FOR PASSION OR PROFIT?

A STUDY OF
WORK ATTITUDES AND LIFE SATISFACTION

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates how one's approach to work can affect one's general satisfaction. Furthermore, the study contributes to existing literature by providing a multilateral approach to the research on why individuals work, as the researchers examine how identity and culture influence one's reasons for working and ultimately how one approaches work.

The researchers study this with the UK wine industry as the pivotal point of research. Drawing from data gathered through interviews with individuals from the wine industry, the researchers propose a certain script of semantic patterns that describes what it is like to work in the industry. This script is further validated by means of the researchers having conducted participant observations within two companies in the industry over a four-month period. Moreover, the script is validated by the researchers' ethnographic fieldnotes from an event in the industry.

Using this data, the researchers first analyze the identities of the individuals within the industry; through learning the culture, individuals within the wine industry start to identify according to their occupations. Following this, the researchers analyze the culture within the industry; it is argued that there is a number of shared artifacts, values, and assumptions within the industry, and that these have affected the identities of the members of the industry. Moreover, the culture has changed over time with regard to a number of aspects, amongst other things as a result of new individuals entering the industry. Thus, these two concepts are interrelated and affected by one another. Finally, based on these analyses, the researchers analyze the approach to work amongst the individuals within the industry; they have shared reasons for working and feel motivated to work because they find it compelling and satisfying. Ultimately, it is determined that individuals within the wine industry approach work as their Calling.

All of these analyses contribute to a view of the individuals within the wine industry as being very satisfied with their lives. The analyses of the identities of the members and the culture in the industry prove that the culture values an appreciation of one's job and of the industry in general, and that the individuals are happy with their jobs and the industry. Moreover, the analysis of the individuals' approaches to work proves that they are living their Calling which is argued to increase life satisfaction.

These findings are discussed with regard to how the concepts all influence each other and how this has affected the outcome of the study. Furthermore, the findings are discussed by means of a comparable study with a considerably different approach to studying work attitudes. The other study investigates individuals who are miserable at their jobs, thus, the study is used to validate the findings from the present study.

Finally, the researchers conclude that work can increase one's life satisfaction when one approaches work as a Calling. Moreover, it is concluded that one's identity and the culture one finds oneself in influence life satisfaction, and thus, one's approach to work too.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. ESTABLISHING THE CONTEXT: IS THE WHOLE WORKFORCE UNHAPPY?

One might have heard one's parent complaining about his/her job. One might have been complaining about one's own job. One might have heard friends complaining about their jobs. One might have heard complaints about the salary, maybe about the working hours, or maybe about the boss. One might have heard different stories.

The researchers of this study (still in their mid 20s) have continuously heard complaints about the working life as they grew up. From all different sources: parents, grandparents, friends, teachers etc. Even as they, themselves, entered the labor market in the early teenage years they heard themselves complaining, they heard colleagues complaining.

All these years of negative stories and complaints about the working life have not exactly led the researchers to be looking forward as they are soon entering the labor market full time. Are they looking into an unhappy, not satisfying future?

The researchers' view of unhappy, complaining individuals at work is not standing apart. Gallup argues that only 15% of all employees are 'Engaged'. 'Engaged' in this survey is defined as being enthusiastic about one's job and being highly involved in one's job tasks. Opposed, 18% of all employees are 'Actively Disengaged', i.e. unhappy about their jobs and being well aware that their needs are not being met. The rest (67%) is described as 'Not Engaged' by Gallup. This group of individuals is psychological unattached to their jobs and has no passion for the job they execute. This group puts time in their jobs, however, no energy neither passion is present (GALLUP, 2017).

The researchers have heard several different reasons during the years to why people do not like their jobs. However, they cannot evade to admit that the better the salary the more willing they would be to say yes to a job. Also, a job they do not exactly like or want to execute. At least this is what the researchers (again, still in their mid 20s) believed.

Despite the fact that the majority of all employees are not engaged in their jobs and that they are constantly complaining about their jobs, the employers (in general) have no sense whatsoever of why this lack of engagement exists (and this might be the same for some employees (at least for the researchers) too). In 2004, Leigh Branham described *7 Hidden Reasons Employees Leave*. One of the most noticeable facts from this publication was the fact that 89% of all managers believe that employees leave because they want more money. However, the startling surprise is that only 12% of all employees actually leave work in order to get more money (Branham, 2004).

In 2018, David Graeber stated: "We may begin by asking why we assume that someone being paid to do nothing should consider himself fortunate." (Graeber, 2018, p. 66). He continues his thoughts on the discourse on how money and a good salary equals happy people at a workplace:

> *"The remarkable thing about this story is that many would consider Eric's a dream job. He was being paid good money to do nothing."* (Graeber, 2018, p. 60).

Hence, Graeber gets at the fact that a better salary equals happier employees, arguing that this is just not the truth.

In 2018, the researchers became part of the labor market full time (at least for a period of time) as interns in two British companies. Both firms work within the UK wine industry. The firms do minor work together, however, work independently from each other. The odd thing here is that both researchers, in their companies respectively, did not meet what they expected in terms of how people perceived their jobs. The researchers did not meet colleagues complaining about their jobs. At the very first, the researchers noticed a great happiness, a satisfaction and a great appreciation amongst their colleagues when explaining about their jobs, when executing their jobs, and when talking about the job the researchers were going to do in the companies respectively.

The researchers by virtue of the internships did also participate in several events (with and without their colleagues) within the industry. And they noticed a similar path here. Everyone was happy about what they were doing. They loved their jobs. Some examples of statements that the researchers have been met by as they have talked to individuals from the industry:

*"Ultimate goal: if I can just keep working in the wine industry and pay my bills, that would make me very **happy**"* (Woman 8)

*"...and most of the time I like what I do and I like most of the people that I work with so I'm genuinely pretty **happy** with my life."* (Woman 6)

*"And I do pretty much all my work I genuinely **enjoy**, I look forward to it"* (Man 2)

Why is it that the people (at least the ones the researchers have met) working in the UK wine industry are not complaining about their jobs, when the researchers have not heard anything other (at least not much) than complaints about the working life?

What is the secret amongst the members of the UK wine industry? How do they manage to enjoy what they work with? Why is it that they do not complain about their job?

1.2. PRESENTATION OF THE PROBLEM FORMULATION

The present study aims at investigating how a job may increases one's life satisfaction and which factors that may affect this:

How can individuals approach work in a way that increases life satisfaction?

The aim of the study will be investigated in regard to a specific industry. The study investigates what it is like to work in the industry, what makes them motivated to do their jobs, what makes them committed to their jobs as well as the connection between their jobs and their general life satisfaction. This will be investigated by means of looking at their identities and their cultures, and how these may affect their approaches to work.

1.3. PEOPLE WHO WORK WITH WINE ARE HAPPY

The present study examines the UK wine industry and its members. As mentioned, this industry changed the view the researchers had on the working life and the aspects of it. Therefore, this will work as the case material for the following study. The study investigates the mentioned industry by the means of interviews with members of the industry, participation in events, and doing internships within the industry. In the following, the chosen industry is presented.

The UK wine industry is a rapidly growing industry. It is the 6th largest wine market in the world ("WSTA Market"). Moreover, it is the 4th largest market for US wine exports by value according to the Office of the US Trade Representative (Mercer, 2019).

A total of 60% of UK adults choose wine as their favorite alcoholic beverage, which means there are more than 30 million regular wine consumers across UK ("UK becomes"). Thus, the wine industry is almost indispensable to the British people. The love for wine amongst the British people is also reflected in the UK's own wine production which is on the rise; there are 500 vineyards and 165 wineries operating across Britain (Shaw, 2019). It is estimated that by 2040 the UK wine industry could generate an additional £658m in revenue per annum through wine tourism (Julia, 2019). In connection with this, the wine industry generated £20bn in economic activity in 2017 ("WSTA Market"). According to HM Revenue & Customs, the total revenue on made wine in 2017 was approximately £4 million, whereas the total revenue on all alcoholic beverages was approximately £12 million ("Statistical Bulletins"). To put these numbers into perspective, 53% of the sales in the UK alcohol industry is generated from wine and spirits ("WSTA Market").

According to Wines of Great Britain, the growth in number of vineyards across the UK will also be reflected in the workforce:

"Over the next 20 years the industry will create between 20,000 and 30,000 new jobs, showing not only the many future opportunities for labor creation and skills development in this sector but also providing a sizeable boost to the economy." (Julia, 2019)

Around 2000 individuals in the wine industry are currently unemployed (Julia, 2019), thus, a boost like that will not only create jobs for the individuals in the industry who are unemployed at the moment, it will also create jobs for individuals who may emanate from outside the industry.

A lot of research that has previously been done on the UK wine industry have centered their attention on investigating the consumers and the market or investigating the wine producers. The present study instead aims at investigating the members of the industry, i.e. employees.

1.4. ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WHERE THE STUDY MIGHT END

As the researchers initially began their research several assumptions were realized. These assumptions have created the baseline for the structure and process of the present research as the thoughts of the researchers have evolved from and around these.

In the very beginning, the researchers became aware of the distribution of gender in the wine industry. The distribution the researchers initially noticed was unequal in terms of numbers of men and women working in the companies the researchers worked with and worked in. This created the very first assumption:

There is an unequal division in the number of men and women working in the wine industry.

As the researchers started out collecting empiricism for the study they quickly realized that it was a false assumption. True, there was still a tendency for more men than women to be working in the industry, however, looking at recent numbers on the industry, e.g. the distribution of gender in terms of individuals passing the Master of Wine exams within the last couple of years, the number of women passing the exam was increasing and thus the division was close to equal (Kirkpatrick, 2018). Additionally, the interviewees that the researchers asked about the matter, predominantly explained how it was not a problem to work in the industry when being a female and how they did not notice any difference, e.g. in terms of gender rights. Thus, the researchers came to the realization that this was a false assumption. The assumption did cause that the researchers initially only were approaching female members of the industry, however, as the study proceeded the researchers also approached

male members. Furthermore, the interview guide applied to the interviews was influenced by this assumption too.

As a next noticeable step in the process of research, the researchers realized that a great number of the people they talked to from within the industry mentioned their salary not being good. However, as the individuals mentioned a bad salary, they almost always followed this statement by a general feeling of satisfaction about their job regardless of the pay they received for the job they execute. This realization led to the next noticeable assumption:

> *The salary within the industry is of no great importance to individuals in terms of life satisfaction.*

The latter assumption led the researcher to think that other factors than a good salary are affecting the life satisfaction amongst individuals. At this stage of research, the researchers were not aware of *which* factors that were affecting, however, they realized that *some* factors would be of great importance. This led into the third assumption:

> *As a result of some factors being present at one's workplace, one's life satisfaction will increase.*

In order to elaborate on the above-mentioned assumption, the researchers began studying the concept of life satisfaction as a result of one's job in order for them to understand the meaning of it.

The fourth assumption came into existence as a result of the awareness of an argument made by Lee Hardy (1990). Hardy argues that there has been a general change in the way the individuals define themselves. He argues that individuals identify themselves in regard to their work and occupations more often today than previously. The change has happened as previously individuals more often identified themselves in connection to family ties or the like (1990, p. 5). Thus, the fourth assumption in regard to this research is:

> *Individuals most often identify themselves in regard to their occupation.*

The researchers believe that when identity is investigated, one will inevitably benefit from investigating the culture as well as these two concepts are interrelated.

Finally, the researchers narrowed down their approach to the final assumption:

As a result of some factors, e.g. culture and identity, being present at one's workplace, one's life satisfaction will increase.

In summary, the first assumption was initially in the research process argued to be false. However, the other assumptions are at this point not denied nor confirmed. Thus, these assumptions will to a great extent work as a baseline for the following study.

1.5. STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

In order to make a general outline of the present study and to allow an overview for the reader, the following presents the study in a chronological order. The present study consists of 9 chapters which are illustrated and presented below.

Point of departure in this study was an **Introduction**. This chapter included a general introduction to the topic. This additionally included a presentation of the problem statement. Hereafter, the readers have been presented with a general presentation of the discussed industry by the means of a case description and some belonging assumptions in this regard, which the researchers will lean on during this study. As followed, the readers will be presented with previous studies and research done within the same theoretical topics in a **Literature Review**. This will work as the theoretical framework which will be utilized in the study. As a natural part of a study, the researchers have found some **Delimitations** useful during the process of research. Hereafter the readers are presented with a thoroughly outline of the **Theory of Science** and the **Methodological Framework** illustrating the general scientific and methodological approach to the study.

The study continues in a **Tripartite Analysis**. This chapter is divided into three sections including an analysis of semantic patterns, an analysis of identity and culture, and finally an analysis of the approach to work. Hereafter the analysis is evaluated in the **Discussion**, furthermore, a comparison between the present study and another study is included. Then, the study summarizes the findings in the **Conclusion**. Finally, the researchers put the study into perspective in **Future Implications**.

FIGURE 1: STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Source: The researchers' own creation
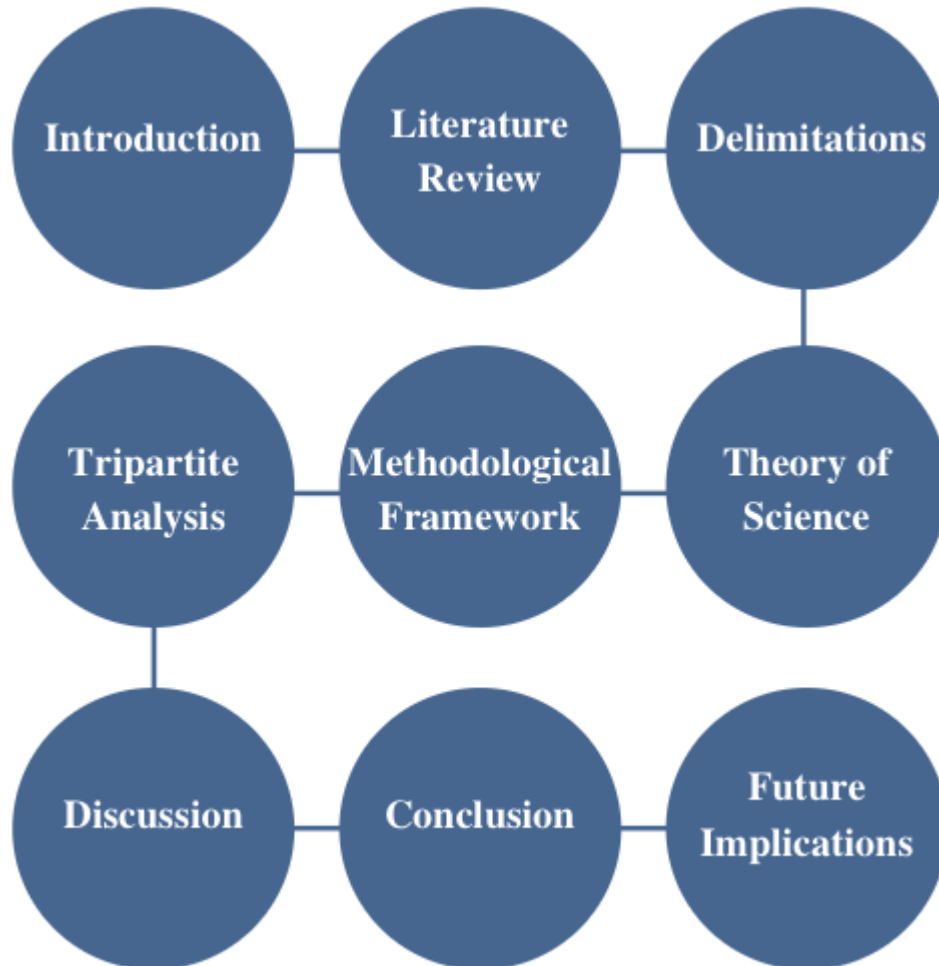
2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the following the theoretical frameworks that were found relevant to this study will be expanded on. During the course of writing this project, the researchers relied on previous research and literature in the process of analyzing the collected data. The following chapter creates an overview of some of the main points from these theories and literatures that the researchers leaned against during the course of this project.

2.1. INTRODUCTION: WHY THIS PERSPECTIVE?

Much research on how individuals approach work has sought inspiration from Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, first published in English in 1930 (e.g. Dik & Duffy 2009; Hall et al. 2005; Schuurman 2004; Wrzesniewski et al. 1997; Wrzesniewski 2003). The term Calling is now often used in studies that deal with individuals' approaches to work. Studies have sought inspiration in the sense that they too have studied work attitudes, however, where Weber's work had a significant religious connotation, many of these scholars suggest other sources of Calling than just God. For example, Dik and Duffy (2009) state:

> "*This intentionally leaves open the content of the perceived source or sources of callings, which may range from God to the needs of society to serendipitous fate. Some individuals may point to multiple sources (e.g., a calling from God and from the needs of society).*" (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 427)

Weber's study of society argued that a new religion, Calvinism, initiated capitalism. This new religion postulated that there were only a few seats in heaven and these were for the people who contributed to society (Weber, 2013, p. 119). Thus, all men could serve God, and the way to do this was to fulfill a meaningful position in the world. These people did not set out to make money, they set out to work hard and serve God. But because of this they started making profitable business, and reinvesting the surplus. This feeling that work can function as a way to serve higher powers has thus been the pivotal

point of much research since, however, as mentioned above, research now suggest other sources behind Calling than just God. The explanation for this change in scholars' perspectives on the source of a Calling can be found in the declining importance of religion for most individuals across the Western world. For example, Dik and Duffy (2009) state that research is needed on the various sources of Calling as some individuals feel called without being spiritual or religious (p. 439). Individuals are simply not as religious, and thus, it is not the hope to get into heaven that motivates them anymore, and the research has adapted accordingly. Hall et al. (2005) also argue that religious beliefs are not a necessary condition for having a Calling (p. 161).

Through the search around the great amount of research on work attitudes, the researchers have found that there was a lack in the previous research on this subject matter. Where much other research have taken quite unilateral perspectives by investigating individuals' approaches to work and the consequences hereof, the researchers found a lack of research on how other factors can affect one's approach to work.

The present study, based on empirical data, investigates how individuals approach work in order to increase their life satisfaction. Where the early research connected a Calling with wanting to please God, newer research are connecting the Calling with a sense of feeling socially valuable and working because it is interesting and meaningful (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997, p. 22). Due to this change in the source of who is Calling (from God to an inner feeling of being valuable), researchers have started connecting Calling with increased life satisfaction (e.g. Wrzesniewski et al. 1997; Duffy et al. 2012; Davidson & Caddell 1994; Duffy & Dik 2013). The present study leans on this past research when presenting reasons to why the individuals, studied for this purpose, work, and how that increases their life satisfaction. However, as mentioned above, the researchers have found a gap in the past research; therefore, the researchers have decided on a multilateral perspective for the purpose of this study. The researchers investigate whether analyzing identities and culture as well can give a more comprehensive way of determining one's approach to work and its effect on life satisfaction.

2.2. INDIVIDUALS' APPROACH TO WORK

Calling and the literature it has generated have suggested that the reasons behind working are complicated, therefore, the researchers have found a need to theorize where a Calling comes from and what generates it.

David L. Blustein is the Program Director of the Ph.D. Program in Counseling Psychology as well as a professor in Counseling Psychology at Lynch School of Education and Human Development, a school of Boston College. His research on the roles of work in psychological functioning has proved significant for counseling and vocational psychology, but his research cover many areas and include various aspects of changing the world of labor ("Faculty Directory"). Bluestein's (2006) focus is thus on the psychological aspects of working (p. 10). He proposes three functions that working can fulfill, within these is embedded individuals who work in order to survive and individuals who work as a way to express an interest. The three functions are: working as a mean for survival and power, working as a mean of social connection, and working as a mean of self-determination (Blustein, 2006, pp. 21-22). Blustein (2006) views these as core needs working can fulfil, and he proposes various perspectives on working which form the basis for the three functions (pp. 18-21). In connection with Blustein's taxonomy of reasons for working, other researchers also argue that there is a distinction between the different meanings that individuals attach to work. For instance, the work of Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton in *Habits of The Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (1996). This book was written as an analysis of the American culture, and to "…explore and criticize the culture of individualism and the institutions that sustain it." ("Richard Madsen"). Robert N. Bellah was a very influential American sociologist; and a Ford Professor of Sociology at University of California, Berkeley for 30 years (Thumma). Richard Madsen is a distinguished Professor of Sociology at University of California, San Diego, with a distinct focus on Chinese culture, American culture, international relations, and how to compare culture ("Richard Madsen"). William M. Sullivan has a Ph.D. in Philosophy and is a Senior Scholar at the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching ("William M."). Ann Swidler is a Professor of Sociology at University of California, Berkeley, and has a specific interest in studying the interplay of culture and institutions ("Ann Swidler"). Finally, Steven M. Tipton is a Professor at Candler School of Theology, a school of Emory University. His studies focus on the moral dimensions of American religion, culture, and public institutions ("Stephen Michael"). According to Bellah et al. (1996), individuals differ with regard to their notions of what work is and how it encompasses who they are, therefore, they have made a distinction between Job, Career, and Calling. Work can be seen as merely a Job, i.e. as a way of making a living. It can also be viewed as a Career, i.e. a way to trace one's progress throughout life by advancement in occupation. Or it can be seen as a Calling, i.e. work is morally inseparable from one's life (Bellah et al., 1996, p. 66). Thus, both scholarly works propose

an approach to work based on internal reasons for working. Although, Blustein's (2006) research is based on an interest in the psychological aspects of working, and Bellah et al.'s (1996) research is based on a more sociological interest in why individuals work.

To some degree, the present study relies on the above-mentioned literature, as the present study agrees that individuals can approach work in various ways. Both Blustein (2006) and Bellah et al. (1996) suggest three reasons behind working (p. 22; p. 66). As argued in the introduction, the researchers presented an assumption stating that the salary within the discussed industry was not of great importance to the members; however, as also presented in the introduction, still a great majority of all managers in general believe that salary is of great importance. Thus, the researchers find a lack in the knowledge of how work is approached and what is of the greatest importance to individuals as for the reason to work. Therefore, the researchers aim to find other reasons to why individuals work than a one-dimensional approach such as salary. The present study employs a multidimensional approach as a result of literature from Blustein (2006) and Bellah et al. (1996). For the purpose of this study, Bellah et al.'s (1996) distinction is used when talking about individuals' reasons for working. The distinction suggested by Bellah et al. is argued to be a very acknowledged and employed definition throughout research on the topic of job satisfaction as well as life satisfaction in general. Therefore, it will to a higher extent enable the researchers to connect the concept of satisfaction to the approach to work. Furthermore, the use of Bellah et al.'s definition facilitates a common thread with the other theories that have created the framework for this study as these also employ the concept of a Calling (e.g. Wrzesniewski et al. 1997; Ahn et al. 2017; Dik & Duffy 2009; Duffy et al. 2012;2013). The researchers of the present study argue that neither Blustein (2006) nor Bellah et al. (1996) make the connection between life satisfaction and approach to work. However, other scholars have connected Bellah et al.'s (1996) Job-Career-Calling distinction with satisfaction. Moreover, the researchers aim to draw on the concepts of identity and culture to be able make the connection between the approach to work and increased life satisfaction.

