeling you are doing something, I am someone, and I am doing something, I have a job I am not a burden to society and I am helping people and I am happy to do so. It is an <u>ethical satisfaction(31)</u>.
32 Plateaus, or stalling being in the same job for long. and no incentives no development or advancement. **33Repetition. 34 don't let us stall, i.e be in the same position too long.** **35 employer Inflexible.**	Now as far as stalling,(βαλτωσαμε) I say that because, in general when you <u>stay within a job too long, and the job does not offer you any incentives for change and does not help you to develop or advance, you stall</u>, (βαλτωνεις), it <u>is the same thing all over (32)/(33).</u> This I believe the Hellenic public sector as employer should consider differently, <u>not let us in a certain place all the time, it should be more flexible(34)/(35),</u> it should eee (thinking) give one <u>incentives undoubtedly</u>, because all of these things imply incentives, because <u>without incentives, nothing happens,(36) i</u>t (the employer) or <u>the task itself should help to promote incentives(37).</u>

36incentives wanted, 37the task or employer should promote incentives **38. We are plateaued no incentives** **39. Equality, no difference between hard workers.equal payment** **40. Law strict, no interest to change things** **41 Need to be further developed, 42 build skills, 43no training given.** **44Development is training.**	M; **tell me more about it, your incentives, do you receive any ?** G: no to a great extend no it does not, <u>the sector does not give any we are all stalled</u> (βαλτωσαμε) (38) M; **why do you say that, can you give me an example ?** G: because in the sector in general <u>everyone is equal with everyone(39).</u> There is no difference between one that works hard and one that does not, <u>as everyone gets paid the same, depending on the rank they are at(39).</u> M: **why is that?** G a lot of reasons, because <u>of the law regarding the public sector, it is strickt and everyone follows it,(40) w</u>ell you must follow it, because there is <u>no interest from the central administration to further develop its staff, to change things</u>..alot M; **do you think you need to be further developed? and how do you think you could be further developed?** G: yes off course we need to <u>be further developed, people need to build their skills(41),</u>some here do not know how to open the computers, come one, they need (42)<u>to be trained, to be able to do things, not expect other to do their</u> job, when I am off on holidays I come back and they give me a list of things that need to be done, as no one could access the internet or some files. They did not <u>receive training in it skills(43),</u> I know these cause I am young but certain 50 year olds, they cannot do it, or don't want to, perhaps I don't know. These kind of things <u>I mean to develop us(44)</u>. There are

45 does not happen thought, same payment	people in specific places which can make these kind of judgements, who to develop and how, and it is doable but I do <u>not know why it is not happening</u>. and then we <u>get the same payment</u>.(45)
46 Better distribution of staff. 47empty administrations, unfair everywhere. 48. The problem starts from the central administration, indifference towards problem solving.	My point of view is that there should be larger <u>flexibility in the distribution</u> and certainly better <u>distribution of staff(46)</u>, not only here but everywhere. There are <u>administrations with the sector, which are empty(47) a</u>nd this is unfair, and for x,y,z resons they are not being affected. This should be the starting point, and off course, (48)<u>the problem commences at the hea</u>d (idiom το ψαρι βρωμαει απο το κεφαλι, meaning the root of the problem is always located at the top), when the central <u>administration is indifferent,(48)</u> then the <u>employee underneath has no motive</u>(49) and he is also "taken" by the system (τον παιρνει η μπαλα, slang expression,meaning the individual is being 'taken' by the system), maybe it also conceals other things.
49 Demotivates the employee.	
	M: **what do you mean?**
50.Dysfunction of the public sector Speculations	G: I don't know maybe <u>they want the public sector to dysfunction in order</u> (50)for people to move towards the private sector, there are a <u>lot of things going on it depends on the viewpoint of e</u>veryone
	M; **what do you mean?**
51. Intertwining, no one cares about the sector	G: I mean there is a lot going on, <u>intertwining, (διαπλεκομενα), interests, that is why no one is bothered with the public sector</u> (κανεις δεν νοιαζεται) (51)
	M; **ok, so you say that no one is bothered with the public sector, how does that make an employee feel**

52. Dislikes the intertwining and clientelism. **53.Dislikes that they are all equal.** **54. homogenisation is fascism unfairness in the way they got appointed..** **55. people judge collectively not individually, homogenisation,**	G: surely not good, eee (thinking) surely <u>I don't like it,(52)</u> and I certainly do not like that <u>we are all the same, that everyone is placed in a pot</u> (idiom, ειμαστε ολοι σ ενα μυλο) (53) so one <u>with qualifications and experience is placed within the same framework as someone who has nothing, who did not go to university, and did not enter the</u> public sector with meritocracy, we have all become one mass, (γιναμε ολοι μια μαζα), this homogenisation is fascism so to speak(54). I do not like it, I never did, moreover I do <u>not like it when people say you all there are worthless, that</u> no one works(55), it is not like that, but because they see and experience certain negative examples, perhaps from certain employees, because there are good and bad employees everywhere, all of us are 'taken ' by the system (slang, μας παιρνει ολους η μπαλα), this I never liked, I <u>mean if you want to judge, judge personally</u>. I went there he/she did this, the other did not work, but don't say you are all worthless because next to the worthless might be someone who actually works, someone who is a good employee, and who even does the
56 hard workers are gift. Inefficiency	other one's job. This is surely an issue that has to be dealt by the institution, and the one who over works is not regarded well, <u>I can honestly say that the institution occasionally regards the hard working person as a gift,(56)</u> thank heavens for this person who does the work of the others who don't work.
	M: **do instances like that take place in the civil service?**
57. Extensively inefficiency occurs.	G: <u>extensively</u>, they <u>happen in the private</u> (57)as well, but I do not know how and what, although the framework is let's say tighter (greek slang πλαισιο ειναι σφηχτο εκει) there (private) it occurs, there are

Some work hard others not. **58 Not an issue of public sector only though.** **59. Ex pf private sector provided.** **60 public sector disorganised no control from above**	employees who delay things, while in a private business, and should be more effective. Despite that we have experienced inadmissible treatments, via the private sector and via firms that are depending on their customers. We have experienced bad behaviours as customers, from the private sector and it is as if they do not think that, because they do not have the permanency where you cannot be fired. It is indifference I think.(58) <u>I have a recent example, from a mobile company, which was unacceptable toward me, and after a long process when I started looking for another company to change provider, they called me a 100 times, apologising and telling me you were right etc. and I told them, guys the customer must be pleased, I mean I cannot pay you and you holding an indifferent stance toward me, and charge me with huge amounts without providing explanations</u>.(59) We are not fools, I mean sometimes you see that even in the private sector the framework is not working well while it should. I mean this should not happen, as they have control from above, they have the manager, this is <u>different than us, one controls the other, there is a hierarchy, I</u> mean in large companies, despite that there are examples of disorganisation. M: **how is the private sector different from the public?** G: well there they keep the hierarchy, the manager controls, here we(60) <u>have a manager but, he can't do anything, he can tell you to do something, but he does not have the power to fire you.</u> When the <u>permanency is in place, you are more secure, although it is disappearing</u>.(61)

