

**Exploring the Roots of Knowledge
Workers' Identity in their
Everyday Life and Consumption
Practices**

**Özlem Akman
104801004**

**İSTANBUL BİLGİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ**

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**Prof.Dr. Ahmet Süerdem
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Abstract

The aim of this research is to explore how knowledge workers in two different work groups integrate their work-home activities and consumption around their professional identity.

Knowledge work and knowledge workers are among the relevant themes in literature as the importance of knowledge is rising in everyday life. This study pursued a different understanding and aims to reflect the differences between two knowledge work groups rather than making general conclusions.

Two different work groups are the professionals in advertising agencies and financial audit companies, which are both stated as knowledge workers. However, their work context and usage of knowledge at work are significantly different compared to each other. These differences also shape their definition of identity at work. Meanwhile, their work identity affects their everyday life and work-home balance. For the advertising professionals, knowledge is derived from the life itself and every knowledge channel is valuable for their work. Therefore, it is difficult to draw boundaries between work and home. However, for the financial audit professionals knowledge is mostly gathered through work related activities and home is a place for relaxation after work.

To discuss these differences between groups, an empirical study was conducted with the professionals in advertising agencies and financial audit

firms. Through the interviews which are based on their narratives, the aim is to understand work-home boundaries and consumption activities of two work groups which are shaped by their professional identity.

Key words: Knowledge worker, work, identity, consumption

Tezin Özeti

Bu çalışmanın amacı, iki farklı sektörde çalışan bilgi işçilerinin günlük yaşamlarında işle ilgili aktivitelerini, iş dışındaki aktivitelerini ve tüketim davranışlarını profesyonel kimlik çerçevesinde nasıl birleştirdiklerini incelemektir.

Günlük yaşamda bilginin öneminin gittikçe artmasıyla beraber, bilgi ve bilgi işçileri literatürde önemli konular haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışmada, genel sonuçlar çıkarmak yerine, iki farklı bilgi işçisi grubundaki farkların tartışılması amaçlanmıştır. İki farklı iş grubu reklam ajanslarında ve finansal denetim firmasında çalışan ve bilgi işçileri olarak tanımlanan profesyonellerdir. Fakat, işin yapısı ve kullandıkları bilgi çeşidi birbirlerinden oldukça farklıdır. Bu farklılık, onların kendilerini nasıl tanımladıklarını da etkilemektedir. Aynı zamanda, bu farklılık günlük yaşantılarına ve tüketim alışkanlıklarına da yansımaktadır. Reklam ajansında çalışan profesyoneller için, yaşamın kendisi bilgi kaynağıdır ve işleri için her türlü bilgi değerlidir. Bu yüzden de ev ve iş arasında kesin sınırlar koymak onlar için zordur. Fakat finansal denetim firmasında çalışanlar için, bilgi çoğunlukla işle ilgili aktiviteler sonucunda elde edilir ve ev onlar için daha çok rahatlama yeridir.

Bu iki grup arasındaki farkları daha iyi yansıtmak için, reklam ajansında ve finansal denetim firmasında çalışan profesyonellerle görüşülerek, sahasal bir çalışma yapılmıştır. Çalışanların kendi hikâyelerine

dayanan grmelerle hedeflenen, alıanların profesyonel kimlikleri erevesinde onların gnlk yaantılarını, ev ve i sınırlarını ve tketim alışkanlıklarını nasıl oluturduklarını daha iyi anlamaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bilgi içileri, i, kimlik, tketim

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Introduction

As the structure of the society changes, knowledge workers become a vivid work group in the postindustrial society. The first studies of knowledge were related to the economic role of knowledge in the society. However, in the later studies, the importance of knowledge worker has started to be discussed. As the organizations understand the significance of knowledge workers and their problem-solving abilities, creativity, talent and intelligence; importance of knowledge workers and their productivity have become one of the important issues in the literature.

However, knowledge is a problematic issue since it is very hard to define its borders. There are different kinds of knowledge such as tacit or explicit, embodied or embrained knowledge, cultural or theoretical knowledge. In many studies, the types of knowledge are discussed, and the broadness and complexity of the subject provides new researches in the literature.

One of the topics related with knowledge workers' is the issue of identity. Identity is multi-faced, which may be discussed in different contexts. This study mainly focuses on professional identity of the workers with the aim of discussing how they define themselves as knowledge workers. Identity may constitute a link between work life and consumption of the professionals and setting or eliminating boundaries between work and leisure.

Through discussing professional identity of the knowledge workers, the aim of the study is to discuss how the professionals organize their everyday life and consumption. Knowledge workers in the advertising agencies and financial audit professionals are two different knowledge work groups, therefore, this study narrows the scope discussing the topics in specific work groups rather than making general conclusions about knowledge workers.

With this framework, this study is constituted of four chapters, which are organized as literature review, research design, findings and conclusion. The topic of the research covers many relevant issues in the literature such as knowledge, knowledge worker, identity, everyday life and consumption; therefore in the literature review part, these basic concepts which frame the research are going to be revealed. Because of the broad scope of knowledge workers, two specific sectors were chosen to focus on work context, identity and everyday life of the professionals.

The research design section is constituted of research methodology, data analysis and interpretation of data. Semi-structured interviews consisted of narratives of the professionals are the basic data sources of this study. Data collected through the interviews was analyzed through a computer program, which enables to manage large amount of data, organize the texts and defining codes of the study.

The following part presents the findings of the research emerging from the interviews with the professionals in advertising agencies and financial audit companies. Findings aim to reflect the differences between

two work groups, their definition of work identity, type of knowledge they use, meaning of everyday activities and consumption patterns. Results highlight differences in type of knowledge, professional identity, structure of work and meaning of consumption between two work groups.

The last part of the study is the conclusion which discusses the overall process of the research. Conclusion part is then followed by contributions of the research, limitations of the study and ideas for the future researches.

1. Literature Review

Literature review aims to cover the basic topics which are going to be discussed throughout the research. In this study, the main themes are knowledge work and workers, their identity and consumption. Therefore, the literature review part is designed to discuss these themes from a theoretical perspective.

In the first part of the study, important issues about knowledge, knowledge-intensive organizations and knowledge workers will be addressed. Debates about importance of knowledge, knowledge economy and role of knowledge in the society shed light to the formation of knowledge workers and knowledge-intensive organizations. Meanwhile, discussions such as the types of knowledge or management of knowledge workers are critical to understand the structure of the knowledge work. Furthermore, as this study aims to understand how the knowledge workers construct their identities in their everyday experiences, it's crucial to understand the structure of work and their work environment.

The second part of the literature review will comprise some major debates about how the individuals construct their identities. Different debates in the literature such as self identity, social identity and identity work will be discussed to emphasize the ways of how the individual defines identity. In the postmodern discourses, identity of the self is considered as fragmented and fluid. Work group of the individual is one of the spheres that affect the social identity of the self. Therefore, to understand how

knowledge workers construct their work identity, clues will be traced in their work environment, gathering and using of knowledge (both in work and social life), job characteristics (responsibilities, roles, tasks) and relations (with client, peers, and other work related and social).

Gathering knowledge is one of the crucial characteristics of knowledge workers. Therefore, workers collect knowledge through different channels in their work environment and also in their private life. This causes blurring boundaries between work-home activities of the self. Consequently, not only work related activities but also lifestyle and consumption of the individuals carry some clues for the identity(ies) of the self. Therefore, consumption is going to be discussed later to reflect how work affects the consumption of knowledge workers.

The aim of the study is to discuss how the knowledge workers in two different knowledge work groups organize their everyday life and consumption around their professional identity and in the last part of the literature review, study will focus on advertising agencies and financial audit companies as the knowledge-intensive firms.

1.1. Transformation of Society

When the major challenges facing our society throughout the 20th century are questioned, this may be concluded that many factors such as wars, political conflicts, technological developments, social structure, and globalization have led to a process of change. As the production methods and demands of society revolutionize, the structure of work and workers transform themselves to the new structure in the society.

The twentieth century experienced a rapid and radical social change such as in the first quarter of the century, blue-collar workers in the manufacturing industry were the largest single occupational group; however, in the last quarter, industrial workers began to decline fast (Drucker 1989:182).

The coming of this new society is labeled as “post-industrial society” by Bell (1976) which is described as a social forecast about a change in the social framework of Western Society (Bell 1976: 9). Shift from goods producing to service businesses in the economy is considered as one of the major dimensions in the postindustrial society (Bell 1976). In the post industrial society, the dominance of the social group does not deal with agriculture or manufacturing but with service such as banking, trade, health or transportation. In the post-industrial society, raw muscle power is not as important as it was in pre-industrial and industrial societies. Not only where people work, but also the kind of work they do have changed in the new occupational distribution in the economy. Despite the dominance of semi-

skilled worker within the industrial society; in the postindustrial society, white-collar occupations have gained superiority with the emphasis on education, office work and government (Bell 1976: 17).

Another challenge is the growth of professional and technical employment. Since these jobs require a formal education, knowledge will be distinctive in the society and decisive in the organizational decisions. Therefore, knowledge is the central for as a source of innovation and policy formulation for the society (Bell 1976: 14-21).

Bell (1976) indicates the importance of the knowledge as the primary cause and component of post-industrial society. Research and development, automation and the spread of higher education are some of the manifestations of knowledge in the post-industrial society (Hage & Powers 1992: 29). Rather than labour and manual skills, new businesses and work are based on knowledge. Therefore, as Giddens (1973:261) states “post-industrialism is qualitatively different than industrialism because there is a dominance of knowledge”.

1.2. Knowledge Economy, Knowledge Work and Knowledge Workers

With the transformation of society and work from production oriented to service oriented and knowledge-centered state, the theories of knowledge occupy a crucial place in the literature. The role and significance of knowledge in this new era, is discussed through different themes with

concluding different reviews and debates. In this section, concepts which are related with knowledge are going to be discussed. Since, the term “knowledge” is multidimensional and broad to examine, it would be necessary to state that main topics in this chapter is the definition of knowledge and knowledge workers, productivity and management of knowledge worker and knowledge intensive organizations.

1.2.1. General Issues in Knowledge

In the literature, different themes within the economy or organization studies refer “knowledge” with discussing the topic in different spheres. In the first writings of “knowledge”, mostly economical value of the knowledge and its place within the economy are highlighted. The importance of knowledge based industries and emergence of new occupational groups related to knowledge are the main discussion topics in these studies. Beside, the developments in the communication and information technologies and how information and knowledge are transferred through the technologies in the information system are discussed.

Another issue which is considered through the academic writings is the rise of new working class, which is labeled as “knowledge workers”. In the industrial society, productivity of the worker is mostly considered by the output of the worker. In the post-industrial society, the output of a knowledge worker is an intangible asset for the organization. Therefore,

techniques to measure the success and productivity of the knowledge workers are also discussed especially to shed light to the organizations.

To summarize, some of the related debates about knowledge, knowledge work and knowledge workers in the literature can be listed as follows;

- ❖ economical value of knowledge and knowledge industries (Drucker 1989, Machlup 1962, 1980; Porat 1977, Powell & Snellman 2004)
- ❖ importance of knowledge in the post industrial society (Bell 1976)
- ❖ types of knowledge (Nonaka 1991; Blackler 1995)
- ❖ institutional context and knowledge (Robertson, Scarbrough & Swan 2003)
- ❖ knowledge society and debates (Blackler, Reed & Whitaker 1993)
- ❖ knowledge, information and networks (Casey 1995, Castells 1996, Scarbrough & Swan 2001, Wittel 2001)
- ❖ knowledge work, management of knowledge and effectiveness (Davenport & Prusak 2000, Garrick & Clegg 2001, Scarbrough 2001, Scarbrough & Swan 2001, Sveiby & Simons 2002)
- ❖ ambiguities in the knowledge work (Alvesson 1993, 2001, 2004; Collins 1997)

- ❖ knowledge workers, management and productivity of knowledge workers (Davenport & Glaser 2002, Davenport, Thomas & Cantrell 2002, Drucker 1999, 2002; Elliott, R.K. & Jacobson, P.D. 2002, Nomikos 1987, Scarbrough 1999) ,
- ❖ knowledge intensive firms (Alvesson 2001, Karreman & Alvesson 2004, Starbuck, 1992, 1993; Winch & Schneider 1993)

1.2.2. Knowledge Economy

As Drucker (1989: 174) states “knowledge is the main capital of knowledge economy”. Since, knowledge economy rely on knowledge-intensive activities, the key component of the knowledge economy is the intellectual capital, rather than physical inputs or natural resources (Powell & Snellman 2004).

The most distinctive and significant characteristics of knowledge and information society will be the centrality of knowledge as an economic resource (Beck 2000: 40). According to Beck (2000: 40), “it is necessary to make a bold leap from the industry and service society to the knowledge and information society” and in all sectors of production, technology and knowledge become prominent.

New technologies and culture have moved from specialization of knowledge and characteristics of industrialism to a multiplicity of knowledge and roles (Casey 1995: 108). In this economy, productivity and success of units depend on their ability to generate information and

knowledge, and use it in an effective way (Castells 1996: 77). Therefore, what is most distinctive between the first and the second half of the twentieth century is the usage and diffusion of information technology in economy and society (Castells 1996: 219). According to Drucker (1989), the newest energy in the economy is the information and it's totally "knowledge-intensive" (1989: 116). Businesses, especially large ones, have become more information-based with the advances in technology (Drucker 1988: 45).

1.2.3. Definition and Categorization of Knowledge

Although the first studies on knowledge mostly refer to the economical indicators and statistics, studies also give place to the definition of knowledge. In a strict definition, Bell (1976) defines knowledge as "a set of organized statements of facts or ideas, presenting a reasoned judgment or an experimental result, which is transmitted to others through some communication medium in some systematic form (Bell 1976: 175).

In a broader definition, Machlup (1962) states that knowledge not only includes scientific knowledge, but ordinary knowledge as well. Therefore, some types of knowledge are practical (professionals, business), intellectual, small-talk and pastime, spiritual, and unwanted (accidentally acquired) (Machlup, 1962, cited in, pg.7; Bell, 1976, pg. 175). Another point that Machlup (1962) remarks that information converts to knowledge when it is communicated and used. And, knowledge can be

“operationalized” through different sources. Not only theoretical resources, but books, periodicals, newspapers, photography, stage, cinema, broadcasting, advertising are the vehicles in the distribution of knowledge as well (Machlup, 1962, cited in Godin, 2008, pp. 12-14).

Blackler (1995) suggests that knowledge should be regarded as something that people do, rather than something that they have. Knowledge is “multi-faceted and complex, being both situated and abstract, implicit and explicit, distributed and individual, physical and mental, developing and static, verbal and encoded” (1995: 1032-1033).

One of the broadest classifications of knowledge is constructed by Blackler (1995) which identifies different approaches of knowledge in the organization studies literature and states that at least five images of knowledge can be identified. He also refers to work of Collins (1993) when extending the categorization of knowledge types. *Embrained knowledge* is one type of knowledge in this category which is dependent on conceptual skills and cognitive abilities. Especially in the organizational learning literature, this kind of abstract knowledge is emphasized. More action oriented and partly explicit knowledge type is *embodied knowledge*. Rather than an abstract knowledge, this type of knowledge favors practical and intimate knowledge of situation (Scribner 1986). Another type of knowledge which depends on cultural meaning is *encultured knowledge*. This is socially constructed knowledge and open to negotiation since it refers to language. *Embedded knowledge* refers to systematic routines and is analyzable is systems in the relationship between technologies or roles.

And, as the last one, in *encoded knowledge* signs and symbols reside in the transformation of knowledge (Blackler 1995).

In Table 1, there is a review of the knowledge work literature by Blacler (1995: 1030). Four knowledge types are identified as the major issues in the organization studies literature. This two-by-two matrix is developed by how organizations focus on the problems and dependent upon contributions of individuals vs. collectives. Knowledge-routinized organizations heavily depend on embedded knowledge, communication-intensive organizations depend heavily on embrained knowledge, expert-dependent organizations heavily depend on embodied knowledge and symbolic-analyst dependent organizations heavily depend on embrained knowledge. And according to results of the works analyzed, many researchers state that a shift occurring from dependence on embodied and embedded knowledge, towards embrained and cultural knowledge (Blacler 1995: 1029).

Another issue which is highlighted by Blackler (1995) is the increasing the importance of encoded knowledge in recent years. Especially with the developments in information and communication technologies, the significance of encoded knowledge is discussed by researchers and organizations.

Table 1. Organizations and Knowledge Types

**EMPHASIS ON
COLLECTIVE
ENDEAVUR**

<p>ii. Knowledge- Routinized Organizations</p> <p><i>Emphasis on knowledge embedded in technologies, rules and procedures</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Typically capital, technology, or labour intensive. ▪ Hierarchical division of labour. ▪ Low skill requirements. ▪ Example; “Machine Bureaucracy” such as a traditional factory. ▪ Current Issues; organizational competencies and corporate strategies. Also the development of computer integrated work systems. 	<p>iv. Communication – Intensive Organizations</p> <p><i>Emphasis on encultured knowledge and collective understanding</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Communication and collaboration the key processes. ▪ Empowerment through integration. ▪ Expertise is pervasive. ▪ Example; “Innovation mediated production”. ▪ Current issues; “Knowledge-creation”, dialogue, sense – making processes and the development of computer supported cooperative work systems.
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Table 1. Organizations and Knowledge Types (cont.)