The researchers find certain limitations to the present literature on work attitudes and reasons for working. Blustein (2006) states that work serves as a way for individuals to create an identity and create coherence in their social interactions. Moreover, Blustein (2006) states that the meaning individuals attach to working is dependent on the cultural context they are in, as this context shapes and is shaped by the individual's experience of working (p. 3). However, identity and culture are still

not studied accordingly with why people work and how they approach work. Likewise, Bellah et al. (1996) have only studied how people approach work in terms of the distinction Job, Career and Calling, i.e. the concepts of identity and culture have not been incorporated in that study. Thus, the limitation to the previous literature appears as the way one approaches work is not studied in connection with one's identity and the cultural context one is in. The purpose of the present study is to elaborate on this limitation, i.e. investigate how one approach work and how this approach may be connected to and may influence one's identity, identity formation, the cultural setting, and cultural transformation.

Multiple researchers have relied on the distinction between Job, Career, and Calling in their studies of individuals' approach to work. One example is Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) who aimed at providing evidence of the usefulness of the Job-Career-Calling distinction (p. 23). Based on previous work Wrzesniewski et al. expected work satisfaction to be highest for Callings whereas lowest for Jobs. The study was based on a questionnaire, first the respondents read three paragraphs describing Job, Career, and Calling (in accordance with Bellah et al.'s (1996) definitions), the respondents then had to rate how relatable each of the three descriptions were with regard to their own attitude towards work. Next the respondents had to answer 18 true-false questions related to their connections with work; 5 were intended to investigate behaviors related to work, and 13 where intended to investigate feelings about work. Finally, the respondents had to rate their satisfaction with their lives, health, and jobs (in accordance with Campbell et al.'s (1976) definitions). The study included 196 respondents. Some were employees of a large state university student health service and some were non-faculty employees of a small liberal arts college; the two work sites where studied at different times. All respondents worked at least 35 hours per week. 79% of the respondents were female, the respondents varied with regard to occupation and the average age was 42 years. The respondents were put in the category corresponding to the description they rated highest in the first part of the questionnaire. The true-false responses as well as the responses regarding satisfaction were examined in order to confirm or reject the expectation about a correlation between the answers in the three parts of the questionnaire (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997, pp. 23-27). The study concluded that there was a correlation between higher life, health, and work satisfaction and viewing one's work as a Calling (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997, p. 29). Furthermore, Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) argued that the concepts did not each relate to a specific type of work, within one work-sector individuals with all three approaches to work could be found, although, certain occupations might find more examples of one of the approaches (p. 22).

Another example is Duffy et al. (2012), whose purpose was to explore the links between different variables and the perceptions of work as Calling and job satisfaction (p. 51). For the purpose of the study, 201 respondents across a variety of occupations were recruited; by contacting federal and consulting organizations in Washington, DC as well as through an online data-collection service called Mechanical Turk. 89 respondents were female and 110 were male, two of the respondents did not report gender. The study investigated different variables in order to determine their correlation with work as a Calling and job satisfaction. Whether the respondents perceived a Calling was based on two questions they had to rate on a 5-point scale - scores from these were all added together for a total presence of Calling score. Whether the respondents had job satisfaction was based on five questions they had to rate on a 7-point scale - these scores were summed for a total job satisfaction score. The respondents' commitment to their occupation was measured through seven questions the respondents had to rate on a 5-point scale - the scores were added for a total career commitment score. The degree to which the respondents acquired meaning from their work was measured using the work purpose subscale (four questions) and the work comprehension subscale (three questions), all rated on a 7-point scale. These scores were all added together for a total work meaning score. Finally, the degree to which the respondents were living their Calling was measured through six questions the respondents had to rate on a 7-point scale - the scores were summed for a total living calling score (Duffy et al., 2012, pp. 52-53). Duffy et al. found that living a Calling was the significant link between perceiving a Calling and work meaning. They found that high career commitment and work meaning were important for perceiving a Calling to be linked with job satisfaction, however, only for individuals who had a strong sense that they were living their Calling. Thus, as the sense of living a Calling increased, so did the strength of the connection between perceiving a Calling and experiencing commitment to one's work. The present study relies on the distinction between perceiving and living a Calling as presented by Dik and Duffy (2012). As the purpose of the present study is to investigate how one approaches work in order to increase life satisfaction, the distinction between living a Calling and perceiving a Calling is argued to be suitable and relevant for the purpose of the present study.

Finding one's calling is an ongoing process, one has to evaluate the purpose and meaningfulness of the activities one is engaging in within one's occupation, and whether one is contributing to the common good of society (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 429). As one goes through life - and thus, careers - one matures and develops one's occupational self-concept. Hence, one learns more about oneself and

the jobs that are suited for one, i.e. it is a process of personal growth (Ahn et al., 2017, p. 48). In a qualitative study, Ahn et al. (2017) aimed at examining Calling in regard to career transitions (p. 50). The study was conducted with 8 adult workers who had changed their career within the past three years or who were currently changing their career. Five of the respondents were male and three were female. The respondents had to perceive that their career change was related to Calling. The study was based on 16 interview questions related to the respondents' life and work history, career transition experience, and their personal experience of perceiving a Calling (Ahn et al., 2017, p. 51). With regard to the respondents' life and work histories, Ahn et al. (2017) found that almost all participants reported negative work experience in previous jobs, which they did not identify as a Calling. With regard to the respondents' career transition experiences, it was found that the participants were able to understand their Callings through in-depth self-exploration, i.e. the more they understood about themselves, the clearer their Callings became. Finally, with regard to the respondents' experience of perceiving a Calling, it was found that a Calling was defined according to four categories: fulfillment, serving others, spiritual and intuitive feelings, and a part of self-identity (Ahn et al., 2017, pp. 53-55). Conclusively, Ahn et al. (2017) found that all participants expressed a higher level of satisfaction with their current careers, i.e. careers with a sense of Calling (p. 55). The present study relies on empirical data illustrating that the great majority of interviewees did experience one or more career changes through life. Accordingly, the present study relies on Ahn et al.'s (2017) findings in regard to career development and thus, exploring one's Calling through time.

Little research have connected the three approaches (Job, Career, and Calling) with motivational orientations. However, the researchers find this connection interesting for the purpose of this study, as this brings another dimension to the individuals' reasons for working and their attitudes towards work. Moreover, this may be a critical feature in differentiating the three approaches. Hence, it is pursued to study whether motivation can be linked to one's approach to work. Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) did investigate the relations between two motivational orientations (intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation) and the three approaches as defined by Bellah et al. (1996) (1997, p. 23). The two motivational orientations employed by Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) were suggested by Amabile et al. (1994). According to Amabile et al. (1994) workers can feel motivated by either intrinsic motivation, i.e. motivation to work because it is interesting, engaging, or satisfying, or by extrinsic motivation, i.e. motivation to work because it brings rewards or recognition (p. 950). Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) predicted that intrinsic motivation would be more closely linked with Callings, and

extrinsic motivation would be more closely linked with Jobs - and that Careers would fall somewhere in the middle, although closer to extrinsic than intrinsic motivation (p. 23). However, according to Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) the three approaches are not neatly linked with the intrinsic-extrinsic orientations (p. 23). Nevertheless, Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) suggest that future research should relate the two motivational orientations with the three approaches to work (p. 32). Thus, the researchers aim to expand on the research of connecting the intrinsic-extrinsic distinction to the Job-Career-Calling distinction.

The researchers have decided to develop the present research as they found a lack in previous research. The literature on the approach to work presented above have a unilateral approach to the research with a great focus on the Job-Career-Calling distinction. The present study aims at a rather multilateral approach, as it examines whether there are even more aspects to the search for life satisfactions through one's work and occupation. Thus, the researchers investigate identity and culture's effects on one's approach to work. The identity creation works as a result of an ongoing process (Ashforth, 1998, as cited by Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1164). The present study is built in accordance with this premise that one's identity is better understood in terms of becoming rather than being, which fits the assumption of Calling as an ongoing process of developing one's occupational self-concept. An analysis of the identities brings an understanding of the individuals within the industry, i.e. their ideas about themselves, their values etc. Furthermore, an analysis of the culture brings an understanding of the industry in general, i.e. what is shared within the industry? However, identity and culture are interrelated and will inevitably affect one another. It is argued that identity and culture bring another dimension to this study, and a deeper understanding of the industry, and thus, enable the researchers to make an informed suggestion regarding the members' approach to work.

2.3. DISENTANGLING THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

The researchers aim for a better understanding of the identities of the individuals within the wine industry in order to better understand why they work and how this affect their life satisfaction. However, identity is a hard concept to pin down, thus, the researchers have found it necessary to theorize what the concept of identity implies and how an identity may change over time.

Several studies suggest different definitions of identity. Fearon (1999) argues how 'complicated' and 'unclear' the term identity is and examines how the term is employed and defined differently amongst several researchers: "Identity is people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (Hogg & Abrams, 1998, as cited by Fearon, 1999, p. 4); "the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture" (Deng, 1995, as cited by Fearon, 1999, p. 4); "Identity is any source of action not explicable from biophysical regularities, and to which observers can attribute meaning" (White, 1992, as cited by Fearon, 1999, p. 5). Fearon (1999) presents even more definitions on the concept of identity indicating how differently the concept is employed. Thus, the theorization on identity is confusing and hard to get a comprehensive overview of. For the purpose of this study, the researchers aim to use the concept of identity to understand the individuals within the industry based on their own understandings of themselves. Therefore, subjectivity captures that element of identity that the researchers are trying to describe for the purpose of uncovering the approach to work. The definition of identity employed in this study is therefore inspired by Cerulo's (1997) definition referring to the subjective meanings and experiences one has (as cited by Alvesson et al., 2008, pp. 14-16). The researchers define identity as how one perceives and describes oneself and how one acts and behave.

As mentioned earlier, it is argued that identity creation is an ongoing process. Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) aimed at studying how identity is expressed. The study investigated one single individual, a senior manager in a large R&D company (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003, p. 1165). It was conducted as a case study; focusing on the specific individual on one hand, and on the organization where she worked on the other. The study employed long-term fieldwork for more than a year, where the senior manager was studied in depth, i.e. the researchers observed her, they conducted six interviews with her, and had multiple informal discussions with her. Moreover, the researchers conducted 40 interviews with other managers about the senior manager and attended 14 meetings in the organization (2003, pp. 1169-1170). During the research, Sveningsson & Alvesson (2003) found that identity construction was affected by the organizational discourses and likewise an individual's identity affected the organization in which it was operating. Thus, they argued that the identity creation was an ongoing process as the two levels worked interdependent (2003, p. 1187). The researchers rely on this approach to identity creation; one purpose of the present study is to

understand the becoming of identity and thereby also the identity creation and transformation which may appear during the study.

The transformation of one's identity happens as a result of changes in behavior and understanding of self as well as the social settings in which one is operating in. Previous literature and research illustrate how researchers have aimed at understanding the formation of self continuously; one example of research is Cain (1998) who considered the transformation of identity as a group of individuals were becoming alcoholics by learning not to drink. Cain (1998) studied a group of individuals becoming members of Alcoholics Anonymous, AA. (p. 66). Cain (1998) examined how an organization assisted individuals in transforming their own identity by putting themselves into a new social setting, i.e. the organization, AA. As Cain found that the individuals were able to change and transform their identity, she also argued that parts of one's identity always remained the same: "...once one is an alcoholic one remains an alcoholic for the rest of one's life." (Cain, 1998, p. 70). As a result, she found that if the process of formatting a new identity is supposed to be successful one must also change behavior. By allowing for a change in one's behavior to happen, one will also change the understanding and the interpretation of self (Cain, 1998, pp. 72-74). The researchers of the present study agree with Cain's argument. Thus, for the purpose of the present study the researchers propose that a change in behavior is necessary for an identity formation. However, the researchers of this study argue that the transformation studied above to a high extent is obvious in the terms of significance, e.g. formating from being drinking to not drinking. Furthermore, the study by Cain examined a rather conscious transformation. On the other hand, the present study aims at investigating transformations of selves that are not as obvious as the presented case study, hence, this study examines a rather unconscious formation of self.

The researchers apply the concept of identity to the present study to give an in-depth understanding of how the individuals of the wine industry perceive themselves and describe themselves based on how these individuals act and behave. Moreover, the researchers investigate the concept of identity formation with regard to the individuals of the wine industry in order to understand the individuals' learning of the culture within the industry and how this affects their identities. The researchers argue that individuals do carry something with them into any setting, but that the setting also matters.

2.4. DISENTANGLING THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

The researchers propose that a more profound understanding of the culture within the wine industry enables the researchers to determine what is shared within the industry, i.e. do the individuals have similar reasons for working, and thus, a similar approach to work. The culture is the setting the individuals encounter, therefore, it is necessary to investigate what this setting is to understand how it affects the identities of the members of the wine industry. Culture is as hard to pin down as identity, thus, the researchers found a necessity to theorize what the concept implies and how a culture may transform over time.

Culture is how a group of individuals define themselves as a group, i.e. to some degree it is argued to be a group identity. Culture has been defined in various ways over the years. According to American anthropology in the 1920s culture was defined as a system of values and behaviors, and according to British anthropology in the 1920s culture was defined as the products and consequences of action of symbolic activity (Baldwin et al., 2006, p. 5). According to Baldwin et al. (2006), these various definitions of culture are the effects of culture being a sign in the semiotic sense; culture is a sign which means it depends on who fills it with meaning. Because of this, culture is a moving target; the link between the signifier (culture) and the signified (what culture represents) shifts (p. 4). Thus, what makes culture such a complicated concept to define is that one's perspective on culture determines one's definition of what a culture is and who the members of this culture are. For the purpose of this study, the researchers aim to use the concept of culture to understand what is distinct about the individuals within the wine industry, i.e. what features are shared between the members. Thus, shared meanings and ideas captures that element of culture that the researchers are trying to describe for the purpose of uncovering their approaches to work. Therefore, the present study relies on the definition of culture as proposed by Edgar Schein (1990). Schein is a former professor at MIT Sloan School of Management, he has achieved a Ph.D. in social psychology, and is especially known for his mark on the field of organizational development ("Edgar Schein"). Schein suggested a definition of culture as:

"...a pattern of basic assumptions, invented, discovered, or developed by a given group, as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integrations, that has worked will enough to be considered valid, and, therefore, is to be taught to new members as the correct was to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Schein, 1990, p. 111)

The definition of culture employed in this study is inspired by Schein's definition, thus, the researchers define culture as a set of shared values and beliefs within a group of individuals. Additionally, the present study relies on the approach that culture is how a group of individuals has learned to solve problems and how to deal with issues; these norms shared within the group of individuals are taught to new members as they become a part of the group (Schein, 1990, p. 111). This corresponds to the researchers' perception that learning a culture inevitably require some form of identity transformation.

It is argued by the researchers that the discussed industry share a culture. Schein (1990) argues that any definable group of individuals who share a history can have a culture (p. 111). It is argued that the wine industry has a shared history and is tied by common activities across the industry, why the present study examines the wine industry as a culture.

Since culture is such a hard concept to define, it can be useful to categorize it into different aspects within culture. Schein distinguishes between three levels of culture: observable artifacts, values, and basic underlying assumptions. These levels describes the way a culture defines itself and how it behaves. Schein (1990) found that in order to understand a culture one must always investigate all three levels of the culture (p. 111). He furthermore argued how the interconnections between these three levels define the essence of the culture. The researchers agree that to understand a culture it is important to look at various levels of the culture. Schein's (1990) definition of culture encapsulates these shared values, assumptions and artifacts that, according to the researchers, make up a social setting.

One could argue that Schein's (1990) levels of culture oversimplify the concept of culture. However, according to Linnenluecke & Griffiths (2010), his work is not too simplistic as it includes various concepts and cultural dimensions, and that he has developed a useful framework for categorizing important dimensions within a culture (p. 358). For the point of purpose for the present study, the theory and definition by Schein (1990) have been employed in order for the researchers to present and understand a specific culture, i.e. the wine industry. As the present study has an inductive approach, the point of the research is to make generalizations on the basis of the collected empiricism.

Thus, the researchers aim to categorize certain dimensions of the culture in the wine industry, and therefore, find Schein's (1990) work suitable for this purpose.

As with identity, culture may also transform. Meyerson and Martin (1987) argue that cultural changes emphasize changes in behavior, values and meanings, i.e. the change of culture happens as a result of changes in patterns of behavior etc. (Pp. 623-624). Some researchers focus on the change in basic assumptions, arguing that change, often commanded by the leader, in underlying assumptions may lead to cultural change (Schein, 1985, as cited by Meyerson & Martin, 1987, p. 628). The researchers who view cultural change in this perspective, oftentimes have a leader-centered view on change (Meyerson & Martin, 1987, p. 630). However, the present study takes another approach as the researchers do not approach cultural change as leader-centered, i.e. this study considers external factors to have a part in cultural change, however, also affected by one internal dominant culture. The present study previously defined culture as shared beliefs and values within a certain group of individuals, especially, focusing on underlying assumptions as crucial for a culture to define itself. However, the study takes another approach in regard to the cultural change, as this is not viewed only to happen as changes happen in the basic assumptions of culture. The present study is not the only research which does combine different approaches, e.g. Lawrence & Borsch (1967). As opposed to other researchers (e.g. Schein who emphasizes consensus of a culture rather than disagreement), Lawrence & Lorch (1967) approach culture as to a higher extent to emphasize disagreement rather than agreement between members. However, Lawrence & Lorsch also approach cultural change as to happen internally (as similar to Schein) (1967, as cited by Meyerson & Martin, 1987, p. 631). Thus, Lawrence & Lorsch is combining different approaches to culture and cultural change (Meyerson & Martin, 1987, p. 631) too. The main reason for the combined approach applied to this study, is the fact that the researchers view external factors with great importance, why the cultural change is argued to be of great complexity (Meyerson & Martin, 1987, p. 631-633). Thus, the present study does not approach cultural change as leader-centered however, the study approaches cultural change as influenced by inside factors, e.g. the internal environment as members, managers, etc., as well as external factors, e.g. education, legislations, tendencies etc.

The researchers incorporate the concept of culture to the present study to give a deeper knowledge of what is shared within this particular social setting. Since the wine industry is argued to share a culture this enables the researchers to understand the reasons behind working and the approach to work

within the industry. Furthermore, the researchers investigate the concept of cultural transformation and how this has affected the approach to work within the industry.

The past chapter provides the baseline of the present study. The identities amongst the members of wine industry as well as the culture within the wine industry are analyzed in order to figure out what these individuals share. The study aims to investigate what the individuals have carried with them into the culture, and how this might have transformed the culture. Moreover, to examine how learning the culture may have transformed their identities. Based on this, the researchers investigate the reasons for working within the members of the wine industry. Finally, the researchers aim to become able to define the approach to work within the wine industry.

3. DELIMITATIONS

The present study aims at answering the presented problem formulation, *How can individuals approach work in a way that increases life satisfaction?* In the process of making this study, the researchers realized a set of delimitations to a number of areas within the study. These delimitations are acknowledged as necessary to limit the work of the researchers to a narrow field in order to provide a streamlined and focused outcome.

As mentioned this study has its pivotal point of focus on the UK wine industry. This is defined by the researchers as including individuals whose primary place of work is located in the United Kingdom and whose primary work tasks are related to wine. Hence, the researchers include all individuals who work with wine as their predominant area of work, i.e. within writing, consultancy, rating, data, and trading - in regard to wine. Thus, individuals who work with wine as a subordinate area of work are not included in the definition of the wine industry applied in the present study. For example, individuals who work in a bar are not included in this definition. Although they do occasionally sell wine, they also sell other kinds of beverages, and wine is therefore not their primary area of work.

It is complicated to get an exact overview of an industry like the wine industry, since so many different professions are encapsulated in the definition. However, a rough overview of the members of the industry is beneficial to get a general understanding of the industry, although it should be emphasized that the numbers are not necessarily based on the same definition of the wine industry as the one employed in the present study, therefore, these numbers merely provide a rough estimate. According to The Wine and Spirit Trade Association, there were 172,000 individuals directly employed in wine in the UK in 2017 ("WSTA Market"). For a frame of reference, there were a total of approximately 32 million employed individuals in the UK in 2017 (Clegg, 2018). Irrespective of this, the wages in the UK wine industry are considerably lower than the general salary in the UK. According to Walshe, who runs a recruitment consultancy for jobs in the wine trade, individuals who

choose to switch from another industry to the wine industry will usually see a salary drop from around £60,000-£70,000 per annum to around £30,000 per annum (Bridge, 2003).

In the following of this study the industry are merely referred to as the wine industry, nevertheless, whenever the term 'wine industry' is applied the researchers hereby refer to the UK wine industry. 'Work' in this study refers to an occupation which gainfully employs the individuals studied full-time. Furthermore, 'work' in this study implies that the individuals are being paid for the work that they execute.

Another delimitation in the present study regards the time frame applied to the research. The research for this study has its initial beginning in September 2018, where the researchers encountered the industry and began observing. Thus, the time frame starts in September, 2018 and up until the end of this study, i.e. when the paper is finished, approximately in the Summer, 2019. However, as much of the empirical data relies on the interviewees retrospective elements occur as well. The majority of the interviewees have been part of the industry for a longer period of time, why elements from before September, 2018, will most certainly be included to this study as well.

In accordance with the problem formulation the researchers found it necessary to suggest a definition of 'life satisfaction' which is employed in the present study. 'Life satisfaction' is a concept related to one's experience of life, i.e. it is regarded as a subjective concept. 'Life satisfaction' in this study implies well-being, happiness, satisfaction, and positivity towards one's life conditions; joy, positive emotions, a general appreciation about one's life conditions, and general feeling of fulfilment. Previous studies, e.g. *The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfactions* by Angus Campbell et al. (1976), have decided not to imply the concept of 'happiness' when defining 'life satisfaction'. Campbell et al. (1976) argue that the opposite of 'happiness' is 'sadness' whereas the opposite of 'satisfaction' is 'frustration' (p. 8). However, the present study argues that the opposite of 'satisfied' is 'miserable' and thereby implying 'sad'; in **chapter 7** the present study offers a verification by the means of a comparison. In this comparison, the concept of being 'miserable' as opposed to being 'satisfied' is employed. Thus, the present study does imply the concept of 'happiness' when defining life satisfaction.

Finally, the researchers found some acknowledgements in regard to the discussion in this study necessary. In order to verify the analysis in the present study the researchers finalize the study with a comparison of a different approach to work. The researchers compare the present study with the work of Graeber in *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory* (2018). The two studies take two very different angles of approach to the study of the effects of work. However, Grabber's (2018) study is argued to be appropriate precisely because of the differences, which makes the comparison interesting. Graeber has collected a comparable amount of data to make his points interesting to compare to the present study. Although, Graeber's data collection is vastly different than that of the present study. Furthermore, the two studies take their point of departure in different geographical locations. The present study is concentrated around the UK. On the other hand, Graeber did not specify any geographical location as the pivotal point of his work. Nevertheless, no geographical locations have been specified in the problem formulation, thus, it is argued that the differences in geographical locations are of no matter to the study.

In conclusion, the delimitations are argued to be beneficial to this study in order to reach a final result and in order to make a conclusion to the research done.

4. THEORY OF SCIENCE

4.1. THE LAYERS AND EFFECT OF THE THEORY OF SCIENCE

There are a number of considerations that one should examine before the collection and analysis of data. These considerations influence one's collection of data, analysis hereof and the conclusions one will draw. Saunders et al. (2016) have illustrated this as a research onion; one needs to consider the outer layers before getting to the core (p. 122).