61 Manager powerless, cannot fire, gives orders. **62 Permanency is security although disappearing** **63. Permanency important of their work.** **64. provides ex of someone suspended.** **65.Hoped for something better with the new government.** **66. Hoped for improvement, stability, uncertainty** **67. Incentives existed only by name, everyone got it.** **68.** **No exceptions for good performers.** **disagrees with that (equality in**	M; **how about that?** G:the permanency? Well that is an important aspect of our work (63), and it is fading away,(62) as they talk about things all the time, you know Christos,(64) from (name of organisation) he was put on suspension, when they find a job they will hire him back. He is out of the sector. No one knows what will happen, you see we had hopes with Syriza, but they are like the others, no one cares(65). M: **what did you hope for?** G improvement, to become stable to know what is going to happen, to feel secure (66), who knows what tomorrow will bring (δεν ξερουμε τι θα ξημερωσει), we see taxes, cuts, unemployment, that is all. young people without work, where will they work? what will happen? M: **you spoke earlier about incentives, and say that you are being homogenised in the civil service and that they could give you a incentive.**. G: clearly, yes there was in the civil service a couple of years ago within the single payroll, the incentive of output, which was only by name incentive of output as everyone got it (67), well you cannot give the same allowance to everyone, the incentive should be given to the one who over performs, not everyone,(68) it was made a permancent allowance, part of the salary, this was wrong it cannot be for everyone, it just cant. M: **you mentioned before how is it now with the single payroll?**

distribution of rewards)	G It is not single/flat (ενιαιο) it is <u>new payroll</u>, because there are governmental institutions which <u>have gotten away with</u> it, for instace DEKO (some organisations which provide electricity and water) which are not in the single payroll. The employees of the department of finance are not being payed via the new single payroll. And they have certain bonuses still while others have lost them, for instance <u>doctors, judges, employees working in the ports, are not participating in the single payroll</u>. They are being paid under different conditions. So the payroll, which came recently, was new but no flat/single, it is only single/flat by name, it was certainly new as it <u>drove the salaries down</u> with the crisis.(69)
69. New payroll, not fair. Some employees not included, still get better pay. Drove salaries down	
	M: **tell me about the new single payroll and your career, was your career influenced by it in any way?**
70. Payroll is the result of crisis. issue not only of career but of everyting.others more affected, no one in Greece can say he/she hasn't been affected	G: well it certainly was, I mean it is not the payroll itself it is the crisis, and <u>the payroll is the result</u>. And surely the crisis affects everything and my career, but you see it is not only an issue of career it is an issue of psychology, it<u> affects everything</u>, our shopping, everything. <u>Some were more affected others less</u>,(70) meaning we do not have the same problems (ζορια, slang means issues/problems/) we do not have the same debts (slang δεν εχουμε ολοι ανοιχτει το ιδιο). When someone during the "good" years got a loan of 200 000-150 000 euros and the crisis has found him (slang, τοω βρηκε η κριση, being hit by the crisis) and perhaps his wife is unemployed or he might have had a pay cut of 400 euros per month, he has 'fallen' now with the crisis (slang, γονατισε με την κριση). I did not take any loans I did not "open "(slang, δεν ανοιχτηκα, meaning I did not take

	chances)so I am ok from that part. I did adapt to the new situation and thankfully I did not have any debt to repay, so that I was constantly thinking what will I do now, compared to others. certainly the crisis affected me but it affected me less than others with mortgages and debts. I <u>don't believe there is a single individual in Greece in 2015 who has not been affected but it. No way</u>.
	M: **how about your career and the crisis?**
71. Crisis effect: changes in organisations, changes constantly which was unconceivable before	G; I did <u>experience it, I think all of us have</u>, there are <u>constant changes all</u> the time (71), in the administration, in terms of management, in terms of new organisations being created out of old ones. I mean let me give you an example the EOPY (national insurance) turned into DYPE and before that it was IKA. <u>Things are changing all the time, this was unconceivable 4-5 years ago, so off course we have all expereinced austerity at some point.</u>
	M: **so due to the crisis new institutions have been formed?**
72. People being transferred	G yes new institutions, <u>people are being transferred from here to there, everything changes</u>.(72)
	M; **How does that make you feel as an employee**
	Y; ee <u>certainly not good, I don't</u> like it I feel like a ball (slang, σαν μπαλακι) (73)
73. Uncertain feeling	M; **like a ball?**
74 No saying in the process, feels like an	G: like a ball because the news come to us for us without us, <u>we just listen to the results</u> and experience the consequences, we <u>are basically instruments</u>, <u>we do not have personality it is that simple. (74)</u>

instrument no saying, just following orders.	M; **if I can take you back to your career and your steps, after the university education you said that you worked widely in many different jobs and you ended in the public sector, why is that?**
75. Security of the sector drove him to the public sector. Stable career, no issues with work, security.76 Realisation of plateaus before entering	G: look I entered 2005, when things where back then were OK. where jobs were still available and things (in the economy) looked good. back then me as the whole Greece, were applying for public sector jobs, while working in the private sector and that's because there was the security of the sector.(75) You knew that in the public sector there was a stable course career wise, you knew that you would not have any issues with work and with the years to come you knew that it meant security. (76)Despite that work was available in the private sector and good jobs too, but you know I choose it for the security, I knew that my development would not be the same as in the private sector, I knew that but I still choose the public sector,
	M; **why do you say that about the development?**
77. Hard workers are not being developed, homogenisation	G because we knew it, we saw it, it was clear even though for those not working there, everyone was the same in the public sector, and you saw good hard working people not being developed,(77) which would otherwise would have been if working in good private sector companies
	M; **so you came for the security? (reason for work?)**
	G yes simply, you know what is going on. and back then if you wanted to work in good companies (στα καλα μαγαζια, slang means good companies) you had to move to Athens or Thessaloniki, there was nothing in rural Greece. You see back then things