**EMPHASIS ON
CONTRIBUTIONS OF
KEY
INDIVIDUALS**

<p>i. Expert- Dependent Organizations <i>Emphasis on the embodied competencies of key members.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Performance of specialist experts is crucial. ▪ Status and power from professional reputation. ▪ Heavy emphasis on training ▪ Example; “Professional Bureaucracy” such as a hospital. <p>Current issues; nature and development of individual competency and computer displacement of action skills.</p>	<p>iii. Symbolic-Analyst Dependent Organizations <i>Emphasis on the embrained skills of key members.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Entrepreneurial problem solving. ▪ Status and power from creative achievements. ▪ Symbolic manipulation is a key skill. ▪ Example; “Knowledge-intensive firm” (KIF) such as a software consultancy. ▪ Current issues; developing symbolic analysts, the organization of KIFs.
<p>FOCUS ON FAMILIAR PROBLEMS</p>	<p>FOCUS ON NOVEL PROBLEMS</p>

Source: Blacler (1995: 1030)

Analyzing these different images of knowledge in the literature, Blackler (1995) also aims to emphasize the complexity issues in discussing

knowledge. There are different types of knowledge, and usage of the knowledge by the organizations or individuals should be considered in their specific context (1995: 1026).

Nonaka (1991: 97) states that knowledge begins with the individual, and it's valuable for the company when it's transformed into organizational knowledge. There are two kinds of knowledge; explicit and tacit. Explicit knowledge is formal and systematic; therefore it can be communicated and shared in different forms (1991: 98). And, what is personal is the latter one, tacit knowledge, and this can be labeled as "know-how". Tacit knowledge is embedded in our actions, mental models, beliefs and it is personal. Therefore, it's difficult to share with the others (1991: 98-99). In the knowledge-intensive organizations, both tacit and explicit knowledge exist. In the knowledge-creating organization, as Nonaka (1991) states, tacit and explicit knowledge interact with each other in a dynamic way.

According to Alvesson (1993), defining the forms of knowledge is very difficult job to accomplish. Knowledge does not mean pure formal and theoretical knowledge. There are two different poles in the knowledge; one of them is formalized and theoretical knowledge and the other one is cultural and tacit knowledge which is also related with creativity and skills. For knowledge workers, beside the theoretical knowledge, cultural and somatic knowledge is also important. Through the formal education, one can obtain theoretical knowledge. However, as Bourdieu (1979) and Swidler (1986) state, to analyze the cultural codes and symbolic values in the social

environment, cultural knowledge is crucial (Bourdieu,1979; Swidler, 1986, cited in Alvesson, 1993, pg. 1001).

1.2.4. Knowledge Management

Organizations, university and the individual have become closer to each other since the collaboration of organization and higher education has been supported. For the people who support work place learning, workplace is the curriculum for the knowledge workers. However, supporting working knowledge can be seen as the transformation of knowledge from the individually tacit one to the organizationally explicit one. Within this way, knowledge can be transformed into a measurable factor of production (Garrick & Clegg 2000: 285). However, what is most important in the work place is to establish a balance between theoretical knowledge and practical know-how (Garrick & Clegg, 2000: 285). Therefore, in the work places practical know-how should be supported among workers through the joint projects and different tasks in the work groups.

1.2.5. Knowledge-Intensive Firms

As the importance of knowledge has become more remarkable due to the changes in the society, knowledge-intensive businesses and workers have drawn attention (Alvesson 1993, 2004). According to Starbuck (1992: 715), “the term knowledge-intensive imitates economists’ labeling of firms

as capital intensive or labour-intensive.” The primary input of the knowledge-intensive firms is knowledge rather than capital (Starbuck 1992: 715). Law and accounting firms, advertising agencies, high-tech companies, and consultancy companies can be listed as the examples of knowledge-intensive firms (Alvesson 2001: 863).

Starbuck (1992) argues that knowledge intensive firms may not be information intensive because “knowledge is a stock of expertise, not a flow of information” (Starbuck 1992: 733). For some firms, such as management consulting, knowledge is not come through the processing of large amounts of information. For knowledge-intensive firms, what is valuable is the exceptional expertise rather than widely shared knowledge. People convert their knowledge to work, physical capital, routines or organizational culture. Therefore, knowledge is not a property of individual, but property of physical capital, organizational culture or social capital as well (Starbuck 1992: 736).

According to Alvesson (1993), one of the main reasons of interest in knowledge intensive organizations is the declining notion of traditional “professions” and “professional organizations”. In the traditional criteria “profession should be characterized by a systematic, scientifically-based theory, long formal education, autonomy, ethical rules, a distinct occupational culture, client orientation, socially sanctioned and authorized” (Alvesson 1993: 998). The properties of a profession include ethical code, cohesion, collegial enforcement of standards and autonomy (Schriesheim, Von Glinow & Kerrs, 1977, cited in Starbuck, 1992, pg. 717). There are

only a few professions that fit to that strict definition. Some firms, such as management consulting or software engineering, have special expertise, but, they are recognized as a profession. It is hard to consider professionals and non-professionals as separate work groups, since the criteria and boundaries are becoming blurring (Alvesson 1993). Therefore, Alvesson (1993) states that, rather than concentrating profession, we may focus on “knowledge” and knowledge intensive works. Moreover, a knowledge intensive firm may not be a professional firm (Starbuck 1992: 718). Therefore, in the new economy and work sphere, knowledge-intensive firms are more popular and meaningful rather than traditional style of professions and professional organizations. And rather than professionals, knowledge workers are the new work group as a result of the challenges in the work sphere.

Another challenge is the effects of ICTs (information and communication technologies) in the codification and commodification of knowledge. With the developments in the information technologies, new organizational forms have appeared in the market. Thus all these changes have led the emergence of new sectors that produce knowledge within the economy (Scarbrough 1999).

1.2.6. Knowledge Worker

With the transition of society from industry and service society to knowledge and information society, knowledge workers are the privileged group in the society with their capability of translating knowledge into

profit-producing innovations (Beck 2000: 40). “Knowledge worker” reflects the transformation of work and economy from industrial to information age (Kelley 1990: 109).

In the new economy, knowledge becomes as a key factor in production and professions and professionally educated managers are called as “knowledge workers” in this new era (Brint 2001: 101). Drucker (1989), who is considered as the originator of the term “knowledge worker” (Scarbrough 1999:8), states that the center of gravity in employment is moving fast from manual and clerical workers to knowledge workers in the new era (Drucker 1989: 206).

According to Scarbrough (1999: 7), some major developments have caused the emergence of knowledge worker. One of them is the relative decline of the professional model. This challenge is highlighted by Alvesson (1993) and Starbuck (1992) as one of the reasons in the emergence of knowledge-intensive organizations. State deregulation and privatization have caused an erosion of the positions in many professional work groups. Scarbrough (1999:8) states that “even established professional groups such as doctors and lawyers experienced greater exposure to market forces and incorporation into organizational hierarchies. The same pressures apply with even greater effect to groups which in the past have been labeled “organizational professionals.” Meanwhile, organizational professionals have been subjected to “marketization” and outsourcing pressures. Therefore, as the second challenge, this situation increased the role of knowledge and knowledge work for occupational groups.

Organizations demand knowledge workers since they have problem-solving abilities, creativity, talent and intelligence. Knowledge workers can be employed in different kinds of organizations, information process and distribution companies (mass media, education, computer software) or good-producing companies as researchers (Kelley 1990: 109- 110).

Knowledge workers have some distinct characteristics rather than the other employees; therefore organizations should be aware of this situation and treat them differently. Knowledge is the capital of the knowledge worker and that gives the worker mobility and free to move. They are not dependent on one organization or employer. What is primary for them is the knowledge in themselves (Drucker 1989: 174-176). Knowledge workers mainly apply systematic and formal knowledge in a creative way (Alvesson 2001: 867) and state talents and intelligence as the most valuable asset and work is complex and difficult to evaluate (Kelley 1990). Knowledge workers prefer “self-management” (Kelley 1990: 109). They are different than the workers in the industrial age; therefore management style of these employees should be different than Taylor’s scientific management theories (Kelley 1990: 110). Knowledge workers resist the command-and-control model. Such as, specialists in an information based organization convert data into knowledge and, they do not need to be told how to do that (Drucker 1989: 206).

Another issue which is related with the knowledge worker is the productivity of knowledge workers. According to Drucker (1999: 79) “knowledge workers and their productivity will be the most valuable asset

of the institution in the 21st century”. Thus, a special focus should be emphasized for making knowledge workers more productive. Management of the knowledge workers and their productivity is different from the traditional workforce as Drucker (2002: 76) states “in a knowledge-based organization, however, it is the individual worker's productivity that makes the entire system successful. In a traditional workforce, the worker serves the system; in a knowledge workforce, the system must serve the worker”.

According to Drucker (1999: 83), there are six main factors to determine knowledge-worker productivity:

- What is the task? (In the manual work, task is given to the worker, and workers know what to do in their job, the question they ask is “how does the worker best do that?” For the knowledge workers, task is not programmed before. Therefore, first they ask themselves; what is the task? , what should it be?)
- Autonomy- knowledge workers have to manage themselves (They take responsibility for the job they do).
- Continuing innovation, as a major part of their job.
- Continuous learning, but also continuous teaching is important.
- Quality of the work is more valuable than the quantity of output.
- Knowledge workers should be considered as an “asset” rather than cost (In most of the theories, manual workers are treated as “cost” for the organization).

Measuring the productivity of the knowledge worker is comprehensive and difficult task for the organizations. However, it's quite important for the organizations to understand this since knowledge is the center of work in the new form of work, production system is organized around knowledge, and aim is to maximize knowledge-based productivity (Castells 1996: 219).

The output of the knowledge worker is intangible mainly and there is not a standardized output for measuring quantity and quality. Even the output is tangible in some situations; it's still difficult to evaluate the results (Nomikos 1987). The product is sometimes an idea, or sometimes a tangible product converted from an idea. However, no matter the output is tangible or intangible, to standardize the work and the output is not possible all the time, therefore defining the issue such as quality or quantity is mostly problematic.

There are some different points which are discussed by Nomikos (1987) on the productivity of knowledge worker. The management of the knowledge worker is complicated, since knowledge workers do not want to be managed (Nomikos 1987). According to his conclusions, knowledge workers' interest are not always match with the organization's interest, in that condition, their productivity will be forced. Meanwhile, human resources strategies such as job enrichment or job rotation should be also concerned for the knowledge workers. Beside, mentoring and coaching should be implemented within the organizations. This would be beneficial both for the young generation and the old one. As Drucker (2002) states

“leaders in knowledge-based businesses must spend time with promising professionals: Get to know them and be known by them; mentor them and listen to them; challenge them and encourage them” (Drucker 2002: 77). Interactions among the employees and the group relations should be supported by the organization. Organizations and managers should care about the knowledge workers and talk about their career plans and opportunities with them (Nomikos 1987).

To conclude, knowledge-intensive works and workers are the new work force in the economy and valuable for the organizations and economy of the states. Therefore, all the items which are related with knowledge or knowledge industries are discussed intensely among the researchers. Topic is very broad to discuss every detail in the literature, but to understand the work sphere of knowledge workers; one should carefully examine the structure of the work and the distinctiveness of knowledge worker. Some details are crucial to understand how knowledge workers construct their identities in the work sphere. As it is going to be discussed in the next part of the study, identities of the self is reflexive and comprise many cues about the meaning of work to the individual.

1.3. Identity

Studying the issue of identity is very comprehensive as the topics related with identity deal with the different issues in psychology, sociology, social psychology or organization studies. Identity may be discussed in

different levels such as individual, organizational, social or professional; in different trends such as monolithic or multiple; or different states such as becoming or being (Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003). In this part of the study, some major issues about identity will be discussed briefly. Since the study is related with the identity (or identities) of the knowledge workers, the different levels of identity such as individual (personal) or social level of identity will be examined. Although “identity of knowledge worker” reflects the position of the individuals in a social group (work group), as it was discussed in the previous section, identity of the knowledge worker is also related with some personal (individual) characteristics. Therefore, as it is discussed in postmodernist discourses, rather than considering identity as the single, distinctive and core aspects of the self, identity incorporates with many different discourses in different spheres which makes it fragmented and multiple.

1.3.1. Some Major Concepts in the Theories of Identity

There are different dimensions of identity and these dimensions are correlated with each other and affect one’s definition of the self (Sluss & Ashforth 2007). These dimensions can be summarized as; individual (personal) level of identity, interpersonal level of identity and collective; or group level of identity (Brewer & Gardner 1996, Sluss & Ashforth 2007). Blurring boundaries between self and others integrates different levels of identity. Dynamic interplay between personal self and collective self and

shifts from different levels of identity are discussed in the work of Brewer and Gardner (1996) and they summarize the representation of self as follows;

Table 2. Representation of the Self

Level of Analysis	Self-Concept	Basis of Self-Evaluation	Frame of Reference	Basic Social Motivation
Individual	Personal	Traits	Interpersonal Comparison	Self-Interest
Interpersonal	Relational	Roles	Reflection	Other's Benefit
Group	Collective	Group Prototype	Intergroup Comparison	Collective Welfare

Source: Brewer and Gardner (1996: 84)

Leary, Wheeler and Jenkins (1986:11) state that “personal aspects of identity are components of one’s self definition that uniquely belong to the individual, such as abilities, beliefs, feelings and goals.” The individual or personal level of identity focuses on “self” and the uniqueness and distinctiveness of self from the others (Sluss & Ashforth 2007). The individual level of identity is more self-oriented, however interpersonal and collective group of identity are social relations-oriented. Personal identity is

related with the personal attributes, whereas social identity is related how the individuals perceive themselves as a member of a group (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas 2008: 10). They are formed through the relationship of the self with the others. However, they differ in some points. Interpersonal self is related with the dyadic relationship and membership of small groups where there is a face-to-face connection. Therefore, interpersonal level of identity focuses on how the identity is constructed through relations with others, especially role-related relationships. Despite the interpersonal self, collective self is related with being a member of a group which does not require personal relationships among the members. The collective level of identity is related with the social identity which was developed by Tajfel and Turner (1985) as social identity theory (SIT) (Sluss & Ashforth 2007).

Meanwhile in the symbolic interactionists' studies, "identity is both produced and transformed in a continuing process of symbolic social interaction" (Du Gay 1996: 33). Self is constructed through the social interaction, communication and use of the language. According to Mead (1934), self is constructed from "I" and "Me" which is "I" is the historical part of "me" and "gives us novel behavior and experience while "me" is coming from our assumption of the attitudes of others toward us (Mead, 1934, cited in Hatch & Schultz 2004, pg. 11). Experiences of the self in the society, and others' attitude toward him, affect individuals' definition of the self as a member of the social organism

It is difficult to separate individuals from the social environment they live. Cooley (1902, 1964) states that there is a synthesis of

individualism and socialism in the definition of the self and society. Individuals and society are not separate phenomenon; rather there are always collective and distributive aspects in the society. There is a bond between the individual and the society, and this bond is constructed through the contrast between distributive and collective aspects of life. Life of the individuals is general and particular and has collective and distributive aspects. Therefore, his notion of “persons make society” and “society makes person” states the connection between self and society (Cooley, 1902, 1964, cited in Hatch & Schultz, 2004, pp. 16-29). Society is made up of individuals and the individual is the product of society. Communication such as language or education plays an important role in the formation of the self, and this comes from the society. Meanwhile, the notion of the “self” is affected from the views of others in the society. It’s important that some characteristics of the self are meaningful when it’s compared with the others; that is to say, when the self is in a relation with the other individuals. In both studies, Cooley (1902, 1964) and Mead (1934) discuss that how the identity of the self is affected from the other individuals. Identity of the self is closely connected with the society. This connection may be established through communication such as the language or education, or direct interaction with the other individuals (Hatch & Schultz 2004: 16-29).

Individuals have some roles in the society and identity is affected from these roles. These roles are also related with how we see others and how others see us. When the identity of the self is considered through roles and relationships, it’s connected to social expectations and society. People

themselves create and change their roles and these roles may overlap in some situations. Development of the self is affected from the social and reflexive capacity. When individuals encounter different cultural experiences, they have different perspectives; therefore formation of the self may be labeled as a product of experience of interaction (Billington, Hockey & Strawbridge 1998: 58)

Therefore, self is a social actor and definition of the identity is mostly related with the social environment. Social identity may be considered as a bridge between psychology of the individual and the social groups which the self is surrounded (Brewer 2001). Social identity theory is related with the studies of Henri Tajfel (1978, 1981; Tajfel & Turner 1985) and John Turner (1975, 1982, 1984, 1985) (Ashforth & Mael 1989: 20). According to their discussion, individuals identify themselves according to the social groups in which they belong to. These social groups may be classified as gender, affiliation, organization or work group. Our identities have different facets and such identity is relational and socially constructed, our work identity is one of the fundamental components that construct this phenomenon (Tajfel & Turner 1985, cited in Ashforth & Mael, 1989 pg. 20). Definition of the self is “relational and comparative” and identification with the group can be conducted in different degrees. The individuals’ social identity may be related with their work group or organizations. The degree of the identification with a group may depend on different factors among the individual and group.

Social identity is related with the identification of the individual to a social group. It is important both for the organization and the individual since includes clues for the action and interpretation. Meanwhile, some knowledge-intensive firms may use social identity as a mode of managerial control in the organization (Alvesson, 1995, Kunda 1992, cited in Karreman & Alvesson, 2004, pg. 151).