FIGURE 2: THE RESEARCH ONION

Source: Adapted from Saunders et al. 2016, p. 124
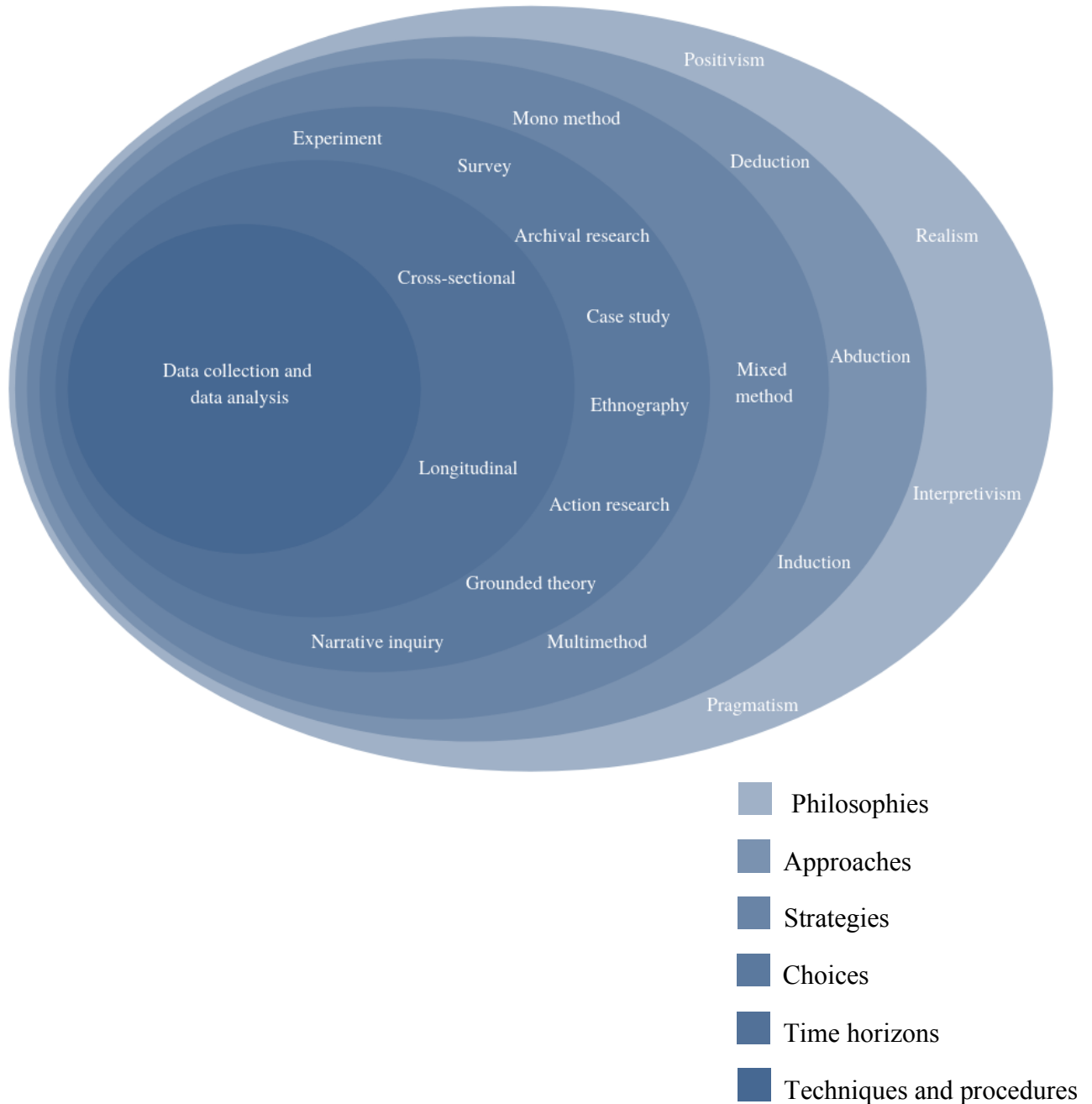
The research onion creates the structure of the methodological considerations of this study. The two outer layers - the research philosophies and research approaches - are expanded on in this chapter, whereas, the next three layers - the methodological choice, research strategy, and time horizons - are elaborated on in **5. Methodological Framework**.

4.2. THE THEORY OF SCIENCE AS THE BACKGROUND FOR THE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In accordance with the layers of the research onion the first thing that should be examined is the research philosophy. The research philosophy is the theoretical baseline that constitutes the foundation of this study. The theory of science continuously affects the outlook on the data that has been collected in this study, therefore, it is important to address the theory of science that will be the reasoning behind the handling of the data.

The ontology and epistemology that one adheres to determine the theory of science that is used to view the research. Thus, these aspects can have concrete consequences when it comes to the way the subject of one's research is reflected upon. Ontology is connected with the study of the very nature of reality, whereas epistemology is connected with the study of knowledge (Nygaard, 2012, pp. 10-11). Hence, the ontology is connected with the *what* of the study, and the epistemology is connected with the *how* of the study.

The ontology and epistemology determine the methodology of the study as well as how the researchers obtain knowledge. The theory of science is one's scientific stance and is therefore connected with what research will be examined and how the research will be examined.

4.2.1. THE THEORY OF SCIENCE FOR THIS STUDY: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM

This study seeks to understand how the researchers' perception of reality is continuously reconstructed during the research of the wine industry. Therefore, the research are viewed in the light of social constructivism. Consequently, the ontology is relative, i.e. what is argued to be the truth in this study is based on the perspective on the truth. The epistemology is subjective (Nygaard, 2012, p. 124), i.e. no objective truth can be uncovered in this study.

As the name implies, social constructivism considers the reality to be a social construction. Individuals within a certain group can reach an agreement on what is the truth, however, there is no objective truth, i.e. it is a social construction created within this group at a certain point in time (Harnow Klausen, 2016, p. 174). According to Berger and Luckmann (1991), the reality is

distinctively different depending on social and cultural conditions, i.e. it is a social reality (p. 27). Hence, researchers cannot find an objective truth, they construct it based on their social reality.

There are multiple degrees of social constructivism that differ with regards to which parts of the reality are social constructions and which exist objectively (Harnow Klausen, 2016, p. 174). For the purpose of this study, it is argued that only the social dimensions are constructed. Thus, it is argued that a physical reality that can be explored does exist (individuals who work with wine), however, the researchers believe that their knowledge of the physical reality is a social construction. The knowledge of individuals who work with wine is not an objective representation of the physical reality, but is created through interactions with other individuals. This is true for the interactions with individuals who work with wine (e.g. the interviewees, colleagues during the internships, the people met during the event as well as each other). However, it is also created through interactions with family and friends regarding this study during the course of its coming into existence. Furthermore, it is argued that this is applicable to other individuals' knowledge of people who work with wine, i.e. their knowledge of this is also a social construction.

Below a continuation of the research onion is presented in **Table 1**. The table provides a further understanding of how the first presented layer of the research onion affect the further process of work and stance throughout the research. The presented choices in the table will be further discuss during the chapters to follow.

TABLE 1: THE LINK BETWEEN THE THEORY OF SCIENCE, THE METHOD, AND THE THEORY

Source: The researchers' own creation

Paradigm	**Constructivism**
Analytical Design	**Explorative**
Analytical Method	**Qualitative**
Question Foundation	**Interview Guide**
Type of Question	**Open-ended/Themes**
Quality of Data	**Triangulation**
Approach to Theory	**Inductive**
Theoretical Objective	**Process**
Theoretical Aim	**Reflection**

4.3. THE PROCESS OF DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

The next layer of the onion is concerned with one's approach to research. One's reflections on the data affect the way one moves from a certain research foundation to the conclusion. In that regard, there are three forms of conclusion that one can use to draw reliable conclusions, i.e. deduction, induction, and abduction.

For the purpose of this study, the form of conclusion has been inductive. The aim is to draw general conclusions on the basis of the collected empiricism, although this is simply observations of a number of isolated cases. The conclusions will not be the only logical solution based on the research, however,

the researchers believe that it is possible to draw general conclusions based on the empiricism collected in this study. As mentioned above, the researchers do not believe that it is possible to uncover an objective truth in this study, the reflections on the truth are constructed between the researchers and the observed individuals from whom the qualitative data have been collected.

5. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1. PRESENTING THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Consistent with the research onion, the following expands on the methodological choice as well as the research strategies employed in this study. In accordance with the theoretical baseline, this study follows a qualitative methodical research design. Since the study is framed in the light of social constructivism, the approach is considered to be subjective.

5.1.1. VALIDATING THE DATA: TRIANGULATION

Although no objective truth can be uncovered in this study, it is still of great importance to ensure the credibility of the findings. To ensure the validity of the empirical data, the strategy of triangulation has been employed for the purpose of this study.

Triangulation is a strategy where multiple measurement points are used to confirm one's findings. One can confirm one's findings by using multiple methods, multiple sources of data, multiple investigators, and multiple theories (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, pp. 244-245). Using multiple sources of data helps validate the research findings. If one was to only use one form of data, it would be limiting as it would make the study very unilateral. Moreover, the researcher might miss important points or over-emphasize irrelevant points when only viewing the topic based on one measurement point.

With regard to this study, multiple methods of data collection have been used to ensure the validity of the findings. The data have been collected through three methods: it is predominately based on a number of interviews, subsequently on internships in the discussed industry as well as participation in an event relevant to the discussed industry.

5.1.2 COLLECTING DATA THROUGH ORAL HISTORIES

The oral histories are collected through interviews. The objective with this study is to make sense of the members of the discussed industry: of their behavior and of their thoughts in regard to the industry. Therefore, the data collection focused on the members' own understanding of their lives and the industry, i.e. getting the members' life stories.

As argued by Yow (2005), recorded in-depth interviews may be defined in several ways: recorded memoir, life history, life narrative, taped memories etc. (p. 5). In regard to this study, the applied definition of the term oral history is: recorded in-depth interviews, i.e. the term 'oral history' is used to describe the method of the conducted interviews. Regardless of the different terminologies, the term implies that someone else is involved and frames the topics and thereby inspires the interviewee to start remembering and jogging memory; someone, the interviewer, then records and presents the interviewee's words (Yow, 2005, p. 4).

As argued by Linde (1993) life stories express our sense of self; life stories are used to understand who we are and how we got that way (p. 3). Life stories are social and oral units exchanged between people, and with regard to this paper the units are exchanged by the members, the interviewees, and the researchers, the interviewers.

Furthermore, life stories are argued to be discontinuous units as life stories are usually told in several pieces over a long period of time (Linde, 1993, p. 3). In terms of this study, the stories have only been told once to the interviewers, however, it is acknowledged that the interviewees have told their own stories in separate pieces over time.

Linde (1993) argues that for some people their work constitutes a large part of their understandings of their own lives (p. 4). Additionally, the fourth assumption presented in the introduction: *Individuals most often identify themselves in regard to their occupation,* corresponds to this. In this study, work has also played a dominant part. Although the interviews' general focus was on the interviewees' lives this was in connection with the wine industry. A lot of the questions were related to the interviewees' jobs and reflection on this.

5.1.2.1. THE STRUCTURE OF THE INTERVIEWS

One factor that may affect the empirical data is the structure of the interview. The purpose of the interviews was to get the best understanding of the industry and the behavior of the members. Therefore, the objective was for the interviewees to do the primary part of the talking, and the interviewers' jobs were solely to provide the interviewees with the maximum opportunity to tell their stories. The interviewers would initially take the conversational lead, and otherwise mainly intervene only when the interviewees stopped talking. Thus, the interviews were structured as semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions. The questions asked will inevitably affect the course of the interview. Questions can be used as a way to convey the power-balance and control in the relationship (Hargie, 2010, p. 121). Therefore, there is a variety of ways to ask questions depending on one's purpose. Open-ended questions have been used for the purpose of these interviews, as these leave a number of ways for the respondents to answer (Hargie, 2010, p. 124).

A list of questions was prepared in advance (Appendix 1), however, depending on the interviewee and how the conversation evolved sometimes questions were omitted and sometimes questions outside the interview structure were added.

It is argued that collecting empirical data through semi-structured interviews enables a greater understanding of the underlying concept of the interviewees' actions and behaviors (Saunders et al., 2016, p. 391). This was also the objective for this study. It is argued that the loose structure of the interviews created the optimum basis to learn about the wine industry. This is due to the fact that it allowed for the interviewees to say everything that came to mind, and thus, maybe answer questions the interviewers would never have asked. This caused the interviews to differ, and contain substories from the interviewees' lives. The interviewers would go in the direction the conversation naturally led them.

The interviews focused on the place the interviewees were in their lives at the time of the interview, thus, the stories that are told display this. Even though the interviewees would look back at their lives when telling the researchers about the wine industry, it should still be emphasized that the place they were in life at the time of the interview affected the way they reflected on their lives and the industry.

The stories the interviewees told in the interviews are merely cross-sections from their lives (Linde, 1981, as cited by Quinn, 1982, p. 776). Thus, these interviews do not reveal everything these interviewees think about the wine industry, however, it is argued that it is representative of their views on the industry.

Some of the interviews were conducted face-to-face and others were not (the interviews were conducted through Skype, WhatsApp or in person). Those conducted through Skype and in person were face-to-face, those through WhatsApp were not. These differences are important to emphasize with regard to this study. The main difference is that in the cases of the interviews conducted via WhatsApp, non-verbal communication could not be observed and taken into consideration during the interview. However, mainly due to practicalities it was not possible to conduct all interviews in person or face-to-face. The interviewees spent their working time, nights off or weekends on these interviews, why the interviews were conducted on their conditions if at all possible, i.e. they were not asked to spend any further time on transportation in order to be in person and face-to-face. Geographical reasons have also been a reason for only one interview being conducted in person. The interviewees have been located all around the world at the time of the interviews, despite the fact that all interviewees work in the UK wine industry. Finally, some of the interviewees have asked specifically if the interviews could be conducted through WhatsApp, i.e. not as a face-to-face call. However, it is argued that the differences in the interviews conducted as face-to-face and the opposite are not noticeable, why interviews via WhatsApp have been accepted as well.

5.1.2.2. THE ANONYMITY OF THE INTERVIEWS

In order for the interviewees to speak freely, all interviews are anonymized. Names, company names, university names, names of colleagues and friends, names of smaller cities and countries are all replaced with pseudonyms so to mask the identities of the interviewees. In the cases where the interviewees refer to large countries which are often mentioned in regard to the global wine industry (e.g. Australia and France) these are not anonymized. The same goes for larger cities which a lot of the interviewees refer to (e.g. London and Mendoza).

All interviewees received a copy of the transcript of their own interview, before the publishing of this study, to make sure they are comfortable with how things read.

5.1.2.3. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS

Another factor affecting the empirical data is that all questions somehow contain assumptions or presuppositions (Fiedler, 2007, as cited by Hargie, 2011, p. 134). As mentioned, oral history research imply someone who frames the topics of the interview and thereby inspires the interviewees.

Although, the main objective was for the interviewees to talk for the majority part of the interviews, the semi-structured interview implies that questions are also asked. As mentioned above, a list of questions was prepared in advance (Appendix 1), however, it was not followed closely. It is inevitable that questions sometimes are framed in a certain way, due to the bias of the interviewers, and this might affect the way the interviewee answers the questions. In connection with this study, the interviewers worked as interns in the wine industry for multiple months before they started the interviews. Therefore, the interviewers had already started creating their perception of the industry. Moreover, this meant that the interviewers knew of some of the interviewees in advance as they have heard about them from the other employees in Organization B and Organization C. This shaped the bias that the interviewers entered the interviews with. Additionally, in regard to the first assumption mentioned in the introduction to this study, the researchers did frame the interview guide in regard to the assumption: *There is an unequal division in the number of men and women working in the wine industry.* This has resulted in a bias from the interviewees as well as the interviewers.

A researcher can never fully restrain from affecting the interviewees with the questions he/she asks, as well as the way he/she responds to the answers he/she gets from the interviewees. The researchers' bias can affect the way the questions are framed, however, the way the researchers interpret the responses from the interviewees can also be affected by the researchers' bias. Thus, it is possible that other researchers would collect different data and furthermore would interpret the data in a different way. Nevertheless, the researchers made a conscious effort to ask open-ended questions and do their best to not affect the answers of the interviewees. As far as possible, the researchers restrained from giving away possible answers and simply let the interviewees answer however way they would like.

It is also important to emphasize that the interviewees participated in these interviewees with certain biased opinions - just as the interviewers. The interviewees received a bit of information before the interview (Appendix 2), hence, the interviewees had certain expectations as for what the interview was going to revolve around.

In line with social constructivism, it is argued that a certain truth is created between the interviewers and the interviewees. The data presented from the interviews is thus a constructed truth, i.e. other interviewers would have uncovered another truth had they interviewed the same individuals about the same topic.

5.1.3. COLLECTING DATA THROUGH PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

The participant observations are conducted through internships. The observations are the results of two internships in different companies within the wine industry. The two companies will for the purpose of this study be referred to as Organization B and Organization C. Both organizations are anonymized for the ease of the employees.

As mentioned with regard to triangulation, the methodology of participant observations enables the researchers to verify or deny the answers from the interviewees.

The internships enabled a greater understanding of the industry as they allowed first-hand data to be collected through the observations. However, it is also important to emphasize the subjective approach to the gathering and analyzing of the data, as this affected the reflections on the empiricism. As mentioned in **chapter 4**, the knowledge of the wine industry is constructed in a collaboration between the researchers and the employees that were encountered during the internships.

The main purpose of participant observations is to gather information and knowledge about the culture and the structure of the community which are observed (Fine, 2015, p. 530). In the case of these internships, the purpose was to gain understanding of the culture and structure in the wine industry. This methodology requires that the researchers take part in daily activities to try to learn the explicit and tacit aspects of the community in question (Dewalt, 2010, p. 1). During the internships, the researchers took an active part in the culture that was observed, and it was possible to learn and understand explicit and tacit aspects of the discussed industry to a greater extent than other methodologies may have allowed.

There is a distinction between explicit culture and tacit aspects of culture; explicit culture is argued to be the level of knowledge that people are able to communicate about themselves (Dewalt, 2010, p. 1). Thus, the conducted interviews present what is defined as the explicit culture. As opposed to the explicit culture, the tacit aspects of culture are argued to remain outside of consciousness (Dewalt, 2010, p. 1). Therefore, the tacit aspects are harder to acquire knowledge about, however, it is possible to acquire knowledge of the tacit aspects of a culture through participant observation. When participating actively in the community that one is observing, it is argued to add to one's lived knowledge (Fine, 2015, p. 530). Thus, a more immediate understanding of the behaviors in Organization B and Organization C was gained by using this methodology.

The everyday conversations in the office, discussions at business meetings, small-talk at wine tastings etc. all worked as a form of informal interviews, i.e. added to the research data for this study.

5.1.3.1. CONDUCTING THE OBSERVATIONS

The internships took place in two organizations based in Central London in the period from September 2018 to December 2018.

The companies consisted of respectively nine and four full-time employees at the time of the internships.

The companies work within the area of 'trade and consultancy' and 'rating and data collection' respectively, therefore, the observations range from different sectors within the discussed industry.

The researchers did not keep field notes during the internships. Therefore, the records from the participant observation are merely based on memory. Due to this, no specific story lines or the like are reported on from during the participant observations. As mentioned above, the participant observations at the two organizations are used in order for the researchers to obtain lived knowledge about the wine industry. Thus, this form of data collection is not used to obtain knowledge of the employees' reactions to specific incidents for the purpose of this study, why the researchers did not find it necessary to keep field notes.

5.1.3.2. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE INTERNSHIPS

As mentioned above, the fact that the researchers actively engaged in the activities at Organization B and C while subsequently observing the culture, allowed for a deeper understanding of the explicit and tacit aspects of the cultures. However, it is important to emphasize the subjective approach to the research.

In keeping with the theoretical baseline of the study, it is argued that the understanding of the data has been systematically biased by prior knowledge. Although a deeper understanding of the culture was created by taking an active part in the social actions in Organization B and Organization C, it has also affected the outlook on the culture. The fact that the internships added to lived knowledge has created some blind spots for the researchers during the participant observations. As the researchers gained more and more knowledge of the organizations, they also become more oblivious to certain aspects, this happened because of the social constructions that were created.

In line with the social constructivism, it is argued that the knowledge of Organization C and Organization B is constantly constructed and reconstructed. The outlook on the culture is constructed by the researchers together with the employees in Organization B and Organization C. Nevertheless, the outlook is also constructed between the researchers and through interactions with friends and family regarding the internships - both during and after the course of the internships.

Before the internships, the researchers had biases towards the wine industry in general. The researchers had of course heard of the wine industry before, although none of the researchers knew anyone in the industry before the beginning of this study. The occasional things the researchers had heard or read about the industry had shaped a certain image of the industry. Nevertheless, the researchers entered the industry with an open mind and tried actively to encounter the industry and the members of the industry with a conscious openness and a willingness to let their bias' be rejected. Therefore, through the internships their perceptions were continuously constructed and reconstructed.

In relation to the researchers' personal bias, the companies' bias should also be emphasized. The companies will for obvious reasons have a subjective, positive attitude towards themselves, which will be reflected in the information that was gathered during the internships.

5.1.4. COLLECTING DATA THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELDNOTES

The ethnographic fieldnotes are the result of participation in an event. The event was arranged by a company that for the purpose of this study will be referred to as Organization A. The organization is anonymized for the ease of the members.

As mentioned with regard to triangulation, the methodology of ethnographic fieldnotes enable the researchers to verify or deny the answers from the interviewees and the internships.

The objective of ethnographic fieldnotes is for the researcher to get a written account of what he/she has seen in the field. However, it is quite common for ethnographers to feel torn between research engagements and engaging authentically with the people whose culture they are trying to observe (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 20). For the purpose of this study, it was also a balance of engaging and being present at the event, but also trying to observe and jot down everything about the culture at the event and behaviors of the participants.

A crucial point to emphasize with regard to ethnographic fieldnotes is the importance to show behavior rather than tell it (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 32). The researcher should not start to guess about the psychological explanations for the behavior as he/she is simply observing a scene and therefore has no way of knowing the factors that precede the actions (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 33). Therefore, the researchers were restricted to only writing down details about observed actions and not trying to guess on the contexts.

There are different styles of writing ethnographic fieldnotes. Two different styles are most commonly used; one is to participate in an event without writing notes, and one so to focus closely on events and making immediate notes (Emerson et al., 1995, pp. 23-24). As in regard to the ethnographic fieldnotes made for this project, the work has predominantly been to focus on the details at the event and making the notes immediately. The mode of participation enables very detailed records of the life studied, which was the purpose for participating in the event.

5.1.4.1. CONDUCTING THE FIELDNOTES

Organization A is a non-profit organization within the wine industry. The event took place on December 12, 2018.

The organization started taking shape in 2015. It arranges events that only women from the wine industry can attend. As the organization is based in London, UK, the events are mainly visited by women from the UK wine industry. However, the events are not excluding women from other countries and markets (Appendix 3).

The event was a panel discussion with three different speakers, all focusing on the expectations to 2019 in the wine industry. The event was held in the evening from 19:30 (UTC+1) till approximately 21:30 (UTC+1). There was an expense at £12 to participate in the event. The event started with approximately 30 minutes of informal small-talk, followed by approximately 1 hour with presentations from the three speakers, hereafter approximately 30 minutes of small-talk where people gradually left the event.