78. Security issues. Rural Greece doesn't provide good jobs. Private sector not a good employer. **Rational choice.**	were better in the <u>private sector, but not as good as in the public</u>. They still did not treat you well, you know salary wise, so financially it was difficult so I <u>thought more rationally</u> and said it is to my interest to make this choice, and enter the public sector. However back the things were much different than today(78) M; **what do you mean?** G; back then we did not have the crisis, <u>permanency was de facto (79)</u>. Now it is not the same, you never know you live <u>in constant anxiety, what will happen</u>.it is not as easy anymore.and there are no jobs out there so, <u>let's hope we will keep our jobs</u>/(80)
79. No crisis, permanency de facto. 80i.nsecurity now, hope to keep his job, dead market.	M; **when you first got appointed do you remember what you felt or thought?** Y; I <u>got appointed</u> in 2005, in a clinic, everything happened really fast within a month, I was working at the time in another clinic (administrator), a private, so I was <u>very happy</u>, I did not have time to realise what was going on, I just simply resigned from the previous and went to the new job. The only <u>I realised was the salary payment every 13th and</u> 27th of the month. That (81)
81. Happy, to accept the appointment. Did not realise the change.	M; **how did you come to this position here?** G: I came here because I applied for a position here, in my hometown, since initially I was appointed in Athens,and when they accepted me here I <u>resigned from Athens and came here</u>.(82) M**: why?** G it is in my <u>hometown, more relaxed close to home, working conditions much bett</u>er, so I thought

82. Resigned from Athens to come to rural Greece.	that here in <u>rural Greece the life is more relaxed,</u>(83) in Athens it is chaotic, takes 1 hour to reach ones' work in the morning and 1 hour back. Here I walk to work. <u>in Athens the working conditions are more stressful.</u> That is why. The criterion <u>was quality of life</u>
83 Hometown close to home, no stress, big cities chaotic, quality of life criterion	M; **so you came here due to the need to achieve balace?**
	Y: yes yes you can say that <u>I wanted to be more relaxed, y</u>ou know, in the capital city life is more stressful that's why (84)
84Balance relaxed	M **what does work life balance (ισοροποια μεταξυ εργασιας και σπιτου) mean to you? Or how do understand that?**
	G: look <u>wlb is sepating work from home</u> or personal life and not <u>taking these issues with</u> you (85)
	M; **do you think that you have achieved balance**?
85Separating work and home	Y; as in separating work from personal lfe and not taking problems with me at home? <u>Yes yes to a big degree yes(86)</u>
	M; **do yo believe that the public sector provides you balance?**
86. To a large degree achieved wlb	G: in terms of <u>working hours</u> yes, but I don't believe it has to do with the public sector only I believe it is <u>part of the personality</u> and how one learns to adjust and <u>adapt to circumstance(87)s</u>, and also part of the mentality. I mean there are people who go home and report what they have done at work, they carry things with them, I rarely do that. They are constantly in a situation where the mind is at work, they have left the office but they are stil there.<u>i have</u>
87. Wlb provided at work. but balance is also about mentality.	

he doesn't take issues from work home, he switches off.	managed to overcome this, I don't think about what happened today at work who said or did what etc. it must be something really important that made a huge impression on me, in order for me discuss it.
	;M: **how did you manage to overcome this, not to take work home?**
	G; I thought deeply about it and I said you cannot leave work and think about it. The mind does not rest, it is not possible and I said ok, either Gianni you continue like that and you will become boring and wearing where you will constantly refer t our work and everyone will try to avoid you, or you pur a red line and say this is it. As I mentioned it must be something really extreme or unpleasant for me to affect me that much that I will talk about it at home or think about it. I mean to think, why did this happens, why did X say that, why wasn't I correct with this person or client.why did I make that mistake, because we are humans, we make mistakes. It must be something important otherwhise at 3 o clock I leave and that is it. I don't bother with that anymore. Eee (thinking) it is not easy as I see people all the time thinking and rethinking work issues and affect their families which should not be part of this as no one can really help you when they do not do the same work as you do, you only make things worse! (88)
88. Thought through the issue, and decided that he needs to rest his mind. not easy plenty people suffer from that	
	M; **tell me more about your career reflect upon it a while, since the day you started working in the sector, has you opinion about it changes at all?**
	G: as an employee? Well yes, with all that we see and experience everyday yes. We see who develops and who gets the good appointments and

	the way they get them, and this affects my judgement and opinion.(89)
89. **Opinion about career has changed since he started due to unfairness in promotions, affects his judgement**	**M; can you tell me more about it?**
	G; look in Greece, it happens (progress) through different ways and with personal relationships, and with intertwining, with connections, the well-known (βησμα) visma or rousfeti (ρουσφετι), (89) it's not necessary to be a political help, it can be your middle manager who knows someone who can help you, or maybe you have someone in the hierarchy of your work and he/she can help you, put you in a place higher up than you deserve, there are a lot of things/issues and these bring disappointment with the years.(90)
89. Clientelism in Greece aids career development, brings disappointment **90. Disappointed as people who do not deserve the promotions get them.**	
	M; tell me about the disappointment
	G off course I feel disappointed, when I see certain things such as people who do not deserve to have positions like that, this brings disappointment, and you see them occupying positions which they do not deserve based on typical and general qualifications.(91)
	M; why does that happen do you think?
91. General issue in the Greek sector. **Gives ex of other civil service organisations, claims if some people were his employees he would not give**	G: well if I could answer that I would be the prime minister I would not be here. this is general in the public sector, at some organisations more at some less, but yes it is general. Because as employees we come into contact with other civil servants from other firms and you see people, which I belive if I had them as my employees I would not even give them 5 euros a day and they get 2000 euros a month, so yes in a way it bothers me

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them 5 euros/day. Bothered with inequality,	M; **when you think about you career what is the important feature of it ?**
	Y: for me important <u>certainly is the continuation of the career (92)</u>
	M: **why do you say that?**
92. Continuation of career is important	G: Because we <u>don't know what is going to happen the next day</u>(93) at least to <u>have a job, a stability somehow and a basic payment, as</u> decent(94) as can be because things have
93. Uncertainty, 94basic decent salary. 95Not to experience more pay cuts.	changed, with the pay cuts, although we never got a huge salary, in comparison to other public service firms, <u>at least to remain stable, to be in this level not to fall more.</u>(95) Both within the employment and payment.
	M: **you say to remain stable do you believe that there is a risk of not remaing stable?**
	G: yes, sure but that's not up to us it depends upon the general national economy, how things will be in the future, and <u>this no one knows</u>. we can only <u>hope to remain the same, no more pay cuts and to have employment (96)</u>
96. Uncertainty depends on the economy/country, hope to remain as they are	M; **you also said to be able to have a career what do you mean?**
	Y; look, I <u>can't say that immediately there is the risk of me loosing my job tomorrow</u>. However I canot rule it out it and say I am ok, before the crisis this was not an issue. You knew that you would always
97. No immediate risk of losing job tomorrow. However, cannot exclude it anymore as things	have a job, after all that has been going on the last years, <u>nothing can be precluded because everything that we thought would not happen, did happen (97)</u> , so I can't swear with my life or put my hand in the fire (idiom, risk my life, βαζω το χερι μου στη φωτια) and say this will never happen, we