Social identities have personal meanings to the individual. Individuals have different social identities depending on context and represent an affiliation with different social groups. Therefore, as Pratt (2000) states, social identity is related with the identification of the individual in a social category. Social categories that individual identify themselves in also provide a reflexive identification for the individual (Karreman & Alvesson 2004). Thus, social identity is related with the social groups which the individual identifies.

Because of the changes in culture, economy and work life, things are moving “from substance to image” (Alvesson 1990). Therefore, image and symbolism have become important and salient in managerial work. Cultural changes in the society cause new forms of socialization. This has affected the society’s definition of the identity and self. “Identity has become more vulnerable and more flexible (Ziehe & Stubenrauch, 1982, cited in Alvesson 1990, pg. 379). Moreover, individuals interact with lots of different people in their everyday life which makes life more complex. The expansion of the service and information sectors, rather than production sector is related with

the growing importance of image. Thus, all these developments have caused a move from substance to image (Alvesson 1990).

Today's identities are fragmented and multiple and as Alvesson (2003:1164) states "there are trends away from monolithic to multiple identities and from fixed or essentialist views on identity to discursive and constructed approaches to the subject matter." Rather than the stable view of the self, identity work "emphasize dynamic aspects and on-going struggles around creating a sense of self and providing temporary answers to questions 'who am I (or 'who are we')? And what do I (we) stand for?" (Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003: 1164). Thus, identity work is active and constructed through different contexts. Furthermore, work and work related activities are one of the spheres which are interconnected with the notion of identity.

1.3.2. Work and Identity

In most of the studies, identity is discussed in the individual or group level and individual is the primary concern even in most studies about exploring the organizational identity. Elite groups, such as managers, professionals; organizational discourses such as strategy, team or leadership; or social context are the primary forces that affect the construction of identity (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas 2008: 18). Therefore, identity can be traced in the embodied practices at work, material and institutional arrangements such as job title, hierarchy or division of work, discursive

formations, story-telling performances, groups and social relations at work, or anti-identities such as visions of the other (Alvesson, Ashcraft & Thomas 2008: 19).

As Thomas and Linstead (2002) discuss, identity is constructed through social exchange and interactions. Identity is being reconstructed through different discourses, lived experiments and interaction with others within the social environment. Work environment is one of the environments where the individual construct his identity through work or social relations. Any change in the workplace may affect one's definition of identity.

Studies about organization and identity tend to explore how the identity is derived from the organizations. In the studies of Albert and Whetten (1985) or Mintzberg's (1983) missionary organization, they discuss how the individuals in the organizations share the same values and common identities (Ashforth & Mael 1989: 22).

The world of work offers many discourses in constructing identity. Consequently, to understand one's definition of identity, work related issues should be carefully examined. Characteristics of work and work group play an important role in one's life. Work group is one of the social groups which are related with the social identity. Meanwhile, work affects individuals' everyday life and experiences. Work can be regarded as a source of meaning for individuals' life and definition of the self (Du Gay 1996) and the changes in the nature of work affect the individuals' way of life (Barley & Kunda 2001).

In the historical perspective, work has become remarkable in people's lives as a distinctive sphere with the industrialization. People tend to separate their work from family and leisure through time and space. In the industrial age, most jobs are related with production; therefore working hours are more definite to separate. Work and daily life were full of routine practices. By the mid-twentieth century, work started to become a source for identity. Now, working hours are long and unknown rather than specific, and traditional blue-collar jobs have started to be disappeared (Barley & Kunda 2001: 82).

As an example of the relationship between work and self, Whyte (1956) and Sennett (1998) discuss how the world of work affects individual's daily life and definition of the self. In their studies, they compare two different work styles in different time periods. In his book "The Organization Man", Whyte (1956) portrays American corporate life in the 1950s and focuses on people who work for large corporations. These men "only work for the organization and belong to it as well" (Whyte 1956: 3). The organization man becomes a whole with the organization he works for and devotes his whole life to organization. Working in the organization is considered as the core of his life without considering any other work career or life plan. The organization man accepts any kind of work offered to him whether it takes so many hours or not. They are committed to the organization and do their job with pleasure (Whyte 1956). Therefore in their definition of identity, organizational context has a deep affect and definition of self is affected from the values of the organization.

Sennett's (1998) compare the world of work between two different time periods and space; therefore he reflects the differences among two different work lives, effects on individuals and discusses how the new world of work differs than the older one. He compares the work and life of son and his father who work in different times and occupations. Despite the father, a blue-collar worker, his son is an engineer who travels much because of his work career. Now, people care about their careers rather than the organization well-being. New world of work is decentralized and gives people control over the work. Work is more and more flexible and one of the reasons of this flexibility is the developments in the information technologies. Because of technology, people are more mobile and organizations are more globalized. People can change their work and life quickly and travel to different cities or even countries to work and live. Now, in the organizations, works are organized around teams which Sennett defines as "flexible and oriented to specific, short-term tasks, rather than the reckoning on decades marked by withholding and waiting (Sennett 1958: 106). All these developments in the work, information technologies, teams, flexibility also affects the formation of network inside and outside the organizations. Networks are essential for communication and information. However, flexibility of the teams causes some quick changes in the information and networks. Conditions are always open to change; therefore people may find it difficult to adapt new conditions. However, all these rapid changes and flexibility affect the character of the individual. Character, according to Sennett, "focuses upon the long term aspects of our

emotional experience” (Sennett 1958: 10); therefore these quick changes may affect the formation of the character. Now, the society is impatient and focuses on moments, therefore it may be difficult to decide for long-term aspects of experience.

Although the effects of work on individuals are inevitable, how individuals appreciate their work may change. Berger (1964: 218-219) discusses a typology of work and according to his typology some works provides self-identification and self-commitment, some work does not provide self-identification but it is not oppressive or threatening and some works are oppressive and threatening one’s self conception (Berger, 1964, cited in Ghidina 1992, pg. 75).

Other issues about work and identity are the effect of “role-set” behaviour (Merton 1957) and relationship with the clients (Gold 1964). These two socially constructed issues are also related with the significance and appreciation of work by the individuals (Ghidina 1992). Specific roles in the work place, relationship with the clients, certain behaviours that are needed to fulfill these roles and relationships are some of the factors that support the workers’ definition of the self (Ghidina 1992). Role-based relationship between two people can be a source of the self as defining the identity. In relational identity and identification, personalized and interpersonal relations provide inside for the workplace identity. In the organizations, there are multiple networks that include different roles, and there are multiple relational identities of individuals (Sluss & Ashforth 2007: 27). Identity definition of the professional may change according to

the different roles within the organization. Hall (1968, 1971, 1995) states that when the individuals' roles change as a result of career progress, their definition of the identity may also tend to change through new roles and responsibilities. Therefore, "sub-identities" occur as a consequence of the transition to the new roles. Hall (1968: 447) defines sub-identities as "the aspects of identity which are relevant to particular social roles" (Hall, 1968, 1971, 1995; cited in Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann, 2006, pg. 236). In a study by Pratt, Rockmann and Kaufmann (2006), they discuss how the members of the organization choose among different identity elements to make sense of their work. They discuss how the professionals build identity over the time and they unite different perspectives on identity. Meanwhile, they also focus on "what they do" to understand "who they are" intensely. Individuals prefer to engage jobs according to their salient components of identity. There is a connection between the jobs they prefer to work and their personal and social identity. Such as, individuals whose definition of identity based on social groups attributes may tend to prefer jobs which have socially related characteristics (Leary, Wheeler and Jenkins 1986).

To conclude, the world of work affects the formation of identities directly. Therefore, to understand how they construct their identity, work related issues should be carefully discussed. The structure of work, working environment, relations with clients and peers, certain demands of work are some of the issues related with the world of work. In the following part, the sphere of knowledge work and importance of identity will be discussed briefly.

1.3.3. Knowledge Work and Identity

As the structure of work has changed through the century, and many works have become more knowledge sensitive, and the context of knowledge work has affected individuals while constructing their identity. As discussed in the previous chapter, knowledge work has a different world of work, knowledge-intensive firms have a different way of organization structure and knowledge workers have their own specialties. Therefore, identity of the knowledge worker is constructed around these circumstances.

In many points, “knowledge” can be difficult to define and draw boundaries. Ambiguity is one of the central characteristics of knowledge work and organizations. Forms of knowledge, knowledge workers’ role and work in the organization, and their work results create a possible ambiguous environment in the work. To control this slippery floor, self-identity is constructed to regulate image, rhetoric and relations of the organization. Because of the ambiguities in the work, absence of tangible tools and assets, image will be substitute for knowledge-intensive companies and workers (Alvesson 1990, 1993, 2001). Knowledge intensive organizations and workers build up an image to cover ambiguity. Image should be individual and corporate level, and consist of visible symbols for consumption but also refer to everyday interaction with others (Alvesson 1990, 2001). Alvesson (1993, 2001) states that knowledge-intensive organizations are “ambiguity-intensive” and he discusses three main ambiguities in the framework of

knowledge and knowledge-intensive organizations. These ambiguities can be summarized as the ambiguity of knowledge, ambiguity of the significance of knowledge and ambiguity of results of knowledge work. In some conditions, it could be difficult to consider knowledge work and knowledge worker in distinct and uniform categories. Many organizations involve the importance of knowledge and knowledge creation; therefore, sometimes it may be difficult to make a distinction between knowledge and non - (or less) knowledge intensive organizations and workers (Alvesson 2001: 864). One of the main ambiguities of the knowledge work is defining what kind of knowledge is significant at work. According to Alvesson (2001: 867);

The extent to which knowledge is a particularly significant element in the functions of knowledge-intensive companies remains an open question. It is frequently impossible to separate knowledge and pure intellectual skills from flexibility, organizing capacity, a high level of motivation, social skills, less esoteric technical skills, the ability to follow company methods, standardized ways of operating and other elements in knowledge-intensive companies.

Another concern for ambiguity comes from the problematic of the evaluating results of the work. Most of the time, knowledge work would be difficult to evaluate. Knowledge is not a tangible product of the organization that can be served to clients and consumers. Therefore, rhetoric - ability to talk in a persuasive way- is another vital tool for knowledge-intensive

organizations and workers. Knowledge, as a socially constructed phenomenon, is created through social relations with others. In this point, networks are put forward to manage social relations. Especially, social relations with the clients sustain a long-term success for the knowledge-intensive organizations (Alvesson 1990, 2001).

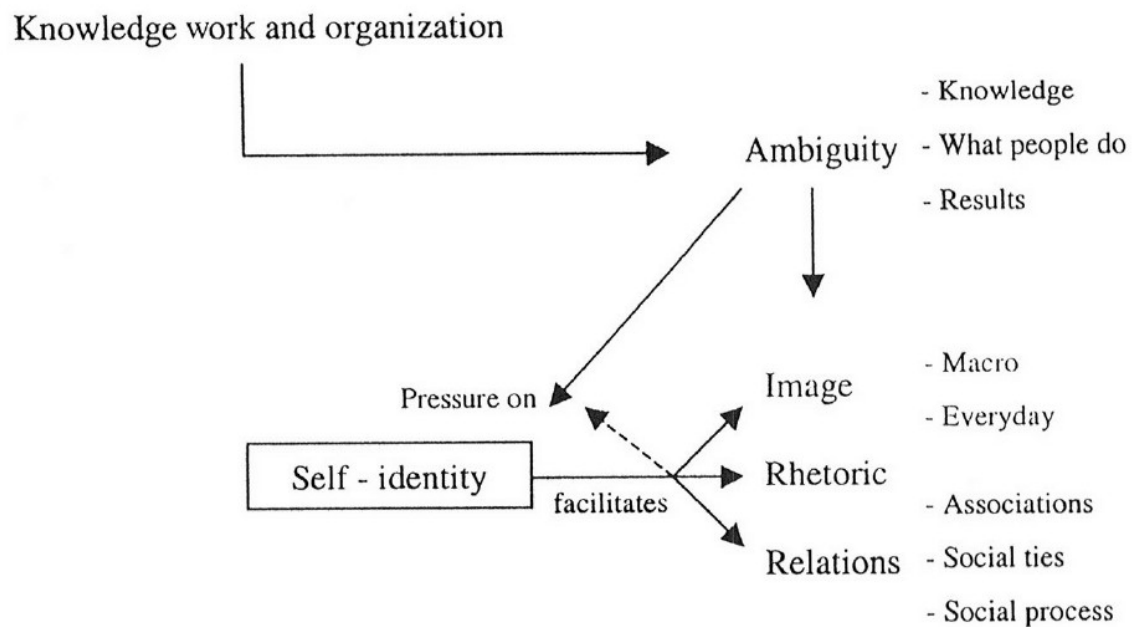


Figure 1. Ambiguity, Image, Rhetoric and Identity in Knowledge Work and Organizations (Alvesson 2001: 883)

Therefore, all these ambiguities force knowledge work and knowledge workers to construct a self - identity which is also pictured in the figure above. In Figure 2, Alvesson(2001) states how the ambiguities in the work pressure on self- identity and how the identity facilitates through

image, rhetoric and relations. Thus identity may be considered as a powerful tool for the knowledge workers to deal with ambiguities of defining the structure of knowledge in work, work-related activities and results of the works.

1.3.4. Everyday Life, Consumption and Identity

In everyday life, individuals engage in different social groups such as work groups, family or friends. In the previous part of the study, the effects of work on constructing identity were discussed. In this part of the study, rather than the work sphere, leisure and consumption sphere of the individual will be discussed and tried to be figure out how consumption, lifestyle and leisure relate with the identities of the individual. After that, study will focus on how the professional identity of knowledge workers is related with everyday life and consumption of the individual and how all these issues are interrelated with each other.

Individuals, as consumers, may constitute their identities through social roles, leisure activities or use of products and brands (Cherrier & Murray 2007). The experience of the individual is fragmented and there are multiple lifestyle and ideologies in the society. Technological changes and the rise of the post-industrial era have led a growth in the postmodern discourse (Firat, Dholakia & Venkatesh 1995). Furthermore, in this postmodern discourse, consumption can be considered as a tool for individuals to define their self-image to themselves and others. Postmodern

consumers may take different and multiple projects in their consumption. They subscribe to different lifestyles; therefore their consumption pattern may be difficult to understand looking for a certain determinant such as gender or occupation (Firat, Dholakia & Venkatesh 1995).

Giddens (1991) define lifestyle as “a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfill utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity” (1991: 81). Actually lifestyle of an individual surrounds all daily routines such as dressing or eating. But these routines include some clues about who to be. Therefore, everyday practices are highly related with individual’s self identity (Giddens 1991).

Consumer’s everyday life and experiences have become fragmented. Consumption of individuals is connected with tasks in the culture’s imaginary which are occurred through the narratives of the self. Rather than seeking centered, unified purposes of narratives, consumers of (post) modernity use narratives by (re)producing self-images in the variety of experiences. Therefore, self has become fragmented through various images and different selves (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 83). What they select to consume in everyday life reflects their lifestyle which may be considered as a mechanism for expressing identity (Paterson 2006:37). People have different lifestyles and they may gather different experiences that enrich the life of the individual. Especially high income professionals who have stressful jobs in their everyday lives try to enchanting their life with different experiences. Especially in the weekends, they like to engage in

different activities such as motorcycling or biking (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 95).

For the postmodern consumer, consumption “is also not the end process of the (central) economic cycle, but an act of production of experiences and selves or self images” (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 96). Life is multidimensional therefore multiple experiences render individuals to construct their life and create different lifestyles. The use of products and consumption experiences affect the individual to define the self (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 128).

In the modern societies, with the effects of industrial revolution, the separation between “productive” and “consumptive” spheres has become visible. The sphere of home was related with consumption and the sphere of work was related with economic activity, creativity and production. Meanwhile, there was a separation between time and space, work and home, working time and leisure (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 7, 15). Therefore, home related and work related activities were separated from each other. People were producing at work and resting and consuming at home. Production places such as factory, office or agency were considered as public places, whereas home was considered as private domain and a place to consume (Firat & Dholakia 2003: 16). “The contemporary postmodern workplace blurs boundaries between home and work and thereby challenges the locus of self identity” (Tian & Belk 2005: 297). Separation of the work place (public sphere) and home (private sphere) has lost its generality in most of

the occupations. Such as possessions of the individuals in the work place have started to reflect their private life (Tian & Belk 2005).

The meaning of consumption for individuals is open to change throughout the last century. Current developments in the economy, society, technology and lifestyle have also caused major profound changes in the meaning of consumption. In the different time periods, consumption has discussed through different themes. According to Paterson (2006) changes in the means of consumption is “a move from the economic and strictly material to the symbolic or as Baudrillard (1988) puts it, from the logic of production to the logic of signification, from use-value or material utility to sign-values” (Paterson 2006: 40).

Consumption may be considered as a tool of meaning for the self. Such as Levy (1957: 118) discusses “people buy things not only for what they can do, but also for what they mean”. Objects have symbolic values, and they have social and personal meanings to individual. Meanwhile, social participation and social group also affect the choices of the self. Therefore, goods may be considered as symbolic of social world of the individual and personal attributes (Levy 1957).

In the marketplace, consumers have variety of choices among different goods and services and people are free to choose them. As Miller (1995: 112) discusses “the consumption pattern they select, whether represented by their choice of car or clothes, house, furnishings or leisure-time pursuits, can therefore be regarded as indicative not simply of their “self-identity”, but of how they wish others to regard them”.