At the event, the speakers were standing in the front and the rest of the participants, including the researchers, were seated facing the speaker. The researchers were stationed at the very back of all participants, and were thereby able to make all jotting at computers without drawing too much attention to themselves and affecting the event.

Researchers are undecided as for whether it is important to tell participants about their intentions of recording events and experiences or not (Emerson et al., 1995, p. 21). Initially, only the founding members of Organization A knew that the researchers were participating in the event due to the fact that they were observing for a study. However, during the informal small-talk the researchers did notify everyone they spoke to about their study. Although they did not want the study to affect the event, nor did they want to keep it secret to the participants as they wanted to respect their privacy and possible desire to not reveal certain aspects of their lives.

5.1.4.2. WRITING OUT THE FIELDNOTES

Usually the researcher will write down jottings during the observation, and then return for the extensive written record afterwards (Emerson et al., 1995, pp. 19-20). This was also the case with

this research. Although the researchers took part in some of the small-talk, they also wrote down their immediate thoughts in notes during these informal parts of the evening. During the presentations, immediate notes were also jotted down. After returning home from the event the researchers wrote out the notes as a more detailed written account. Moreover, the researchers had been taking mental notes of certain details during the evening which were also written down immediately after the event.

All field notes were jotted down and written out separately. Afterwards, they were written into one condensed summary in Appendix 4.

5.1.4.3. THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE EVENT

As mentioned with both the interviews and the internships, it is important to emphasize the researchers' bias. The participation in the event took place after the researchers had worked in the wine industry for about three months, therefore, they had already acquired some knowledge about the industry.

Since the research is reflected on in the light of social constructivism, it is argued that the reflections during the events were a part of the social construction, but it was also reconstructed together with the women who participated in this event. It is argued that the bias that had been constructed during the internships, was also brought into the observation at this event. Hence, the perception that the researchers had already created of the industry inevitably affect the way the interviewers viewed this event. It is not possible to completely cast aside former bias and entering a new scene with a completely clean slate. Nevertheless, the researchers made a conscious effort to put their foregoing presuppositions aside when attending the event, knowing that this is never fully possible.

It is argued that the truth that has been discovered at this event is a social construction. Thus, the ethnographic fieldnotes are not an objective representation of the event but a subjective perception of it. Thus, inevitably the reflection on the data collected at the event is affected by the prior knowledge of the wine industry that had already been acquired, therefore, other individuals could have viewed the same event in another light.

5.1.5. COLLECTING DATA THROUGH ALTERNATIVE SOURCES

Alongside the above-mentioned methods of data collections, the researchers conducted an interview with one of the founders of Organization A, Woman 13. The interview was conducted through Skype on December 4, 2018. The data gathered from the interview was later summarized in Appendix 3. It is argued that the truth about Organization A that was uncovered in this interview was constructed in the researchers' interaction with Woman 13. Although, what she recounts about Organization A is regarded to be the truth about the organization, it should be emphasized that these facts are viewed in the light of a subjective reality. As mentioned with regard to the company's bias during the internships, this is also important to emphasize with regard to this interview. For obvious reasons, Woman 13 had a positive attitude towards Organization A and framed it accordingly.

Moreover, during the process of composing the study information is gathered from academic articles, books etc. This is done in order to support the claims with theoretical knowledge. In line with social constructivism, it is argued that this data and information is also a part of the subjective reality. Although this is argued to be the truth with regard to this study, it is a part of the constructed truth, since it has been reflected on from a subjective standpoint.

5.2. TIME HORIZON OF THE STUDY

The last layer of the onion deals with the time horizon of the study. There are two types of time horizons; a cross-sectional study or a longitudinal study (Saunders, 2016, p. 200).

As mentioned in **3. Delimitations**, this study deals with a limited time frame, thus, it is argued that the research is cross-sectional. The researchers studied multiple individuals over a short period of time, thus, the data collected in this study are snapshots of the culture in the wine industry.

6. TRIPARTITE ANALYSIS

The following chapter presents an analysis of the empirical data. The analysis is divided into three subchapters.

The first part of the analysis, **6.1. Finding Similarities: The Semantic Analysis**, works as an outline of the primary empiricism: the interviews. The purpose of this outline is to give the readers of this study a sense of what the interviewees said. The interviews came up with a very similar path which the researchers used in order to in the end conclude on the problem formulation: *How can individuals approach work in a way that increases life satisfaction?*

Second part of the analysis, **6.2. Elaborating On The Similarities**, works as a mean of respond to the final assumption presented in the introduction: *As a result of some factors, e.g. **culture and identity**, being present at one's workplace, one's life satisfaction will increase.* Thus, this part of analysis allows the researchers to confirm or deny that factors as culture and identity to a certain degree affect the way one approaches work. This part of the analysis elaborates on some of the semantic patterns found in the initial analysis; these patterns to a great extent indicate how the interviewees define themselves and the culture. In addition to the semantic patterns, the empirical data collected as ethnographic fieldnotes and participant observations are applied too.

The final part of the tripartite analysis, **6.3. Determining The Approach To Work**, works as a mean of analyzing the approach one has to work. This part of analysis allows the researchers to investigate the reasons why one works and what factors that may affect this. The first two parts of the analysis work as the baseline for this final part of analysis of the approach one has to work.

6.1. FINDING SIMILARITIES: THE SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, culture is defined as what is distinct about a group of people, i.e. shared values and beliefs. Within a culture there is also a sense of shared cultural knowledge, which differs from

people outside this culture. In that regard, it is interesting to look at how knowledge is represented, and how it is organized, within a certain culture. Certain words or phrases can be used to organize knowledge, and thus, understanding (Quinn, 1982, p. 776).

Therefore, the transcribed interviews are analyzed on the basis of several semantic patterns, the transcribed interviews are in Appendix 5. It is argued that there exists a script within the wine industry - the researchers saw it throughout all of the interviews. The same themes showed up throughout the interviews, and it is argued that this is a way of organizing knowledge within the industry. Thus, it is argued that these themes play a central role in the way in which cultural understanding is shared, and in which knowledge is embedded, in the wine industry.

The semantic analysis in this study is inspired by the work of Naomi Quinn in *"Commitment" in American Marriage: A Cultural Analysis* (1982). Quinn's study included 22 individuals in 11 marriages. All individuals were interviewed separately and extensively about their marriages and their own understandings of it. Quinn transcribed the first 8 hours of each interview, and occasional segments from the rest of the interviews were also transcribed. All transcripts were then analyzed for the purpose of achieving knowledge of individuals' understanding of their own marriage (Quinn, 1982, p. 776).

Quinn found that the majority of all interviewees employed the word 'commitment' in connection with their marriages. She found this to be an important word with regard to the interviewees' understandings of their marriages. Based on this, Quinn (1982) marked three distinct senses of the word commitment in regard to American marriage (p. 779).

Where Quinn focused on a single word in her study, this study deals with certain themes.

6.1.1. MANAGING THE DATA

This study emerges from research on individuals working within the wine industry's understanding of the industry. These individuals have obtained knowledge about the wine industry through simply working in the industry. Their knowledge have to do with their perceptions of what it is like to work in the industry, and it is this knowledge that this study focuses on.

As mentioned earlier, the interviews were conducted as oral history interviews. The interviews were conducted in the period extending from December 2018 to February 2019. All interviewees were approached through either email, LinkedIn or Instagram (Appendix 2) as the initial step towards the interview being conducted.

In total, 71 females were contacted. Of those, 18 females answered and finally this resulted in 12 female interviews. On the other hand, 43 males were contacted, 11 of those answered the initial request, and this resulted in 5 male interviews. Thus, the research is mainly based on a total of 17 interviews. The length of the interviews differed as the interviews were dependent on the interviewees and their understandings and perceptions of the wine industry. However, a rough average would be 45 minutes per interview.

6.1.1.1. DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES

The data are always affected by the demographics of the interviewees (Saunders et al., 2016, p. 445). The interviewees in this study represent a great diversity in order for the empirical data to be as representable as possible.

The youngest interviewee was 26 years old at the time of the interview, whereas the oldest interviewee was 69 years old at the time where the interview was conducted (Appendix 5). Furthermore, interviewees from different sectors of the industry have deliberately been chosen, thus, the interviewees range from sommelier, buyer, educator, writers etc. Moreover, the interviewees have very different educational backgrounds: some have studied psychology and others chemistry. However, most of the interviewees have graduated from university. Finally, some of the respondents have been in the industry their entire career, others have been in other industries before entering the wine industry.

A majority of the interviewees that were contacted were found on the international list of Master's of Wine ("Browse by country of residence"). That means a lot of the interviewees share this feature. However, there are 206 Master's of Wine in the UK ("Browse by country of residence") and they differ significantly with regard to educational background, age, occupation etc., which means there are still multiple differences between the UK Master's of Wine.

6.1.1.2. TRANSCRIBING THE INTERVIEWS

All interviews were audio-recorded with permissions of the participants. Afterwards, all interviews were transcribed (Appendix 5). As mentioned earlier, all transcriptions have been anonymized to protect the privacy of the interviewees.

During the process of transcribing, a set of fixed transcription conventions inspired by Charlotte Linde's *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence* (1993) was followed. The choice of transcription conventions very much depends on one's focus in terms of the outcome of the analysis (Ochs, 1979, as cited by Linde, 1993, p. xi).

The transcription system used in this study was very simplified. As mentioned earlier, the objective of the interviews was to get the interviewees' own stories and experiences, therefore, focus was on the words being said.

A convention used for these transcriptions was to only focus on the words being said and to leave out non-linguistic features of the dialogue which were argued to be of low importance to the study. Those features include someone entering the room, technical issues with devices, attention to objects etc. Moreover, the transcriptions did not include modifications such as pauses, laughing, lengthening of words etc. The transcription system only transcribed the words being said. However, all words being said were transcribed - even if these were repetitive.

Another convention used for the transcriptions was that personal conversation was left out. During some of the interviews there was a section of personal conversation, usually either before or after the semi-structured interview. It is argued that this was not relevant to this study, therefore, these sections were left out of the transcriptions.

The reasoning behind the conventions for the transcription of the interviews in this study was to make the transcriptions as simple as possible to ease the reading. In addition, it is argued that the more unfamiliar the transcription conventions are, the more readers tend to skip examples of transcriptions (Linde, 1993, p. xi).

6.1.2. APPROACHING THE DATA

As mentioned earlier, during the course of the interviews, this script that showed up over and over again was discovered. When discussing the wine industry, there were some semantic patterns about the values in the industry that everyone mentioned. It is argued that these themes play an important role in the individuals' understanding of the industry. These themes became the object of analytical attention because of the frequency they were used across different individuals from the industry.

Similarly, to Quinn (1982), the researchers found several similarities between the answers of the interviewees, therefore, a similar structure as Quinn's was employed. This study is not as linguistically focused as Quinn's analysis of the word 'commitment'. Therefore, only the structure of her study has been applied. As Quinn illustrated all three distinct senses with examples of quotes from the interviews, each of the patterns in this study will also be illustrated with examples from the conducted interviews.

13 semantic patterns were developed, which the researchers saw being repeated across the interviewees. It seems that the majority of the interviewees follow a fixed structure during their life and career which is illustrated by the means of patterns and examples in the following.

The patterns are mentioned with a capital first letter and in italic, to indicate that it is a particular concept. The names of the themed patterns are chosen as they best capture the meaning of the pattern, this does not mean that the pattern is necessarily mentioned with those exact words by the interviewees.

6.1.3. PRESENTING THE PATTERNS

The researchers discovered that most of the interviewees did not have anyone in their family who had a professional interest in wine, moreover, a majority came into the wine industry by a coincidence. Furthermore, the researchers discovered that a lot of the interviewees had either studied for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust certificate or the Master of Wine examination or both. In addition to this, the researchers saw that a lot of the interviewees who had passed the Master of Wine examination believed that this had made a difference in their lives that being professionally and/or personally. The researchers discovered that the interviewees really appreciated their jobs; they valued the differentiated work tasks, their specific job, the industry, their colleagues, and wine. However, a lot

of the interviewees expressed discontent with the pay-level in the industry. Nevertheless, a majority of the interviewees said that they expected to keep working in the wine industry for the rest of their professional life. The researchers also saw that a number of the interviewees described the wine industry as quite peculiar and not suited for everyone. Lastly, the researchers noticed that many of the interviewees would describe themselves as something connected with wine, i.e. either their job title or based on their education within wine.

The patterns are elaborated upon, using examples, in the following.

Pattern 1: *Do not have any family members in the wine industry*

As part of the interview structure the interviewees were systematically asked about whether they had any family members who had worked in the wine industry or who had an interest in wine that surpassed a general interest on an amateur-level. A majority of the interviewees did not have anyone in their families who had an interest in wine as anything other than just another beverage. Examples of Pattern 1 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 1

- Woman 1: "So I wasn't brought up with wine but I did love the whole restaurant culture and, everything that went with it."
- Man 2: "Well it's not that they didn't have an interest, I mean no, well to be honest they didn't. It wasn't an interest for them, it was just a drink while they were on holiday, particularly for my dad."
- Woman 2: "No wine background at all, no." and "...well my father in particular does love drinking wine, but he doesn't really have any further interest than that."
- Man 3: "But in terms of wine we had no real wine culture…"
- Woman 5: "But otherwise no, there was no real history of wine drinking. My grandfather had some nice wine but we only drank wine, really on Christmas and very special occasions."
- Woman 9: "Oh well my parents were sort of, well 1960s, really not much wine was drunk at home at all."
- Woman 10: "I mean they drink wine, we drink wine at home, but there has never been kind of an interest in that."

- Woman 12: "I wasn't aware of my parents drinking particularly nice wine or even really drinking that much, so that side of it didn't really come from my family."
- Man 4: "No, I can remember my parents really did not drink."
- Man 5: "I mean, they were just, you know, they weren't kind of, they didn't, their knowledge of wine wasn't that great, but they did enjoy drinking wine."

There were, however, evidence that contradict Pattern 1 to a certain degree. Although, the interviewees did not have any family members who worked or had worked in the wine industry, some of the interviewees did have someone in their families who had a rather professional interest in wine. Examples of contradictions to Pattern 1 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Contradictions To Pattern 1
- Woman 3: "I've always had an interest in beer and pubs and the drinks industry generally. My parents love wine, a big wine fridge at home. So, it was just a kind of natural move for me from here."
- Woman 4 (about her father): "Well I guess he's kind of into enjoying it… I wouldn't call him a collector, but he buys nice wines to drink."
- Woman 6: "And although my mother wasn't interested in wine, my father, none of my family are big drinkers, but my father was a wine-drinker of a certain generation."
- Woman 9: "Well my father was. I think my father was quite interested, but I think my tastebuds probably come from my mother."
- Woman 11: "And so I got into wine because my father has, never worked in the wine industry, but has, that's always been his like hobby, his passion."
- Woman 8 (about her father): "Yeah, I guess you can say it always started with a respect for culinary, for wine. It took me a long time to realize that I'd actually surpassed his understanding of wine."

Pattern 2: *Have chosen the wine industry at random*
A vast majority of the interviewees declared that they started working in the wine industry by a coincidence. Thus, the interviewees had not had the intention of working in the wine industry when they started their further educations. Examples of Pattern 2 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 2

- Man 1: "And then, then I got headhunted again to my current role… I run a private members club in London called Company 13. And we are a private members club where people enjoy their wine."

- Man 2: "And when I left university I always thought I'd become a teacher, but then I decided I didn't wanna be a teacher, and I decided to put together two things I enjoyed, French and wine to see whether I could make a, make a go at it."

- Woman 2: "…I mean, that decision to go into the wine trade was right, was a panic decision in a way. It was me at the end, literally, I finish my exams and I'm like what the hell do I do now."

- Man 3: "…I sold my first bottle of wine in 1982, so at an age of nearly 30 years, so before that there was not really a great interest in wine, so it was a surprise for me in a way to join the wine sector."

- Woman 4: "And it's actually my dad who suggested "What about learning more about wine?" and he put me in touch with someone who used to work for him, who lived in Bordeaux, still does."

- Woman 5 (about trying wine on an exchange in Italy): "And of course that was my epiphany which made me realise that wine was something more than just a liquid to have to meal but actually had a story behind and it had interest. And the rest of my life I've been trying to catch up."

- Woman 6: "And I stumbled into two or three weeks work sub-editing at Company 1. And I liked them, and they liked me and I kept going back…"

- Woman 7: "It was not to go into wine, it was to go into journalism."

- Woman 8: "After university because I had no idea what I wanted to do and they were offering a graduate scheme."

- Woman 9: "And you know, I was looking for jobs at the end of summer term and there there was this job with the wine society which is now the largest sort of internet wine merchant but then it was mail order." and "I certainly never thought. You know, wine wasn't something that sort of featured in career advice."

- Woman 10: "…at university, I drank wine but it was like the 3 bottles for 10 pounds volume, not the quality wine. And I basically thought it was for snobs, old men, people who wear red trousers, that kind of thing - not for me."

- Woman 11: "And so I got into wine because my father has, never worked in the wine industry, but has, that's always been his like hobby, his passion. There's a sort of well-known, what do you call it, multiple retailer in the UK called Company 1, and they do retail sort of a graduate management scheme in retail, so I signed up for that, and he suggested that to me."
- Woman 12: "And then I joined the wine trade. So I didn't want to become a chemist, I thought that was very boring, and so I got a temp job at one of my friend's father's wine merchant in London. And that's kind of how I discovered the world of wine."
- Man 4: "And then I worked a vintage at an English vineyard. OK, so this would be back in the late 80s. OK, and I thought "Well, I like this" and I liked working in a vineyard. The guys asked me back to work in the winery, and I just that point got the bug for wine and worked, at that point decided that's what I wanted to work in."
- Man 5: "Then I enrolled in kind of a university course in Mendoza, and that is actually when I got interested in wine, because obviously as you probably know there's, you know, the majority, you know, 90% of wines from Argentina are produced in the province of Mendoza."

Pattern 3: *Do various job tasks within the wine industry*

The interviewees stated that there was a diversity in the work assignments they did. As part of the interview structure, the interviewees were asked about a regular day of work. In that regard, most interviewees expressed difficulty with regard to defining a regular day because of the constant variety regarding work hours, work place, work task etc. Examples of Pattern 3 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 3
- Woman 1: "It tends to be very, very mixed."
- Man 2: "But these days, I do a mix of jobs…" and "No, I have to be totally flexible! I am fully self-employed, and I work entirely my own hours, there is absolutely no routine to my work."
- Woman 2 (when asked about whether she has any regular days): "No it's ridiculous."
- Woman 3: "So I've been here for about three years, and had three different roles." and "We have flexible working times"
- Woman 4: "But what's amazing is that as a team we kind of tend to dip into all putting all the different hats on, like who we are all the time." and "So my job is still very multifaceted, but yea, fun."

- Woman 5: "And yes, I am the buyer, as we are still a small company I'm still doing buying, logistics, sales admin, everything."
- Woman 6: "A lot of different things. It's stops me from getting bored." and "Cause it's the variety I enjoy."
- Woman 7: "It's very, it's very varied."
- Woman 8: "You know, so there are days where you start at 8 or 7 and you finish at midnight or there are days where it's flexible and can maybe have bit of a, until 10, you know what I mean."
- Woman 9: "I think that's the great thing you know, it is very, freelance is, it can be versatile."
- Woman 10: "It does vary."
- Woman 11: "My days are, I suppose, quite different, there is a lot sitting at a desk overall, answering a few emails. So it depends what project I'm working on…"
- Woman 12: "I don't really, like so, I kind of, we have a very flexible business."
- Man 4 (when asked about whether he has any regular days): "I don't have."
- Man 5: "…I mean, it's difficult to actually say that, a typical day. It's really very, that's one of the good things about my job is that it is pretty varied actually." and "The best thing, I think is just sort of the variation in work, I think. It's, you know, every day is pretty different."

Pattern 4: *Have studied for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust certificate*

A number of the interviewees mentioned the Wine and Spirit Education Trust Qualifications as a course they had done at some point during their time in the wine industry. Examples of Pattern 4 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 4
- Woman 1: "...but I wanted to learn about wine, so I went just, to do my WSET certificate in evening class."
- Man 3: "I was very successful in the wine exams at the Wine and Spirit Education Trust."
- Woman 3: "So they put, we work in the same office as the WSET so we they basically encourage us to do the courses."
- Woman 7: "So I did my dissertation on the fine wine market and started at my WSET just after that."

- Woman 4: "So I started looking elsewhere, and I, at that point, had kind of lost the will to live with WSET diploma a little bit, cause I was doing that at the same time, I didn't, I kind of fell out of love for wine."
- Woman 9: "And they let me do the courses, so I did. Cause at that stage, you know, there were a Wine and Education Spirit Trust that you've probably come across. You know, and it was, I did the higher certificate with the wine society, then I, with Company 1 I did, it was a diploma in two parts."
- Woman 10: "…started my WSET, level 3, then diploma…"
- Woman 11: "But you also get trained up with WSET and so, the Wine Spirit and Education Trust, all employees needed to do the level 3 course…" and "And during that time I studied the WSET diploma, and so their top-level, at the end of that I got an award or a scholarship to, which paid for the first year of Master of Wine's study."
- Woman 12: "And then at that time I started the WSAT exams, so I think, I was there 2 years, and I did the first year of the diploma, which I passed…"

Pattern 5: *Have studied for the Master of Wine examination*

A large part of the interviewees passed the Master of Wine examination, and thus hold one of the most respected titles within wine ("About us"). Examples of Pattern 5 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 5
- Woman 1: "…I really wanted the Master of Wine qualification because I felt that, I'm not sure this is very good to say really, but I, to stop proving myself, you know, get over that bit and then just get on with working."
- Man 3: "…an obvious next step to approach the Master of Wine…"
- Woman 2: "Why did I decide to? I don't know actually, I was tasting with a lot of Masters of Wine and kind of felt that, you know that my palate was good enough to do it."
- Woman 6 (about a friend): "And she put on a small tasting and somehow managed to convince me that it was worth trying…"
- Woman 9 (about workplace): "And then they let me do the Master's of Wine exams."
- Woman 10: "And I just felt like "of course" - I could not not do it, knowing that is was an option."

- Woman 11: "And during that time I studied the WSET diploma, and so their top-level, at the end of that I got an award or a scholarship to, which paid for the first year of Master of Wine's study."

- Woman 12 (about a colleague): "…and again I hadn't really thought about doing it, and so he talked me into doing it…"

- Man 4: "Because it was a personal challenge I suppose."

- Man 5: "Because, I just thought it was, I mean, I did a diploma first, and I just thought it would be very useful for my, my work really, to have that qualification."

Pattern 6: *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination*

In connection with Pattern 5, the majority of the interviewees experienced a difference after they passed the Master of Wine. The interviewees expressed both a difference on a professional level, with regard to what jobs they were offered etc., but also on a personal level, with regard to increased confidence etc. Examples of Pattern 6 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 6
- Woman 1: "I think definitely, there's an element of getting more work because of it."

- Man 2: "So in those days it helped because people respected my wine tasting abilities, these days it helps because I can command more money, can command higher fees being self-employed, as a Master of Wine." and "So I wasn't short of self-esteem anyway, but there's no question that, yea, being a Master of Wine really helps…"

- Woman 2: "…when you're a Master of Wine, you know, you've got that qualification, but equally what you do with it as well…" and "…having a Master of Wine is far more important than chatting about wine on TV…"

- Man 3: "…it's been a fantastic experience again because of travel opportunities as a Master of Wine student and now as a Master of Wine, I could travel nearly every month…" and "…so yeah the doors are opened."