they thought were imaginable happened.	will never be fired, or they will never cut our salaries, because of <u>all the things we never believe would occur, did occur, the experience point to that direction, that things have changes and you cannot bet 5 euros that things will not get worse</u>. (98)
	M; **how about something that you like or value in your work?**
98. Doesn't bet that it will not happen	G: I value the work <u>itself to be able to have a work</u> as I said, also I like..ee the people my <u>colleagues</u>, that I <u>am useful in the society</u> I am working, providing to society ee that (99)
	M: **how about things that you do not like in your work**?
99. Value the fact to have a job. Colleagues being useful to society contributing	G; things I don't like..eee (thinking) many things, <u>the payment, which is shrinking</u>, the common uncertainty, eee (thinking) the <u>intertwinings</u> (διαπλεκομενα),eee the thing that we are all one, a <u>mass, ee</u>, the thing that <u>nothing is working corr</u>ectly (ειμαστε ενα μπαχαλο) ee the <u>lack of incentives</u>, <u>tra</u>ining ee what more do you like me to tell you (100)
100. Dislikes salary, uncertainty, clientelism homogenisation, lack of training, lack of incentives, disorganisation	M; **ok so let's take things one by one, you say nothing is working (ειμαστε μπαχαλο slang) what do you mean?**
	G I mean <u>look no utensils</u>, hospitals have no <u>medicines, people do not have money</u>, nothing <u>works</u>, you go to the public sector and they don't have the <u>necessary means to serve you</u>. What can I say? There is <u>no training</u> no one cares<u>, no seminars no education nothing.</u> (1010
101. Poor economy, due to crisis disorganised, no training, no utensils	M: **what do you mean?**

to do the work, nothing	G I mean you need things to do your work with and they do not have, the <u>doctors down stairs bring (102)their own paper to print because the</u> central administration does not money to have to send, imagine. <u>Training, that is not happening(104)</u>, if you want to learn, <u>then learn on your own</u>, seminars do not exist, they don't <u>have money for paper, will they make seminars?</u>
102. Staff pay for utensils, 103 no money from administration. **104 No training,**	
	M: **how does that impact on your work?**
	G; well it makes <u>me angry and depressed(105)</u>, my <u>work suffers,</u> in terms of not getting the utensils I need or I am <u>not being sent anywhere to learn anything</u>, I went to a seminar 5 maybe 6 years ago that was it, in this position where I am I <u>consult the previous colleagues and or depending on the issue (106)</u> I call the head office or another colleague from another city to get help. <u>This is what I mean nothing works (μπαχαλο) (107)</u>
105. Angry and depressed, **106learn on your own. , consults others to learn =nothing works** **107.no utensils, chaotic situation,**	
	M: **have you thought about the reason you are working?**
	G: look the reasons are plenty and basically it is <u>purely survival</u> but also psychological, a person who works has <u>another feeling</u>, he is <u>treated differently by the society,</u> you don't want to be a burden to the family. and you work because you <u>want to enjoy life</u> and for that <u>you need money</u>, money comes from work. it is a complicated issue. without work life becomes boring at some point, you want to go out there, <u>earn money</u> and socialize, be with people, help them in any way you can. (108)
108.Work=survival but also to gain money and enjoy life, socialize, offer, psychological reasons, esteem	
	M:**you mention money and you mention being with people and helping?**

	G: yes you <u>learn things,</u> you socialize you help people with their issues <u>they come to you and you deal with their queries</u>. This is work it is good to be able to feel that you are doing something, that you are helping. (109)
109. Learn things, socialize, help, contribute	
	M; have you thought about what you want to accomplish in your career? Or let me put it another way, do you believe that your career helps you to self-actualize?
	G:self actualize and accomplish? No no (110)
	M: **why?**
110. No accomplishment	G: because things are how can I say it now, eee (thinks) more <u>realistically, there are not so romantic,(111)</u> it is hard, to do that in my work. Usually the type of work that I am doing is more for <u>surviving,</u> it is <u>hard to combine self-actualisation and accomplishment, and ones dream</u> (112)with this type of work. It is basically hard to convert your dream into your work
111 Realist not romantic	
112 Hard to make your dream into your work and accomplish	M: **what was your dream job?**
	Y: eeee look childhood dreams, aren't easy to be fulfilled and <u>hard to realise</u> and they change a lot, you cannot say you know when I was 5 years old I wanted to become this and I do it now. You change, things change. I was never the type of child who said I am going to be a doctor, I always said wait and <u>see how things will turn out.I was more realistic(113)</u>, I wanted to find something that will give me job, <u>something safe</u> these where my thoughts and if I could combine it with something that I like even better. I cannot say that I don't like my job, I <u>like it, it is ok</u> but as far as dreams are concerned, I did not have a childhood dream as such, the <u>choice was more realistic,</u> I thought that I
113 Always realistic looked at things, evaluated and decided.	

	needed to find a way to find a job to <u>survive, to cover life experiences (114)</u> and if this can be done via a good job, such as the public sector, even better.
	M: **what about your purpose and meaning in life is this found via your career?**
114 Wanted a job with safety	G; no,no, <u>definitely not, that's another phase</u> (115)(meaning in life), something different, another thing is meaning in life and another is work, <u>for sure its outside the working hours, t</u>hat's where I find the meaning, after 3 pm, that's where the real life is, this is just a part or role. (116)<u>This is the role of work</u>, the 8 hours I have to work to make a living. With what I have earned, I will manage to get by and find the meaning in life, so it's after 3 pm.
	M; **how do you understand challenging work or career?**
115. Meaning in life is not in the job. **116 Job is a role, you play it and find meaning in life outside** **117. Challenge is test, complete things, deadline.** **118 Adrenaline rising. Before some challenge. now task is repetitive.**	G challenge, is something you can do by <u>testing yourself</u>.(117) Before we might have thought that we had some challenge in terms of completing things on certain deadlines, we had to send some facts to the central administration, and this made us work hard, and effectively. for instance by the end of the working day we had to count all the materials used in the Labouratories etc. there were moments where we were panicking, where the <u>adrenalin was high(118)</u>. Nowadays the task itself has changed, so now you have to <u>challenge yourself m</u>eaning I will accomplish that until then in order to <u>keep oneself from reaching bottom or swamp</u> (βαλτωνω, slang meaning reach bottom)things were a bit tougher before(119)
	M; **you said before?**