There is no essential, one-to-one, correspondence between particular commodities and particular identities: the same commodity can have radically different meanings for different individuals and for the same individual over time (Miller 1995: 227).

Lifestyle of the individual may depend on different tools such as gender, work group or social group. In his study, Bourdieu (1986) states that there is a distinction between economic capital and cultural capital. Economic capital of people is mostly related with pay and monetary value, whereas cultural capital is related with the status and social value (Bourdieu, 1986, cited in Paterson, 2006, pg. 43). Cultural capital of individuals also influences the lifestyle and consumption of the self. Lifestyle and choice of the self is related with the habitus, which surrounds individuals. The habitus of the self which is also related with the social group is manifested in the consumption and lifestyle. Individuals' choice of certain products and different tastes are the results of their lifestyle (Bourdieu, 1986, cited in Paterson, 2006, pg. 44 and pg. 55). Therefore, consumption and lifestyle of the individuals reflect their perception of the selves in a specific group and perception of their group's position in relation to the other groups (Paterson 2006: 55).

As a conclusion, everyday life and consumption of the self is highly related with the individual's identity. In everyday life, individuals make choices among alternatives and their choices reflect their preference. Although, today's identities are fragmented and there is variety of products to select in the market, most of the time individuals prefer to do things

which are related with their self. Therefore, when it's carefully examined, one can find clues of the identity in the everyday life and consumption of the self.

1.4. Advertising Agencies and Advertising Professionals

As it is discussed in the previous section, the notion of knowledge, knowledge work and knowledge-intensive firms are broad to define and discuss. Knowledge-intensiveness may be problematic in some times, since it's hard to define its borders since knowledge is embedded in many practices in the organizations. Therefore, this study is aimed to discuss how the knowledge workers in the advertising agencies and financial audit firms construct their identity through the activities in their everyday life. Previous chapter focuses on the major characteristics of knowledge work and knowledge workers which would affect their work discourse. In this section through focusing on a specific industry and work group, the aim is to discuss the specific characteristics of advertising agencies and financial audit firms, where knowledge workers are employed. Today, it may be problematic to specify the knowledge work and knowledge-intensiveness of firms, therefore rather than considering all knowledge workers, focusing on a specific work group would be better to understand the structure of work and its effects on the worker. Meanwhile, in the advertising agencies, workers needs to employ various kinds of knowledge to enhance their

private and work life, therefore use different channels and networks to gather knowledge.

1.4.1. Definition of Advertising Work

Advertising can be defined as an economic activity under the classification of knowledge-intensive businesses (Alvesson 1993, Thiel 2005). Lewis (1964: 117) defines advertising as;

an industry, composed of separate firms, agencies, each of which has a highly organized internal structure and distinctive but not uniform methods of dealing with its separate clientele, subsidiary organizations (media agencies and subcontractors), the government, and the public.

Advertising agencies provide intangible skills and counsel for their customers as a characteristic of their service business and advertising is a “labor-intensive and capital-extensive” business (Lewis 1964: 118). Advertising work comprehends many tasks which are related with different organizations and sectors. There are two core tasks in the advertising agencies; creating ideas and selling them to clients. Meanwhile, this process is also described as bridging the demands of client and market research with the creative thinking of the employees in the agency. Creative works are the core products of the agencies and they are valuable for competing and

reputation in the market (Thiel 2005). Meanwhile, creativity is central for the success of advertising (Hackley 2000). Therefore, to understand the world of work in the agencies, creative discourses of the work should also be discussed.

Creativity is an essential element of advertising and advertising agencies and important for the effectiveness of advertising (Smith and Yang 2004). According to Smith and Yang (2004: 32), “people are creative when they produce ideas, solutions, inventions, or products that are divergent and relevant”. But creativity is dependent on relatively, it may change according to how different groups may consider it. Main components of creativity in the advertising are divergence (novel, different or unusual) and relevance (meaningful, valuable) of the product or idea.

Reid, King DeLorme (1998) discuss creativity in the advertising through four key elements; originality, imagination, goal-direction and problem-solving. “Advertising as a special form of creativity, differs from artistic expression and other forms of creativity-for-the-sake-of-creativity in that originality and imagination must operate within a goal-directed and problem solving context” (Reid, King DeLorme 1998: 3). However, this creativity also includes relativity. A creative work of an agency sometimes does not considered as a creative work for a client or marketing manager (Reid, King DeLorme 1998).

In the following figure, there is an illustration which is created by Thiel (2005) that depicts the fundamental inputs and outputs in both development and production process of advertising campaigns. The role

advertisers as creative employees may be summarized as bridging creative ideas, on the one hand, and demands of market, on the other hand. Creative content in the agencies covers visual and written materials such as slogans, sounds, photographs, art, music, videos and graphics.

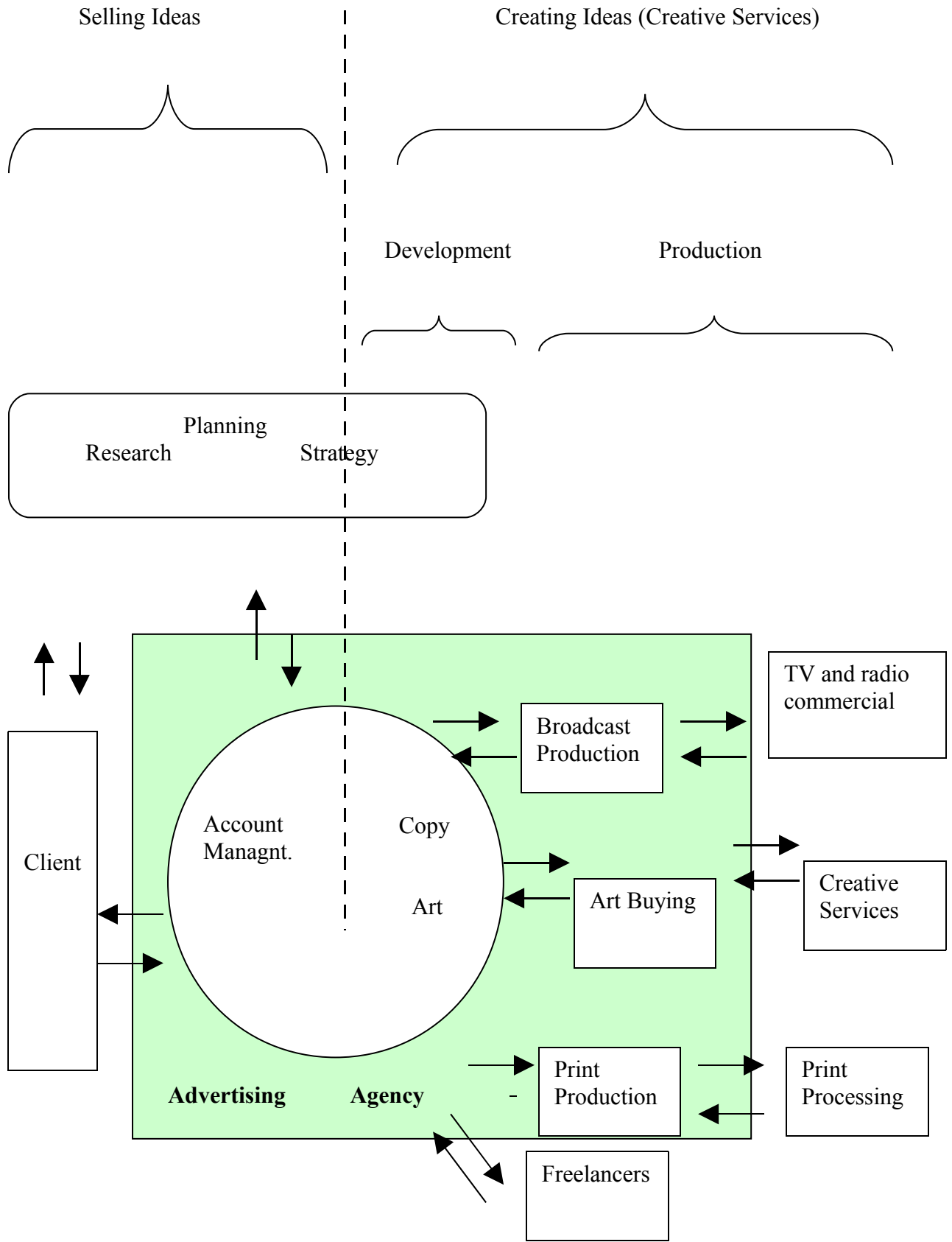


Figure 2. Creating and Selling Ideas in an Advertising Agency (Thiel 2005:50)

1.4.2. Advertising Agencies and the Context of Advertising Work

In a study by Nixon and Crewe (2004: 133), the structure of the advertising agencies in London is described as;

Within advertising, art directors and copywriters typically worked in pairs and were located within one of the main sections of agencies' departmentalized structures, the creative department. Overseen by a creative or executive creative director, creative teams would share the department with anything from four to 20 other teams, depending on the size of the agency. They worked closely with account planners, the practitioners responsible for bringing the findings of market research to bear upon the creative development process and, significantly, with writing the brief which creative teams worked to. Alongside the account planners were the media buyers and planners who were responsible for researching and buying media space for campaigns. Finally, creative teams had some limited contact with account handlers, the individuals within agencies responsible for overseeing particular client accounts and liaising between the agency and client.

In most of the advertising agencies, teams and projects are salient in the structure of the work and in the agencies these teams are mostly labeled

as account groups. According to Lewis (1964: 134), they are like a “miniature advertising agencies” that has different types of specialists come together in it. An account group usually consists of creative, technical, and staff specialists, media planners, researchers, merchandisers and sales-promotion men. The number of the group may change according to the size and importance of the client and work. According to Grabher (2002) rather than ‘firm’, these project groups in the advertising agencies are the basic unit of the economic action.

As one of the strategic part of the advertising agencies, account managers which contacts with the client and keep everything on the schedule (Hackley 2000). According to Grabher (2002: 248), ‘the account manager world is ideally organized around the coordinates of briefs, deadlines, budgets, brand share; in short he incorporates the business logic of advertising’. There are the representatives of the agency and they deal with the clients, receive instructions and coordinate activities and meeting with the client (Lewis 1964).

In the agencies, artists, copywriters, designers, and other creative personnel should be talented and trained in the exercise of their skill. The creative genius is one of the personality traits in the advertising agencies. These are the people whose technical knowledge or creative ability is so great and they have a high chance to go far toward a top staff position (Lewis 1964).

According to a study by Nixon and Brewwe (2004), in the advertising agencies, there is a relaxed work place culture; working space is not formal

and designed with comfortable furniture for the workers. The atmosphere in the agencies support relax and creative environment for the creatives in the agencies. In the workplace, there are full-time workers, free lance employees in a small number and placement teams who works with a little or no money and no guarantee of full time job. Working hours in the agencies are long especially between project deadlines. But, the salaries and bonuses of the creative employees and teams in the advertising agencies are relatively high. There is high mobility among the agencies, since employees may change their agencies so often. This also provides employees a network of people in different agencies. Social networks are tools for creatives in the advertising agencies to gain career success and gather social capital (Nixon & Brewe 2004: 134).

1.4.3. Knowledge Workers in the Advertising Agencies

Because of the job itself, advertising men are the customers of many other services such as research firms, television and radio networks and stations, newspapers, magazines and so on. Beside, they are the suppliers for the advertiser to the client. Lewis (1964: 124) mentions that this situation, being both customer and supplier, provides them many different “wine and dine” activities in the glamorous places and restaurants. This situation is closely related with the public image of the advertisers. Hackley and Kover (2007: 63) state that creative professionals in the advertising agencies are mostly portrayed as “quirky and insecure, brash and brilliant and even

mendacious”. Stereotypes in the popular movies mostly cause this type of characterization. According to Lewis (1964: 115), they are mostly pictured as people who have glamorous and extraordinary lives and they entertain their overdemanding clients in expensive lunches.

Advertising creatives are the members of the creative class which is defined as people who create new ideas, technology, and/or new creative content (Florida 2004). According to Florida (2004), creative class is larger than “organization men” which is described by Whyte (1956). And, beside the number, there are many differences in norms among these two working classes. People in the creative class have autonomy and flexibility. These causes a shift between organizations and roles, therefore it’s hard to work in the same organization for life and adopt the self identity to the organization. Therefore, professionals consider themselves as part of a broader class, such as creative class, rather than identifying through an organization. The creative content of the work and identity also is reflected to the everyday life of the individuals. They have no specific work hours, or dress codes. Rather, they construct their lifestyle on creative and different experiences (Florida 2004).

According to Bilton (2007: 138), workers in the creative organizations “deal in symbolic goods whose value is contained not in physical properties or even intangible qualities but in symbolic meanings- ideas, images, emotions and experiences” (Bilton, 2007, qtd. in Powell, 2008, pg. 159).

As they are the members of the “Creative Class”, experiences are very crucial as a source of their identity and status (Florida 2005:137). That is a result of their preferences about not to participate in time-killing activities such as making conspicuous consumption. Rather, they prefer simple things in their lives. According to Florida, creativity is an “act of synthesis” and to synthesize they need experiences, everyday experiences, and as the number of experiences increases, their deconstruction of existing frameworks will increase as well. In this manner, their consumption should comprehend cultural exchanges, such as not only eating and drinking in the restaurants, but watching people as well (Florida 2005). Therefore, in constructing identity, creatives can find better ways than conspicuous consumption and going to popular clubs.

According to Florida (2005), members of the creative class would prefer living the life and they prefer multidimensional experiences that make up their individual life and identity. Therefore, they like to be in the places where they are both observer and participant at the same time like small shops, small galleries or bistros. “Life” could be a good source of advertising creatives since they can find many line of thought as inspiration for their campaigns (Hackley and Kover 2007: 70). This is also important for the creative people in the advertising agencies. In the advertising world, they work on commercials or printed ads of many different brands and companies. And each may have address different values for different cultures and people. To create something meaningful for the target group, it is crucial to understand their way of life and preferences in their daily life.

Through the different experiences, they can retain knowledge which is precious for their work.

Advertising creatives, especially creative directors, follow industrial such as award ceremonies or other social events. Advertising creatives, who work in London agencies, choose specific places in London and this makes the creatives closer to each other. That situation constitutes an informal work environment where the employees from different agencies meet and talk (Nixon and Brewe 2004: 137-138).

However, not all the creative workers like to go pubs where the advertisers meet or popular social events. Rather, some group prefers to do different activities that are not related with advertising. Some of the advertising creatives do not go to popular pubs anymore because of their age and seniority, and some do not attend social activities so often because they work hard and do not have time and energy to spend in the clubs (Nixon and Brewe 2004: 141-143). In the advertising work, ideas and projects mostly start from scratch and come to the end in specific time. There are always deadline as a part of work and therefore, creatives must be responsible and disciplined enough to finish their work to a deadline (Hackley 2000).

In the agencies, they mostly wear casual clothes, such as casual shirt, sweatshirt, jeans and sport shoes. Their way of clothing and appearance is very far from the other business-based occupation groups such as financial service employees who wear formal business suits as dress code (Nixon and Brewe 2004, pp.136-137).

1.5. Financial Audit Companies and Professionals

The other knowledge work group comprises financial audit professionals, which are stated as knowledge workers (Alvesson 2001).

As referred by Morris and Empson (1998), financial audit firms were considered examples of the knowledge-based organizations. They provide professional services as an organization that depends mainly on the knowledge of its human capital that is its employees and the producer-owners, to develop and deliver intangible solutions to client problems (Morris and Empson 1998: 610). This explanation suits the professional audit firms and advertising agencies covered through this study.

As Duska and Duska (2003:20) stated, the task of the auditor is defined as checking whether the organization's estimates were based on reasonable formulas with the help of the available evidence. They explained the development of the accounting profession by the need of true and accurate picture of the financial affairs of organizations (Duska and Duska 2003:22).

Hopwood (1998) stated that audit firms are mechanical information bureaucracies, because of their complex and highly structured networks of rules, with standard operating procedures and authority limits (Hopwood 1998: 515). As listed by a Commission on Standards of Education and Experience for Certified Public Accountants, in the mid-twentieth century in the United States, the extract from the seven characteristics of an audit professional are as follows: a specialized body of knowledge, a recognized

formal education process for acquiring the requisite specialized knowledge, a standard of professional qualifications governing admission to the profession, a standard of conduct governing the relationship of the practitioner with clients, colleagues, and the public (Duska& Duska 2003: 65). These standards highlight the importance of knowledge, technical skills, appropriate educational background and a uniform certification procedure for the development of the accounting and financial auditing.

Duska and Duska (2003:65) defined the accounting as a complicated discipline requiring formal study to be a competent expert, which includes the education, certification and continuous training throughout the career of the financial audit professionals. Bernard (1993) defines auditors' needs to perform an auditing task as both auditing knowledge (general and specialized) and knowledge about the domains of auditing: accounting and the client industry. General auditing knowledge is acquired from university courses and firm training at work (Bernard 1993).

Another extract that emphasized the importance of education and knowledge relates the competence to such factors. Duska and Duska (2003) referred to the competence as the synthesis of education and experience, which begins with a mastery of the common body of knowledge required for designation as a certified public accountant. Commitment to learning and continuous professional development is also necessary for the maintenance of the competence which was deemed as the member's individual responsibility.

The importance of the knowledge for the professional services firms stems from its value and vulnerability at the same time. Therefore, “if individuals leave a firm, knowledge held by an individual or group may be lost to the firm and those who were colleagues one day can be competitors the next”. (Baker et al. 1988 cited in Morris & Empson 1998:611). Effect of knowledge on the success of the organization is defined as leveraging the experiences and knowledge of the senior level employees in the deployment of relatively inexperienced professional staff on client assignments is crucial to profit generation (Fama & Jensen 1983 cited in Morris& Empson 1998: 611).

According to Vera- Munoz, Ho and Chow (2005), “now more than ever, financial audit firms need to create, integrate, share, and use knowledge about their clients’ control activities and corporate governance” (Vera-Munoz, Ho & Chow 2005: 134). Effectively implementing these knowledge-based activities is very important for financial audit firms to maintain their competitive advantage (De Carolis 2003; Grant 1996 cited in Vera-Munoz, Ho & Chow 2005: 134), and to achieve time and cost reductions (Umemoto et al. 2004 cited in Vera-Munoz, Ho & Chow 2005: 134).

Financial audit professionals share knowledge with team members about the trends in market, accounting principles and other regulatory issues to leverage the skills, knowledge and practices (Vera-Munoz, Ho & Chow 2005: 134). Distribution of knowledge explicitly among the professionals is crucial, because the success of knowledge sharing depends ultimately on

people, their practices, and their know-how (Salisbury 2003, 131; Douglas 2002). (page 140).

In the light of the factors mentioned above, knowledge is considered vital for the procedures and operations of financial audit firms, which are concluded as knowledge workers. However, the context of work in the financial audit firms depends on standards and predetermined methodologies, which is highly different than the context of work in advertising agencies. As work is one of the constructs that constitutes the identity of the self, these differences between two work groups would reflect their work identity.

1.6. Conclusion

In the literature review part, the aim was discussing certain basic concepts related with knowledge work, knowledge workers, identity, everyday life and consumption. Starting from a broader perspective (knowledge work), aim was to narrow the subject into specific work groups and focus on the related group to understand the topic better. Knowledge and knowledge-intensiveness are the concepts which are always open to many debates. Therefore, rather than discussing all knowledge workers, selecting specific work groups would be appropriate to understand the world of work and workers. Meanwhile, identity related concepts are extensive and can be discussed in various fields, therefore focusing on a specific work group provides a deeper understanding of the group.

Another issue in this study is to compare the differences between two different work groups. Advertising employees are knowledge workers in a creative class, therefore their way of life should be organized around gathering knowledge not only in their public sphere (work) but private sphere (leisure, home) as well. Meanwhile as the borders are blurring especially for the knowledge workers, their world of work, leisure and consumption integrate in their everyday life.

However, for financial audit professionals, theoretical knowledge is the characteristics of knowledge used at work and this knowledge is mostly gathered through work related activities.

2. Research Design and Methodology

Following the literature review that frames the structural part of the research, this part of the study is arranged to construct the research design and the methodology of the thesis. Referring to the theoretical framework, in the research part, purpose of the research, research design, data collection, and data interpretation are going to be revealed in detail.

2.1. Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this research is to explore how professionals, in two different types of knowledge intensive firms, organize their everyday life, work-home balance and consumption around their professional identity. Within the framework of discussions in the literature review, research methodology is outlined to explore the research questions through an empirical study related to two different professional groups in Turkey, which are the professionals in advertising agencies and financial audit firms. Through discussing their professional identity, work life and consumption activities, the central phenomenon is the interpretation of the boundaries that they set between work and leisure life as a consequence of their professional identity.

2.2. Research Design

In this study, qualitative research methods are selected to understand “what people do, know, think, and feel” better. (Patton 2002:145). That permits to analyze the issues in great depth and to produce rich data although there is a small number of a person (Patton 2002:227). Therefore, in this research, basic steps, which As Creswell (2005:44) outlines, were followed as:

- ❖ Identifying a research problem : exploratory and understanding oriented
- ❖ Review of Literature: Minor role and for the justification of research problem
- ❖ Specifying a purpose: General and broad, participants’ experiences
- ❖ Collecting data: General, emerging, text or image, small number of individuals or sites
- ❖ Analyzing and interpreting data: Text analysis, description, analysis, and thematic development
- ❖ Reporting and evaluating research: Flexible and emerging, reflexive and biased

Therefore, within this qualitative framework, the aim of the research is to understand how knowledge workers in two different groups organize their everyday activities, and this is going to be explored through the interviews relying on their stories and experiences.

2.2.1. Grounded Theory

The research part of the study is framed by *grounded theory*. This method was originally built up by Glaser and Strauss (1967).

Rather than developing research hypothesis and defining variables before the analysis of data, grounded theory allows researcher to focus on research concerns rather than hypothesis and allow participants to talk about their experiences (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003:15-16). The aim of the grounded theory is to construct hypothesis rather than test them. Therefore, research focus is to choose knowledge workers and understand their experiences and everyday life.

Through the basic steps defined by Creswell (2005) and Heppner, Wampold and Kivligan (2008), research was implemented as follows:

- Data collection was the first step in the approach. In the grounded theory, data is mainly collected through the interviews. In this study, data was collected through the interviews with the professionals in advertising agencies and financial audit companies.

- Data Storage was the second step, which consists of transcribing and writing the data. Data was analyzed through reading several times. After the interviews, data was transcribed and transferred to the computer software to organize and process better.
- The next step was defining codes within the data. Open coding was the first step, which means identifying themes within the text. Open coding was implemented in the study and themes were explored within the data.
- Then the axial coding was used to categorize the similar codes in the data. Similar codes in the data were grouped under the six general themes of the research which is going to be explained in the following sections.
- Memo writing was another crucial thing in the grounded theory. Memo writing can be defined as taking notes during the research. Especially field notes are important to note the general environment of the research. Therefore, field notes were taken during the interviews in the advertising agencies and financial audit firms.

2. 3. Data Collection

In the qualitative research, the aim is to explore our research phenomenon, rather than to build general conclusion about a population. Therefore, data should be collected from the participants who are selected with the purpose of understanding our phenomenon and developing a

detailed understanding (Creswell 2005:203). In this study, data is collected through the interviews, which are based on the experiences of the knowledge workers.

2.3.1. Sampling

Qualitative research mainly concentrates on small samples that are chosen purposefully and aims to analyze the sample in depth. In this study, purposive (or purposeful) sampling was chosen as the sampling method, which provides information-rich cases and permits to select sample that illuminates the questions best (Patton 2002: 230).

Thus, purposive sampling was implemented in the study since only predefined workers who fit the purpose of the research were selected to be interviewed. Meanwhile, professionals recommended other people to interview with and this expanded the sample size of the research. The chain of recommended professionals, snowball sampling, also helped to locate information-rich informants in the study (Patton 2002:237).

In sampling, the size of the sample depends on the rationale of the study. The limit of sample size should be decided in the context of qualitative inquiry (Patton 2002:245). Therefore, sample size may vary in each different qualitative study (Creswell 2005:207). According to Patton (2002), “the validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected and the observational / analytical capabilities of the

researcher than with sample size” (Patton 2002: 245). Therefore, in this research, interviews were continued until the stories were started to mimic each other and same information was repeated by each respondent, so that theoretical saturation was obtained (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003:20).

The two different types of knowledge-intensive firms selected for this study are advertising agencies and financial audit companies. In the advertising agencies, there are different work groups such as account group, creative or administrative; but for this study, only creative professionals were selected with the purpose of discussing the role of creativity in the definition of professional identity.

The other work group is composed of the professionals in financial audit companies. In the financial audit companies, there are also different work groups such as the professionals in human resources or tax department; but for this study, only financial audit professionals were selected to discuss the identity of financial professionals in the context of work.

2.3.1.1. Advertising Practitioners

Advertising sector in Turkey covers the advertisers, the advertising agencies, the media agencies, the advertising mediums and the producers that take part in the production of advertisements. The initial formation that can be considered as the first advertising agency in Turkey was set up in 1909. Since that time, advertising sector has been grown up in parallel with

the economic growth in the market. After 1980s, foreign advertising agencies have started to invest in Turkish advertising market as a consequence of liberalization in foreign trade and international agencies merged with some domestic agencies. Then, foreign brands entered the market and this acceleration has not only caused an increase in the number of agencies in the market, but brought on a professional scale and international techniques and strategies as well. 57 of the advertising agencies have been founded after 1980. Advertising Association was established in 1984, and this may be considered as a crucial step for the institutionalization of the advertising sector. Although, there have been crisis in the economy and hit the advertising agencies and employees, the sector has now been recovering itself with the new developments. Today, there are approximately 100 advertising agencies in the organized manner with customer relations, creative and media departments. 84 of them are the members of the Turkish Association of Advertising Agencies (TAAA). The number of total employees in the advertising agencies is projected approximately 3000. The main tasks of advertising agencies are providing integrated advertising services such as preparing of the communication strategy, marketing and media strategy, including creative works, design and implementation¹.

In this study, five different advertising agencies were selected among the members of Turkish Association of Advertising Agencies. All of the agencies are located in Istanbul. Twenty-two professionals, who work in the creative department of the agencies, were selected for interviewing using the purposive and snowball sampling. In the sample, twelve of the advertising

¹ Turkish Association of Advertising Agencies, <http://www.rd.org.tr/>

practitioners were men and ten of the advertising practitioners were women. Among them, three of them were group heads of creative department, one of them was the director in the agency, two of them were junior level practitioners and the other sixteen respondents were senior level professionals who work in the creative department.

2.3.1.2. Financial Audit Professionals

Although the history of financial accounting and auditing is as old as the advertising history, their context of work, which is a part of professional identity, is very different from each other. The traces of audit and accounting activities in Turkey go back to Ottoman Empire. After the foundation of the Republic in 1923, there has been introduced several laws and regulations to develop the framework of accounting and auditing profession. With "The Law of Independent Accountancy, Certified Public Accountancy and Sworn-in Certified Public Accountancy" in 1989, the qualifications of accounting and auditing profession were established. According to these standards, there are three categories of professionals; Independent Accountant, Certified Public Accountant, and Sworn-in Certified Public Accountant. To get a license for membership of the profession, there are some general requirements such as being a citizen of the Republic of Turkey, or being competent in exercising the civil rights. Beside the general requirements, there are educational and training qualifications and proficiency exams to get a license. Accounting

professionals are required to complete a period of traineeship and they should be a graduate of related B.A. degrees. To be a certified public accountant, there are such standards and regulations which are defined by laws².

The number of accountants and public accountants in Turkey is much more than advertising professionals, which was estimated as more than 60,000 in 2006 (Arıkan 2006:12). The professionals in the accountant sector vary according to the work they do. There are many different types of accounting and auditing firms, which differ according to the size of firm, procedures, quality of work or kind of service. Therefore, to standardize the sample, only professionals in international audit companies were selected as the knowledge workers in financial audit companies.

In Turkey, there are 4 big international audit companies, labeled as “Big Four”, and they are local affiliates of the Big Four international firms³:

- Güney Bagimsiz Denetim ve S.M.M. A.S. - member of Ernst & Young,
- Akis Bagimsiz Denetim ve S.M.M. A.S. - affiliate of KPMG,
- Basaran Nas Bagimsiz Denetim ve S.M.M. A.S. - affiliate of PwC
- DRT Bagimsiz Denetim ve S.M.M. A.S. - affiliate of Deloitte

To gather data form the financial audit professionals, two different audit firms were selected among Big Four. Fifteen financial audit

² <http://www.turmob.org.tr/TurmobWeb/turkce/popup.aspx?Sayfa=/Arsiv/turmobwebdb/htmler/ingilizce6.htm>

³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Big_Four_auditors

professionals were selected to be interviewed. In the sample of financial audit professionals, ten of them were men and five of them were women. Among these professionals, ten of them were senior level professionals and five of them were managers in the firm.

Accordingly, the sample consists of thirty-seven professionals in knowledge intensive firms, twenty-two of them are advertising practitioners, and fifteen of them are financial audit professionals.

2.3.2. Interviews

After identifying the interviewees using purposive sampling, data was collected through the narrative interviews with the professionals in financial audit firms and advertising agencies.

To understand the professionals' everyday life and identity, their stories (narratives) were employed through the interviews. Narrative interviews are one of the research methods that are preferred to understand the experiences and everyday life of the professionals (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003:16).

Narratives are the stories of the individuals and they are the representations of people's lives. (Bloor & Wood 2006:119-121). They refer life stories and experiences of people. Narrative may be defined as “ (a) a short topical story about a particular event and specific characters such as an encounter with a friend, boss, or doctor; (b) an extended story about a significant aspect of one's life such as schooling, work, marriage, divorce,

childbirth, an illness, a trauma, or participation in a war or social movement; or (c) a narrative of one's entire life, from birth to present"(Susan E. Chase in Denzin & Lincoln 2000:652).

Narratives of people can be collected through a variety of research methods, but mostly preferred ones are semi-structured, unstructured interviewing and participant observation (Bryman 2008: 560), consequently, in this study, semi-structured interviews were employed.

2.3.2.1. Interview Questions

In a narrative based interview, the role of the researcher is being listener and the interviewee is not a respondent but story-teller (Hollway & Jefferson 2002:31). Question-and-answer type of interviews has a risk of suppress the stories of the respondents' (Mishler 1986 cited in Hollway & Jefferson 2002:31). Eliciting stories from the respondents may be difficult in some part because ability of people in telling their stories varies and sometimes they may feel that their stories are not worth to tell (Hollway & Jefferson 2002:35). Therefore, structure of the questions should be constructed to make people tell stories about their life. Rather than closed-end or 'why' questions, in the narrative interviews questions should be organized as open-ended and give space to the respondents to their stories (Hollway & Jefferson 2002:34-35).

In a narrative interview, researcher should be passive and leave the respondent free by giving the control to the narrative teller (Bloor & Wood

2006:119). Therefore, in this study, questions were designed as brief and general format, and specific answers were not expected from the respondents. Respondents were free to talk about their typical day or weekend. Thus, in the study, questions were designed to create a space for the respondents allowing the participants telling their own stories.

In this study, data was collected in a year through the semi-structured interviews about the narratives of the professionals' everyday life, identity and consumption. Main questions in the interviews were;

1. Tell me about your work life
2. Tell me about your typical workday
3. Tell me about your life after work
4. Tell me about your typical weekend
5. Tell me about your consumption preferences
6. Tell me about the importance of knowledge at work

In the first question, “tell me about your work life” refers to the general structure of the work in the agency or office. This question is about their working hours, responsibilities at work, work environment, relations with the peers and clients and the structure of the work. Meanwhile, this question also reflects how they define themselves at work and the context of work.

The other two questions are related to their everyday activities after work. Their weekday and weekend activities would be different from each

other because of work and time; therefore, two separate questions were asked to reflect their consumption activities best. Questions about their consumption preferences reflect what they spend their time and money on.

“Sources of knowledge” is one of the leading questions that were asked with the aim of finding what kind of knowledge is relevant for these two work groups. As the structure of work changes, the kind of knowledge and knowledge channels also transform according to the different needs of work itself.

2.3.2.2. Interview Process

The interviews took place in different environments, such as meeting rooms in the offices or coffee shops in the local area. The place of the interview was selected according to the convenience of the workplace and preference of the respondent. The purpose was finding a suitable place, in which the respondents feel free to talk.

All interviews were tape-recorded to provide accurate information from the conversation. In some parts of the interview, brief notes were taken to highlight significant points of the conversation. Therefore, before the interviews, an interview protocol was designed, which is illustrated in Appendix 1.

2.4. Analysis and Interpretation of Data

After data was collected through semi-structured interviews that focus on narratives of the individuals, data was transcribed in two steps. In the first step, what stated by the interviewee was transcribed exactly. However, some points of the conversation might not reflect the objectives in this study; therefore, in the second step, the conversation was edited through the framework of the research. Meanwhile, field notes were taken and written after the interviews to support the discussions about the general office environment or dress code of the respondents.

After transcribing the interviews and organizing fieldnotes, to organize the information, a qualitative software program, QDA (Qualitative Data Analysis) Miner was employed. Computer analysis of data enables to analyze large amount of data, inspection of every word carefully, and to find specific quotes in the passages (Creswell 2005:234). Using QDA Miner helped to organize data and define codes to analyze it.

2.4.1. Coding

After organizing the data using the computer program, QDA Miner, coding method was employed to classify the text of transcripts and discover patterns from the massive amount of text (Auerbach and Silverstein 2003:31-32).

2.4.1.2. Basic codes of research

There are six themes in the research and codes were constructed in each theme. Basic codes are life at work, life after work (in weekdays), weekend activities, consumption, identity and knowledge.

2.4.1.2.3. Life at work

The first code group is related with the activities within the work. The aim of this code group is to compare and discuss the work related differences between two groups. Although, they are both labeled as knowledge workers, the aim is to find how they differ within the realm of knowledge work. The aim is to clarify what kind of knowledge is vivid in the work related activities. Codes such as “having flexible dress at office”, “flexible work hours”, “chatting with friends at work”, and “having personal things at the office” aim to represent the flexibility of work environment and boundaries between work and self.

2.4.1.2.4. Life after work- Weekdays

The second code group is related with how employees spend their time after work. Weekday and weekend activities are separated from each other, since through the weekdays leisure time is much more limited and affected by the workload. In this group, main codes are related with the home-related activities since after the interviews, it is revealed that most of the respondents prefer to be at home after a busy workday at office.