- Woman 10: "So it was quite nice to have that stamp of approval, like "no, no, I really do know what i am talking about"."

- Woman 12: "I think it's certainly, it certainly opens doors, or people are a lot more willing to talk to you, it doesn't make any difference financially, I don't think, it doesn't certainly get you the best paid job in the world."

- Woman 11: "…yes, it does give you more confidence but at the same time I think it gives other people more expectation, and then sometimes you're like "Wauw" you know, there's a lot riding on your shoulders to, to live up to those letters."
- Man 4: "There's a, there's a difference in the way that people look at you… It will treat you with it a little bit more respect, they realize that you, you know a lot more than potentially the average person. I'm not saying you do no more, but you've been through a rigorous training." and "And then the other thing is that they value your opinion more about their wines. I think that's a, that's another one, and in that case that can lead to work, if people want you to go and have a look at their wine or discuss wines with you." and "That you have, that you have an inner confidence that you know what you're talking about, which is useful."
- Man 5: "I suppose maybe it gives you confidence, on a personal level. Confidence in your ability, you know, you obviously, you know, know your stuff, you're a good taster." and "…it's good to have the letters behind your name, so people take you more seriously, and yeah so it opens up opportunities."

However, there was also evidence that contradict Pattern 6. Two interviewees expressed uncertainty concerning the effects of having passed the Master of Wine with regard to both the professional and personal level. Woman 11 was especially uncertain and therefore she was also included in the contradictions. Examples of the contradiction to Pattern 6 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Contradictions To Pattern 6
- Woman 11: " …so it's hard to know what's the Master of Wine and what's the sort of influence of I'm doing this on behalf of Company 2 and people wanting to respond because it's Company 2."
- Woman 6: "…having an MW is not an automatic path to establishing a career, and I have friends who have graduated as MW who struggle with using it to develop or enhance their careers."

Pattern 7: *Do believe the pay in the wine industry is low*
A lot of the interviewees commented on the general low pay in the industry. A majority of the interviewees expressed that the wine industry is not a very profitable industry to work in. Examples of Pattern 7 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 7

- Man 2: "…we've created huge problems for ourselves in the sense that most wine businesses, most wine producers, most wine distributors, are not very profitable, very few people in the wine business make respectable margins."
- Man 3: "…well it's not the best pay."
- Woman 4: ""Yea OK, I'll work part time and earn a lot less because it sounds really cool". So I did." and "I basically cut my salary in half to come work for Company 2. It's still painful."
- Woman 5: "I think they want to work as hard but they don't want to be paid as little. The wine trade is not one of the most lucrative, not the best paid jobs."
- Woman 6: "Freelancing is a matter of balancing jobs you really, really want to do, and often don't pay a lot of money, with the stuff you don't necessarily want to do but does pay you a lot of money." and (about people with jobs in other industries) "…most of them earn much more than I do but they're not happy in their work, they do jobs that they haven't enjoyed doing if they ever enjoyed them for a long time, they work with people that don't particular interest them, and they spent all of that extra money on things to make themselves feel better."
- Woman 8: "Yeah pretty much, it's tragic cause you never, earn very much money. But I love what I do." and (when asked about the worst thing in the industry) "The salaries, the salaries. Honestly, I worked in some companies where the employee packages are shameful, like really bad."
- Woman 12: "The wine trade isn't a hugely paid, you know, a highly paid job." and "I've always, so I've always been paid more than the male equivalent."
- Man 5: "I mean, it's not particularly well paid."

The researchers also found evidence contradicting Pattern 7. A few interviewees did not mention the low pay in the industry, they actually stated that they had experiences high salaries during their time in the wine industry. Examples of contradictions to Pattern 7 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Contradictions To Pattern 7

- Man 1: "I also like making money and having a business that's successful, that's important."
- Woman 4 (about her previous occupation at Company 1): "I was, by that point, being paid extremely well at Company 1. And there was absolutely no way I was going find a job in another industry at the same pay-rate. Let alone anywhere close."

- Man 4: "And I think, I think back then, there were a lot of people in the industry who enjoyed wine and got into it because they loved wine rather than thinking "This is somewhere where I can earn money" or "I can build a career in it". Because the structure of the industry, I think was slightly different back then, and the professionalism was very different back then."

Pattern 8: *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best*

An extensive amount of the interviewees conveyed great love for their jobs and the industry in general. They stated that they were very happy at their jobs and could not imagine finding the same enthusiasm for any other job. Examples of Pattern 8 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 8
- Woman 1: "I felt like I would work in something that required me to have knowledge and expertise beyond just me and the way that I looked. And I really, really liked that. And I've continued to love that about what I do."
- Man 2: "So I'm much happier with this sector I ended up in." and "And I do pretty much all my work I genuinely enjoy, I look forward to it, I wake up in the morning and I think "Great, what's happening today?"." and "…so wine has given me, it's enriched my life enormously being in the wine business, and that is just, it's a combination of factors."
- Woman 2: "So I was quite lucky, and then I was lucky enough that I liked it. So a lot of people go into wine, you know, go into careers they don't like, and a lot of people search into wine later on in life, cause I think it's, you know, interesting."
- Woman 3: "I think I'd probably enjoyed my job less if it wasn't in an industry, I don't know, it's a fun industry to work in." and "And actually it's obviously more global and, I think the great thing about wine and the really fun part of my job, and I enjoy doing that part…"
- Woman 6: "…I know that I would be spending that extra money on food and wine and travel and I get that as part of my job anyway and most of the time I like what I do and I like most of the people that I work with so I'm genuinely pretty happy with my life."
- Woman 8: "But I love what I do. I think I'm probably in it till I die. If it keeps paying my bills yeah."
- Woman 9: "I mean, I think most of the people in the wine trade actually enjoy being in the wine trade… But I think there is a sense of fun about it that, where you know, you're doing something which you, hopefully, you're enhancing people's enjoyment of life." and "But

when you make wine, people come to see you because they want to buy wine and they're happy."

- Woman 11: "Even when I was working in retail, I was like "This is great, I get to sell something that people actually come into the shop and they want to know about and they want to buy" it's like, a product for pleasure basically."
- Man 4: "So the aspect of travel, so seeing different cultures, different people is terrific! And that's the part to me, part of the path of wine."
- Man 5: "So I realized that this was my sort of calling, I suppose." and "…it's not all hard work, you know, people enjoy kind of the finer things in life, obviously drinking wine and food." and "So, you know, the opportunity to travel, to visit wine producers, to have wine producers over here. You know to drink these amazing wines is, yeah, I mean those are the highlights, I think."

Pattern 9: *Have a passion for wine*

The majority of the interviewees expressed great passion when it came to wine. They stated that their love for wine was the main reason for having the job that they had. Examples of Pattern 9 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 9
- Woman 1: "I think so, yes. It's hard to give up. It gets under your skin. I mean I just love wine, I love everything that has do with it." and "Wine is the most fascinating, extraordinary, wonderful product, it really is."
- Man 2: "I love all of it. It's a combination of factors. I enjoy the product itself, I still get a, you know, I still feel good about pulling the cork or unscrewing the top of a bottle of wine, I like that side of if. I enjoy tasting too, I enjoy the intellectual and, the intellectual process of tasting and assessing wines."
- Woman 2: "…you know I liked wine, loved wine…"
- Woman 3: "I think I'm just grown up having wine and liking it. So when I got this job I was like "It's great and I can learn everything and take the WSET courses and". Yeah, it's good." and "Where with wine, I think people take their work away with them because they enjoy it and it's something that they wanna do in their spare time and they're all, and I do that…"
- Woman 7: "…tasting fine wine is so much fun…"

- Woman 8: "…I mean, when you take that into account, you think what is the draw, why would people keep working. It's emotional. Again it's passion, it's passion for service, it's passion for wine, passion for product, passion for what you do."
- Woman 9: "Because I feel lucky that I sort of fell into something that I love." and "Well you see, the great about wine is it does actually encompass so many different things."
- Woman 12: "I always get really excited when I see vines, or when I'm in a winery…" and "And it's more about being passionate about your subject and, you know, being able to travel and being lucky to see some things."
- Woman 11: "…the favourite part of my job is the travel, you get to go to absolutely gorgeous regions in the world and combining that with meeting people as well who are passionate about what they do, who just want to show you and talk to you about what they do, and show you their wines and things like that, it's, yea, it's nice."

Pattern 10: *Have a great camaraderie in the wine industry*

Many of the interviewees spoke about the feeling of camaraderie in the industry. They expressed that the industry was very friendly to work in. Examples of Pattern 10 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 10
- Man 1: "You know, and you know, some of my best friends, you know, are people I've met, you know, through my career."
- Woman 1: "You know, wine's one of those, kind of lovely world where on the whole, people are very, very happy people and friendly, you know sociable and kind and, and usually generous with their time and just nice people to be around."
- Man 2: "But no, I would see my relationship with most people in the trade, other Master's of Wine, as cordial and friendly… And so, I, you know, actively try to cultivate friendships, and try and spend time with people when, you know, when there's an opportunity." and "I really enjoy the people, I've made very good friends and genuinely enjoy the company of literally hundreds of people in the wine business."
- Man 3: "…a wine business is successful cause they'd developed good relationships, personally relationships. A sense of loyalty is developed in both directions." and "…we aren't that many people involved, so we know each other quite well, so quite well connected." and

"…clearly a shared interest in wine, it's quite easy to have good meetings, good dinners, good lunches, a lot of friendliness, it helps, it lubricates the relationships clearly."

- Woman 3: "I, I, I love working here! I think it's because of my colleagues." and "I think it's really friendly, I think it's quite dynamic and innovative. I don't think I've met many people in it that I don't like, which is nice. It's one of those industries where actually everybody loves the product and everyone loves working for, it feels like that to me anyway."

- Woman 4: "I've met many people through Company 2, I like to create more of a friendship-base as well as like a networking-base in the actual industry stuff." and (about her first job at Company 1) "But I had like, because it was a big company, I had a group of colleagues and peers who were like friends that I would go to dinner with and go out with and stuff, and who I still see, now that we've all left and are doing different things."

- Woman 5: "Huge camaraderie." and "A lot of my suppliers I consider to be more friends than suppliers." and "But generally I think that the wine trade sees itself as a large family."

- Woman 7 (when asked about her relationship with her colleagues): "I would say it's very good…"

- Woman 6: "I, I have always found the wine industry to be very warm and welcoming and, and I felt very at home, I was made to feel very at home in it very early on." and "…if you're allowed through the membrane then you're accepted into the wine trade and you're encouraged and you're supported." and "...the thing about the wine trade is the lines between professional relationships and friendships gets blurred very easily, especially, if you go on trips with people you get to know them in a way that you wouldn't get to know people if you were just talking over a mug of coffee in an office environment. And also within the institute, people that you study with or people who help you as you study or people that you help in turn as they study, that also forms a strong network of relationships, so a lot of my colleagues have become my friends."

- Woman 8: "But, such a camaraderie in service, you know, you work with people that become your family and, you know, cause you literally, you know, you eat, sleep, work and sometimes sleep together, it's like, it's really, very, very tight." and "I don't feel like the wine industry is one of those competitive industries, at all. Which is why I like it." and "People forget that people working in wine whether you're in sales or whether you're in you know marketing in wine, people enjoy what they do and people wants to enjoy what they do. So there's not gonna be too competitive." and "Sounds really cheesy: it's the people, it's the people. I get to work

with such incredible people." and "You know, doctors and lawyers generally don't have as much camaraderie as we do in the trade, which is such a shame, I think."

- Woman 9: "Once you've shared a bottle of wine with someone, you're friends, you know you have a different relationship than if you haven't shared a bottle of wine."
- Woman 10: "But, I honestly think it is one of the friendliest industries." and "It sounds like a kliché but I always say when people ask me, it is definitely the people who work in the industry."
- Woman 11: "Yea, I think it's positive, I mean we've got, I mean WSET is quite loyal, and it's quite a tight-knit kind of team overall. We've got a nice team…" and "And then I guess in the sort of, yea, being a Master of Wine has given a sort of … and so that's also sort of a nice network to have, to have that sort of almost like common bond between you're either working towards it or having got it."

Although, the researchers also found evidence contradicting the pattern of an industry based mostly on companionship. Some of the interviewees viewed the industry as more professional. Man 3 was uncertain regarding this, and has therefore also been included in the contradictions. Examples of contradictions to Pattern 10 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Contradictions To Pattern 10
- Woman 2: "I mean it's just professional…" and "But the relationships generally fairly smooth going."
- Man 3: "…the relationships have become more business like but less decentralized"
- Woman 12: "But as an industry, yea I think it's very, it's very tough, there's not that many jobs left that people probably want to do."
- Man 4: "Well, I think the wine industry has become more competitive and I think it's become harder."

Pattern 11: *Do expect to stay in the wine industry*
As a part of the interview structure most of the interviewees were asked about whether they would ever consider switching to another industry. All interviewees, with whom this topic came up, said that they expected to work in the wine industry until they retired - and maybe even after that as well. Examples of Pattern 11 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 11

- Man 2: "And so, yes, I can't see myself doing anything else."
- Woman 2: "Yea. There's no way I would retrain in anything else."
- Man 3: "I'm 66 in a few months and I expect to be doing this until I'm 68 or 70." and "I enjoy working and I've seen my friends who are retiring and don't really enjoy what they are doing so much." and "It would be unusual to find out a new direction but not totally impossible."
- Woman 3: "I enjoy the policy side of wine, and I would really like to stay in sector or work in the drinks sector genuinely and carry on the public affairs. But how many, it's quite niche and I don't know how many jobs there actually are in the area." and "Yeah, I just really like it, it's a nice industry to work in, which is why I would work in it again in my next job if I could."
- Woman 4: "But yea, I think the last year has kind of turned my mind around and I would quite like to stay in the industry."
- Woman 5: "Oh yeah, unfortunately. My children say I can't ever retire, in fact even my husband said the other day "I can't see you not go into a Bordeaux Primeur tasting, ever"."
- Woman 8: "Ultimate goal: if I can just keep working in the wine industry and pay my bills, that would make me very happy."
- Woman 9: "But no I've never, never thought about, no. No, I'm just happily, continuing along sort of." and "...so there no reason to, you know, I don't feel like, you know, I need to stop."
- Woman 10: "Which is depressing, cause I did not do all of that work to then start again somewhere else - so I am hoping to be here for a while yet."
- Woman 12: "So, and I've been lucky enough that that's happened, I've never consciously thought I'm going to leave this and go somewhere else."
- Woman 11: "Yes probably, unless something dramatic was to change. Yea, I don't exactly know what I'll be doing and things like that, but yea, I would imagine so, I've trained myself, so now I'm gonna use it at least for a good few years."
- Man 4: "Yes, I don't know how long that will be, but well, people stay in wine forever and ever and ever, don't they?" and "But if one can have a business at the age of 65-70 that allows you to travel and to eat well and meet interesting people, then that's a good place to be."
- Man 5 (when asked if he sees himself staying in the wine industry): "Yes I do!"

Pattern 12: *Do believe the wine industry is not for everyone*

Several of the interviewees spoke about how the wine industry was not suited for everyone. They expressed that not all personalities fit into the wine industry. Examples of Pattern 12 are illustrated below:

Examples Of Pattern 12

- Man 3: "…and it takes a special person to see the wine industry as a career. And I don't mean a specially good person, it's just not an obvious career choice."
- Woman 4: "There's still a slight kind of snobbism, I guess, with the old generation in the industry, like if someone walks into a tasting like, and looks a bit scruffy or if someone has a bit of a like common accent or like, I don't know, just someone that like doesn't obviously fit in to the red trouser brigade, as they call them. Then that, I guess, that from that point of view they do sometimes maybe get treated slightly differently…"
- Woman 6: "And I know that there are people who have really struggled to get a foothold in the wine industry, who didn't find it as easy and as accepting as I have."

However, the researchers also found evidence of an interviewee who considered the wine industry to be welcoming towards all types of personalities - especially when compared to previously. Example of the contradiction to Pattern 12 is illustrated below:

Example Of Contradiction To Pattern 12

- Man 3: "I think the wine sector gives more opportunities to more people, and it's fairer for more people because it was something like an old boys club before I joined, in the 1950-1960, yes, but fading after that, but there's no, no one talks in those terms anymore."

Pattern 13: *Do identify with wine*

Many of the interviewees spoke about their titles within the wine industry in terms of something they were, rather than something they possessed, i.e. their job titles or having passed the Master of Wine examination were referred to as a part of their identities. Examples of Pattern 13 are illustrated below.

Examples Of Pattern 13

- Man 2: "...it really helped trying to convince people that I was a Master of Wine..." and "So I wasn't short of self-esteem anyway, but there's no question that, yea, being a Master of Wine really helps, and we are, to be honest, we're probably given, we do seem to be given unconditional respect, which I sometimes, I still find surprising sometimes, but it does really help."

- Man 3: "And yes, it's a good label to have around your neck that you're a wine merchant."

- Man 4: "And one of the things with being a Master of Wine…"

- Woman 1: "So we're both Masters of Wine…" and "…I'm very grateful to be a Master of Wine…"

- Woman 2: "....so I kind of work for myself as a wine expert." and "...I suppose, when you're a Master of Wine, you know, you've got that qualification…"

- Woman 8: "I think I still get to do that; being a sommelier talking about the winemakers I still get to tell people's stories."

- Woman 9: "So there are now, the institute of Master's of Wine, we are now 350 and there are well over 100 women. I'm third straight fourth, I passed the exams but the frain to the sunday rithers. And we doubled the female content overnight, which is quite funny." and "Oh yes, there's a circle of wine writers and I'm president of that."

- Woman 11: "...where you're suddenly a Master of Wine and you know, one day you're not and the next day you get a phone call and you are, and then suddenly because you are a Master of Wine people have expectations of your level of knowledge, and your skilling and you tasting ability…"

- Woman 12: "And I've kind of learned to live with it now, but it does happen, but I think once someone realises that I'm a Master of Wine they'll suddenly be like "Oh OK, she does know what she's talking about."

As the semantic patterns illustrate, the majority of the interviewees followed a similar path in their ways through their lives and careers. Furthermore, the patterns indicate a way for the members of the wine industry to define themselves and the industry in which they work. In order to give an overview of how many cases in which each pattern has shown up, the below table is offered. The 13 patterns are indicated in the upper row and each of the interviewees are listed in the first column. Cases where the pattern was mentioned by the interviewee are indicated by a 'X'.

TABLE 2: OVERVIEW OF THE PATTERNS AND THE INTERVIEWEES

Source: The researchers' own creation

	Pattern 1	Pattern 2	Pattern 3	Pattern 4	Pattern 5	Pattern 6	Pattern 7	Pattern 8	Pattern 9	Pattern 10	Pattern 11	Pattern 12	Pattern 13
Man 1		X								X			
Man 2	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X
Man 3	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
Man 4	X	X	X		X	X		X			X		X
Man 5	X	X	X		X	X	X	X			X		
Woman 1	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X			
Woman 2	X	X	X		X	X		X	X		X		X
Woman 3			X	X				X	X	X	X		
Woman 4		X	X	X			X			X	X	X	
Woman 5	X	X	X				X			X	X		
Woman 6		X	X		X		X	X		X		X	
Woman 7		X	X	X					X	X			
Woman 8		X	X				X	X	X	X	X		X
Woman 9	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X		X
Woman 10	X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X		
Woman 11		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X		X
Woman 12	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X

6.1.4. OTHER EVIDENCES OF THE PATTERNS

As mentioned in **chapter 5**, multiple methods of data collection have been employed in this study. The themed patterns that have been illustrated in this semantic analysis did not solely show up during the interviews, they also showed up across the rest of the research.

During the internships, the researchers also saw that the same themes showed up. For example, it was noticed that wine was more than just a job to the employees in Organization B and Organization C. To most of the employees wine was their main interest, they spent almost all their leisure time (nights off, weekends, and holidays) on wine related activities, e.g. going to wine tastings, visiting vineyards, visiting restaurants known for their wine menu etc. These are examples of Pattern 8 and Pattern 9. In relation to this, it was a common discussion-topic in both Organization B and Organization C that the pay in the wine industry was generally very low. This illustrates Pattern 7. Moreover, it was noticed that almost none of the employees had anyone in their families who had a professional interest in

wine, which is an example of Pattern 1. Furthermore, all the employees expressed that they wanted to stay in the wine industry for the rest of their professional life, which is an example of Pattern 11. Finally, it was noticed that all of the employees joined the wine industry by a coincidence. Most of the employees worked in other industries beforehand, and they had not studied anything to do with wine. However, somehow, they ended up in the wine industry anyway. This is an example of Pattern 2.

During the event, the researchers also saw examples of the same patterns. The fact that the event was held on a weeknight, there was an entrance fee, and it still was sold-out, illustrates that wine was more than just a job for these women attending. They were attending this event in their leisure time, because they were genuinely interested in wine, it was not just their work, it was their passion. This is an example of Pattern 8 and Pattern 9.

The 13 patterns have been summarized in the list below:

Pattern 1: *Do not have any family members in the wine industry*

Pattern 2: *Have chosen the wine industry at random*

Pattern 3: *Do various job tasks within the wine industry*

Pattern 4: *Have studied for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust certificate*

Pattern 5: *Have studied for the Master of Wine examination*

Pattern 6: *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination*

Pattern 7: *Do believe the pay in the wine industry is low*

Pattern 8: *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best*

Pattern 9: *Have a passion for wine*

Pattern 10: *Have a great camaraderie in the wine industry*

Pattern 11: *Do expect to stay in the wine industry*

Pattern 12: *Do believe the wine industry is not for everyone*

Pattern 13: *Do identify with wine*

6.2. ELABORATING ON THE SIMILARITIES

6.2.1. DISCOVERING THE IDENTITIES OF THE MEMBERS

As argued, the definition of identity employed to this study involves how one understands oneself and one's actions, i.e. how one perceives and describes oneself. Furthermore, it is argued that one's definition of oneself (one's identity) may change as a result of changes in behavior and understanding of self as one enters a new social setting, i.e. through learning a new culture. With regard to this, the identified patterns prove that the members have changed their identities over time:

Initially the interviewees do not identify themselves by any means in regard to wine, however, as they encounter the industry they at some point start identifying themselves in regard to wine.

This statement immediately allowed the researchers to confirm one of their initial assumptions:

Individuals most often identify themselves in regard to their occupation.

6.2.1.1. THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF IDENTITIES

The majority of all interviewees chose this career path as a coincidence, thus, they had not yet identified themselves as someone working in wine. Pattern 2, *Have chosen the wine industry at random,* illustrates that the majority of all the interviewees randomly decided to work in the wine industry; some interviewees ended up in the industry as a result of a graduate scheme, others because of a recommendation from a friend and others because they were in need of a job and found one which happened to be within wine. Furthermore, most of the interviewees did not experience to have parents or any other family members surpassing a general interest in wine, why the interviewees did not choose this career path based on any expectations from family members or to follow the footsteps by a parent or the like. Thus, the majority of the interviewees identified themselves as something differently than a member of the wine industry. Most interviewees studied at university before entering the labor market why most of them identified themselves as students; this is a fixed part of the interviewees' identity, as they will always have been students once (as the case of the non-drinking alcoholics (Cain, 1998)). After graduating university, some of the interviewees planned for a path

through their lives and their careers; Woman 7 identified herself as a journalist and Woman 1 identified herself as an actress. As the interviewees educated within a given subject, they will, assumable, to some extent, still identify themselves in connection to their education and their degree, i.e. as an actress or a journalist, however, as something they once were or once identified as, i.e. I once were an actress.