119. You challenge yourself in order not to plateau	Y; before there was <u>more autonomy</u>, the work task was different, now <u>everything depends on others</u>. It does not depend on us, it goes above us (120) M; **how do you understand the current situation?**
120.More autonomous work, everything depends on others now.	G certainly <u>not good</u>, I <u>preferred the pressure</u>, than this, you feel <u>inactive and unutilised</u>. But to be honest the manual system before was so much worse, now everything is computerised, but we are in inactivity. The bad thing with the human is that she adapts hardly in difficult situations and easily in relaxed. So when the wheel turns and goes toward the hard, it implies difficulties, that is not good either, to fall from one level of energy to the other, stability is the best, keep work stable. (121)
121 Feels unutilised, inactive, manual system better. humans adapt quickly in easy sittuations	M; **how about challenges, in one's career how do you see them** Y; they are im<u>portant and if combined with a good salary yes, I like th</u>em, however if you only have challenge and not the payment, then no, <u>I mean if you do the work and the challenge and the other one gets the bonus or payment</u> (122/123)
122. Challenge important if combined with incentives like bonus money. **123. Money and challenge combined not only the challenge.**	M; **why do you say that, is this happening in the public sector?** G: yes, after all those years I see it. When you are the only one running and this affects me negatively.it makes me lose my energy and will and passion, because you think yes I like my work I like to do things, <u>I like to work hard and then I see X,Y,Z sitting, relaxing not doing anything, at some point this cancels me,</u> the system cancels me (slang), so <u>I am not going to be bothered</u>, I will only do the anticipated and goodbye (124)
124. People are relaxed in the sector, some work others not. Being cancelled	

by the system, becomes apathetic does only the necessary due to the unfairness. **125. Looses his motivation since there is no differentiation in payment and advancement,** **126.main motivation monetary** **127.Not interested, does not over perform, does the anticipated only.** **128 unfairness in salary distribution, top performers are not distinguished. Skills qualifications education nothing matters it is flat.**	M: **what do you mean cancelling?** Y: Psychologically, <u>I eat cancellation</u> (τρωω ακυρο /πορτα slang, meaning being left out, disappointed) you wonder what is happening now, why am I doing this for? I am doing it for myself, once, twice but after that I get tired, I stop doing it, I don't do it for anyone. <u>I have no motivation, because when there is no difference at one's work or career, where the main motivation of the employee is monetary, the employee stops doing anything, as no one cares, so you disdain</u>. (125/126) M' **what do you mean disdain?** G I mean you stop having an interest, you do not over perform, you do not go above, you do only the necessary and that is it. I mean why should I run around, and do stuff, do the work and you are relaxing in the office and we both get the same money? Since the system is cancelling us, and I <u>will not hear a bravo or receive a medal or anything,</u> We have become all one, a mass (slang, μαζα) everything is one, everything is flat, and it's not like that, it's not like that. There are people with <u>qualifications</u> who try <u>to educate</u> themselves outside work, some do masters others <u>learn languages</u> and they also work at work and others <u>are relaxed at work</u>, so yes you get cancelled (τρως ακυρο slang) and you say I am not going to be bothered (σας γραφω, slang). Since <u>you don't give me a motive and I will not hear a bravo that's is, I will do the anticipated and goodbye.</u> (127/128) M; **you talk about incentives, tell me more about it?** G we don't, <u>we don't have bonus or incentives</u> we have <u>allowances,</u> which everyone is entitled to, and

129. No bonus or incentive, allowances 130.similar to everyone. Problem. 131.Proposes merit pay to boost performance.	this <u>is a problem</u>. The system doesn't say, everyone starts off with the same salary, ex basic salary 700 euros, but those who <u>work harder, which will be judged objectively,</u>will get extra paid. Here <u>everyone is the same</u> there is no incentive. I mean consider this, one goes out and does controls, and brings to the organisation fines up to 3000 euros per month which will help the company, another employee sits in the office all day and gets the same amount.so tell me the reason <u>why people should work more, put extra effort if they ae not being</u> recognised, the system cancels them. Before only the ones that worked within the control division got the allowances, but this was wrong too, because some maybe did only 10 a month while others 100, why give them the same amount of allowance? That is wrong. Some <u>don't move from the chair and get the same pay</u>. (129-131
	M; **why do you think everyone gets the same pay?**
	Y; this question should be addressed to the ministers. We can imagine plenty of reasons, but we cannot be certain. Whichever the reason due to this <u>unfairness,</u> the employees lose their <u>motivation, which ever motivation they have, that is obvious. (132)</u>
132Unfairness makes them lose motivation.	M: **what could be done you think to make people more motivated cause you said people lose their motivation.**
	G: ee I don't know, maybe have a <u>better system in place,as in the private secto</u>r, where everyone gets a <u>bonus or incentive if they work hard</u>, do you know what I mean? Here we are all the same get the

133. A system to distinguish people	same benefits, salaries, whether we work or not. <u>Something to distinguish people</u>. (133) M; **you mention incentives or bonus a lot is it important?** Y; obviously. Without <u>motive you cannot do anything in life.</u> You cannot function, you cannot exist, in general not only at work. you must have a <u>target, you must have something before you to look at,</u> because without a target you go blindly (134)
134. Motive drives life. Targets needed, in order to be focused, brings motivation	M; **does your career provide you with motives?** G: no, <u>no motives or incentives</u>, you just complete the <u>daily tasks</u>, the public sector does not provide you with incentives or targets. You do the <u>anticipate</u>d, the whole public sector lacks incentives. (135)
135. No motives only daily tasks. public sector does not provide targets.	M; **if you could characterize you career how would you do it?** G: <u>anticipating</u>, because it lacks the ups and downs, <u>it is flat, things are standardised, predictab</u>le. Nothing to trigger you to excite you, the tasks are <u>repetitiv</u>e, <u>simple and boring</u>, you help the citizens time passes and you go you <u>wait</u> for the <u>retirement basically</u>, if we will get retired that is. (136)
136.Anticipating career, no ups and down, predictable, repetition, simple boring, waits for time to pass.(content plateu), waiting for retirement	M; **why do you say that?** G with the things going on I <u>don't know if and when we will retire (137)</u> M: **you refer to the crisis** G; yes the <u>crisis (138)</u>
137Skeptical about receieving a pension	

138.Crisis	M; **Ok but when you mentioned the work you said it is anticipated, has it always been like that?**
	G in general yes, it was never challenging or intriguing, we did not get here for that and we knew that it is going to be like that, it is not like in the private sector, here it is stable, immovable, relaxed, no ups and downs. Before as I said we had some action when we had to count things or do things manually, not with the computers it is all being done, I believe challenge was never there. (139-141)
139. Never challenging or intriguing, stable immovable, relaxed 140 knew before entering	
Before they did some things manually now computerised 141 challenge never there	M **how would you define a career?**
	G career is rising, changing jobs, responsibilities, earning money status, that (142)
142.Career is status, money ladders (traditional)	M: **what you have and what you just told me are they corresponding?**
	G look even the person who has a career operates within the framework of work, the first thing is work Ok I mean the careerist has a career, but he has it within his work. a careerist is someone who gets out and hunts, who changes jobs, has motives and bonus in his work, who learns and develops, he is the one who has a career, the manager has a career, what kind of career can an employee with a specific job, have? Its definitely not possible, at least for the employees lower on the hierarchy. I'm not referring to the employees within the central administration the CEOs who hunt positions they are considered careerists.a simple employee in an organisation, with 7-3 working hours and 1000 euros salary, I do not consider it to be career, it is work. (143-145)
143 Career within the framework of work. work is the first thing. 144. Careerist is hunter, chages jobs, develops, motives, bonues (boundaryless)	
145.Simple employees have jobs	