2.4.1.2.3. Weekend Activities

The third code group is constituted of weekend and holiday activities of the respondents, which reflects how they spend their time and money. These codes were formed according to the respondents' answers about their preferred leisure activities. Therefore, the main codes were constituted according to their answers such as “going outside for breakfast/ coffee/dinner”, “watching dvd”, “going to cinema”, “reading books/ magazines”, “going to theatre”, “shopping”, “meeting with friends”, “wine and dine activities”, “going to art galleries”, “going to concerts/ musical events” and “staying at home”.

2.4.1.2.5. Consumption Activities

Another code group was formed under the heading of “consumption” which reflects the consumption activities of the respondents. Consumption activities of the respondents covers their everyday consumptions, which they prefer to spend their time and money on.

The aim is to clarify the consumption activities of two work groups and discuss them with combining identity and work. Two groups may have same consumption activities, but how they give meaning to these activities may differ in different contexts. In this group, the codes are; “travel”, “music”, “cinema”, “internet shopping”, “wine and dine activities”,

“clothing”, “books”, “shopping center”, which reflect the basic consumption preferences of the respondents.

2.4.1.2.5. Identity

These codes were used to describe how the professionals define themselves at work. Their definition of themselves at work is affected by the context of the work and how they should behave in this context of work. Therefore; main codes are; “being creative/ creativity”, “following trends”, “understanding people and problems”, “reading”, “feeding himself/herself”, “watching film”, “seniority with knowledge”, “the importance of cultural capital”, “participating art related activities”, and “efficiency”.

2.4.1.2.6. Knowledge

Last group of codes were organized under the heading of knowledge, which reflects the types of knowledge that the professionals use and basic knowledge channels related with their work. Some of the codes are; “popular culture”, “movies”, “books”, “friends”, “newspapers/ magazines/periodicals”, “importance of using different channels”, “team meetings”, “art galleries and art related activities” and “work related books”.

Both work groups are knowledge workers, however in this study, the aim is to reflect how two different work groups use different kind of

knowledge and how the kind of knowledge, together with the work identity, affect their everyday life and consumption. Codes in this study are related to each other in a meaningful way. Therefore, to make a conclusion, all the codes should be considered in integrity. Codes used in this study are summarized below:

 **life at work**

- ◆ importance of knowledge at work
- ◆ flexible dress code
- ◆ personalization of office space
- ◆ work related things at office
- ◆ discipline at work
- ◆ democracy
- ◆ hierarchy at work
- ◆ standards at work
- ◆ formal dress code
- ◆ creativity at work

 **life after work-weekdays**

- ◆ weekdays- going home
- ◆ weekdays- watching dvd at home
- ◆ weekdays- meeting with friends
- ◆ weekdays- reading at home
- ◆ weekdays- wine and dine
- ◆ weekdays- internet at home
- ◆ weekdays- cinema
- ◆ weekdays- working at home
- ◆ weekdays-watching tv
- ◆ weekdays- relaxing

weekends

- ◆ weekends- going outside for breakfast/dinner/coffee
- ◆ weekends- watching dvd
- ◆ weekends- cinema
- ◆ weekends- reading books, magazines
- ◆ weekends- going to the theatre
- ◆ weekends- shopping
- ◆ weekends- meeting with friends
- ◆ weekends- wine and dine
- ◆ weekends- going to art galleries
- ◆ weekends- going to concert/ musical events
- ◆ weekends- spending time at home
- ◆ weekends- internet
- ◆ weekends- relaxing

consumption and leisure

- ◆ travel
- ◆ music
- ◆ cinema
- ◆ internet shopping
- ◆ wine and dine activities
- ◆ clothing
- ◆ books
- ◆ shopping center
- ◆ buying different things
- ◆ dvd

identity

- ◆ creativity
- ◆ following trends
- ◆ understanding people/problems
- ◆ reading
- ◆ feeding
- ◆ watching film
- ◆ seniority with knowledge
- ◆ cultural capital
- ◆ participate art related activities
- ◆ difference
- ◆ importance of knowledge
- ◆ work as life
- ◆ emotional intelligence
- ◆ education in related departments
- ◆ education in different departments
- ◆ being curious
- ◆ seniority with experience
- ◆ efficiency

knowledge

- ◆ popular culture- knowledge channel
- ◆ movies- knowledge channel
- ◆ books- knowledge channel
- ◆ friends- knowledge channel
- ◆ newspaper/periodicals- knowledge channel
- ◆ using different channels for knowledge
- ◆ meetings- knowledge channel
- ◆ art galleries and art related activities- knowledge channel
- ◆ tv series- knowledge channel
- ◆ theoretical knowledge
- ◆ tv- knowledge channel
- ◆ work related tv programs- knowledge channel
- ◆ internet-knowledge channel
- ◆ everyday life-knowledge channel
- ◆ work related knowledge
- ◆ peers at work-knowledge channel
- ◆ trainings- knowledge channel

Figure 3. Basic Codes used in the Research

2.4.1.3. Correspondence Analysis

After defining the codes, the interviews were entered in QDA Miner and words related to the codes were determined. Therefore, each interview was read repeatedly to match the codes with the expression. As the next stage, correspondence analysis, which is a method to analyze relationships among entries, was conducted. By this analysis, the relationship between codes and subgroups was explored. The results of the analysis, which are going to be explained comprehensively in the next section, were presented in two or three-dimensional maps.

Correspondence analysis maps and relationship between row points and column points should be interpreted in a careful way to express the

similarities and differences among codes. Basic rules, which are stated in QDA Miner software, are as follows:

- The more similar the distribution of a code among subgroups to the total distribution of all codes within subgroups, the closer it will be to the origin. Codes that are plotted far from this point of origin have singular distributions.
- If two codes have similar distributions (or profiles) among subgroups, their points in the correspondence analysis plot will be close to each other.
- Codes with different profiles will be plotted far from each other.

3. Findings

After collecting and analyzing data, this part of the study discusses the findings of the research. The aim is to explore work and consumption differences among advertising and financial audit practitioners. The findings are organized as discussing each code separately first, and then making an overall discussion.

3.1. Life at work

The first group of codes are organized in “life at work” theme, which reflects the everyday work life and its context.

Figure 4 is the correspondence analysis maps, which reflect the differences and similarities between the work context of advertising and financial audit professionals.

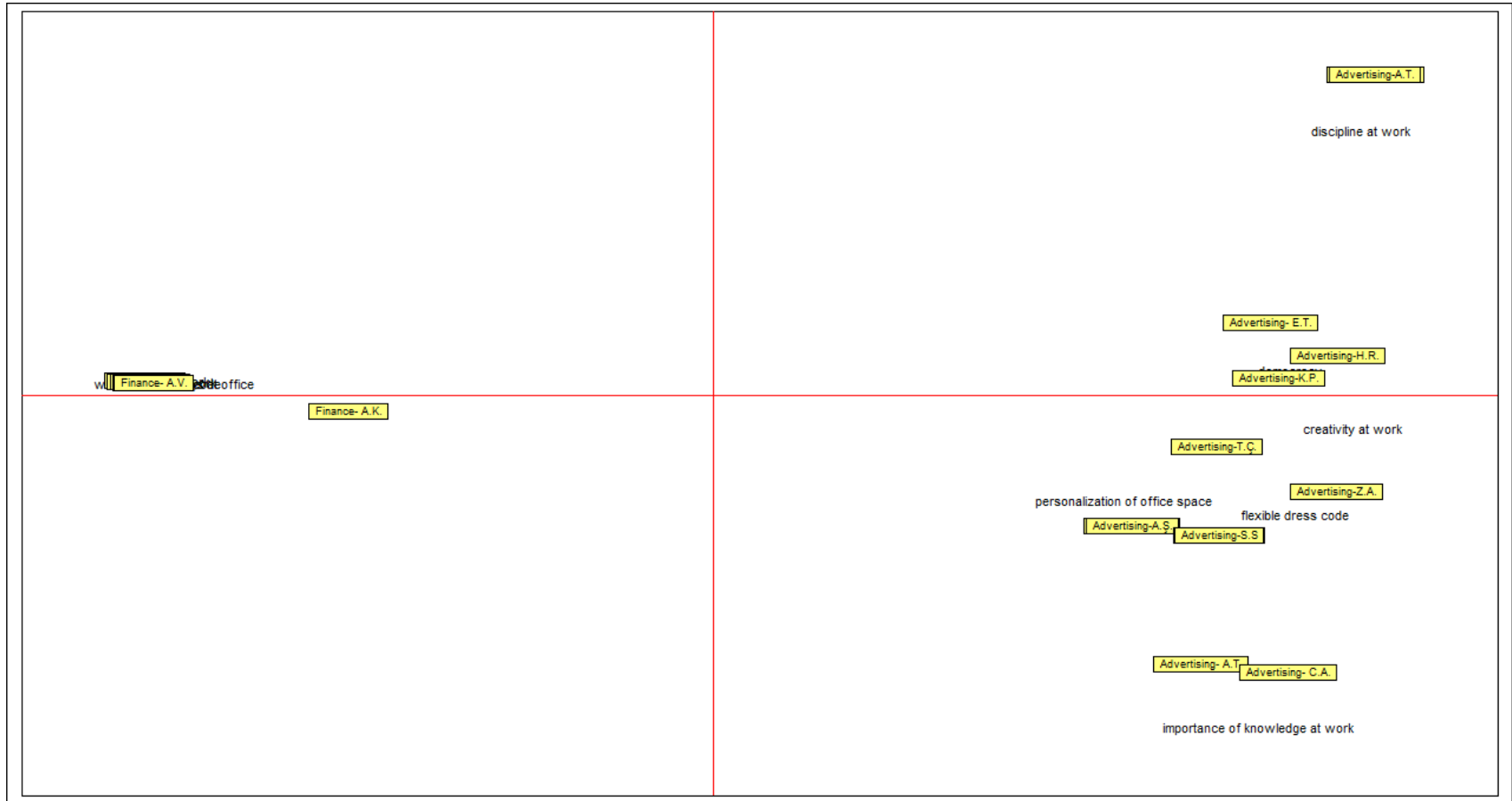


Figure 4. Life at Work

- In the map, democracy and creativity are two basic instruments that advertising professionals stated most during the interviews.
- All the codes for financial audit professionals are grouped in the same place, which is close to horizontal axis, and this states that for financial audit professionals hierarchy, standards at work and formal dress code are the significant characteristics of their work life.
- Creativity is a distinctive profile of advertising agencies, since it is the most far from the point of origin. That means creativity is one of the major differences between two work groups.
- Discipline at work is another theme, which is stated by the advertising practitioners. However, this situation does not mean that advertising is a more disciplined work than financial audit. They stated that although people mostly consider advertising as a job without discipline; casual clothes or reading books at work do not necessarily mean that job does not have a context without discipline.
- In the agencies, office spaces are designed as relaxed and informal where creative professionals feel comfortable. In the offices, there are corners where people read books, meet and talk to colleagues, play games, or drink tea. Meanwhile, some agencies provide larger spaces for employees where they can watch TV in plasma, or even play billiards. Office spaces are designed in such a way, because people do not consider it only as an office space, but a place where they can spend time with friends during work. If there is enough space, everyone may design his own office space with personal

things such as models, magazines, books and photos. However, the office space of financial auditing firms is designed with long tables and chairs where everyone uses the same place except managers and partners. Therefore, rather than personal spaces, common spaces are vivid in the offices.

- During the work, advertising practitioners may spend time with reading books, magazines, or even sleeping on a couch. Work environment is designed as flexible and comfortable. They spend time on surfing the Internet, as a part of their job. As one of the respondents stated, “Although many people regard advertising professionals as the people who spend most of the time on Internet, this is a part of our work.” Internet is a kind of knowledge channel for them where they may find information, communicate with other people and follow trends.
- The dress code in the advertising agencies highlights flexibility, creativity and comfort. In the agencies, creatives mostly prefer to wear jeans, t-shirts, sweatshirts, but the main point is they wear what they want to wear. However, account planners are different than the creatives in the offices, and if they have a meeting with the client, they may prefer to wear formal clothes. Since the study focuses on creative professionals in the agencies, it may be concluded that they prefer the clothes that they feel comfortable.
- In the financial audit firms, the dress code is strict and formal, and they wear suits at work, which is an institutional practice in the

financial services. Most of the time, they work at client sites; therefore they are careful about their dress code. If they are working in the office, they are free of suits on Friday, but they do not allowed to wear jeans or t-shirts. Rather, they may have “business casual” clothes, which mean wearing trousers and shirt.

- The interviews reflected that one of the major features of advertising is working hard. They mentioned that people consider advertising as a glamorous job and advertising practitioners spend their time in cafes, restaurants, wine and dine activities, rather than working. However, all of the practitioners stated that they usually have a huge work load and they work until late hours at nights. Therefore, for both work groups, working hours may change according to their work load. However, for the advertising professionals, the starting time may be more flexible than the audit professional.
- Importance of knowledge is one of the common features of advertising agencies and auditing firms since they are both labeled as knowledge-intensive works. However, the main question is what kind of information is relevant for advertising and auditing professionals. In the advertising agencies, the work of creative professionals is producing creative output. Their work is also related to brands, consumers and popular culture. Therefore, they need cultural knowledge, which they can use in their advertising work. However, the knowledge of auditing professionals is more

theoretical which depends more on educational and theoretical knowledge.

- Auditing professionals state that education is one of the most important features of work, and knowledge of accounting is a valuable asset for them. Meanwhile, as a part of their job, they must pass certain accounting related exams to be a manager in their companies. Therefore, success of their job depends on their theoretical knowledge as well as their performance in the work.
- Hierarchy is very distinctive in the financial auditing firms. Basic steps in the hierarchy are assistant level (2 years), senior level (3 years), manager level (3 years), senior manager level (4 years) and partnership. These levels are based on the number of years worked (except becoming a partner), and if professionals are qualified according to the evaluation criteria ranked by superiors, then they may obtain seniority. Meanwhile, to be a manager, professionals have to pass certain exams to be a Certified Public Accountant.
- Work activities in the financial auditing firms are organized around teams. In each team, there are different number of professionals from different levels, which differs according to the size of the client and the complexity of the work performed. In the teams, responsibilities of the professionals and the expectations are explicit and the work is performed within a strict accounting framework.
- In the financial auditing companies, education is important in hiring employees, because to be a certified public accountant, you have to

be graduated from related departments of the universities. In the advertising agencies, although most professionals are graduated from advertising or media departments, it is not considered as a vital criterion to work in an advertising agency.

- Work is highly standardized in the financial auditing companies. There are rules and regulations in the auditing, and the professionals should obey these rules and procedures.
- Working long hours is one of the characteristics of both work groups. In the financial auditing companies, there are busy seasons such as the time span between December to April, and in this period, professionals work until midnight.

3.2. Life after Work

In the interviews, professionals from both work groups stated that they have long working hours and they usually become so tired through the weekdays. Therefore, they mostly prefer spending time at home through the week. However, both work groups stated that sometimes, especially when they are not working in busy season, they may go outside for a dinner or coffee with their friends. As the Figure 5 states below, the activities of financial audit and advertising professionals may be similar to each other. Both groups may prefer to meet with their friends, or go to a movie. However, the point is not the activities they prefer to do, but the meaning of these activities for the professionals. Therefore, to interpret these codes,

identity and work-home boundaries should be taken into account. However, there are also certain differences such as:

- Advertising professionals may prefer to go to cinema or attend an art related activity during the week. Advertising professionals stated that they usually watch a movie or read a book at home to “feed” themselves. However, financial audit professionals may prefer to do these activities to “relax” after a busy workday. Feeding, which is going to be discussed below, is one of the main themes that advertising professionals refer in defining themselves.
- Meanwhile, one of the distinctive differences among advertising professionals is that the activities may change according to the seniority or age. Such as, some of the professionals in the advertising agencies stated that, junior advertising practitioners might tend to spend more time outside with their friends in wine and dine, or clubbing activities. However, as they get older, the frequency of these activities may tend to decrease.
- In the weekdays, both groups mostly prefer to be at home, however this may change according to their work load, specific occasions such as birthdays or meetings, or other variables such as age, gender or personality. But this study does not focus on the activity itself, but the meaning of the activity and its relation with work-home boundary and professional identity.

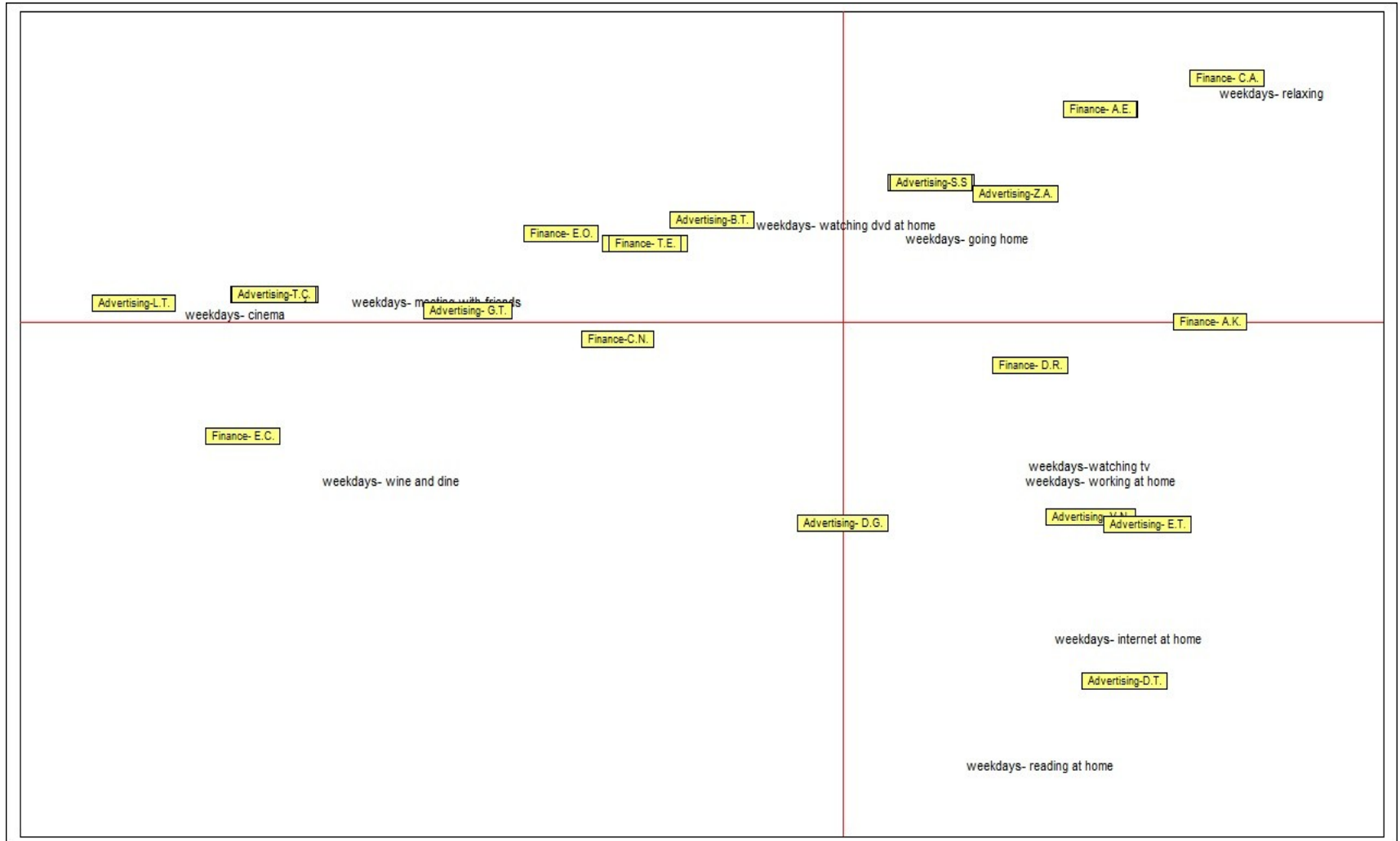


Figure 5. Life after Work

3.3. Weekends and holidays

In the interviews with the professionals, after discussing their weekday activities, another question was inquired about their weekend and holiday activities. Professionals in both work groups stated that they are too busy through the week and they spend most of their time at their office or agency especially during the busy seasons. Therefore, rather than weekdays, consumption and leisure activities are significant at weekends. In Figure 6, basic similarities and differences are demonstrated and these are listed below:

- Weekend and holiday activities may differ according to the personal choices of the individual. Some of the respondents stated that they prefer to stay at home and spend time with their family, and some of them prefer to spend time with their friends in wine & dine activities, or going to a musical event. However, this study does not intend to reflect personal differences among people, rather aims to explore the meaning of activities.
- As stated before, there are similarities between two work groups such as going to cinema, wine and dine activities, meeting with friends, or shopping. However, the meanings may differ between groups. Such as some of the advertising practitioners stated that friends are a great source of information and knowledge. They learn lots of things from the experiences of their friends. Advertising

professionals frequently go to cinema, which is a source of inspiration for their work.

- Advertising professionals stated that they might spend more time on reading books/ magazines or watching movies on the weekends, therefore reading and watching are the major activities, which are attributed to advertising practitioners.
- Meanwhile, another attribute that advertising professionals prefer to do at weekends is participating to art galleries or exhibits. As the Figure 6 shows, this is a distinctive activity for the advertising professionals.
- Basic theme of the audit professionals' activities is "relaxing" at weekends. Because of their busy days during the week, they mostly prefer to do relaxing activities.
- There are some group of activities such as going to a concert or meeting with the friends. One of the interesting things is in both work groups; there are professionals interested in playing a musical instrument with a group of friends. However, financial audit professional stated that this is a great way of relaxation; whereas advertising professional stated this is a great source of inspiration for work.

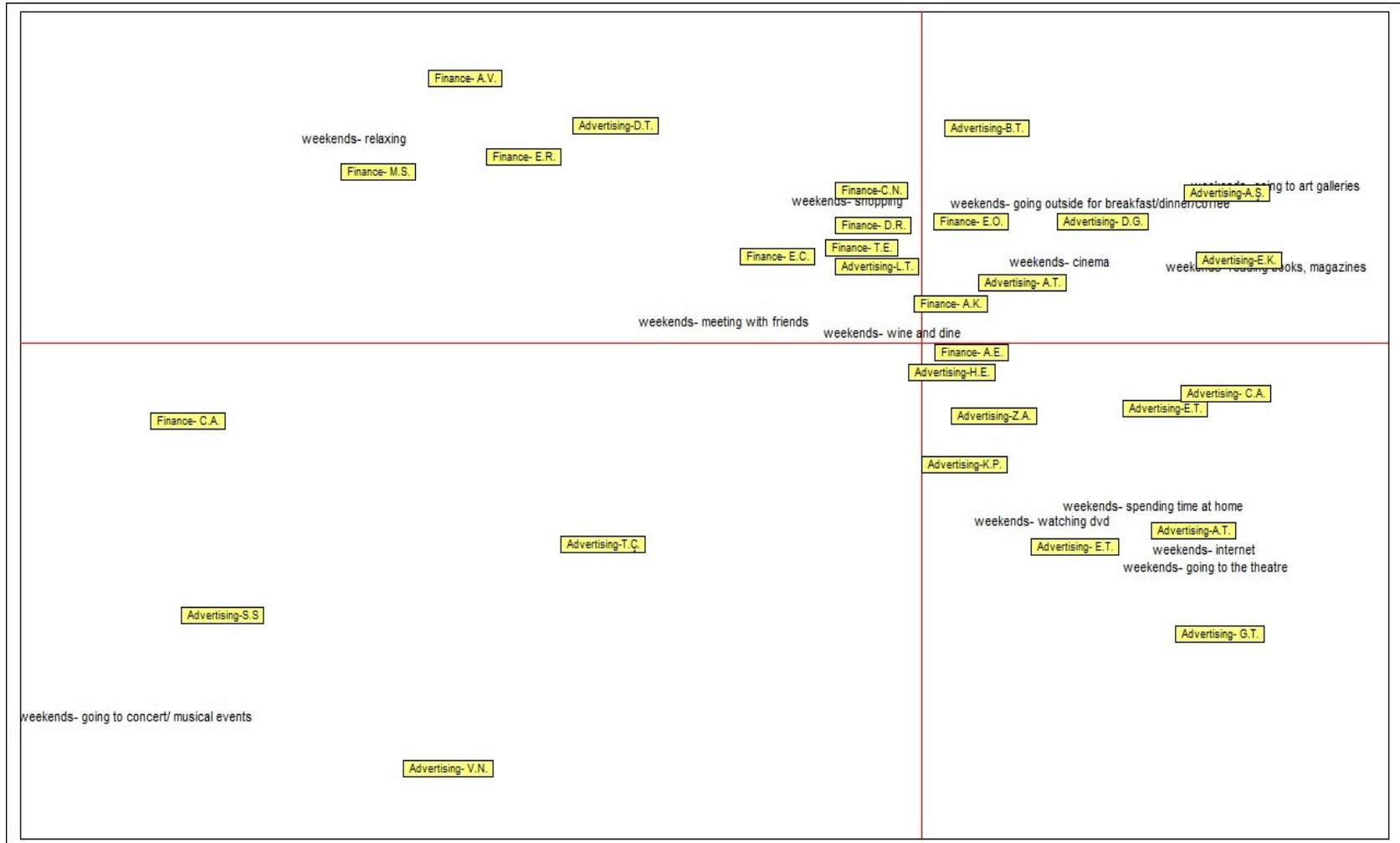


Figure 6. Weekend Activities

3.4. Consumption

Consumption refers to the activities practitioners in both groups spend their time and money on. This question also provides a consistency with the previous two questions, which discuss weekday and weekend activities.

The most important issue is not the activities, but their meanings for the practitioners. Although both work groups may prefer to spend money and time for the same activities, their meanings may be totally different from each other.

- In terms of the consumption activities, one of the distinctive features of the advertising professionals is that they spend money on buying DVDs and books. In their leisure time, whether in weekdays or weekends, they prefer to watch a movie or read a book. Movies and books are the major sources of cultural capital for advertising professionals. Therefore, they spend most of their time and money on buying books and movies. Although financial audit professionals spend time on reading books, watching DVDs or going to cinema; such activities are considered as a part of advertising professionals' lives. As it is shown in Figure 7, these are the distinctive consumption preferences of advertising practitioners.

- For advertising professionals, music is a tool that may trigger creativity, accordingly they prefer to buy music CDs, or go to concerts and they spend time and money on it.
- Both work groups shop on Internet, however for different purposes. Certain portion of the creative practitioners stated that they might prefer to shop online since they can find different products on the Internet. Also advertising practitioners might prefer to buy books or movies from international shopping web sites, which they can not find in the local bookstores. For the financial auditors, the main motives of internet shopping are saving time and money. Since they spend most of their time at work, especially in busy seasons; ordering books, clothes or other personal stuff on the Internet saves time for other activities.
- As it is shown in Figure 7, going to cinema is another theme that both work groups prefers to do. However, what differ in here are the frequency and the meaning of this activity for each groups. For the financial audit professionals, it is a way of relaxation; however advertising professionals considers going to cinema as a part of cultural capital. Meanwhile, they follow trends in the movies and movies are great sources of inspiration for their work. Another point of difference is the frequency such as most of the advertising professionals stated that they go to cinema very often, which is not the case for the financial audit professionals.

- Travel is another theme that is a common attribute for both groups. Financial audit practitioners prefer to spend time on travelling because they like to be in a different place rather than home or work. Advertising practitioners stated that they like travelling not only for relaxing but meeting with different people and learning different cultures. Travelling may be a tool for “feeding” themselves for the cultural capital. Sometimes these places may be a source of creativity for them.
- Visiting shopping centers is mostly stated by financial practitioners rather than advertising professionals. Therefore, in the Figure 7, it is shown as an attribute which is closer to financial audit practitioners. However, some of the advertising professionals also stated that they prefer to go to shopping centers especially on weekends.
- Clothing and wine and dine activities are the common attributes for advertising and financial audit professionals. Both group stated that they attend these activities frequently.

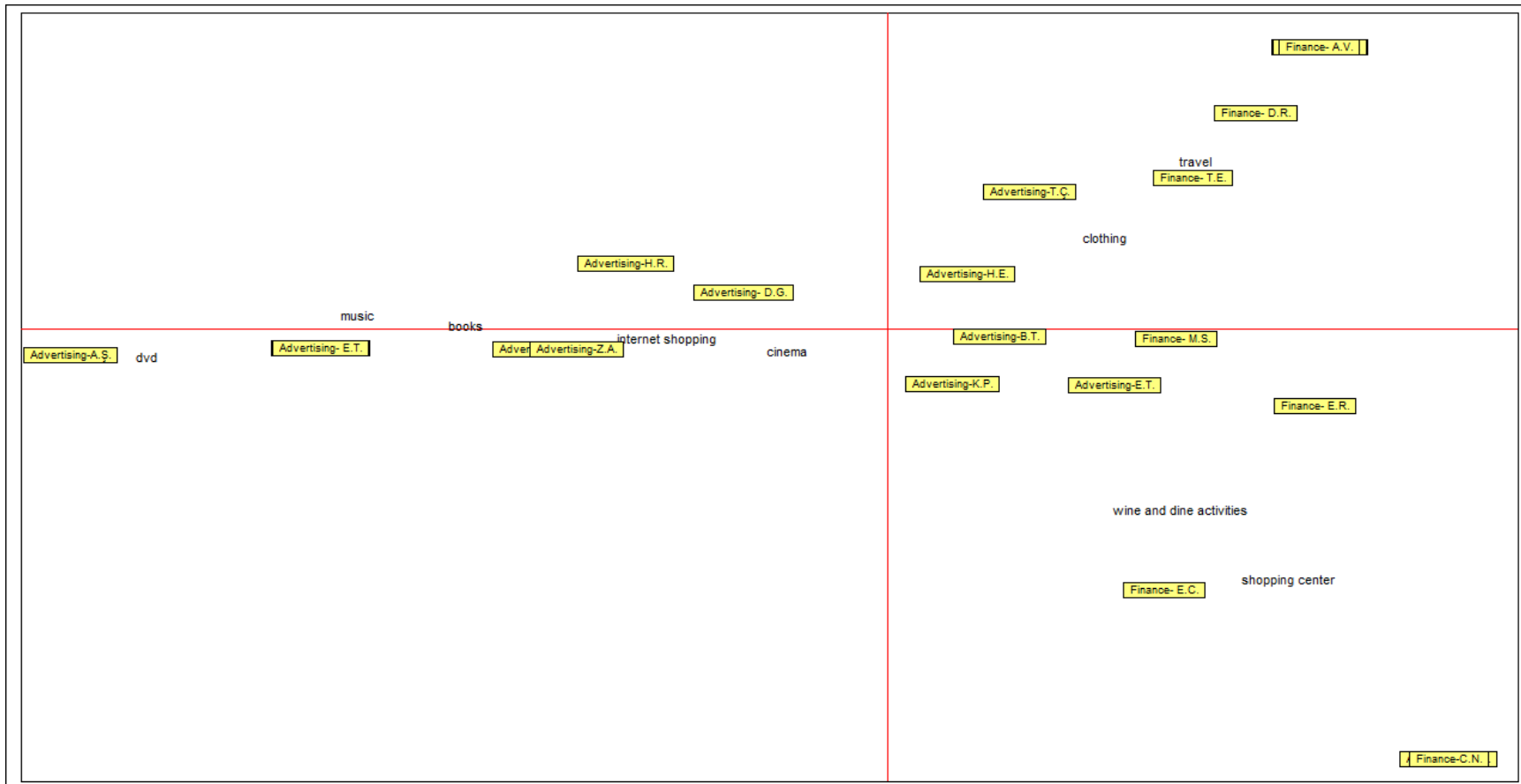


Figure 7. Consumption

3.5. Identity

Although both groups are working in knowledge intensive companies, the context of work is different from each other. This also affects how they define themselves at work. Their professional identity is one of the issues that define the work-home boundary and their behaviors as consumers.

The correspondence analysis map in Figure 8 reflects the similarities and differences between advertising and financial audit professionals. The results of interpretation of data reflect such results:

- Creativity is one of the themes which advertising practitioners referred while defining themselves. Creativity, as they mentioned, is crucial for their work and they define themselves as “creatives”. However, most of them mentioned that creativity does not mean starting from scratch. Rather, they mostly define creativity as putting right things in right places and this is related to feeding themselves. Most of them stated that many people do not born with a creative talent, but they become creative if they work hard for it. Therefore, what they referred to mostly during the interviews was “feeding”. They feed themselves through various ways such as reading books, magazines, periodicals, newspapers; watching TV series, movies, or following trends.

- “Feeding” is also related with cultural capital. Being an advertising practitioner mean that you should have a cultural capital, which is one of the main attributes of the advertising work.
- Being curious is one of the characteristics of advertising practitioners, which makes them different from financial audit practitioners. “Being curious about everything” is one of the attributes which advertising practitioners use while defining their identity.
- Advertising is related with understanding culture, people and problems. Therefore, advertising practitioners should be the ones who follow trends in market. They should understand people needs and their preferences to create an advertising work.
- Another attribute that advertising professionals mentioned was being different and trying to see things from a different perspective. They stated that being an advertising practitioner is not something that you switch off when you get out of the agency. Rather, every time you try to catch something different that may support your creativity. Many of the advertising practitioners stated that this also affects their consumption and they like to buy different designs on clothes or watches.
- One of the differences between advertising agencies and financial audit professionals comes from the source of seniority. As it is shown in Figure 8, “seniority with knowledge” is one of the main attributes of advertising practitioners, whereas, “seniority with

experience”, which is related with years of working in the firm, is an attribute of financial audit practitioners.

- As it is shown in Figure 8, importance of knowledge is the common attribute that both work groups use while defining their identity. They both use the knowledge as it is a part of their work identity although the type of knowledge used differs between them.
- Efficiency, or being efficient, is another theme that financial audit professionals referred while using their work identity. They have an extreme workload, as they stated, and the most important point is delivering the service on time with the desired quality within the budgeted metrics.
- Education is important for financial audit professionals in two aspects; appropriate educational background is necessary for certification requirements, and work performed heavily depends on the theoretical knowledge which is provided in related departments of universities.

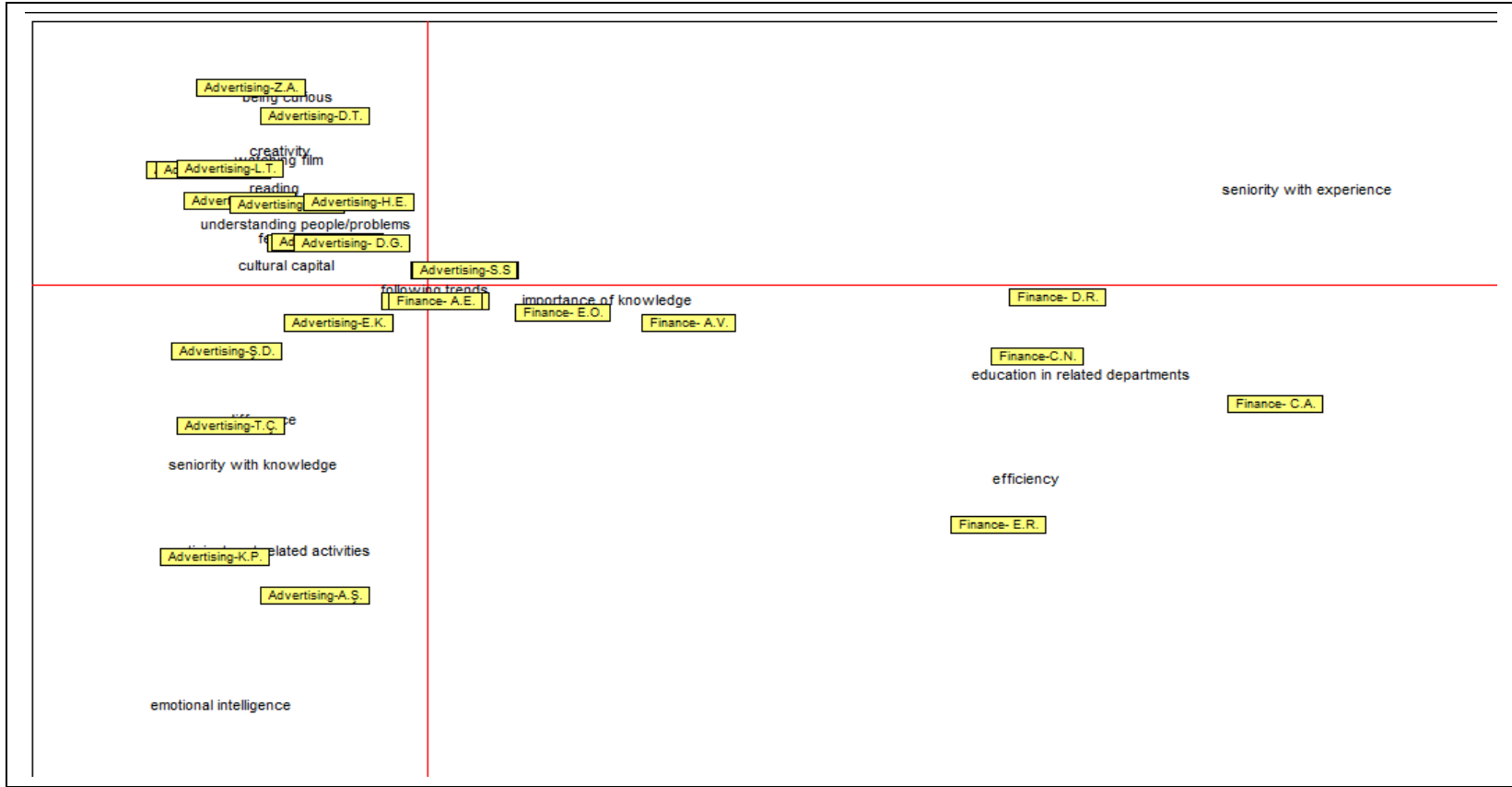


Figure 8. Identity

3.6. Knowledge

Since advertising and financial auditing services are both considered as knowledge-intensive works, the importance of knowledge is indispensable for both work groups. However, the difference between two work groups comes from the type of knowledge they use at work and its effects on their daily life and consumption practices. The similarities and differences between two groups are shown in Figure 9 below.

The main similarities and differences are;

- Using different channels is one of the specific characteristics of advertising practitioners. They stated that they try to use every channel to gain knowledge. Knowledge channels are valuable for the practitioners in advertising to obtain information about people and their preferences.
- Advertising practitioners feed from different channel in their everyday life, and their experiences may be a good source of knowledge which they can leverage at work as well. Therefore, they stated that, in their everyday life, they are always searching for knowledge since knowledge is “placeless” and “timeless”
- TV series are one of the specific knowledge channels for advertising practitioners, which the financial audit professionals generally do not use. Creative professionals stated that they watch TV series much, especially the foreign ones. Meanwhile, some of them stated that

they watch local ones too, which are popular among people, to understand the preferences of people better.

- Movies are one of the popular knowledge channels for advertising professionals. They stated that watching movies at cinema or at home helps them to follow popular culture.
- Not only movies or books, but people are effective knowledge sources for advertising professionals as well. Their friends are one of the most important knowledge sources and friends' experiences or stories may be a good source for creating advertising work.
- Meanwhile, in the agencies, they organize team meetings where they come together and discuss their ideas, and feedbacks and discussions are the tools that affect their creativity. Peer values and opinions are important for advertising professionals, and with their peers, they may discuss about creativity and work. Therefore, meetings in the agencies are a kind of knowledge channels for advertising professionals.
- Art galleries, exhibitions or art related activities are the other particular knowledge channels for advertising practitioners. Many of the advertising practitioners stated that they participate art related activities at weekends.
- Advertising practitioners always spend time on reading books, magazines or periodical, which they state it's crucial for their work. For the advertising practitioners, "feeding" is one of the attributes of identity, and books are perfect sources for feeding themselves.

- For the advertising professionals, popular culture is one of the vital sources that they feed themselves. Therefore, they use every popular culture tools as knowledge channel.
- TV, newspapers and internet are the common knowledge channels for both knowledge groups. Both the advertising and financial audit professionals stated that they use these channels to gather information. However, financial audit professionals stated that they watch TV programs related with business or finance to gather knowledge, whereas advertising professionals stated that they may watch every thing as a source of knowledge. The knowledge that financial audit professionals use is derived from the accounting, finance or business related TV programs, web sites or news.
- For financial audit professionals, formal/theoretical knowledge is the type of knowledge they use at work. Most part of their work is related with the strict accounting principles and standards, having relatively less creativity in it. There are some reasons that why theoretical knowledge is important for them. One of them is the context of work they do. In their work, they refer to accounting and financial principles based on theoretical knowledge. To be a certified public accountant, they should pass certain exams, which mainly include theoretical knowledge. Therefore, theoretical knowledge is one of the distinctive characteristics of financial audit practitioners.
- Trainings are one of the distinctive knowledge channels for financial audit professionals. In the trainings, they learn new practices that are

related to their work. The most important type is on the job training which mainly includes the transfer of knowledge and experience of superior employee to the lower levels. This type of knowledge mainly consists of the methodologies and the experiences on the related areas. Other than that, classroom trainings contribute to the theoretical knowledge of the employee.

- Peers and supervisors are the other distinctive knowledge channel that is significant at work. Since the organization has a hierarchy based on the years of experience, the level of knowledge increases as the employee goes up in the organization. Accordingly, higher level employees are the most valuable sources of knowledge based on their experience and the trainings provided to them by the company. There are many ways how the knowledge is transferred from supervisors to employees including trainings and meetings.

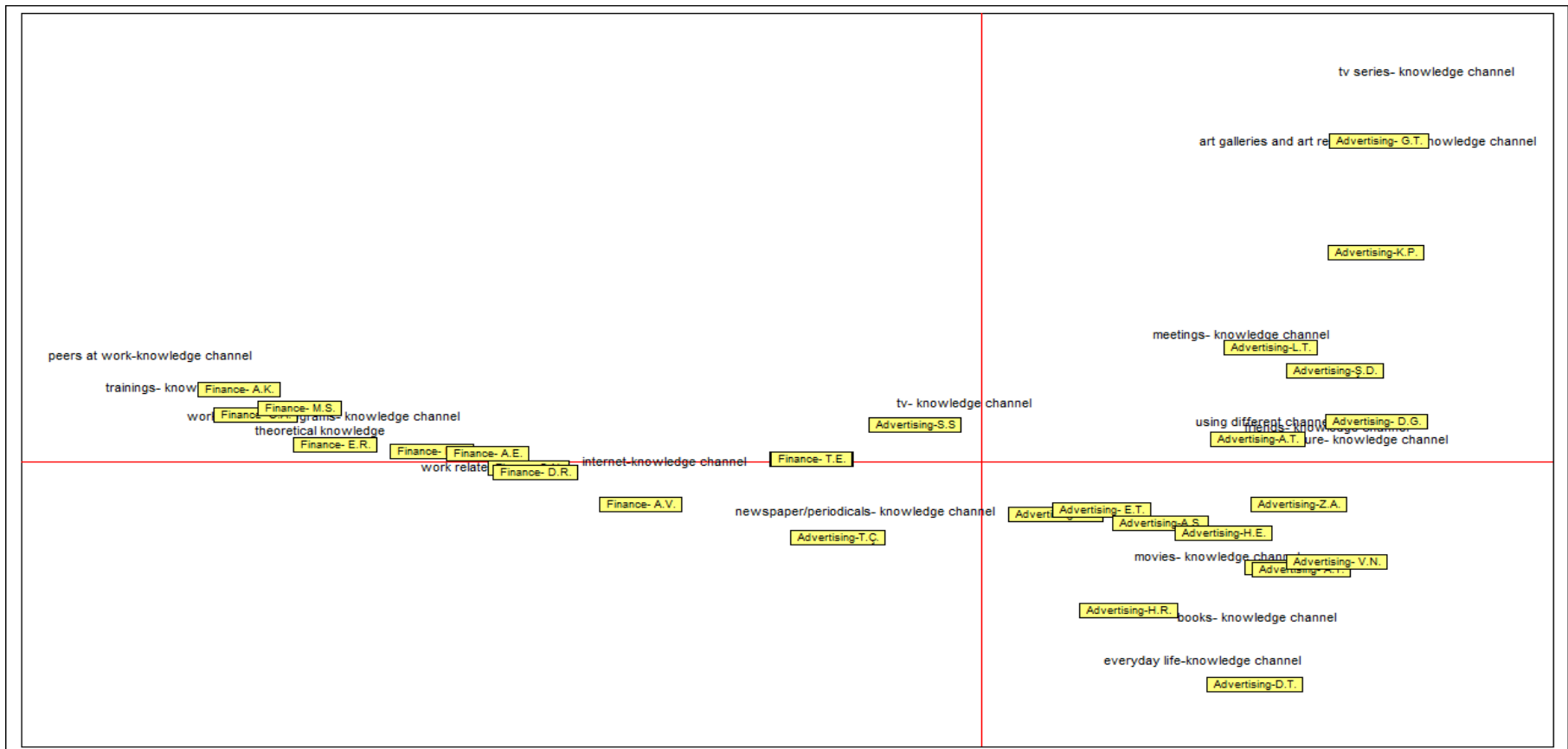


Figure 9. Knowledge

3.7. General Summary of Codes

As the data was analyzed through the themes and codes, at the final stage, all the codes were analyzed in the same correspondence analysis map to see the overall picture of the research.

Although, there are different themes and codes, the most meaningful way to interpret the data is considering it as a whole. For example, consumption activities are meaningful only if it is considered together with identity and work.

The Figure 10 below illustrates the integration of all the codes which were analyzed separately in the former sections. The codes close to the origin represent the common codes that are stated by both work groups. When the codes are getting far from the origin, it represents a difference between groups. For example, in the Figure 10, meeting with friends, or watching TV as a knowledge channel are the activities that both work groups reflected. However, trainings as knowledge channels are distinctive characteristics of financial audit professionals which were not stated by the advertising practitioners. Emotional intelligence, which is related with understanding people, is a distinctive feature of advertising practitioners, which they stated as a part of work identity. The codes, which are intensely close to each other on the horizontal axis, demonstrate the ones that are referred mostly by the group. Using different knowledge channels, popular culture or cultural capitals are among the ones that are referred most by the advertising professionals. Meanwhile, standards at work, seniority with

experience or reading newspapers as knowledge channels are some of the most popular ones mentioned by financial audit professionals.

4. Conclusion

This study aims to explore work-home balance of two different work groups and discuss how their professional identity affects their everyday life and consumption. As the importance of knowledge work and knowledge workers grows in everyday life, new studies are going to shed light to different issues about them.

Although both work groups are defined as knowledge works, one of the differences between two knowledge work groups comes from the meaning of their everyday life and consumption activities. Therefore, this study suggests that rather than making general contributions about knowledge workers and their identity work, differences among different work groups should be considered.

To empirically support the arguments in the study, data was collected through the interviews with the professionals in the advertising agencies and financial audit companies. Interviews were based on their narratives about everyday life. By this way, it was intended to understand work, identity and consumption in a deeper way. After the data was analyzed through qualitative data analysis program, the results were interpreted with a unity of all codes and interviews.

For the advertising professionals, the boundaries between work and life is blurring as a consequence of their professional identity. How they define themselves relies on “feeding” from knowledge channels in every part of their lives, therefore this eliminates work and home distinction of

professional in advertising agencies. Cultural capital is a vivid instrument that they use in defining their identity. Therefore, they read books, watch movies, and attend art related activities to gain cultural capital. The knowledge they gather through these channels is valuable in creating their work. Therefore, they do not set boundaries between their work and consumption since they are highly related with each other.

However, for the financial audit professionals, work means hierarchy, regulations and standards and the work context reflects this discourse. Theoretical knowledge is the base of their work and they gather this knowledge through work related activities. Trainings are important sources of knowledge and in the trainings supervisors transfer knowledge in an explicit way. Their work identity is related with standards, procedure, and efficiency, therefore after the work, there are not so many fields that are interrelated with their professional identity. Therefore, work-home boundaries are explicit in their life and they consider home as a place to relax.

In this research, the aim is to reflect the differences between two work groups and in the final map, the differences and similarities are reflected clearly. However, the best way to interpret the data is considering it as a whole referring to what people stated in the interviews. For the advertising professionals, cultural knowledge is the most important type of knowledge and they gather cultural knowledge through the knowledge channels such as books, movies, friends or art related activities.

Theoretical knowledge is the type of knowledge, which is applied by

financial audit professional. Basic sources of theoretical knowledge are trainings, work related books, education and supervisors.

In the financial audit companies, work is designed by standards, methods and clear guidelines, whereas in the advertising there are not strict formal qualifications, guidelines and evaluation models.

Creativity is one of the major discourses in advertising work which makes it different than financial audit and life itself is a source for creativity. Therefore everything they see, read or watch may be a source of creative idea. The identity definition of the advertising professionals is affected from how others consider them.

In this study, it is intended that there are some differences among the consumption practices between two work groups. For example, advertising professionals spend more time and money on DVDs, books or cultural activities.

5. Limitations and Further Research

5.1. Limitations of the Study

There are some theoretical and empirical limitations in this research, which are needed to be acknowledged here. One of the theoretical limitations is not finding adequate literature on consumption and everyday life of the professionals in financial audit companies. Most of the researches

focus on the structure of the work, but not the lifestyle or consumption practices of the professionals.

Empirical research was conducted in the advertising agencies and financial audit professionals in Istanbul, Turkey. Although the aim is not making general conclusion, this should be stated that in the financial audit companies, only professionals from “Big 4” were selected to standardize the sample. There are also many public accountants who are work in local companies, but they are not included in the sample of the research.

Also, there are many other work groups that are defined as knowledge-intensive works, but they are not included in this research.

Meanwhile, in the research part, interviews were the main resources of data. Data may be enriched through different research tools to triangulate the study. Quantitative methods may be employed to discuss demographic characteristics of the data and to explore differences among different demographic groups.

5.2. Implications for Further Research

In a future research, institutional practices and organizational differences may be highlighted to discuss the knowledge workers and their identity in different contexts.

Also, the role of demographic factors such as age, gender, income may be applied to understand the everyday life and consumption of different work groups better.

Different sectors, which are also defined as knowledge intensive works, may be added to increase the sample size, by this way study may be expanded. Meanwhile, grounded theory was used as a research method to explore the codes of interviews. Collecting data from different knowledge-intensive firms allows theory generation through the grounded theory.

Today, information technology is another theme that is discussed under the heading of knowledge and knowledge work. The widespread usage of technology also affects everyday life of individuals and may remove the boundaries between work and home. Therefore, as a future research the effect of technology on everyday life may be another interesting topic to discuss about knowledge workers.

Appendix 1- Interview Protocol⁴

⁴ The structure of the protocol is adapted from (Asmussen & Creswell 1995, cited in Creswell 2005: 222)

INTERVIEW

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee:

Name of the Advertising Agency/ Accounting Firm:

Position of the Interviewee:

Interview Questions

1. Tell me about your work life.
 - a. Tell me about your work here
 - b. Feelings about your work
 - c. Definition of the advertising/ financial audit professionals
 - d. Relations with managers, directors
 - e. Structure of work
 - f. Clothing, style
 - g. Personalize things in office

 2. Tell me about a typical work day.
 - a. Work hours
 - b. Lunch
 - c. Work environment
 - d. Dinner
 - e. Activities after work

 3. Tell me about the life after work.
 - a. Places to go (shopping malls, restaurants, coffee shops, home)
 - b. Frequency
-

- c. Preferences (eat with friends from office, eat with other friends, share time with parents)
- 4. Tell me about a typical weekend.
 - a. Things to do
 - b. Consumption
 - c. Places to go
- 5. Tell me about your consumption preferences.
 - a. Activities that you spend time and money
- 6. Sources of knowledge.
 - a. Basic sources of knowledge
 - b. Importance of knowledge at work

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