Furthermore some examples of Pattern 1, *Do not have any family members in the wine industry,* and Pattern 2, *Have chosen the wine industry at random*, are Woman 10 who argued: "I mean they drink wine, we drink wine at home, but there has never been kind of an interest in that." and Man 5 who also argued that his parents drank wine but did not have an interest surpassing that: "I mean, they were just, you know, they weren't kind of, they didn't, their knowledge of wine wasn't that great, but they did enjoy drinking wine.". Furthermore, Woman 2 decided to join the wine industry as a last-minute decision: "I mean, that decision to go into the wine trade was right, was a panic decision in a way. It was me at the end, literally, I finish my exams and I'm like what the hell do I do now." Additionally, Woman 7 and Woman 12, planned for something else at university: "It was not to go into wine, it was to go into journalism." and "And then I joined the wine trade. So I didn't want to become a chemist, I thought that was very boring, and so I got a temp job at one of my friend's father's wine merchant in London. And that's kind of how I discovered the world of wine.". Additionally, the researchers found similar patterns during their participant observations. At Organization B, the founders came from completely different industries and had worked there for approximately 15 years before founding Organization B. Furthermore, at Organization C the founder likewise started out in another industry for a couple of years before founding Organization C.

Thus, the members of the industry experienced a transformation of identity as they initially did not identify themselves as someone working within wine to identifying themselves as working in wine. This is additionally illustrated in Pattern 13, *Do identify with wine,* e.g. Woman 12 who at some point identified herself as a Master of Wine: "And I've kind of learned to live with it now, but it does happen, but I think once someone realizes that I'm a Master of Wine they'll suddenly be like "Oh OK, she does know what she's talking about"". The reason for the formation of self happens as a result of change in behavior, e.g. as one passes the Master of Wine examination.

There are, however, some contradictions to members not identifying themselves as someone to end up in the industry. A smaller group of the interviewees, did have family members with a great interest in wine. Woman 9 had a father with a great interest in wine: "Well my father was. I think my father was quite interested, but I think my tastebuds probably come from my mother.". Likewise, with Woman 11: "And so I got into wine because my father has, never worked in the wine industry, but has, that's always been his like hobby, his passion.". For those of the interviewees who did not randomly end up in wine, the identity formation did not require as much and the reinterpretation of self was not as radical, e.g. the idea of identifying themselves as working within wine was not far, i.e. their identities have to some extent been more fixed than others of the interviewees. However, they still experienced a formation of their identities as they entered the industry and became a member of a new culture, i.e. the wine industry.

As mentioned initially in this subchapter the researchers were able to immediately confirm one of their assumptions: *Individuals most often identify themselves in regard to their occupation.* As an example, the majority of all interviewees passed several examinations in regard to wine; as illustrated in Pattern 4-6, *Have studied for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust certificate, Have studied for the Master of Wine examination*, and *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination*, some have studied for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust qualifications and others additionally passed the Master of Wine examination. Especially, the Master of Wine education is a highly-respected title within wine and it is not without complications to pass the examination, as Woman 10 described it: "Good question. Most people probably take maybe 7 or 8 years. I took three years. That is quite unusual; I think only about 25 people have ever done it in three years". A number of the interviewees argued how the Master of Wine examination opens up doors and opportunities which they, to the same degree, did not experience before passing the examination. Man 3 argued that: "...so yeah the doors are opened." when asked about the differences before and after passing the Master of Wine examination. Furthermore, Woman 12 agreed on that: "I think it's certainly, it certainly opens doors, or people are a lot more willing to talk to you, it doesn't make any difference financially, I don't think, it doesn't certainly get you the best paid job in the world.".

At this point the interviewees started identifying themselves as a Master of Wine, i.e. identifying themselves in regard to their work, which is also indicated in Pattern 13, *Do identify with wine*. Thus, the identities of the individuals were becoming something different than before and they experienced

a transformation of identity. As the interviewees were all very well aware of the respect of title as a Master of Wine and the honor to have the title which follows, they were at this stage defining themselves as more knowledgeable, more qualified, more respected, and valuable than before passing the examination. This was the case for Man 4: "That you have, that you have an inner confidence that you know what you're talking about, which is useful." and Man 5 "I suppose maybe it gives you confidence, on a personal level. Confidence in your ability, you know, you obviously, you know, know your stuff, you're a good taster.". Another example of this formation of self was Woman 1: "... I really wanted the Master of Wine qualification because I felt that, I'm not sure this is very good to say really, but I, to stop proving myself, you know, get over that bit and then just get on with working.". In general, the majority of the interviewees experienced a difference after passing the Master of Wine examination; the interviewees expressed this at a professional and a personal level. Some of the interviewees, however, were hesitant as for whether having passed the Master of Wine examination necessarily changed anything on a professional level, this is underlined by the contradictions to Pattern 6, *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination,* for example Woman 6 stated: "…having an MW is not an automatic path to establishing a career, and I have friends who have graduated as MW who struggle with using it to develop or enhance their careers.". However, the majority of the interviewees stated that it could make a difference on a professional level, this is displayed in Pattern 6, *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination*, Man 5 said: "…it's good to have the letters behind your name, so people take you more seriously, and yeah so it opens up opportunities." and Woman 1 said: "I think definitely, there's an element of getting more work because of it.". The formation of self was not a conscious decision by the interviewees, however, the formation gradually happened unconsciously in line with a change of behavior. Furthermore, the excitement and the passion for their jobs also became evident from the internships, i.e. the participant observations, as well as the interviews.

During the internships, the researchers noticed that when talking about personal matters, such as how one spent one's weekend or holiday or the like, the conversation would somehow still revolve around wine. The members of the organizations would more often than not talk about what wines they had drunk. Nights off were often spent on restaurants known for amazing wine lists and weekends were often spent at wine tastings or dinners with friends - and nice wines. Their lives revolved around wine - not only with regard to work related activities but also the activities they would engage in, in their

free time. With regard to the interviews this was illustrated through Pattern 11, *Do expect to stay in the wine industry*. As an example, when asked about whether he expected to stay in the industry Man 2 stated: "And so, yes, I can't see myself doing anything else.", and to the same question Woman 5 replied: "Oh yeah, unfortunately. My children say I can't ever retire, in fact even my husband said the other day "I can't see you not go into a Bordeaux Primeur tasting, ever"". The new identity was also illustrated through Pattern 9, *Have a passion for wine*, for example Woman 3 explained: "Where with wine, I think people take their work away with them because they enjoy it and it's something that they wanna do in their spare time and they're all, and I do that…". Wine was more than just a job to the individuals within the wine industry, they spent their free time on things that had to do with wine as well, and they could not imagine doing anything else. Thus, being in wine became a part of their identities.

6.2.2. DISCOVERING THE CULTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

As argued, a culture is how a group is defining themselves, i.e. a group identity. For the purpose of this study, the researchers define culture as the shared beliefs and values that are accepted within a group of people. The wine industry is argued to share a common culture, thus, there is a set of shared values and beliefs within the wine industry. The semantic analysis proved these shared features within the wine industry.

6.2.2.1. THE LEVELS OF THE CULTURE

As previously stated, Schein (1990) distinguishes between three levels of culture: artifacts, values, and assumptions.

6.2.2.1.1. THE OBSERVABLE ARTIFACTS

The first level of culture is as argued observable artifacts. As a part of the interview guide, most interviewees answered questions about their expectations to the industry before entering it. These expectations were based on the interviewees initial thoughts about the industry. As an example, Woman 10 argued for her expectations as: "And I basically thought it was for snobs, old men, people who wear red trousers, that kind of thing - not for me.". Woman 10 shared her thoughts about the culture before entering the culture, opposed, Woman 11 shared her immediate thoughts about the culture as she encountered the culture:

"What I saw from Company 1 was it being relatively sort of open and sort of quite young, mainly because the staff who were working there were like that, they were dressed in like polo-shirts, quite casually etc., were willing to talk to you, made it so like that you could go in and talk, and wanted a wine they'd be very open, without making it sort of stuffy or anything like that. So I think, yea, I probably had a reasonably like positive outlook on the industry,".

These examples illustrate some of the observable artifacts of the culture. As artifacts are part of a culture, these examples illustrate how the interviewees found the culture before becoming a member of it and immediately after encountering the culture. As mentioned, a problem may arise as artifacts are not necessarily interpreted equally by non-members and the culture itself; Man 2 described how he believed that the culture to some degree was misinterpreted: "I'd say, there's still a perception of the wine industry which isn't entirely accurate of, you know, quite traditional classic you know fine wine male dominated".

Furthermore, the researchers noticed several artifacts as a result of the participant observations. The observable artifacts work as the first level of the culture studied in the present study. Firstly, the researchers noticed that the dress code at the office were most commonly casual: jeans, sneakers, jumpers etc. However, it was noticed that at occasions where the members were going to special events such as a dinner, a tasting or the like they dressed up: suits, representable shoes etc. Additionally, as part of the ethnographic fieldnotes the researchers found that most attendants to the event on December 12, 2018, were dressed up in high heels and representable boots, dresses and skirts etc. (Appendix 4).

Secondly, the researchers noticed a rather informal, friendly tone within the industry. The researchers realized this as they encountered the industry at the initial stages of the internships. There is argued to be a non-hierarchical structure in the two companies in which the majority of the observations were made. The non-hierarchical structures were realized as everyone, managers, interns etc., had discussions, conversations, disagreements etc. across the levels of the organization, regardless of one's position in the company, e.g. the researchers as interns were allowed to share their thoughts and opinions equally as other colleagues. The structure of the companies enabled the researchers to get a rather personal relation to the management of each company. The two offices worked as open

offices in terms of the architecture where all employees to a great extent shared ideas and thoughts regardless of positions within the companies. During weekly meetings within one of the companies, there was a friendly atmosphere endorsing personal stories and experiences, which were not related to the business in particular. This is further supported by some of the interviews, where the interviewees agreed on the informal and friendly tone amongst the members of the culture. One example is Woman 11, who mentioned how her new colleagues "...were willing to talk to you...", and it is further supported by her argument: "But, I honestly think it is one of the friendliest industries.". Finally, the informal, rather personal tone in the industry was supported by the ethnographic fieldnotes made during the event; the researchers found that even though they met most participants for the first time, the dialogue with the participants were very informal and turned into a rather personal conversation very easy. Furthermore, the researchers made this fieldnote: "There is not enough plates for everyone, but it does not seem to cause any panic. People use napkins instead. Then someone brings more plates" (Appendix 4).

In terms of greetings, the researchers thirdly found that these were also quite informal; most commonly members of the culture greet with a kiss on the cheek or with a friendly hug. This was further supported by the ethnographic fieldnotes made at the event, as the researchers found that most participants hugged and kissed on the cheeks as they met and as they said goodbye as the event was finished: "Women are still coming in the door – some greet each other, some greet each other with a kiss on the cheek." (Appendix 4).

6.2.2.1.2. THE VALUES

Second level of culture, Schein (1990) argues to be values. The researchers noticed a set of values within the discussed culture during their time within the industry as well as through the interviews. One value which to some degree is argued to be explicit is that strong work ethics are valued within the culture. The researchers had fixed working hours during the internships, however, they were notified that in case work came up, the companies endorsed them to get the job done before leaving the office. Several of the interviewees indicated similar work ethics at their jobs respectively, e.g. Woman 10: "So if I work on a Saturday, normally, I would take the Monday off. But it depends, sometimes there is something unavoidable on a Monday that you have to be in for." Additionally, the culture values the work ethics not only in terms of time but also in terms of the tasks one may execute. One example of the variety in tasks executed is Woman 5: "And yes I am the buyer, as we are still a

small company I'm still doing buying, logistics, sales admin, everything.". Furthermore, Pattern 3, *Do various job tasks within the wine industry,* indicates the diversity within the jobs the interviewees did; Woman 1 argued: "It tends to be very, very mixed." and Woman 4: "But what's amazing is that as a team we kind of tend to dip into all putting all the different hats on, like who we are all the time". Pattern 3, *Do various job tasks within the wine industry,* additionally indicates how the individuals also endorsed and valued the variation in the tasks they did; it suggests that versatile work assignments are valuable to many of the interviewees. The researchers also noticed that diversified job tasks were valuable during their internships in Organization B and Organization C. Moreover, work hours would be flexible, as they would sometimes work during weekends etc. As interns the researchers were also asked to do a wide variety of work assignments, e.g. write posts for social media, analyze social media, help plan events, write blog post, edit photos etc.

Another thing the researchers found during their time as members of the culture was how greatly valued education within wine was in the culture. This variable is argued by the researchers to be a level of value in the culture. It is to a high degree a norm, i.e. a value, to the culture that education is a natural step during one's path through the industry. As an example, Woman 3 argued: "So they put, we work in the same office as the WSET so we they basically encourage us to do the courses.". Additionally, to a high degree the title of Master of Wine is highly respected and valued within the culture. Oftentimes, the individuals did not plan for the education, however, as the culture values this title, the culture to a great extent encourages the members to study for the Master of Wine. Man 3 argued: "...an obvious next step to approach the Master of Wine…". Additionally, Woman 10 explained: "And I just felt like "of course" - I could not not do it, knowing that is was an option.". These examples of members valuing education within the industry and about the product are indicated in Pattern 4, *Have studied for the WSET certificate,* and Pattern 5, *Have studied for the Master of Wine examination.* These suggest that achieving wine qualifications is valuable to individuals within the wine industry as well as by the culture itself.

Additionally, Pattern 6, *Do experience a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination,* shows that having passed such an examination does make a difference to most of the interviewees. With regard to the differences from before having passed the Master of Wine and after, Man 4 explained: "And then the other thing is that they value your opinion more about their wines. I think that's a, that's another one, and in that case that can lead to work, if people want you to go and

have a look at their wine or discuss wines with you.". Hence, having a kind of 'stamp of approval' is important within the discussed culture. The same pattern was noticed during the internships, i.e. the participant observations. None of the members studied for the Master of Wine, however, two of the employees at Organization C and one employee at Organization B had studied for some of the WSET courses.

Obviously, there is no written document arguing that members of the culture by rule have to study for the Master of Wine exams; the value is not written down, however, the title is highly valuable and thus the title leads to a change of behavior as other job opportunities may arise etc. as argued by Woman 1: "I think definitely, there's an element of getting more work because of it." and Woman 10: "So it was quite nice to have that stamp of approval, like "no, no, I really do know what i am talking about". Additionally, this value was supported as the researchers were asked by Man 4, whether they were planning on studying for the Wine and Spirit Education Trust qualifications. Finally, the Master of Wine education implies to mentor new-comers in terms of Master of Wine students, thus, the culture endorses the members to educate and mentor new Master of Wine students in particular.

Despite the fact that several interviewees stressed that there is a friendly tone within the culture, e.g. Woman 3 replied: "I think it's really friendly" when answering how she would describe the tone in the industry. The researchers realized as a result of the observational participation that the culture values straightforwardness; at meetings, the researchers found that in case someone disagreed they would let others know. Furthermore, in case someone was disappointed about a colleague's work they would let them know. At times individuals fought bitterly, however, as soon as the fight finished the friendly tone returned. Thus, it is argued that the culture values a straightforwardness, however, also friendliness.

6.2.2.1.3. THE UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The third level of culture is the underlying assumptions which appear within a culture (Schein, 1990). In order to understand the above-mentioned values and to understand how they affect the behavior of a culture, one must also understand the underlying assumptions which are present in a culture (Schein, 2004).

One assumption noticed by the researchers is the great importance of camaraderie within the discussed culture. This value is of great importance and is something which is learned from old-timers to the new-comers encountering the culture. Pattern 10, *Have a great camaraderie in the wine industry*, clearly proves this value, as the majority of the interviewees explained the great camaraderie which the culture favors. As Man 3 argued "...we aren't that many people involved, so we know each other quite well, so quite well connected." and Woman 5 supported the argument: "Huge camaraderie." and furthermore, "A lot of my suppliers I consider to be more friends than suppliers." The majority argued that the industry is very friendly and non-competitive. As Woman 10 argued: "But, I honestly think it is one of the friendliest industries." and Man 2 who made really good friends within the culture: "I really enjoy the people, I've made very good friends and genuinely enjoy the company of literally hundreds of people in the wine business.".

Additionally, the importance of a great camaraderie was realized during the researchers' time at the companies, e.g. there was great camaraderie at social occasions as Christmas dinners, parties etc. Furthermore, it was noticed that the founder of one of the companies was sharing his holiday cottage to colleagues who wanted to visit it. Furthermore, the value of a great camaraderie was expressed at the event which the researchers attended. At the event, the researchers clearly saw how the members highly valued a camaraderie amongst each other. As the researchers attended the event as new-comers, the other attendees warmly welcomed the researchers and allowed them in the group and the culture. This is additionally, supported by Woman 6 who argued about the industry in general:

"...if you're allowed through the membrane then you're accepted into the wine trade and you're encouraged and you're supported.".

Finally, this level of the discussed culture is described by Woman 9: "Once you've shared a bottle of wine with someone, you're friends, you know you have a different relationship than if you haven't shared a bottle of wine". Thus, the members are all to a great extent taking a positive view on the companies that they work in, however, also on the industry in general.

Another thing the researchers to a high degree realized as joining the culture, was the great passion for the product, i.e. wine, which was shared amongst the members. It was realized how much wine was a part of the individuals' lives and not just a part of their careers. Furthermore, this was highly

supported by Pattern 9 where the cultural members expressed their great passion for wine. As Man 2 described it: "I love all of it. It's a combination of factors. I enjoy the product itself, I still get a, you know, I still feel good about pulling the cork or unscrewing the top of a bottle of wine, I like that side of if. I enjoy tasting too, I enjoy the intellectual and, the intellectual process of tasting and assessing wines.".

These findings are argued to be part of the third level of culture as this is to a high degree taken for granted as an underlying assumption. This level was also noticed at the panel discussion event which the researchers participated in. First of all, the passion for wine amongst the participants was realized as the event was voluntary to attend to, it was held during the evening, i.e. away from working hours and finally, the attendees had paid to attend the event. All three factors indicate how passionate the cultural members are about the product. Not only were the interviewees arguing for their great passion for wine in general, the majority of the interviewees also argued how happy they were about their job. This is illustrated and supported by Pattern 8, *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best*, and e.g. Woman 8: "But I love what I do. I think I'm probably in it till I die. If it keeps paying my bills yeah.".

Furthermore, culture and identity are closely related, as one will always be affected by the culture and thus the context in which one is in (Schein, 2004). Furthermore, individuals may use the culture to make sense of oneself in a specific context. Man 3 argued that a successful business is developed by good relations: "...a wine business is successful cause they'd developed good relationships, personally relationships. A sense of loyalty is developed in both directions." and "...we aren't that many people involved, so we know each other quite well, so quite well connected.". The interviews clearly proved how the culture and the identity of the individuals to a great extent are interrelated; the interviewees had a positive view on the industry, i.e. the culture, mainly because of the members, i.e. the identity of the individuals: Woman 3: "I, I, I love working here! I think it's because of my colleagues.". Thus, as Man 3 puts it "we are not from different planets".

6.2.2.2. THE CHANGE OF THE CULTURE

As previously mentioned, identities may change and develop over time, especially depending on the social setting one is operating in. Furthermore, as culture and identity are interrelated, it is argued that cultures also change over time.

A culture is a result of past experiences as well as new experiences when encountering new people (Schein, 2004). Thus, the culture in the wine industry constitute what the members, i.e. the interviewees, the researchers, and other members, believe and have experienced, however, also what they experienced when encountering the culture, encountering new members etc. Thus, the culture also changes over time. Additionally, it is previously argued that this study take the approach to cultural change as something happening as a result of external and internal factors. The interviews have in particular indicated that there has happened a change in the culture within the discussed industry.

"I suppose yea, the wine trade has become more professional. I mean like, all sort of commercial things have become this. And obviously you know how communication have improved, that would obviously make things much more. I suppose, you see the way large companies grow, and then there's a kind of fall out so there was this kind of small people coming up behind them. You know, the wine trade allows for you know the one-man band wine merchant do their own thing on quite a small scale, and then you've got the, you know, the large companies like Liberty Wine or Berry Brothers. I mean Berry Brothers are extraordinary because, you know, they're one of the oldest established wine merchants but they actually are very modern in their approach. You know, they were one of the first to start selling on the internet, you know, and they have a very good website. All that sort of thing. And they do a lot of, you know, sort of wine educations sort of evenings, you know to entertaining their customers or educating their customers. I suppose you can say that you know the wine trade has sort of manifested really, there were a lot of things you could do in the wine trade. But you know, I did join the wine trade at a time where women did not join the wine trade. The thought of doing something else than being the secretary, there were very few women sort of doing something else." (Woman 9)

Additionally, Man 3 described the change which happened and explained several reasons during the interview to why the culture had changed:

"Almost in the dead center of a 50 year wine boom in the UK ... which is essentially the democratization of wine which started, I think, 1960-1970s with a growing interest in wine and a recognition, it was for more than just posh people and a growing interest in

different regions, merging regions of wine, because we ... discovering the taste of the mediterranean, cooking books had been starting to be written, we discovered olive oil".

"I saw very clearly in the 1980s when wine first became a drink you could have without a meal, a aperitif. That was new, very new. Because there was no wines that you could drink as a aperitif before 1980 really. Wine was very much associated with sitting down at a table with a knife and fork. And the style of wine was evolved to accompanying food. And of course it has been a revolution and now I think you could say that more wine is drunk cocktail style than sitting down with a knife and fork." (Man 3)

What Man 3 argued in terms of the "50 year wine boom" and the changes that he had noticed are predominantly external factors affecting the culture of the discussed industry. As argued, external factors, e.g. as explained by Man 3, influence the culture, and may lead to internal changes in a culture. Man 3 argued furthermore, how the industry he joined was "paternalistic" and "was run by a hierarchy of course companies". Additionally, Man 4 argued how he thought that the structure of the culture had changed since he joined the industry "Because the structure of the industry, I think was slightly different back then, and the professionalism was very different back then". Man 4 explained this change of structure as: "I think that there were a number of established businesses that just kept rolling around, branding was not so significant, the supermarkets although they were, they were strong and had, they had a professional attitude, but the rest of the industry was really repeating what it had done.". The changes that Man 4 referred to, were, to a higher degree than the changes Man 3 mentioned, internal factors affecting the change. Thus, it is argued that the cultural change has happened as a result of influence from external and internal parameters.

Some of the interviewees argued how the change of observable artifacts affected the dress code in the culture, as the dress code changed from *"the red trouser brigade"*. Furthermore, a change happened in the level of culture in regard to values and norms; Man 3 argued how a change happened in terms of who gets a job and how one gets a job: "Just because somebody knew your father you wont get a job now, for that, it's gone. And that's true in lots of parts of life of course, but it certainly was, the wine sector was quite entrenched when I joined it, well before I joined it, that disappeared, it doesn't exist anymore. So it's now much more egalitarian". Thus, today the culture values the work ethics and the qualifications one has and not one's personal relations. Finally, cultural changes

happened in the underlying assumptions shared within the organizational members of the culture; as an example, Woman 10 argued how everyone is welcomed in the industry today: "I think people are really welcomed into the wine industry, which is lovely.". Additionally, Man 4 described: "But that's been the major change in the last twenty years, has been increase in the number of women involved". Furthermore, as in regard to the change mentioned in the values, there also happened a change in terms of why one works in the industry; previously one often decided to work in the industry based on personal relations, however, as argued in this study today the importance of passion for wine in general is assumed to be great amongst the members.

6.2.3. THE SIMILARITIES IN IDENTITY AND CULTURE

What this analysis prove is that the members to a great extent perceive their work in a positive manner. As mentioned in the very beginning of this study, 'life satisfaction' is a concept related to one's experience of life, and is regarded as a subjective concept. The analysis illustrates how positive an experience the members have of the culture in which they work, thus, it is argued that the individuals feel a great amount of life satisfaction as they perceive and experience their lives and surroundings positively.

In terms of the levels of culture, all the members have argued for a positive and valuable perception; e.g. the non-hierarchical structure of the culture is viewed as positive, the great importance on a great camaraderie is valued, and the flexibility and the variety at work is recognized as strongly positive too. One could now question if this is just a rosy scenario the individuals for one or the other reason try to picture. However, as the researchers spent several months as members of the culture, the researchers are able to validate this positive view on work which is shared within the culture of the wine industry. Thus, it is argued that the individuals of the culture are experiencing their lives with a great satisfaction.

Conclusively, the meaning of work is very dependent on the culture as individuals use culture to make sense of themselves in a specific context. In that regard, Blustein (2006) argues that the meaning individuals attach to work depends on the cultural context they encounter, since that cultural context shape, and is shaped by, the experience of working (p. 3). Thus, the perception of oneself and of the culture affects the way the individuals, as well as the culture, perceive work too, i.e. how one approaches work.

6.3. DETERMINING THE APPROACH TO WORK

Today, one's identity is to a much larger degree connected to one's occupation rather than to one's family ties etc. Therefore, an increasing number of individuals connect who they are with what they are working with (Hardy, 1990, p. 5). According to Bellah et al. (1996), when individuals find their Calling, what they do, become who they are (p. 66). Thus, individuals' identities are closely connected with their work - and even more so if they have found their Calling. The semantic analysis showed that individuals within the wine industry approach their work as a Calling:

*"So I realized that this was my sort of **calling**, I suppose."* (Man 5)

6.3.1. THE REASONS FOR WORKING

In this study, Bellah et al.'s (1996) definitions of Job, Career, and Calling (p. 66) are applied for the purpose of studying the members of the wine industry's approach to work and how this may affect their life satisfaction. Due to the shared culture within the wine industry, it is argued that the members have similar reasons for working. It is argued that the reasons to why one works affect one's approach to work as these are two sides of the same coin.

6.3.1.1. A LOVE FOR WINE

One pattern found by the researchers in the semantic analysis was that a majority of the interviewees expressed their love for wine as a reason for having the job that they have. Additionally, it was proven that the culture favors a high passion for wine and that the individuals as a result of that most often identify themselves with wine.

As argued, when an individual has found his/her Calling, what they do become who they are (Bellah et al., 1996, p. 66). The researchers saw that the interviewees' identities changed through their time in the wine industry. Most of the interviewees did not start in the wine industry due to a love for wine, they started merely as a coincidence. This is apparent from Pattern 2, *Have chosen the wine industry at random*, for example when talking about why she decided to join the wine industry, Woman 2 explained: "…I mean, that decision to go into the wine trade was right, was a panic decision in a way. It was me at the end, literally, I finish my exams and I'm like what the hell do I do now." and Woman 7 declared: "It was not to go into wine, it was to go into journalism.". However, through their time in

the industry they developed a love and a passion for the very product the industry revolves around: wine. In that regard, as evident from Pattern 13, *Do identify with wine*, the interviewees started identifying with wine during their time in the industry. As an example, Man 3 considered himself a wine merchant: "And yes, it's a good label to have around your neck that you're a wine merchant.". It is not just something he does, it is something he is.

Even though it was not a part of the interview structure (Appendix 1) to ask the interviewees what they thought of wine in itself, this is something that came up in nearly all the interviews. Most of the interviewees would at some point during the interview express a love for wine. This is connected with Pattern 9, *Have a passion for wine*. When asked what the best things about the industry was, Woman 1 argued: "Wine is the most fascinating, extraordinary, wonderful product, it really is.", and to the same question Man 2 claimed: "I love all of it. It's a combination of factors. I enjoy the product itself, I still get a, you know, I still feel good about pulling the cork or unscrewing the top of a bottle of wine, I like that side of if. I enjoy tasting too, I enjoy the intellectual and, the intellectual process of tasting and assessing wines.".

This pattern also showed up during the participant observations in Organization B and Organization C. The employees' biggest interest was without a doubt wine; it was not just an industry they worked in, it was a part of their identities. Small-talk revolved around wine, and free time was spent with something regarding wine. The founder in Organization C frequently set up blind-tastings for the employees, just for fun, i.e. after work, at the Christmas lunch etc. Moreover, if someone had had an amazing wine at their business lunch, they would bring the rest of it back to the office for the rest of the employees to taste - not because this was necessary for the work the employees did, merely because they loved tasting wine.

Moreover, the love for wine was obvious at Organization A's event as well. As mentioned with regard to the underlying assumptions of the culture, the passion for wine was clear amongst the participants in this event. The event was voluntary to attend, took place on a weeknight, and the attendees had paid to attend. It is therefore argued that the attendees are passionate about wine, since they attend such an event.

As argued in the literature review, Calling is connected with attaching a sense of meaningfulness to one's work. This meaningfulness can have a reference to God, but it does not have to, it can also be with reference to a sense of passion (Dik and Duffy, 2009, p. 427). In this case, individuals within the wine industry find their jobs meaningful because of their passion for wine. They genuinely find that wine is an extraordinary product and so fascinating to work with, and that makes the work meaningful to them.

In the beginning of their careers, a love for wine was not one of the reasons the interviewees worked in the wine industry. However, as they became a part of the culture within the wine industry, their identities transformed; the interviewees started identifying themselves in regard to wine. Thus, it is argued that individuals within the wine industry work because of their love for wine.

6.3.1.2. A CAMARADERIE IN THE INDUSTRY

Another pattern found was that a lot of the interviewees expressed a close relationship with their colleagues within the industry, which can also be considered one of the reasons for working there.

As a part of the interview structure (Appendix 1), the interviewees were asked about their relationships with their colleagues as well as other people within the wine industry. The researchers allowed for a very broad definition of the term 'colleagues', the interviewees could use it to refer to people within their respective company, people they collaborated with for one reason or another, other Master's of Wine as well as other people within their area of the industry (e.g. other wine writers etc.). In that regard, it was noticed that most of the interviewees expressed that they had very close ties with their colleagues. This is connected with Pattern 10, *Have a great camaraderie in the wine industry*. When explaining his thoughts on the wine industry, Man 3 said: "…clearly a shared interest in wine, it's quite easy to have good meetings, good dinners, good lunches, a lot of friendliness, it helps, it lubricates the relationships clearly.", moreover, when talking about her relationship with her colleagues Woman 6 argued: "...the thing about the wine trade is the lines between professional relationships and friendships gets blurred very easily, especially, if you go on trips with people you get to know them in a way that you wouldn't get to know people if you were just talking over a mug of coffee in an office environment. And also within the institute, people that you study with or people who help you as you study or people that you help in turn as they study, that also forms a strong network of relationships, so a lot of my colleagues have become my friends.", and lastly, Woman 5

stated about her relationship with individuals within the wine industry: "But generally I think that the wine trade sees itself as a large family.".

This pattern was also noticed at Organization A's event. This was evident from the ethnographic fieldnotes from the event, where the researchers noticed that the women who knew each other beforehand would greet each other with kisses: "People are smiling and mingling. Women are still coming in the door – some greet each other, some greet each other with a kiss on the cheek." (Appendix 4). This is one of the observable artifacts that was elaborated on with regard to the analysis of the levels of culture; it is argued that this informal way of greeting each other is very common within the industry. Moreover, the researchers noticed that some of the women knew each other before the event, this was explained by one of the participants at the event: "She has been to a couple of events before and says she recognizes a lot of the faces. "It is a small industry", she says and smiles." (Appendix 4). Hence, the size of the industry could be a reason for the close ties between the individuals.

During the internships, the researchers also noted the close relationships between individuals within the industry. In both Organization B and Organization C most of the employees' friends and social connections were with people from within the industry. Moreover, as was noticed through the observations during Organization A's event, greeting each other with a kiss on the cheek was very common. When participating in wine tastings the researchers noticed that a lot of people greeted by kissing each other on the cheeks - usually with individuals whom they already knew, but occasionally with people whom they met for the first time as well. This was also mentioned as one of the observable artifacts with regard to the analysis of the levels of culture. Furthermore, personal small-talk was very common at wine tastings as well.

Conclusively, on top of the love for wine, individuals within the wine industry express a love for other people within the industry as well. It appears that this is an important reason for working within the industry.

6.3.1.3. A VARIETY IN THE JOB

Another pattern was that the interviewees expressed that they enjoyed the variety with regard to the job tasks they had. The diverse work assignments also seemed to be a reason to work in the industry,

as was mentioned with regards to the values that were analyzed in connection with the levels of culture.

In regard to a Calling, the value of work is the activity in itself. Thus, when one has found one's Calling one is fully committed to the learning and practicing activities of the work, moreover, these activities are what define and shape one's identity (Bellah et al., 1996, p. 69). It is argued that the interviewees really value the activity of work in itself. Furthermore, as mentioned above, culture transformed the identities of the interviewees. In connection with this, one of the things the interviewees value is the diversity with regard to work assignments.

A part of the interview structure (Appendix 1) was to ask the interviewees about a regular day at their jobs. The researchers noticed that a lot of the interviewees found it hard to answer this question, since they did not have any typical days, their days would vary a lot. In that regard, it was noticed that this seemed to be something the interviewees really enjoyed. This is connected with Pattern 3, *Do various job tasks within the wine industry*. Woman 6, a freelance writer, stated: "Cause it's the variety I enjoy.", furthermore, Man 5 stated that the best thing about his job was: "The best thing, I think is just sort of the variation in work, I think. It's, you know, every day is pretty different."

The researchers noticed this pattern during their time in Organization B and Organization C as well. As mentioned earlier, it was observed that the employees enjoyed the flexible working hours and versatile work-days through various assignments. The employees were fond of the diversified work assignments they were asked to do. As interns, the researchers were also asked to do a wide variety of work assignments, although, working hours were not as flexible.

Hence, individuals within the wine industry enjoy the flexibility they encounter; to be able to do a range of different tasks and to have a very versatile work life. The diverse activities are a reason for individuals to be working within the industry.

6.3.1.4. THE BEST JOB

Through the semantic analysis, the researchers noticed a pattern of the interviewees loving their jobs, as well as the industry in general, which is also one of the reasons for working in the wine industry.

None of the interviewees were directly asked whether they loved their job, however, as part of the interview structure (Appendix 1) the interviewees were asked about their perceptions of the industry, what the best part of their job was, whether they would change anything about the industry and the like. These questions led to a lot of the interviewees stating how much they enjoyed their jobs and enjoyed working in the wine industry in general. This was evident from Pattern 8, *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best*. Some of the interviewees expressed that they loved their jobs, because they loved working in that particular industry, for example Man 2 explained: "…so wine has given me, it's enriched my life enormously being in the wine business, and that is just, it's a combination of factors." and Woman 3 said: "I think I'd probably enjoyed my job less if it wasn't in an industry, I don't know, it's a fun industry to work in.". Moreover, some of the interviewees expressed a love for their specific job within the industry, Woman 6 argued: "…I know that I would be spending that extra money on food and wine and travel and I get that as part of my job anyway and most of the time I like what I do and I like most of the people that I work with so I'm genuinely pretty happy with my life.", moreover, Woman 8 stated: "But I love what I do. I think I'm probably in it till I die. If it keeps paying my bills yeah.". No matter which angle the interviewees had on the matter, there was a clear pattern that the interviewees really enjoyed their jobs.

Pattern 11, *Expect to stay in the wine industry*, also illustrate this love for the job and the industry. As a part of the interview structure (Appendix 1), the interviewees were asked whether they expected to stay in the wine industry until they retired. All of the interviewees who were asked this question said that they expected to keep working in the wine industry. As an example, Woman 2 said: "Yea. There's no way I would retrain in anything else." and Woman 8 declared: "Ultimate goal: if I can just keep working in the wine industry and pay my bills, that would make me very happy.". The fact that the interviewees wished to stay in the wine industry was evident from their love for their jobs, and the industry in general.

These patterns were also noticeable during the participant observations. The researchers became aware of the huge impact wine had on the employees of Organization B and Organization C's lives. As mentioned earlier, their passion for wine was pronounced. Wine was just as much a part of their work lives as it was a part of their lives outside of work; these were fused together and hard to tell apart. Moreover, the researchers never asked their colleagues about whether they considered changing paths to another industry, however, from the casual conversations about work and future life prospects

it seemed apparent that everyone expected to work in the wine industry throughout their professional lives.

In connection with this, when individuals approach work as a Calling, it is like their link to the larger community. The Calling is considered the link between the individual and the public world, and the work is viewed as a contribution to the good of all (Bellah et al., 1996, p. 66). Through the semantic analysis, it was realized that a lot of the interviewees view their work as doing something good for society. This is also a part of Pattern 8, *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best.* When talking about what she thought was the best thing about the industry, Woman 11 explained: "Even when I was working in retail, I was like "This is great, I get to sell something that people actually come into the shop and they want to know about and they want to buy" it's like, a product for pleasure basically.", and in that regard, Woman 9 said: "But when you make wine, people come to see you because they want to buy wine and they're happy.". This is an aspect of why the interviewees enjoy their work, they believe that they are contributing to the greater good of the society.

Individuals within the wine industry enjoy their particular work, moreover, they enjoy working in that particular industry. They love what they do, and they feel like their work is meaningful, which is also a part of why they work in the industry. The culture is very much perceived in a positive view by its members and thus, the members have a positive perception of their jobs too.

6.3.2. THE MOTIVATION BEHIND WORKING

The motivation behind working may vary depending on one's approach towards work. During the semantic analysis, the researchers noticed a pattern of the interviewees talking about how the pay in the wine industry was generally very low. This subject often came up when talking about what the interviewees would like to change about the industry. However, as evident from the above analysis, although the matter of low pay seemed to be an issue for many of the interviewees, this was not something that caused them to consider another career path. This led the researchers to confirm one of their assumptions: *The salary within the industry is of no great importance to individuals in terms of life satisfaction.*

As argued earlier, there may be various reasons for working. When one approaches work as a Job, one basically works to make money. The Job is a way to acquire the financial means necessary to

support one's life outside of work. Work is not an outlet for one's hobbies and interests, these are lived out in one's free time (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997, p. 22). Nevertheless, financial gains are not the only reason for working.

When one has a Calling the very activity of working has meaning and value, not the profit that one can gain from working (Bellah, 1996, p. 66). As mentioned earlier, when one has found one's Calling, work is a big part of one's identity, therefore, one genuinely enjoys the activities for the sake of the activities themselves.

As argued above, the researchers noticed that the individuals within the wine industry really enjoy working. The reasons for working in the wine industry were identified as a love for the product they work with, a close relationship with the people they work with, an enjoyment of the activities at work, as well as a satisfaction with their job and the general industry. In that regard, the fact that individuals within the industry enjoy their work assignments, enjoy their particular jobs and enjoy the culture they are in, suggests that it is the activity of working that has meaning for individuals within the wine industry, not the financial gain they might obtain by working.

Thus, the motivation behind individuals working within the wine industry is argued to stem from intrinsic motivation. They feel motivated to work because the work is interesting and engaging in their eyes. For example, Woman 2 explained: "So I was quite lucky, and then I was lucky enough that I liked it. So a lot of people go into wine, you know, go into careers they don't like, and a lot of people search into wine later on in life, cause I think it's, you know, interesting.". Moreover, as mentioned with regard to the reasons for working in the industry, the individuals believe their work will better the society, as Woman 11 declared: "Even when I was working in retail, I was like "This is great, I get to sell something that people actually come into the shop and they want to know about and they want to buy" it's like, a product for pleasure basically.". Hence, they believe that their work contributes to the greater good, which make the work satisfying to them. Referring back to the second part of analysis, the individuals perceived everything in connection to their work more or less in a positive manner. Some had a rather negative perception of the salary, however, as proved, it was not a factor affecting the great satisfaction of their jobs. Overall, they perceive what they do as satisfying. Thus, the researchers of this study argue that the motivational orientation one may have, to some degree is linked to one's approach to work.

6.3.3. LIVING A CALLING VS. PERCEIVING A CALLING

Finding one's Calling increases life meaning and life satisfaction (Dik & Duffy, 2013, pp. 431-432). However, as mentioned earlier, there is a distinction between perceiving a Calling and living a Calling. Perceiving a Calling is when individuals have realized that they feel called towards a certain career, and living a Calling is when individuals are engaging in work that meets the Calling (Duffy et al., 2013, p. 220).

In the following, examples from the empirical data indicate instances of perceiving a Calling, i.e. where individuals have been able to realize their Calling, however, still not living it.

The researchers did participant observations in two different companies within the discussed industry and culture. As mentioned earlier, the founders of the two companies worked in entirely different industries beforehand for several years. The industries which the founders worked in at that point were not within the same area of work as the discussed industry, and thus, the founders did not work with wine before encountering the wine industry and founded the two companies respectively. All three founders did have a great interest in wine before they started working in the industry. The interest did surpass a general level of interest and so did their knowledge about wine. Thus, it is argued that they all had perceived their Calling at this point. As mentioned, perceiving one's Calling may increases the general well-being, however, not until one decides to live out the Calling can one increase the life satisfaction significantly. However, in case one is not able to live out the Calling, one may experience the feeling of regret (Dik and Duffy, 2013, pp. 431-432).

As the researchers found, the three founders did manage to live out their Calling; this happened as they encountered the wine industry and managed to be able to work with their Calling, i.e. wine. During the time of the participant observations, the researchers found that the founders did actually live out their Calling, and that they did experience a general life satisfaction, e.g. because of the ability to have the career that they felt called to.

A number of the interviews conducted for this study also indicated that some of the interviewees previously perceived their Calling before encountering the discussed industry. As an example, Woman 1 started her professional career as an actress, however, at some point she realized that she felt called towards wine:

"So I wasn't brought up with wine but I did love the whole restaurant culture and, everything that went with it and So to skip back to my acting I did a job where I was doing a commercial and I was, I was acting as a presenter on the commercial and really, really enjoyed it. And, and at the same time I think around, and my memory is not entirely clear, but about the same time I had already decided to go and do an evening class in wine, because a lot of actresses who, don't work enough and don't have enough to do would go and maybe do something like beauty therapy or massage and certainly when I was a young actress, but I wanted to learn about wine, so I went just to do my WSET certificate in evening class."

Additionally, Woman 10 perceived her Calling before she encountered the industry: "So I did a wine course, just in my spare time. And I realized that this was something…, well fascinating".

Furthermore, as mentioned, not having perceived one's Calling may decrease life satisfaction. One example from the interviews of not having perceived the Calling is Woman 6: "And then I came back to London and got a job in PR, in fashion PR. But it was a pretty miserable time, and after about a year, a year and a half, I ended up going back to Australia.". However, Woman 6 described how she started perceiving her Calling, wine, when she encountered the discussed industry: "Yea. So I didn't really get interested in wine until I started working at Company 1.". Woman 6 now perceived the Calling and also got to live the Calling and the life satisfaction then increased: "...I'm genuinely pretty happy with my life."

As argued, increased life satisfaction is only significant when one is able to live the Calling (Dik and Duffy, 2013, pp. 431-432). The majority of the interviews illustrated that the interviewees to a high degree was living out their Calling. Predominantly, Pattern 8, *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best,* illustrates this. As the name indicate, this pattern includes interviewees who expressed a great happiness about their job and who expressed a great enthusiasm which they all did not imagine to find elsewhere.

Man 2 clearly indicated how happy he was about his job, and how satisfied he was about his life. When asked about the best thing about his job, he answered:

"I love all of it. It's a combination of factors. I enjoy the product itself, I still get a, you know, I still feel good about pulling the cork or unscrewing the top of a bottle of wine, I like that side of if. I enjoy tasting too, I enjoy the intellectual and, the intellectual process of tasting and assessing wines. I really enjoy the people, I've made very good friends and genuinely enjoy the company of literally hundreds of people in the wine business. And I, it's enabled me to travel, to experience other cultures, to broaden my horizons, so wine has given me, it's enriched my life enormously being in the wine business, and that is just, it's a combination of factors."

Man 2 was not the only one expressing the satisfaction about their job. Woman 8 stated: "But I love what I do. I think I'm probably in it till I die." and additionally, Man 4 described it: "So the aspect of travel, so seeing different cultures, different people is terrific! And that's the part to me, part of the path of wine.". The fact that a great number of the interviewees indicated how they imagine to stay in the industry as long as possible, some until they retire, others imagine to stay the rest of their lives, also indicated the great satisfaction about their jobs. Without being directly asked about Calling, Man 5 himself described his current job: "So I realized that this was my sort of calling, I suppose.".

These examples illustrate how the majority of the interviewees at some point did perceive the Calling and also that they were all to a high degree living the Calling at the time of the interviews. As previously mentioned, there is a clear connection between being able to live out one's Calling and one's perception of satisfaction (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997, p. 29). Thus, it is argued that the life satisfaction amongst the members of the culture has increased significantly after being able to live the Calling and work with the career which they felt called to.

6.3.3.1. REALIZING A CALLING

As evident from the above analysis, it is very common for individuals to not start out their professional lives living their Calling. Finding one's Calling may take time - and it is an ongoing process of evaluating the purpose and meaningfulness of one's work activities, and whether one is contributing to the greater good of the society (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 429). Furthermore, as argued, identity creation is also an ongoing process, hence, one's perception of what constitutes meaningful work is also subject for change. The individuals that this study revolves around have not had a clear career path that resulted in them ending up in the wine industry.

School does not necessarily play a part in what occupational role one will end up possessing. According to Bellah (1996), school may lead smoothly into one's professional life, however, school may also play less of a role with regard to what one ends up doing in one's professional life (p. 67). In this regard, most of the interviewees for this study had not studied anything to do with wine in school. Although, most of interviewees graduated from university, very few studied something to do with wine initially. Thus, most of the interviewees came into the industry by a coincidence, as evident from Pattern 2, *Have chosen the wine industry at random*. As an example, Woman 12 studied chemistry, but when she graduated from university she realized: "So I didn't want to become a chemist, I thought that was very boring, and so I got a temp job at one of my friend's father's wine merchant in London. And that's kind of how I discovered the world of wine.", furthermore, Man 2 who studied French said: "And when I left university I always thought I'd become a teacher, but then I decided I didn't wanna be a teacher, and I decided to put together two things I enjoyed, French and wine to see whether I could make a, make a go at it.". Hence, to these individuals school did not lead into the occupation they would end up getting. Actually, Woman 9 stated that maybe not a lot of individuals would think about wine as something one could study for and make a career out of, she said: "I certainly never thought. You know, wine wasn't something that sort of featured in career advice.". Man 3 agreed, he put it this way: "…and it takes a special person to see the wine industry as a career. And I don't mean a specially good person, it's just not an obvious career choice.".

However, as mentioned earlier, it is quite common to switch careers during the course of one's professional life. Through switching careers one develops one's occupational self-concept. This is a process of personal growth; as one matures and learns more about oneself, one also learn which jobs are suited for one (Ahn et al., 2017, p. 48). As mentioned above, the founders of Organization B and Organization C have all been in other industries before they joined the wine industry. However, their high level of interest in wine made them perceive wine as their Calling and thus switch industry, in order to live out their Calling. Some of the interviewees had also worked in other industries before the wine industry, but switched to the wine industry to live their Calling. Thus, as they developed their occupational self-concept, they learned more about what was valuable to them and which jobs were best suited for them. In that regard, they decided to switch lanes and move into the wine industry, which they perceived to be a better fit for them.

Hence, initially these individuals within the wine industry did not know that they were going to work in the wine industry. Some went to university and studied something completely different, and some even started their career in another industry. However, throughout a continuous process of learning and growing, these individuals came to the conclusion that they belonged in the wine industry; and they are now living their Calling. This is a result of a transformation of identity; as argued all interviewees have experienced a formation of self, some more radical than others, however, this transformation led the individuals to find their Call, and therefore, approach their work as living their Calling.

6.3.4. APPROACHING WORK AS A CALLING

In summary, individuals approach work in different ways, have different reasons for working, and feel motivated to work by different incentives. A Calling may occur in context of any areas of work (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 430), however, it is linked to connecting a certain meaningfulness and enjoyment to one's work activities. It was found in the analysis that individuals within the wine industry have a similar approach to work, similar reasons for working, and feel motivated to work by similar incentives. The analysis of these proved that individuals within the wine industry have found their Calling - and moreover, that they are living it.

The approach the individuals have to work is to a great extent affected by their perceptions of themselves and of the culture. Thus, the researchers are able confirm another assumption from **chapter 1**: *As a result of some factors, e.g. culture and identity, being present at one's workplace, one's life satisfaction will increase.* The individuals approach work as a Calling, and previous studies have shown that this approach to work increases life satisfaction. However, as mentioned earlier, the life satisfaction of the individuals also became evident from the members' positive perceptions of the wine industry.

7. DISCUSSION

7.1. THE KEY FINDINGS

The researchers conducted a thorough analysis of the wine industry. This analysis shows that there are multiple interesting similarities between the members of the industry; their identities, the culture, and consequently the meaning they attach to working. In the following, the approach to work within the wine industry is discussed.

Individuals are increasingly identifying themselves in regard to their occupations (Hardy, 1990, p. 5). The researchers found this to be true for the members of the wine industry as well. As was evident from the analysis, it is argued that the members of the wine industry went through an identity formation. However, the interviewees experienced the identity transformation to a greater or lesser extent depending on their starting points. It became evident from Pattern 13, *Do identify with wine*, that the interviewees would consider their various titles within the wine industry as something they were, rather than something they had. Moreover, the researchers noticed that the interviewees defined themselves as more knowledgeable, qualified, respected, and valuable after having passed the Master of Wine examination, as evident from Pattern 6, *Have experienced a difference after having passed the Master of Wine examination*. Thus, it is argued that the occupation plays a large part in the way that members of the wine industry define themselves. Because work plays such a large part in how the members of the industry define themselves, work also plays a large part with regard to their perceptions of their own satisfaction in life in general. Working is more than just a way of passing the time, it is a part of their identities, therefore, it is argued that work can determine their life satisfaction.

It is argued that there is a shared culture within the wine industry, thus, that culture will affect the identities of the members. A culture is the group identity; the shared beliefs and values within a group of people. According to Blustein (2006), culture shapes one's experience of working, hence, the meaning individuals attach to work depends on their cultural context (p. 3). Therefore, it is argued

that the culture within the wine industry is of great importance when it comes to the meaning individuals within the industry attach to work. Three levels of culture within the wine industry were analyzed. The researchers noticed similar observable artifacts, values, and assumptions within the wine industry and found that the culture values a general satisfaction about one's job amongst the members. However, as the culture is constituted of the beliefs and values of the members, these may change over time - just as the identities of the members may change. In connection with this, it is argued that there has been a cultural transformation within the industry, which has affected the way the individuals and thus, the culture approach work. As a result of the cultural change which happened, the culture does to a higher degree favor the knowledge, the capacity and the passion of the individuals than previously. The analysis proves that the culture, and therefore also the individuals, value an area where everyone is allowed and welcomed as long as they do a great and enthusiastic job. The culture does not care about what clothes one is wearing, which education one has, or which family one comes from. Previously, these were important factors to the culture. Today the culture values a great camaraderie and the focus is predominantly on the fact that one loves what one does and that one therefore is good at it. This great importance of knowledge and passion will by definition affect the approach the individuals have to work. Nevertheless, although some aspects have changed as a result of the cultural transformation, it is also argued that some aspects have remained fixed, since a cultural system usually cannot be changed overnight, this happens over many years, generations, centuries etc.

It is argued that the culture in the wine industry played a part in the identity transformation amongst the members, however, it is likewise argued that the identities of the members affected the cultural transformation within the industry. Thus, the relationship between one's identity and the culture one encounter is interrelated. Based on this, the researchers argue that learning a culture undeniably requires some sort of identity formation. As the individuals learn the observable artifacts, the values, and the underlying assumptions within the industry, their identities will to some extent change with these new inputs; although the individuals did not initially identify with wine, this change as they learn the culture. Hence, it is argued that the setting does matter in how people see themselves and describe themselves. As the individuals entered the wine industry they may have had certain ideas about themselves that they carried into the settings they entered into, however, people are not completely free spirits. Thus, there are things in the cultural setting that an individual entering the wine industry cannot change and therefore have to deal with. One is not completely in control over

the construction of one's own identity as one does not always have control over the settings one may find oneself in. Thus, it is argued that the culture within the wine industry influences the way the members structure their identities as they learn to enter into this new social space, i.e. the wine industry. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, it is also argued that the experiences of members of a culture may change the culture. The experiences that new-comers to the industry take with them into their new social setting (the wine industry) affect the culture, which can result in a cultural transformation.

Everyone has ideas about themselves that may work at a certain time and place, however, as we go through life and jobs, our values may shift and thus our ideas of ourselves will change as well; this is evident from the identity transformation and the cultural transformation. It is argued that one's culture and identity affect the way one approaches work, and the meaning that one attaches to the activity of working. For the purpose of this study, the cultural setting of the wine industry was examined and in that regard the identities of the members were analyzed. It is argued that the cultural scene affects the members' experience of working, and therefore, the meaning they attach to the activity of working. Moreover, since there is a shared culture within the wine industry, it is argued that it is possible to say something general about the approach to work within the wine industry.

Through the analysis of the culture within the wine industry, the identities of the members of the wine industry, and their reasons and motivations behind working, the researchers found that individuals within the wine industry approach work as a Calling. Approaching work as a Calling is connected with seeing work as particularly meaningful - and often as contributing to the greater good of the society. When an individual has a Calling, it is the very activity of working that has meaning, value, and purpose, not the profit that may result from it. Through the analysis, the researchers found that members of the industry find the very activity of their work meaningful. Although, a lot of the interviewees mention that they found the pay in the industry unreasonably low, Pattern 7, *Do believe the pay in the wine industry is low*, almost all interviewees also mention a great love for their particular jobs and the industry in general, Pattern 8, *Do believe working in the wine industry is the best*. This may partly be because of their profound passion wine, which appeared from Pattern 9, *Have a passion for wine*. Moreover, it is argued that the interviewees feel that they contribute to the greater good since wine is a product for pleasure. These patterns recurred through the internships in Organization B and Organization C and at the event arranged by Organization A. Based on this, it is

argued that money is not the main motivation behind working for the members of the wine industry. The researchers argue that this can be explained by the fact that the members of the industry are motivated by intrinsic motivation. As mentioned above, they feel motivated to work because they view their work to be captivating and meaningful. Thus, it is possible to argue that when approaching work as a Calling one will always be motivated by intrinsic factors. Conclusively, members of the wine industry feel motivated to work because it brings them internal rewards rather than any external rewards. The members find meaningfulness and purpose through their work, and it is a big part of their identities, therefore, it is argued to be their passion and their Calling.

Finally, it is argued that the members of the wine industry have not only found their Calling, they are living it. Not a lot of individuals may consider the wine industry when choosing a career, thus, it has been found that a lot of the members have studied something that does not have anything to do with wine in school or university. Moreover, many had a career in another industry before shifting to the wine industry. It is argued, that a lot of the members of the industry joined it by a coincidence, as evident from Pattern 2, *Have chosen the wine industry at random*. However, as they learned the culture, their identities shifted; they now identify with wine; wine is their passion and their Calling. Nevertheless, there are also members of the industry, who worked in another industry previously, but who realized that wine was their true Calling, and thus changed careers to live their Calling. Switching careers is a way to develop one's occupational self-concept. This process enables one to learn which jobs are best suited for one (Ahn et al., 2017, p. 48). Thus, this is argued to be a conscious decision where the individuals learned more about themselves, perceived a Calling and then changed career path. No matter how the individuals ended up in the wine industry, it is argued that they are living their Calling which is to work with wine.

It is argued that the individuals within the wine industry perceive their lives with a great satisfaction, since wine is a part of their identities and they have a profound passion for wine. Moreover, it is argued that living a Calling generally increases life satisfaction. Thus, the multilateral approach of the present study to individuals' approach to work has proved to provide multiple evidence of how work can increase life satisfaction. The researchers found that the culture within the industry, the identity of the members of the industry as well as their approaches to work are all important factors with regard to increased life satisfaction.

7.2. A CONTRADICTION TO A CALLING: A COMPARISON

It is argued that work can increase life satisfaction based on multiple factors; the identity, the culture within the organization as well as approaching the work as a Calling. However, it is also argued that there are other ways to approach work than just the one that has proven to be present in the wine industry. In order to confirm that working in the wine industry has increased the life satisfaction of the members of the industry - and that this is based on their identities, the culture and their approaches to work - the researchers compare the present study with a study that propose a very different angle on the study of work.

In the following, individuals' different approaches to work will be discussed by means of a comparison between the present study and the work of Graeber in *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory* (2018).

7.2.1. INTRODUCING BULLSHIT JOBS

Graeber's work started with a general wondering. He proposed that some jobs are useless and wondered whether individuals who hold these jobs think the jobs are useless as well. This turned into an essay in the magazine *Strike!* called *On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs* published in August 2013 (Graeber, 2018, p. 6). The essay received huge attention and therefore led to the book *Bullshit Jobs: A Theory* published in May 2018 (Graeber, 2018, p. 12).

The main argument in Graeber's (2018) work is that there are jobs out there that do not make a meaningful contribution to the world, and that this is clear to the individuals who hold these jobs as well; he calls these jobs 'bullshit jobs' (p. 7). Graeber's exact definition of bullshit jobs is the following:

"...a bullshit job is a form of paid employment that is so completely pointless, unnecessary, or pernicious that even the employee cannot justify its existence even though, as part of the conditions of employment, the employee feels obliged to pretend that this is not the case." (Graeber, 2018, p. 19)

Furthermore, Graeber (2018) argues that these jobs make no economic sense for the society, thus, there must be a political or moral purpose for them to still exist (p. 8). This is what is investigated throughout his work.

Graeber's data are divided into two bodies. First of all, following his essay *On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs* multiple newspapers and blogs ran his essay which resulted in a lot of online discussions where people shared their personal experiences with bullshit jobs - Graeber downloaded 124 of these personal stories. Second of all, through his Twitter account Graeber encouraged people to share their personal experiences with bullshit jobs, which resulted in 250 personal stories of various lengths. The respondents came primarily from English-speaking countries but also from various other countries around the world. Moreover, Graeber was generally able to ask his respondents follow-up questions where he found it necessary, and he often engaged in long conversations with the respondents. Hence, oftentimes the data took form of an ongoing dialogue. Finally, the research was thoroughly color coded and used for qualitative analysis (Graeber, 2018, p. 33).

Graeber (2018) does not propose that he can determine which jobs are useless and which are not. His distinctions are based on the subjective element, i.e. the workers' own perceptions as for whether their jobs are meaningful and contributing to the world (Graeber, 2018, p. 20). According to Graeber (2018), bullshit jobs can be divided into five categories: flunkies, goons, duct tapers, box tickers, and taskmasters (p. 34). One job can belong to multiple of these categories at the same time (Graeber, 2018, p. 53).

7.2.2. FINDING YOUR CALLING VS. HAVING A BULLSHIT JOB

In the present study, it is argued that working in the wine industry makes the members of the industry happy. On the other hand, Graeber (2018) argues that having a bullshit job generally makes one miserable (p. 58). Thus, to the individuals in Graeber's study, work does not increase their life satisfaction. So why is that? What are the differences with regard to the approach to work between the individuals participating in the present study compared to the individuals in Graeber's study? This is discussed in the following.

First of all, it should be emphasized that both studies are based on subjectivity. In the present study, the research is mainly based on the personal stories of members of the wine industry. In Graeber's work, the research is primarily based on the personal stories of individuals who have or have had a bullshit job. However, it is argued that the findings in the two studies can be transferred to make general conclusions.

Graeber collected the following response from the comments section on a magazine that had reposted his essay from 2013:

"I contribute nothing to this world and am utterly miserable all of the time."
(Graeber, 2018, p. 10).

The person who commented this further explained that the only reasons he/she was working were to make money to buy a nice house and raise his/her future kids (Graeber, 2018, p. 10). Moreover, another personal story Graeber (2018) collected was from Eric who explained how his first job after university was completely pointless. Eric was hired to work on a project that a partner at the company had pushed through but that the employees did not want to be successful. Eric explains:

"They needed me precisely because I didn't have the skills to implement something that they didn't want to implement…" (Graeber, 2018, p. 60)

Eric tried to quit his job multiple times, however, every time his boss merely offered him a pay raise which made him stay. Eric also tried to see how unreasonable he could get away with acting, hoping he would get fired, but this did not work either. Finally, Eric managed to quit at a time when his boss was on vacation (Graeber, 2018, p. 60). Thus, to these individuals, who both hold or have held bullshits jobs, money is the primary motivation for working. In the first example the individual explicitly say that he/she works only to make money, on the other hand, Eric is not explicit about this, but the fact that he keeps his job every time he is offered a pay raise suggests that money is the only reason he stays in the job.

For the purpose of this study, three approaches to work have been applied: seeing work as a Job, a Career or a Calling. Individuals who hold bullshit jobs are arguable approaching work as a Job, i.e. they work merely to make money, not because of any interest in their work. This is contrary to the members of the wine industry, who work because it brings them fulfillment and provides meaning in their life, and because their work is part of who they are, i.e. their identities. Moreover, where intrinsic motivators are the primary motivation for the members of the wine industry, the individuals with bullshit jobs are argued to be motivated by extrinsic motivation. Thus, the individuals who hold

bullshit jobs feel motivated to retain their jobs because it brings rewards: in this case, financial rewards.

It is mentioned earlier in this study that a common assumption is that money is the primary factor when it comes to whether individuals are happy with their jobs or not. The researchers argue that this assumption is false. This study shows that many factors can contribute to one's satisfaction with one's work, and that one's approach to work can increase one's general life satisfaction. With regard to the members of the wine industry, the factors that contribute to their satisfaction with their work have not only been their approach to work - their identities as well as the culture within the wine industry have also proven to be important factors. Moreover, it is argued that work does contribute to the life satisfaction of the members of the industry. The combination of the fact that work is a part of their identities, that the culture assumes that working in the wine industry is the best, and that the members approach work as a Calling contribute to the increase in life satisfaction among the members of the wine industry.

Graeber's work also touches on this false assumption. According to Graeber (2018) people who hold bullshit jobs are generally unhappy, and he questions why this is. An obvious assumption would be that people holding bullshit jobs are actually quite lucky; they are basically getting paid to do nothing (Graeber, 2018, p. 58). However, Graeber (2018) supports the claim of the present study: individuals are not necessarily happy with their job just because they make money (p. 66).

What then makes individuals happy with their jobs? Bellah et al. (1996) do not suggests that one is happier with either of the three approaches to work. However, Dik and Duffy (2013) argue that living a Calling increases life satisfaction (pp. 431-432), as opposed to the two other approaches to work. It is evident from Graeber's (2018) work that individuals with bullshit jobs are miserable (p. 58), and it is argued that these individuals approach work as a Job. On the other hand, it is argued that individuals within the wine industry are happy and that these approach work as a Calling. The present study does support Dik and Duffy's (2013) claim that living a Calling is connected with increased life satisfaction. However, it is argued that other factors matter as well.

One's identity and culture are interrelated, and these play a large role in one's approach to work. Wine is a part of the members' identity; what they do has become who they are. Therefore, when the

individuals in the wine industry are happy with their work, they are happy with their lives. Since the identities are shaped by the culture within the industry, the shared observable artifacts, values, and underlying assumptions have informed the researchers about the individuals within the wine industry's approach to work. Thus, it is argued that it is not only due to the individuals with bullshit jobs' approach to work that they are miserable, their identities and the culture at their workplace also have a say in this regard. In connection with this, Graeber (2018) did encounter individuals during his work, who had a bullshit job but who were not miserable because of it. But this was the vast minority, so he did not study these further (pp. 81-82). However, Graeber (2018) does propose that it might be because they enjoy the camaraderie at the workplace, since many people have their primary personal connection at the workplace (p. 82). This is connected with the culture, and camaraderie was one of the underlying assumptions the researchers noticed when analyzing the levels of the culture in the wine industry. Thus, this supports the researchers' claim that culture is a part of determining whether one is happy or miserable at one's job.

Graeber proposes 'trauma of failed influence' as an explanation for why individuals with bullshit jobs are not satisfied. This is based on a theory from the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Francis Broucek (1974), who developed the theory to explain children's reaction to being given the experience of causing a certain effect and then suddenly being denied this effect (Graeber, 2018, p. 68). According to Graeber, this could be an explanation for:

"…*why being trapped in a job where one is treated as if one were usefully employed, and has to play along with the pretense that one is usefully employed, but at the same time, is keenly aware one is not usefully employed, would have devastating effects*." (Graeber, 2018, p. 68).

It is previously mentioned that the individuals within the wine industry feel like their jobs provide a meaningful contribution to the society, which is also an explanation for why they are happy and satisfied with their jobs. Thus, the researchers do follow Graeber's (2018) claim with regard to 'trauma of failed influence' that not being able to make a meaningful contribution can make one unhappy in one's work. In connection with this, Graeber (2018) proposes the questions: "Who exactly is forcing you to pretend to work?" (Graeber, 2018, p. 80). This question is quite interesting to consider with regard to the connection between work and life satisfaction, because why do these people hold a bullshit job if it makes them unhappy? According to Graeber (2018), there are political

reasons for not eradicating these bullshit jobs from the society (p. 8), however, that is not something the researchers will get into here. Instead the researchers propose that this gets back to these individuals viewing work as a Job; it is merely a way to make money.

The comparison proves that there are different ways of approaching work, and not everyone approaches work in a way that increases their life satisfaction. For individuals within the wine industry, work increases their life satisfaction. However, for individuals with bullshit jobs, work does not increase their life satisfaction. These differences are due to the different ways the individuals approach work, but it is also due to the differences with regard to identity and culture.

8. CONCLUSION

The point of departure for the present study was that the researchers were worried about entering the labor market full time. The researchers had continuously heard negative stories about how unsatisfied, miserable, and unhappy everyone felt at their workplaces. Until they encountered the wine industry and found that in fact some were happy and satisfied about their jobs. This changed the researchers' view and perception of the labor market and they wanted to investigate the reasons why the people in this industry were this happy.

This led to a set of assumptions leading to the final problem formulation for this study:

How can individuals approach work in a way that increases life satisfaction?

To conclude on this problem formulation, the present study found that in order to increase life satisfaction one should approach one's work as a Calling. This is not a revolutionary result as previous literature argue for the same position. However, the present research proves that the identity of individuals and the culture the individuals find themselves in, influence life satisfaction and thus, their approach to work too.

The analysis proves how individuals of the culture transformed their identities into identifying with the product: wine. Initially, the majority did not even think of wine as an industry, just something they now and then drank. However, the individuals managed to transform their identities into becoming a part of the cultural context they now work in and identify with their jobs. Thus, it is concluded that one's occupation plays a large part in the way one defines oneself and affects the way one perceives the level of satisfaction.

It is concluded that the meaning one attaches to the activity of working is affected by one's identity as well as the cultural scene. Thus, the identity formation has happened as a result of the culture too.

The culture in the wine industry has changed over a period of time and thus, the approach the members have to work has changed too. Today, the culture values great knowledge of the product, it values great work ethics, and it allows everyone to become members as long as one values the product and is ready to learn more about it. Hence, the culture favors and values a general satisfaction about one's job, i.e. the cultural context endorses the individuals to become satisfied about their job and what they do, and thus, their life satisfaction to increase.

The analysis finds that the members of the industry perceive the very activity of their work as meaningful and as to have a purpose, i.e. as their Calling. Thus, the members feel that they contribute to the greater good. It is therefore concluded that the members of the industry are motivated by intrinsic motivation. Hence, it is argued that when approaching work as a Calling one will be motivated by intrinsic factors

Conclusively, the researchers argue that approaching work as a Calling increases life satisfaction. Additionally, the study proves that one's identity as well as the culture one is in affects one's reasons to work, thus, how one approaches work. From an individual point of view, one should feel motivated to one's job by intrinsic factors as well as to transform one's identity into identifying with one's occupation in order to increase life satisfaction. However, it is not possible for an individual to implement this formation by oneself, as the culture one is in will affect this too. It is argued that in order to increase life satisfaction from a cultural point of view, the culture must value a general satisfaction about one's job amongst its members, and thus, endorses the individuals to perceive themselves as satisfied.

9. FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

The approach to the present study has been inductive and the aim has been to make general conclusions based on the empirical data. The researchers have been able to draw general conclusions based on a case study, which has resulted in a theoretical argument. Thus, the study has offered a theoretical argument which may be beneficial to apply to other case studies too in order to improve life satisfaction amongst workers.

The main focus of the present study has been on the individuals' own perceptions of their jobs and their life satisfaction as a result of their work. Thus, the present study primarily focused on the internal aspects of one's perception of work and life satisfaction. However, one could argue that external aspects could influence this too. How do others perceive one's job? Do others' points of view affect one's own perception of one's job? Elaborating on external aspects could lead to further research.

The present study has been restricted in terms of the empirical data being collected from within the same industry. The problem formulation would be applicable to other industries than the one which has worked as case material for the present study.

The theoretical argument would be applicable to other cultures; however, it requires for the cultural members to have found their Calling and thereby being able to approach work as a Calling. As found in **chapter 7**, for individuals who do not approach work as a Calling, life satisfaction is not increased by the means of one's job as seen with individuals approaching work as a Calling. Thus, in cases where individuals still have not found their Calling the theoretical argument will not be as easily applied.

The theoretical argument found as a result of this study is focused on the fact that the individuals all found their Calling and are now living it. However, what about individuals who have not found their Calling yet? How should they approach their current work in order to increase life satisfaction? These

questions would easily lead into another study focusing on how to find one's Calling, or whether one can approach a job which does not appear as one's Calling and still increase life satisfaction. The researchers have found that one's identity and the culture play a huge role in order to increase life satisfaction too. However, is this enough to increase life satisfaction in itself? All this could easily lead to elaborating research within the same area of subject.

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