	M**: do you believe that anyone has a career in your working place?**
	G; <u>no, no one</u> (146)
146. No front liner has career	M; **neither the senior manager?**
147. Senior manager does not have career. Only ceos, who have boundaryless, move around	G: no I don't think so, only possibly in the central administration, such as <u>ceos, they are the careerists a</u>s these are the jobs they always get, highly positioned and well paid. You will see them <u>moving from one institution to another</u>. Ok they have a career the others don't. Generally <u>in small simple institutions it is a job it's obvious</u>. I believe that I have a job, a work, a career is something else. <u>Career</u> means <u>hunting targets, making money, developing, not being dependent on 1000 euros, and being safe with that and saying I am Ok, with the small salary</u>. Another thing is hunting another thing is waiting; here we are waiting, waiting to be paid. In Greece today there are no <u>careerists, due to the crisis</u>, because if you go out to hunt in a <u>destroyed country</u>, what will happen? You will be hunted instead, by debt, bills, things are a bit wryly here. It is not as in the rest of Europe; here things are very different and difficult. (147-149)
148Believes that he has a job, career is money, hunting, developing. 149. 1000 salary is job.	
	M; **you mentioned development, a careerist develops, don't you in your work?**
150 No development, doing the anticipated, similar position	G; no off course not, I am in the <u>same position</u> since 2005 this year they put me here too in this task, I am doing <u>the anticipated</u>, and I got home, <u>no development</u>. (150)
	M: **why?**
	G because of the system

	M: **what do you mean?**
	G: because the <u>system s</u>ays you have to be <u>certain years in </u>the sector to be <u>promote</u>d, to managerial level, when that <u>time </u>comes, <u>I will develop,</u> but as I told you before in Greece things <u>happen with the help of the intertwining</u>. (151,152)
151.Promotion based on law and criteria. 152.And clientelism cannot apply for anything at the moment	M; **can you give me an example?**
	G: yes, for instance our middle manager used her brother in law to get this position. she received a complaint by another colleague, as she claimed she was more qualified, then the current middle manager, but still nothing has happened. The other colleague, went even to the CEO to talk about the unfairness but she (the middle manager) is still in the position, so you see <u>development is connections</u>, this is <u>unfair.</u> as I previously said it puts you off, but this is Greece. (153)
153.Ex of clientelism within his work	M**: I know we mentioned that before about how one develops in Greece, but I was just wondering, about promotions, cause now you mentioned your collegeus, is this the only way? I mean is this the way one gets a promotion?**
	G: look, <u>promotio</u>n as I said earlier, is according to the <u>Labour Directive</u>, ok? It says you need x years in service and you can apply for the promotion, <u>atypically its is connections</u> (βησμα,slang, means socket) (154-156)
154. Unfairness, development is connections155 Promotion according to the law, gives criteria156.Atypically connections	M **you mention a lot connections (βησμα) is this common?**
	G; <u>connections ?</u><u>everywher</u>e you look, you want to look at <u>promotion</u>s? <u>Evaluation?</u> <u>Placement</u>s? Everywhere, it <u>helps a lot</u>. (160-163)

160.Connections everywhere, 161. Promotions, 162. Placements, 163 evaluation	M: **how? I mean you say evaluation, placement do you have examples to give me perhaps?** G: ee(thinking) look if you want to work in a good <u>department you</u> need, someone to help you, if want to have <u>good scores on the evaluation</u>, you will, if you are <u>friends with the manager</u> or a <u>connection (164) talks to the</u> manager, you see it is <u>everywhere.</u>
164.Connections to be in a department, connections on appraisal (procedural)	M: **you mentioned the evaluation /appraisal and the scores, how does that happen?** **G:** every year we <u>fill in a form (165)</u> and then the senior manager and middle manager comment on it.
165.Form to be filled in	**M: yes, and?** **G:** and on the form you <u>self-assess yourself</u> and then you are <u>evaluated by the manager</u>. (166)
166.Self assessment and peers evaluation	**M: and the unfairness you mentioned?** **G:** I can tell you that people not doing anything all day <u>receive 9 and 8,(167)</u> how is that? That's why I'm saying we <u>are all a mass</u> (γιναμε μια μαζα), (168)Because <u>they know the manager</u>, the manager does <u>want to displease them</u> (να χαλαστει), in case <u>favours need to be exchanged you</u> know how it is.. nothing works (μπαχαλο) (169)
167.Everyone gets high score, 168. Homogenisation 169. management does favours	
	M; **ok so how does that make you feel?** G; <u>bad, sad, angry,</u> what do you think? (170)
170.Feels angry and sad	M: **ok, I understand**, you **mentioned before that things are different and difficult today, how does that make you feel**

171.New generations pay the sins of previous, result is the crisis.172. No hope for improvement. Blurred situation, unemployment, badly paid, desperate people	G I feel that <u>our generation pays the sins of the previous ones, o</u>ur generation did not put the country in debt but we are paying for it, the others lived well before us and now we have to repay. Basically I <u>don't believe we will see any improvement,</u> we will always be like this, no chance to take your kids on holidays, build a house, have a family, be relaxed as they (generation before, baby boomers) previously were, <u>everything is blurred</u>, people are <u>unemployed, badly paid</u> if they have a job and this makes me angry, and people are <u>desperat</u>e and try to leave the country to find something better.(171-172) **M how is everything blurred due to the situation?** G: yes you see what is going on, we <u>cannot even get our money out from the ba</u>nk. Who knows what will happen tomorrow. This is Greece <u>nothing works</u> (μπαχαλο, slang) (173)
173. Situation is blurred due to crisis, refers to closed banks, uncertainty	

8.2. Participant profiles

Pseudoym	Gender	Highest qualification	Years of service	Job title	Interview duration (min)
Iliana	Female	Bachelor	8	Front liner	45
Athanasia	Female	Lyceum	23	Front liner	35
Sofia K	Female	MA	10	Front liner	40
Urania	Female	Technological	26	Middle manager	37
Hermione	Female	Bachelor	28	Senior manager	43
Sofia P	Female	Lyceum	9	Front liner	35
Stella	Female	MA	10	Front Liner	35
Theodor	Male	Lyceum	15	Front liner	40
Toula	Female	Technological	9	Front liner	42
Vaso	Female	MA	15	Middle manager	45
Giannis A.	Male	Technological	10	Front Liner	45
Eleftheria	Female	MBA	13	Front liner	45
Christina	Female	MA	11	Front liner	45
Chrysa G	Female	MA	13`	Front liner	45
Gianna A.	Female	Lyceum	26	Front liner	45
Magda	Female	BA	10	Front liner	45
Maria G	Female	Technological	15	Front liner	35
Mihalis	Male	Compulsory	33	Front liner	37
Litsa	Female	BA	22	Middle manager	36
Konstantina	Female	BA	7	Front liner	45
Nikos A.	Male	Technological	17	Front liner	39
Petros	Male	BA	8	Front liner	40
Giannis T	Male	Lyceum	8	Front liner	45
Chrysa M	Female	Technological	14	Front liner	42
Chrysa D	Female	BA	26	Middle manager	38
Zaharias	Male	MA	12	Front liner	38
Eleni M.	Female	Technological	23	Middle manager	43
Eleni S.	Female	Technological	8	Front liner	45
Koula/Kyriaki P.	Female	BA	31	Senior manager	42
Nikos N.	Male	Lyceum	24	Front liner	45
Apostolos	Male	Lyceum	18	Front liner	36
Makis	Male	Lyceum	18	Front liner	35
Parthena	Female	Technological	29	Middle manager	45

8.3. Interview schedule

Tell me what do you understand of the term 'career' and what does it mean to you?

Is this definition in accordance to your career in the public sector?

Talk to me about your career your steps

Authenticity

Why did you choose a career in the Public sector ?

What did you think when you got the job offer? In addition, why did you think/feel that?

How if at all has your view changed since you started working?

What do you consider important in your career? Why is that? (what do you value in your career)

Have you found or achieved meaning and purpose in life via your career?

What do you aim to accomplish through your career?

Have you thought about your career in terms of self-actualization? Does your career help you to self-actualize?

What was your dream job?

Balance

What does work life balance mean to you?

Have you achieved work life balance in your career? How? Why/ why not?

Challenge

What is challenging work to you?

Do you have challenge in your work? Why/ why not /in what way?

Why do you work?

Is it important to have challenge in one's work?

What motivates you? why?

8.4. INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS/ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΙΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ

Study Title: exploring careers in austerity through the lens of the kaleidoscope career model the case of the Hellenic public sector

Τιτλος ερευνας εξερευνηση καριερας στην κριση , μεσω του φακου του Kaleidoscope Career Model, η περιπτωση του Ελληνικου Δημοσιου τομεα¨

Θα 'θελα να σας προσκαλεσω να συμμετασχετε στην ερευνα της Μ .Μουρατιδου, φοιτητρια διδακτωρικου παν/μιου Manchester Metropolitan University τμηματος Διοικηση ανθρωπινου δυναμικου. Η σχετικη ερευνα εχει ως σκοπο την εξερευνηση του ορου καριερα, τις αντιληψεις και αναγκες σχετικα με την καριερα των Ελληνων Δημοσιων Υπαλληλων. Η ερευνα γινεται λογω της κρισης και των περιορισμενων γνωσεων σε ενα τετοιο περιβαλλον. Ετσι σας προτεινω εαν θελετε να με βοηθησετε. Πριν αποφασισετε καλα θα ητανη να καταλαβετε τον λογο για τον οποιο γινεται η ερευνα και οτι συνεπαγεται. Παρακαλω διαβαστε προσεκτικα τις σχετικες πληροφοριες και ρωτηστε με οτιδηποτε χρειαζεται

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Maria Mouratidou, a PhD student in the Department of Human Resource Management of Manchester Metropolitan University, is conducting a research study examining the career perceptions and career needs of Hellenic Public sector employees. The particular interest is to explore how careers are understood in austerity which is an under researched context. It is, therefore, suggested you may be able to help me in this study. Before you decide if you would like to participate, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask me any questions that you might have.

What is the research about? Τι αφορα η ερευνα?

Σκοπος της ερευνας ειναι η εξερευνηση του ορου καριερα στο Ελληνικο Δημοσιο. Το ενδιαφερον ειναι να μαθουμε πως αντιλαμβανεται ενας δημοσιος υπαλληλος στην κριση τηνκαριερα του/της και ποιες οι αναγκες της καριερας, καθως και η εξερευνηση του ενος αμερικανικου μοντελου καριερας. (KCM) Η ερευνα αυτη γινεται λογο προσωπικου ενδιαφεροντος της ερευνητριας για θεματα καριερας . η μεθεδολογια ειναι ποιοτικη και η προθεση ειναι να γινουν συνεντευξεις με δημοσιους υπαλληλους

This research is about investigating careers in the Hellenic public sector. The interest is to find out how they are perceived in the context of austerity and what the needs of the civil servants are , while exploring the relevancy of a career model, which was developed in the US . This study

emerged as a result of the researcher's personal interest in careers . The research method is qualitative in nature, so the intent is to conduct individual interviews with Greek civil servants

Why have I been asked to take part? Γιατι ερωτηθηκα για να συμμετασχω?
We are asking people who work as civil servants in Greece to take part in this study.
Ερωτουντε οι Ελληνες δημοσιοι υπαλληλοι να συμμετασχουν στην ερευνα

Do I have to take part?πρεπει να συμμετασχω?

Not at all. It is completely up to you to decide whether you want to take part. This information sheet is to help you decide whether you would like to take part. If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. The consent form is a way of making sure you know what you have agreed to. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

Οχι καθολου εξαρταται απο εσενα εαν θελεις να συμμετασχεις η οχι. Οι πληροφοριες που σου δινονται ειναι για να αποφασισεις αν θα συμμετεχεις. Εαν αποφασισεις ,να συμμετασχεις θα κρατησεις τις συγκεκριμενες πληροφοριες και θα σου ζητηθει να υπογραψεις μια φορμα συμμετοχης. Η φορμα συμμετοχης ειναι ενας τροπος για να γνωριζουμε για το τι εχουμε συμφωνησει. Εαν αποφασισεις να συμμετασχεις εισαι ελευθερη/ος να αποσυρθεις οποιαδηποτε στιγμη θεωρησεις αναγκαια χωρις αιτιολογια

What will happen next? Τι θα γινει μετα?

Εαν αποφασισεις να συμμετασχεις, μπορεις να καλεσεις τη Μαρια ωστε να κανονισετε μια συναντηση για τη συνεντευξη. Μπορεις ειτε να της τηλεφωνησεις στο 6932620340 η στο m..mouratidou@mmu.ac.uk. Η Μαρια θα σε ρωτησει αν μπορει να ηχογραφησει τη συνεντεξη και πριν ξεκινησετε θα σου απαντησει τυχον ερωτησεις σου.μπορεις να σταμματησεις την συνεντευξη οποτε θελησεις. Η Μαρια θα σε ρωτησει γενικες ερωτησεις για την καριερα σου και την αντιληψη σου. Δεν υπαρχουν σωστες η λαθος απαντησεις, οι αντιληψεις σου εχουν σημασια
If you would like to take part please contact the researcher directly on the email above or call her on her Greek mobile number 6932620340. Maria will be asking if the meeting can be recorded on a tape recorder. You are free to stop the recording at any time during the interview. Maria will then ask about your career so far, how you understand the notion of career and your career experiences. There are no right or wrong answers. It is your own understanding that she would like to hear.

Why are the interviews being recorded? Γιατι ηχογραφουντε οι συνεντευξεις?
Οι συνεντευξεις πρεπει να ηχογραφηθουν για να κατανοησουμε τις εμπειριες και αποψεις. Οι πληροφοριες ειναι απορρητες.κατα τη διαρκεια τις συζητησης η ερευνητρια θα σε ρωτησει εαν εχει καταλαβει σωστα τα λεγομενα σου και αργοτερα θα σου παρασχει την συζητηση δακτυλογραφημενη ωστε να ελεγξεις εαν αντιληφθηκε σωστα την αποψη σου. Ολες οι πληροφοριες σχετικα με την ταυτοτητα σου θα σβηστουν . παραθεσεις απο τη συνεντευξη θα χρησιμοποιηθουν για την πτυχιακη στο τελος.
The interviews will need to be recorded to carefully understand your experiences and conversation. All information will be kept strictly confidential. During the conversation, the researcher will check with you that she has understood correctly, and later she will provide you with written feedback to further check that she has understood your perspective. She will write up every interview removing all identifiable information. Quotations from the interview may be used in my report at the end.

What is the down side of taking part? Ποιες ειναι οι αρνητικες επιπτωσεις της συμμετοχης μου

<u>Πολυ πιθανον στη συναντηση μας να καλυψουμε θεματα ευαισθητα, εαν συμβει αυτο μπορεις να τερματισεις την κουβεντα μας.</u>

It is possible that our meeting may cover topics that are difficult/distressing for you to talk about. However if this is the case you can end the interview at any time or just take a break.

What are the possible benefits of taking part? Ποιο ειναι το οφελος της συμμετοχης μου?

<u>Η συμμετοχη στην ερευνα για εσενα ισως να μην αποφερει κανενα οφελος εαν και αρκετος κοσμος βρισκει διασκεδαστικο να μιλαει για την καριερα του. Οι σκεψεις σου και οι εμπειριες σου στο χωρο της δουλειας μπορει να διαφωτισουν κοσμο ωστε να μαθουν πως να μπορεσουν να βοηθησουν αλλους στην καριερα τους αφου η ερευνα θα παραγει νεες γνωσεις για την καριερα στην κριση.</u>

Taking part in this study might not be of direct benefit to you. However, most people find it interesting and beneficial to talk about their career experiences. Your career experiences will help professionals and researchers to have greater insight into the everyday career experiences in austerity and how they can best help people to gratify their career needs . The information we learn from this study will help to plan future research and develop new models for people's career needs . This study will provide new knowledge and a new view to meeting the needs of the civil servants in a country where the research in the field is still very limited.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential? Ειναι απορρητη η συμμετοχη μου?
Yes.
Ναι

What will happen to the results of the research study? τι θα γινει με τα αποτελεσματα της ερευνας?
<u>Τα τελικα αποτελεσματα και συμπερασματα τις ερενας θα χρησιμοποιηθουν στην διατριβη μου. Ισως και να δημοσιευθουν σε αρθρα. Εαν συμβει κατι τετοιο, το ονομα και ολες οι πληροφοριες που σε ταυτοποιουν θα σβηστουν</u> **.**
The final results and conclusions of the study will be used to write a thesis for a PhD in Management. The research may also be shared by publishing articles and papers. If this is done your name or any identifiable information will not be included in any publication and you will receive a copy of any published material.

Who is organising the research? Ποιο πανεπιστημιο οργανωνει την ερευνα ?
The Manchester Metropolitan University.

Who has reviewed the study? ποιοι ελεγξαν την ερευνα?
The study has been reviewed by the Research Committee of Manchester Metropolitan University to ensure that it meets important standards of scientific conduct and ethical conduct.
<u>Η ερευνα εχει επιθεωρηθει απο την επιτροπη ερευνων του πανεπιστημιου Manchester Metropolitan University, ωστε να διασφαλιστουν τα προτυπα ηθους και επιστημης στη διεξαγωγη της ερευνας</u>

Contact

For any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher on m.mouratidou @mmu.ac.uk or on 6932620340
Thank you very much for reading this and for any further involvement with this study.

Maria Mouratidou

8.5. CONSENT FORM

Study Title: exploring careers in austerity through the lens of the kaleidoscope career model : the case of the Hellenic public sector

Τιτλος ερευνας εξερευνηση καριερας στην κριση , μεσω του φακου του Kaleidoscope Career Model, η περιπτωση του Ελληνικου Δημοσιου τομεα

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. <u>Επιβεβαιωνω οτι δαιβασα και καταλαβα το σχετικο εγγραφο για την συγκεκριμενη ερευνα και ειχα την ευκαιρια να υποβαλω ερωτησεις για να κατανοησω</u>

☐

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. <u>Καταλαβαινω οτι η συμμετοχη μου ειναι εθελοντικη και οτι ειμια ελευθερη/ος να αποσυρω την συμμετοχη μου οποτεδηποτε</u>

☐

I give consent for the researcher, Maria Mouratidou, to use a small tape machine to record what we talk about. <u>Δηνω την συγκαταθεση μου στην Μ.Μουρατιδου (ερευνητρια) να χρησιμοποιησει ενα μηχανημα εγγραφης για να ηχογραφησει την συνομηλια μας</u>

☐

I understand that the interview will be tape recorded solely for the purposes of the research study as described in the Participant Information Sheet. <u>Κατανοω οτι η συνεντευξη θα ηχογραφηθει μονο για τον σκοπο της ερευνας οπως οριζει το εγγραφο συμμετοχης</u>

☐

I understand that the researcher may publish direct quotations, after the interview has been transcribed, and all names, places and identifiers have been removed. <u>Κατανοω οτι η ερευνητρια μπορει να δημοσιευσει τις προσωπικες μου αναφορες μετα την δακτυλογραφιση της συνεντευξης, αφου αφαιρεσει ονοματα, τοποθεσιες και λοιπα στοιχεια ταυτοποιησης</u>

☐

I give consent for the researcher to write about what I say. <u>Δηνω αδεια στην ερευνητρια να γραφει γι αυτα που λεω</u>

☐

I agree to take part in the above study. <u>συμφωνω να συμμετασχω στη σχετικη ερευνα</u>

Name of participant/<u>ονομα λαμβανων μερος</u>:
Date <u>ημ/νια</u>:
Signature Υ<u>πογραφη</u>: