

Critical Approaches to Global Organizational Restructuring:

Discursive Struggles over
Legitimation and Resistance

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Abstract

Organizational restructuring has become an incessant state in contemporary organizations. National borders are no longer a limit to shaping organizational structures. On the contrary, different nations embody a variety of resources the exploitation of which has been facilitated by globalization. Global organizational restructuring is often seen as a positive driving force for synergies, strategic development, competitive advantage, better shareholder value, overall effectiveness and the birth of new production sites. However, the social and human implications resulting from reductions, downsizing, layoffs and change of production sites have serious consequence for many organizational members and for many societies. Although, among organizational scholars, there is a general awareness of the controversial nature of organizational restructurings, there is a lack of studies that accommodate both the critical approach to restructurings, and the managerial perspectives to restructurings through the pressure of globalization.

The goal of this thesis is to adapt both of these perspectives by studying the discursive construction of global organizational restructuring in the dynamic ideological and discursive struggles in an organization and in the media. More particularly, the focus is on how discourses and rhetorical tactics work for the legitimation and resistance of the restructuring. This perspective is interesting firstly, because the notion of legitimacy is central to any organization as a means to attain and retain the support of its constituents, and secondly because it helps us to understand the popularity of restructurings and the form that globalization has taken through restructurings. This research is based on a longitudinal case study in a restructuring organization (Volvo Bus Corporation) and data collected from the newspaper media concerning other restructuring cases (Wärtsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, UPM and Nokia).

This study presents the 'circle of legitimation' that is created through discursive processes in the socio-material context of organization, and argues that this circle partly explains why legitimation of organizational restructuring is difficult to question. It shows how resistance could arise from the same resources as legitimation, but that the existing discourses, subject positions of the actors, and historical resources that support legitimation, make it more difficult for resistance to break through. This thesis also increases understanding of the role and power of different organizational members and the media in legitimizing and resisting organizational restructurings through discursive processes. The research explores the encounter between dominant (global) and alternative (local) discourses, and the transformation of discourses and the forces behind organizational restructurings in the long run. The thesis argues that in order to understand globalization and organizational restructurings there is a need to study discursive and rhetorical strategies that are used in discursive struggles to legitimate and challenge related decisions.

This thesis consists of four Essays and a summary section that precedes them. The summary section provides a conclusion from all of the four studies. In Essay 1 the rhetorical legitimation strategies in a restructuring organization are explored. The main contribution of this paper is the identification of five rhetorical legitimation strategies that support local and global discourses. The study is based on interviews and documentary material from Volvo Bus Corporation. Essay 2 is a longitudinal study about organizational discursive struggles following a unit shutdown and a broader restructuring plan of Volvo Bus Corporation. This paper shows how the discourse of globalization and discourse of local capitalism were employed to justify and challenge the restructuring plans. I argue that although resistant groups are rarely able to reverse restructuring decisions, resistance can influence the evolution

of shared discursual themes, identity construction, employed discursive resources, and formulation of organizational ideology. Therefore, resistance has an important role in working organizational discourses towards mutual understanding, and finding ways to challenge the discourse of globalization on the local organizational level. Essay 3 focusses on the discursive legitimization struggles in the media relating to organizational restructuring. This Essay distinguishes four discursive struggles with ten subgroups and shows how legitimization and delegitimation strategies work in the concrete media discourse regarding organizational restructurings. The study is based on newspaper material relating to unit shutdowns in Wärtsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, and UPM. Finally, in Essay 4 the role of the media in the framing of concepts is explored. This Essay illustrates, through four discursive tactics of framing, how the concept of national ownership was framed by journalist in the case of Nokia, and how this framing was justified. Moreover, it shows the historical and discursive turn-around of a neo-liberal discourse in Finland

Key words: global organizational restructuring, legitimization, resistance, critical approach, critical discourse analysis, discursive struggles, discourse, rhetoric

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PART I

1 Introduction

1.1. Background

The numbers of organizational restructurings has increased in both private and public sector organizations during the last decades (e.g. Markides 1995, Johnson 1996). These restructurings encompass different kinds of significant structural changes with which the management of an organization aims to create better organizational fit with strategy (Bowman & Singh 1993, Bowman et al. 1999). Of particular interest in this thesis are the restructurings of global organizations in the form of shutdowns and relocation of production plants, and management initiated changes in ownership structure. Organizations and the media report that these kind of restructurings create new business opportunities, particularly in developing countries, better profits for organizations and therefore also wealth to broader societies and nations. On the other hand, we have witnessed the disappearance of production plants and jobs in the old industrialized countries and many negative consequences for the employees in both developing and industrialized nations that are related to the new conditions of employment. Despite this paradox, restructurings seem to have achieved general legitimacy, in short, the sense of desirability or appropriateness in our society (Suchman 1995), and this development in the name of ‘globalization’ is taken for granted (Fairclough 2003). However, it is not obvious how legitimacy, for such restructuring decisions is achieved, and how those who are losing under such arrangements accept the legitimacy (Zelditch 2006). The aim of this thesis is not to condemn this type of restructuring decisions, but rather to unfold the discursive processes concerning them in order to learn from combining managerial and critical perspectives.

Despite the positive expectations and drivers, (such as profitability, efficiency, competitiveness, and savings in labour costs) the outcomes of the above mentioned

restructurings are often unexpected even to the management. In ownership structure changes, of which the focus here is on increasing foreign ownership, the changes often mean an increasing need to privilege shareholder values instead of stakeholder values (Barsky et al. 1999, Ahmadjian & Robbins 2005). In shutdowns and relocations the results are often unfavourable to organizational performance (for example, earnings and profitability drops in the following years and further environmental turbulence) (Brickley & Van Drunen 1990, De Meuse et al. 1992, Gombola & Tsetsekos 1992, Budros 1997, McKinley & Scherer 2000), or they do not have any significant effect on performance at all (Brickley & Van Drunen 1990, Bowman et al. 1999). In addition, the reaction of the markets and investors to shutdowns and layoffs seems to be positive only if they are accompanied by a broader strategic redirection of the organization and the markets interpret them positively (Brickley & Van Drunen 1990, Worrell et al. 1991). In addition to uncertainty related to the economic rationality of this type of restructurings, several studies report many severe implications at individual, organizational and societal levels, such as redundancies (e.g. Sennett 1998, Ehrenreich 2006), commitment problems at work (Reilly et al. 1993, Probst 2003) and decrease in well-being (Barsky et al. 1999, Marshall & Yorks 1994, Thomas & Dunkerley 1999, Probst 2003).

In earlier decades restructuring decisions of organizations were considered disputable, they faced severe public resistance for example from highly unionised workforce, and were not deemed legitimate in society (Mick 1975, Hardy 1985). In comparison to these prior decades, in the present era of globalization, restructurings have become rarely publicly contested (Hardy 1985, Hirsch & De Soucey 2006). ‘Corporatization’ of news reporting increasingly privileges business firms as the agents and sources of the news at the expense of governments and politicians (Kjaer et al. 2007). Moreover, it seems that the myth of economic rationality for restructurings goes on without the need for it to be anymore evaluated or empirically demonstrated in each case (Budros 1997). In addition, management compensation often seems

to be linked to their commitments to shareholders at the expense of their commitments to employees or societies (Barsky et al. 1999), which decreases the need for managements to juxtapose the estimated economic and societal consequences of the restructuring. Although public contestation of these global organizational decisions has decreased, resistance has not disappeared, even if it is not so obvious or powerful. Organizational resistance not only takes overt forms (for example, collective responses, formal complaints and legal action), but also covert forms (for example, gossip, noncooperation and sabotage) (Tucker 1993) that are both motivated by individual, ethical or organizational reasons (Piderit, 2000). Societal actors, for example the media, can also engage in resistance. Resistance then triggers legitimization processes because organizations need to respond to resistance in order to achieve legitimacy and therefore the ability to attract the support of their constituents (e.g. Ashforth & Gibbs 1990).

Of particular interest in this thesis, and a relatively unexplored research area, is the role that discourses and discursive struggles (Grant & Hardy 2003, Harley & Hardy 2004, Hardy & Phillips 1999) play in the process of legitimization and resistance (Mumby 2004, 2005, Geppert 2003, Putnam et al. 2005). Therefore, this thesis takes a critical perspective on the discursive construction of global organizational restructurings. Critical approaches see organizations as sites of struggle over knowledge, meaning and identity, and address the complexity of power relations; meaning that they aim to make explicit and visible the ways that discourse functions ideologically (e.g. Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, Broadfoot et al. 2004, Alvesson & Willmott 2003). Discursive activity in organizations and the media can be seen as a form of political activity that changes understanding of social situations (Hardy & Phillips 1999). Here the focus is on how discourses engage in struggles over meaning, in this case meaning of restructurings, that occur in organizations (Grant & Hardy 2003) and on the dynamics of both legitimization and resistance.

This dissertation consists of four independent studies (Essays 1-4) and a summary section that precedes them. The studies are based on several different sources of empirical material. Essays 1 and 2 draw upon a longitudinal case study of the restructuring of Volvo Bus Corporation. Interviews relating to the case were conducted over a period of six and half years. In addition, a large volume of documentary material supports the findings of these studies. Essay 3 draws upon newspaper reporting of six restructuring cases (Wärtsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, and UPM). Essay 4 draws upon newspaper articles relating to Nokia's changing ownership structure.

Based on the summary section of this thesis (Part I) and the four research papers (Part II) this thesis contributes to the previous literature, firstly, by building a framework that explains legitimation and resistance as processes of bidirectional relationships between discourses, discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy, which are linked together by serving as resources for each other. Secondly, it is argued that the 'circle of legitimation', that is constituted of these relationships, is strongly based on the existing discourses, subject positions of the actors, and the historical resources, which explains the slow potency of the process of resistance. The framework and Essays together also contribute by studying the relationship between the processes and products of discourse in the long run, rather than the more common approach focusing on temporary snapshot products of discourses (Broadfoot et al. 2004).

Moreover, each of the four Essays has its own contribution. Essay 1 contributes by the identification of five rhetorical legitimation strategies that support local and global discourses and showing their dynamics. Essay 2 argues that although resisting organizational groups are rarely able to reverse restructuring decisions, resistance contributes to the evolution of shared organizational discourse themes, employed discursive resources, identity construction, and the formation of organizational ideology. Therefore it has an important role in developing

organizational discourses towards mutual understanding and, at the organizational level, finding ways to confront the discourse of globalization. Essay 3 contributes by distinguishing four discursive struggles and by showing how legitimation and delegitimation strategies work in the concrete media discourse regarding organizational restructurings. It also reveals how different discursive strategies are employed for legitimation and delegitimation purposes by the journalist. Essay 4 contributes by analyzing the framing of concepts by journalist. Moreover, it shows the historical and discursive turn-around of a neo-liberal discourse in Finland

1.2. Motivation for this research

This research was motivated by several theoretical and empirical gaps particularly in the area of organizational restructuring studies, but also in critical organizational studies, critical discourse studies, legitimation studies and resistance studies. Firstly, the growing numbers and accelerating pace of organizational restructurings, sometimes so extensive that even called 'restructuring cultures' (Riad 2005), begs for more attention from organizational researchers. In particular, restructurings involving shutdowns have not been studied widely. The difficultness of obtaining access to organizations that are in the middle of crises is undoubtedly one reason for the lack of such empirical studies (Alvesson & Deetz 2000).

Secondly, most of the restructuring literature leaves critical perspectives (Hirsch & De Soucey 2006, Jermier et al. 1994, Barsky et al. 1999), discursive practices, and the linguistic aspects of restructuring processes in multinational corporations aside (Geppert 2003). In the area of critical research there are few studies that explore the richness of actual organizational discourse processes at close quarters (Mumby 2004); which is the focus in this research. Particularly, in the area of critical discourse studies there is a relative dearth of research that contributes to the study of organizational change by searching for emerging discourses, exposing hegemonic discourses, identifying recontextualization of discourses (whereby

‘external’ discourses are internalized), or studying the operationalization of such discourses (Fairclough 2005). Although there is now a growing body of literature studying how meaning is negotiated in organizational discursive struggles and how discursive struggles shape organizational practices (Grant & Hardy 2003), it has been argued that there is a lack of studies that examine the micro dynamics of discursive processes from a close distance and look at their relationship with larger macro processes of organizational power (Mumby, 2004). Moreover, there is lack of knowledge about the way texts support and change broader discourses within which organizational discourses exist (Hardy & Phillips 2004). In this thesis contributions to these areas are made.

Thirdly, although many scholars have studied legitimacy and legitimation (e.g. Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999, Suchman 1995), and have even identified strategies of legitimation (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005, Vaara et al. 2006, Vaara & Tienari 2008) there is a lack of understanding of the dynamics of discursive struggles (Mumby 2004, Zelditch 2006), in particular the dynamics of legitimation and resistance; i.e. how legitimation and resistance are simultaneously coproduced in the context of restructurings. Thus far, the research on resistance and legitimation has mostly been polarized, and missed the interesting intersection of these two approaches (Mumby 2005). Moreover, none of the previous studies on strategies of legitimation addresses restructurings, especially in the form of shutdowns, by using data from actual organizations. Instead, they focus on commission hearings (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005), media texts (Vaara et al. 2006) or on official letters relating to the rejection of immigrant workers (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999). Hence, based on these above mentioned research gaps there is a lack of studies that take a closer look at the dynamics of legitimation and resistance processes of restructuring decisions in global organizations, particularly making use of the advantages of critical discourse perspective and rich empirical data. Therefore, in this thesis this perspective is taken.

1.3. Research questions

This study aims to answer to the following research question:

How is global organizational restructuring discursively constructed, legitimated, and resisted?

Each of the Essays attempts to contribute to this general question. The specific research questions addressed in each Essay are presented below.

Essay 1:

What rhetorical legitimation and delegitimation strategies are employed in negotiations around shutdown decisions?
What are the rhetorical dynamics of legitimation?
How do these strategies relate to the discourse of global organizational restructuring?

Essay 2:

How are organizational restructuring decisions justified and challenged in organizational discursive struggles?
What are the longitudinal implications of discursive struggles and the dynamic interplay between power and resistance in restructuring organizations?
What discursive strategies are more powerful than others in organizational settings, and why?

Essay 3:

How are globalization and restructurings discursively legitimated and resisted in the media?
What is the role of the media in such struggles?

Essay 4:

What is the role of the media in framing concepts?
How have Finnish journalists framed the concept of ownership in the case of the telecommunications company Nokia?
How have these framings altered over time (1998-2004)?

1.4. Structure of the thesis

1.4.1 Part I

Following this overview Chapter, in Chapter 2, the key theoretical concepts of this thesis are discussed. In this theoretical part, the previous research on organizational restructurings, legitimation, and resistance are first introduced. Thereafter, a picture of critically oriented organizational discourse analysis as an approach that integrates the critical organizational study perspective and critical discourse analysis is presented. Finally the concept of rhetoric is

introduced. In Chapter 3 a conceptual framework of the thesis is presented and discussed.

In Chapter 4 critical discourse analysis as a methodology is presented and evaluated. In addition, empirical materials used in the four studies are distinguished. In Chapter 5 conclusions and contributions concerning the whole thesis are presented. The Chapter ends with suggestions for avenues for further research.

1.4.2 Part II

In Part II of the thesis the four independent Essays which each contribute to the complete thesis are presented. To briefly summarize: Essay 1 studies the rhetoric of legitimating in a restructuring case in the Volvo Bus Corporation. This paper distinguishes and elaborates five rhetorical strategies and shows how rhetorical tactics are related to the more general discourses of globalization and organizational restructuring.

Essay 2 concentrates on the evolution of discursive resistance strategies and the struggle between the discourses of globalization and local capitalism at the organizational level. It utilizes a case study of Volvo Bus Corporation. The results show how resistance, although not often very powerful as a means to reverse organizational restructuring decisions, has in the long run an important role in developing all organizational discourses and in finding ways to confront discourse of globalization on organizational level.

Essay 3 analyses the discursive strategies of the media in reporting organizational restructurings in the cases of Wärsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, and UPM. It integrates previous research on discursive struggles and takes these further by an empirical analysis of legitimation and delegitimation in action. It shows how different discursive strategies were utilized for purposes of legitimation and delegitimation by journalists. It also undertakes a discourse analysis of a large data set, encompassing a systematic form of data analysis.

Essay 4 shows, through an empirical case, the turn-around of a neo-liberal global capitalist discourse in Finland. The case focuses on the discursive framing of national ownership by Finnish journalists in the case of Nokia.

Table 1 summarizes the theoretical focus, data, cases, and key findings of the Essays.

<i>Essay</i>	<i>Theoretical focus/ key words</i>	<i>Empirical material</i>	<i>Corporate cases</i>	<i>Key points of the findings</i>
1	organizational restructurings, legitimization, rhetorics, dynamics of discursive struggles	organizational texts (spoken and written)	Volvo Bus Corporation	Five rhetorical legitimization strategies are identified. In addition to the classical logos, ethos and pathos, the notions autopoiesis and cosmos are distinguished and discussed. The classical ethos is elaborated and extended. Link between discourses and rhetorics.
2	organizational restructurings, discursive struggles, discourse of globalization, power, resistance	organizational texts (spoken and written)	Volvo Bus Corporation	The results show the influence of resistance on shared organizational discourse themes, employed discursive resources, identity construction and organizational ideology. These together contribute to the development of all organizational discourses towards consensus, and help challenging the discourse of globalization on local level.
3	organizational restructurings, legitimacy struggles, globalization discourse, dynamics of discursive struggles	media texts	Wärtsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, UPM	Dynamics of four discursive struggles- struggles over voice, economic rationality, moral responsibility and inevitability- explain the complexity and ambiguity of de/legitimation. The meaning and popularity of strategies is explained. Construction of 'globalization' and 'myth of inevitability' highlighted.
4	Ownership, framing, globalization, neo-liberal and nationalistic discourses	media texts	Nokia	Framing by journalists with help of exemplarity, historical construction, authorization, and naturalization are elaborated. Discursive turn-around of neo-liberalistic discourse in Finland is identified.

Table 1: Key characteristics and findings of Essays 1-4.

2 *Previous research*

In this section the main theoretical perspectives, notions and concepts related to this research are discussed. The discussion is divided into four main subsections. First the prior research on organizational restructuring is introduced. Then the theoretical concepts of legitimation and resistance are discussed. Thereafter, a critically oriented organizational discourse analysis is presented as the perspective on social life that has guided this research. Finally, the previous research on rhetoric in studies of organizations is introduced.

2.1. *Organizational restructuring*

Organizational restructuring can be understood as different significant structural changes that aim to improve the organization's fit with their strategy (Bowman & Singh 1993, Bowman et al. 1999). In this thesis the focus is particularly on organizational restructurings in form of shutdowns and relocation of production plants of global organizations, and management initiated changes in ownership structure. Global organizational restructurings here mean such structural changes that are conducted by global organizations and include reorganizations that have influence over national borders and on the structure of the global organization. Usually, through these radical measures, the aim of management is to improve, for example, profitability, efficiency, competitiveness, and find savings in labour costs. However, according to many studies these measures seem to have a very slight effect on performance (Bowman et al. 1999, Brickley & Van Drunen 1990), or in many cases they seem to risk the earnings and profitability of the coming years and contribute to further turbulence and need to restructure (Brickley & Van Drunen 1990; Gombola & Tsetsekos 1992, Budros 1997, McKinley & Scherer 2000, De Meuse et al. 1992). In addition, the reaction of the markets and investors to shutdowns and layoffs seems to be positive only if announcements are accompanied by successful communication of a broader strategic redirection of the organization that the markets interpret positively (Worrell et. al. 1991, Brickley & Van

Drunen 1990). Moreover, these types of restructurings generate many severe implications on individual, organizational and societal levels. For example downsizing of employee numbers is often a by-product in this process, if not end in itself (Bowman & Singh 1993). Commitment problems at work (Reilly et al. 1993, Probst 2003) and decrease in well-being are also common (Barsky et al. 1999, Marshall & Yorks 1994, Probst 2003, Thomas & Dunkerley 1999).

The literature on restructuring organizations encompasses approaches focusing on the strategic financial, and economic aspects of restructuring (e.g. Brickley & Van Drunen 1990, Bowman & Singh 1993, Bethel & Liebeskind 1993). These approaches have focused, for example, on the efficient management of restructuring (e.g. Marshall & Yorks 1994, Kets de Vries & Balazs 1997, Sutton et al. 1986) or market reactions to restructurings (Johnson 1996, McKinley & Scherer 2000, Worrell et al. 1991, Brickley & Van Drunen 1990). Organizational, sociological and critical scholars have also contributed this research area in growing numbers (e.g. Newell & Dopson 1996, Sennett 1998, Probst 2003, Alvesson & Willmott 2003, Balogun & Johnson 2004, Ehrenreich 2006). In this literature the emphasis of the research has changed over the previous decades. Until the mid 1970s radical organizational restructuring decision such as shutdowns were widely considered to be illegitimate in the public discourses of western countries (Hardy 1985). In those times, in restructuring research, it was the norm rather than an exception to compare the social and personal costs of shutdowns against the economic gains of restructuring (Mick 1975, Craypo & Davisson 1983).

However, after a turning point in the late seventies restructurings became 'inevitable' in the public discourses (Hardy 1985, Hirsch & De Soucey 2006). Hirsch and De Soucey (2006) argue that these days more sociological research on restructuring is needed since sociological approaches (in contrast to economical approaches) contribute to how the promises of

organizational efficiency are deliverable and responsive to those affected. In addition, Barsky et al. (1999) demand richer interpretations that would consider not only the commitments made in the disclosures to shareholders, but also statements made to employees.

Sociological and critical scholars of this field have been interested in rhetorical (e.g. Arnold 1999), discursive (e.g. Linstead & Thomas 2002, Thomas & Linstead 2002) and societal aspects (e.g. Barsky et al. 1999) of restructurings. For example, Hirsch and De Soucey (2006) point out that the definition of restructuring is ambiguous, enabling it to be used as a symbolic tool with increasing cultural power and resonance. According to these researchers the use of the term 'restructuring' provides a way to talk legitimately about squeezing efficiency out of the same set of assets within organizational limits, and can be used as an alternative to less attracting terms such as firing, closing or relocating. Thus, from this perspective, organizational restructuring as rhetoric and practice illuminates the realities of corporate power. On the other hand, Spicer and Fleming (2007) have noted how the 'discourse of globalization' legitimated certain managerial initiatives by making them appear inevitable, and also how this apparent inevitability can be challenged through a range of discursive tactics. Critical scholars have also raised an interesting question of how restructurings challenge the legitimacy of organizational members, and how identity is constructed in the restructuring organization by drawing on discourses to construct and to justify new roles and identities (Thomas & Linstead 2002).

The research presented in this dissertation takes a critical perspective on global organizational restructurings by studying the discursive struggles involved in legitimation and resistance of restructuring. The empirical restructuring cases in this research includes, among other changes, shutdowns and relocation of organizational units (Essays 1-3) and management initiated changes in ownership structure, i.e. acquiring foreign ownership (Essay 4).

2.2. Legitimation

I first explore legitimacy, that is a central concept in organization studies and the product of legitimation process (Chiapello 2003), before moving to the process of legitimation itself. The establishment and maintenance of legitimacy is closely related to the justification of the organization's existence (Deephouse & Suchman 2008). Organizations need legitimacy in order to be able to attract the support of their constituents (e.g. Ashforth & Gibbs 1990). According to one of the seminal studies of legitimacy presented by Suchman (1995, 574), legitimacy can be defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions". According to the originator of the concept of legitimacy, Max Weber (1978, 36-38), legitimacy is based on tradition, faith and/or enactment.

The concept of legitimacy has a central role in institutionalization theory, which argues that organizations do not only react to market pressures but also institutional pressures concerning, for example, social fitness, in order to enhance their legitimacy (Meyer & Rowan 1977, DiMaggio & Powell 1983). Institutionalization then enhances both the stability and comprehensibility of organizational activities (Suchman 1995). According to institutional theorists there are three factors that influence legitimacy through which the environment builds its perceptions of the organization: the legitimating environment, the organization's characteristics, and the legitimation process (Kostova & Zaheer 1999).

Legitimacy is linked with restructuring because all organizational changes raise the question of legitimacy i.e. whether the new organization still has legitimacy according to its constituents. Global organizations meet more complicated legitimacy issues than national organizations because of the different environments they face, and because they are more vulnerable to cross-border legitimacy spillovers compared to domestic firms (Kostova &

Zaheer 1999). This means that the legitimacy of an organizational unit is dependent on the legitimacy of other comparable organizational entities. This can lead to either negative spillovers that hurt legitimacy or positive spillovers that contribute to legitimacy (ibid). With the help of various conscious and unconscious substantive and/or symbolic managerial moves the management itself can also try to maintain, extend, or defend its legitimacy. However, in this search for legitimacy organizations sometime 'overdo' it and rather than increasing legitimacy can cause it to be decreased (Ashforth & Gibbs 1990).

The actual process of legitimation is built on discourses as legitimacy is socially constructed (e.g. Kostova & Zaheer 1999, Berger & Luckmann 1966). The globalization discourse plays a central role in legitimizing restructuring (Spicer & Fleming 2007). It is a dominant discourse in contemporary western societies and it considers restructuring as 'inevitable' (Fiss & Hirsch 2005, Spicer & Fleming 2007). However, Ahmadjian and Robbins (2005) demonstrate that this 'inevitability of restructuring' was originally an Anglo-American view of capitalism that emphasizes shareholder power. Accordingly, in Japanese stakeholder capitalism the pressure to restructure, in the hope of keeping the shareholders content with maximized shareholder value, is not as dominant as in Western cultures. Instead, long-term relationships between the corporation and shareholders are appreciated and therefore management is supported even when trying to save jobs. But change has also taken place in Western societies according to Fiss and Hirsch (2005). Their study shows that the neutral discursive frame of meanings for globalization (highlighting e.g. its inevitability), developed by the finance community, dominated globalization discourse throughout the 1980s. However, it has later been replaced in the US by both positive (highlighting e.g. gains and benefits of globalization) and negative (highlighting e.g. erosion of wages and living standards) discursive framings that draw upon the discourse of globalization. This example shows how the legitimation process works through discourse. In addition, it shows that although the discourse of globalization facilitates

legitimizing restructuring it can also be used as a resource for resistance (Spicer & Fleming 2007).

Some researchers have tried to map the strategies through which legitimacy is achieved. Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) identified five rhetorical strategies of legitimation in the case of radical institutional change. They classified the following strategies: ontological (rhetoric based on premises relating to what can or cannot exist or co-exist), historical (appeals to history and tradition), teleological (divine purpose or final cause), cosmological (emphasis on inevitability), and value-based theorizations (appeals to wider belief systems). Vaara et al. (2006) found five types of legitimation strategies in the case of a cross-border merger: normalization (exemplification of 'normal' function or behavior), authorization (authority construction), rationalization (rationale), moralization (moral basis), and narrativization (construction of a compelling plot). Legitimation processes take place in various social arenas. This thesis focuses not only on the internal processes of legitimation in the organization, but also the legitimation processes in the media, which have a significant role in promoting and downplaying discourses in the contemporary world and warranting voice to specific concerns and silencing others (Kjaer & Slaatta 2007). In this thesis the focus is on the specific textual practices and strategies, both intentional and unconscious, through which legitimation is carried out.

2.3. Resistance

Resistance as an organizational phenomenon has interested many organizational and managerial scholars (e.g. Mumby 2005, Putnam et al. 2005, Ball 2005, Symon 2005, Ashcraft 2005, Ezzamel et al. 2004, Prasad & Prasad 2000, Sotirin & Gottfried 1999, Gabriel 1999, Drummond 1998, Knights & Collinson 1987). Worker resistance to management strategy and managerial practices is one of the well established research streams in this research area (e.g. Ezzamel et al. 2004, Ezzamel & Willmott 1998, Edwards et al. 1995, Knights & Collinson

1987, Coch & French 1948). Lately, resistance has increasingly interested also critically oriented scholars drawing particularly from Foucault (e.g. 1977).

In contrast to studies drawing from labour process theories, that seemed to stimulate more theory about managerial control than about resistance practices and that were unable to link power and resistance, these Foucauldian studies have diverted attention away from the grand narratives of class conflict in favour of studying localized forms of resistance and subjectivity (Jermier et al 1994). These scholars have struggled with the question of the meaning and potential offered by human agency in organizational struggles (Heracleous & Hendry 2000, Mumby 2005, Thomas & Davies 2005, Gabriel 1999); in other words, the potential for agency to influence organizational power relationships and control. Organizational participants are seen as being aware of their actions, but relatively few possibilities for human agency in organizational struggles is conceded (Heracleous & Hendry 2000, Mumby 2005). Many scholars who draw on the critical theory and Foucauldian perspectives and focus on resistance, overemphasize disciplinary power, i.e. control, while forgetting that power is also productive (Ahonen & Tienari 2009) and underestimate the efforts of the resisting and its emancipatory power (Gabriel 1999, Hardy & Clegg 1999). On the other hand in neo-Marxist inspired analysis there is relatively little focus on the everyday dynamics of organizational life in the form of discursive struggles and, thus, there is a lack of attention to human agency in this sense (Mumby 2005, Gabriel 1999).

One popular definition of resistance formulates it as social control directed upwards (Tucker 1993). However, this definition does not cover all forms of resistance. Resistance does not only have to mean mean opposition of the powerless to managerial control (Thomas & Davies 2005). Rather, it can also be organized, for example, by dominant organizational voices (such as middle managers) against the organization's practices (Ashcraft 2005) or by professional elites (such as airline pilots, lawyers, physicians) against their union leadership (Real &

Putnam 2005). Critical studies also acknowledge that resistance can be oriented at multiple audiences simultaneously; for example, the media, customers and NGOs (Collinson 2005).

The critical Foucauldian perspective was also the first to highlight that resistance need not to be conceptualised only as illegal, dysfunctional, or self-interest behavior as it had earlier been conceptualized in mainstream management research. On the other hand, it acknowledged that resistance does not need to be conceptualized as just creative human agency, as it had been conceptualized in earlier critical studies. According to this view, of greater important than choosing one of these conceptualizations is to focus on the play of meaning, signification and action through which all organizational actors seek to script, direct, and position all others. (Hardy & Clegg 1999) Thus, power and resistance are mutually constitutive, implicative and coproductive. The line between them is ambiguous and therefore power and resistance are better understood as a dynamic struggle rather than than dualism, and should thus be studied hand in hand with a focus on their intersection (Mumby 2005, Collinson 2005). However, thus far, little is known about their dynamic interplay (Mumby 2005).

In more traditional approaches, resistance has been studied by organizational scholars as a behavioral phenomenon. Resistance as resistant behavior to organizational control has been typified by Tucker (1993) and Hodson (1995). Tucker (1993) found gossip, toleration, and resignation, also called 'routine resistance' (Scott 1985, Prasad & Prasad 2000), to be the most popular ways to respond to organizational control, while occasional grievances were expressed by theft, sabotage, non-cooperation or time wasting (Tucker 1993, Ackroyd & Thompson 1999). Hodson (1995), on the other hand, conceptualized four basic agendas of resistance, which are parallel to certain forms of organizational control. He argued that an agenda of deflecting abuse was typical in direct control, regulating the amount and intensity of work was popular in technical control, defending autonomy was most typical in bureaucratic control, while manipulating participation opportunities was most typical in modern

participative organizations. These approaches, in a manner similar to many others (e.g. Symon 2005), assume workers to be active participants in the power relationships at the workplace with conscious aims for their actions (Mumby 2005). However, resistance often lacks overall or tactical objectives (Ezzamel et al. 2004, Mumby 2005, Prasad & Prasad 2000), it is both conscious and unconscious (Real & Putnam 2005), and can consist of elements of both overt and covert resistance (Real & Putnam 2005, Roscigno & Hodson 2004). Moreover, resistance should not be only considered as recalcitrance. Rather, it should be noted that resistance might be motivated by positive intentions such as protecting organizations best interests or for ethical reasons (Piderit 2000), and thus be approached as also beneficial.

Lately increasingly, resistance has also been analyzed in terms of discursive or rhetorical practices. From this perspective, resistance can be understood as a constant process of adaptation, subversion, and re-inscription of dominant discourses, in which individuals pervert or subtly shift meanings, and eventually understandings (Thomas & Davies 2005). In the research reported in this thesis the interest is not only on changes to the dominant discourses through resistance, but also changes in the alternative discourses as they develop together with the dominant discourse. Therefore, in this thesis the focus is on the discursive interplay and struggles between different discourses. Symbolic, discursive or resistant spaces (e.g. Collinson 1994, Ezzamel et al. 2004, Brown & Humphreys 2006) are the sites of the struggles over meaning. In these spaces employees can resist “through distance” (Collinson 1994), for example by using cynicism (Fleming 2005, Fleming & Spicer 2003), humour (Rodrigues & Collinson 1995; Prasad & Prasad 1998, Ackroyd & Thompson 1999), or silence (Brown & Coupland 2005) as their means of expressing the dissatisfaction. Or employees can resist in more traditional ways “through persistence” when resistance is active, perceivable and part of person’s identity (Collinson 1994). The discursive perspective also notes the possibilities of labeling something as ‘resistance’ and giving negative meaning to it as a means to dismiss

potentially valid employee concerns about proposed changes (Piderit, 2000). Although the focus in this research is on discursive forms of resistance it is important to note that both discursive and materialistic forms of organizational behavior can be understood through the frame of discourse when the focus is on the ways in which organizational behaviour is subject to competing efforts to shape its meaning (Mumby 2005).

In the critical approach resistance is also closely linked with identity and subjectivity. Identity and subjectivity can provide both political and rhetorical resource for resistance (Symon 2005), or power (Knights & Collinson 1987) as a means to legitimate certain arguments. Resistance can also be seen as an attempt to regulate identity (Symon 2005), and identity concerns can be a major motivational factor for resistance (Ezzamel et al. 2004).

2.4. Critically oriented organizational discourse analysis

In this section the theoretical foundations of critical organizational studies and critical discourse studies, with regard to the way they have guided this research, are summarized. Critical approaches to organization studies and critical approaches to discourse analysis (CDA) both rest on broad, and in many ways conflicting, foundations. Critical organizational studies draw from several diverse intellectual streams, mostly 'critical theory' and poststructuralism, but lately also critical realist perspectives. Their interest is to question established social orders, dominating practices, ideologies, discourses and institutions (Alvesson & Deetz 2000, Fairclough 2005). In other words, they concentrate on exposing asymmetrical power relations, de-naturalization of taken-for-granted assumptions and ideologies that 'freeze' contemporary social order, revealing the partiality of shared interests and appreciating the centrality of language and communication (Alvesson & Willmott 1992). Discourse analysis, on the other hand, is a perspective on social life that contains both a theoretical element (ways of thinking about discourse) and methodological element (ways of treating discourse as data) (Wood & Kroger 2000). This research contains both of these

elements of discourse analysis. This Chapter focuses on the theoretical elements of critical discourse analysis. The methodological elements are discussed in Chapter 4. Organizational discourse, as such, incorporates a variety of diverse and dichotomous views and draws upon seemingly indecipherable multidisciplinary origins (Grant et al. 2001). Discourse can be understood as structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (or visual representations or cultural artefacts), that bring organizationally related objects into being at the same time they are produced, disseminated and consumed (Grant et al. 2004).

While this section presents both approaches (critical organizational studies and CDA) it also integrates these perspectives through their ability to approach power and resistance and the potential to view discursive struggles as a dynamic element between them. Mumby (2004) calls this kind of integrated analysis critical organizational discourse analysis. Drawing upon Marxist lexicon but employing also Foucauldian thinking he has divided it into two groups: critical organizational discourse analysis as ideology critique, and critical organizational discourse analysis as an exploration of the dialectics of power and resistance. Of these two, this research comes closer to the latter through interest in the dynamic discursive struggles between power and resistance. The focus in critical discourse studies has also shifted towards understanding the complex struggles over meaning that simultaneously embodies domination and resistance (Mumby 2004). In them it is acknowledged that there are multiple and contradictory meanings and realities that exist in the same discursive space (Hardy 2001). Therefore, organizations can be seen as political sites where actors and groups struggle over meaning for the purposes of certain interests (e.g. Phillips & Hardy 2002, Mumby 2004). Thus, the critical and discursive approaches to organizational studies highlight at least two issues that are important for both of them. Firstly, they see organizations as sites of struggle over the production of knowledge, meaning, and identity (e.g. Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, Mumby 2004, Hardy & Phillips 2004). This means that although some discourses and

meanings may become privileged or even taken for granted, there is always a struggle for “closure” (Hardy 2001). Secondly, both of these approaches address the complexity of power relations (e.g. Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, Mumby 2004, Hardy & Phillips 2004).

These approaches also complement each other in several other ways. Firstly, both critical approaches aim to integrate the wider social context; i.e. the cultural, economic, historical, and political contexts of the phenomenon under investigation (Alvesson & Deetz 2000). This is important for understanding the broader societal implications of organizational practices. Accordingly, in the case of restructurings for example, attention is paid to justifications in different social arenas, their interpretations, arguments, and debates between the various stakeholders; and, for instance, the role of the media. The critical discourse perspective helps in such analysis because in CDA wider social structures are always present. Indeed, discourse cannot be understood without understanding their context (Hardy 2001). More precisely, CDA attempts to study the relationship between broader social and cultural structures, relationships and processes, and discursive practices, events and texts (e.g. Fairclough 1995, Grant et al. 2001).

Secondly, another important element in critical organizational research is to avoid viewing the corporate world as self-evident and familiar, but rather to conceptualize it as a strange place (Alvesson & Deetz 2000, Alvesson & Willmott 1992). In this regard critical approaches aim to challenge the assumptions that guide ordinary ways of thinking in order that they are not taken for granted (e.g. Fairclough 2005). Cultural tradition and actions of powerful agents often ‘freeze’ social reality and the way people think. This only benefits certain sectional interest at the expense of others. (Alvesson & Deetz 2000) By challenging the things that are taken for granted, spaces for ignored, marginalized, and revolutionary alternatives are created. This helps to interpret social phenomena in novel ways in comparison to culturally dominant categories and distinctions, and to reduce the pre-structured limitations of thinking (Alvesson

& Deetz 2000). For a researcher, this means broadening their inherent interpretative repertoires and also avoiding working solely with critical theory that would also be a limitation (ibid. 191). Therefore, in this thesis the aim is also to juxtapose managerial and critical perspectives. In brief, it could thus be said that the aim of critical approaches is to encourage 'noise' (Alvesson & Willmott 2003, 17). CDA, on the other hand, enables the simultaneous raising and considering of several alternative "voices" or "noise". Moreover, CDA emphasizes the need to give a 'voice' to individuals or groups that are not normally heard in management studies. Although "voice" is given to several organizational groups, contrary to traditional Marxist understanding, critical organizational studies do not assume the primacy of the fundamental contradiction between capital and worker interests. Attention is drawn to any contradictions in society and organizations because conflicts are seen as a potentially constructive and even liberating force (Alvesson & Willmott 2003). By giving a "voice" these critical studies also take efforts to emancipate human beings from conditions of domination and oppression (e.g. Mumby 2004).

The third important element in critical organizational research is that the critical tradition inherently appreciates the centrality of language (Alvesson & Willmott 1992, 2003), and it explores the link between socially constructed realities and material practices as both antecedents and outcomes (Zoller & Fairhurst 2007). Thus, they are largely based on social constructionism that sees social phenomena characterized by high degrees of latitude in how they are portrayed as well as interpreted by social actors. Consequently, actors can, both take control or manipulate how they present issues and employ selective perception in order to protect and maintain their routinized or comfortable ways of perceiving issues. (Heracleous 2004)

CDA offers a method for studying the process of social construction because it acknowledges the fundamental role of discourses in constructing and maintaining social reality (Berger &

Luckmann 1966, Grant et al. 2001). In other words, from the discourse perspective discourses do not simply “mirror” reality but rather they bring situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of relations between people and groups of people into being (Hardy 2001). This means that language is not only a tool of description or a medium of communication but a social practice, and phenomena are constituted in and through discourse (Wood & Kroger 2000). This does not have to mean denial of structure or physical reality (Potter & Wetherell 1987, Wood & Kroger 2000, Fairclough 2005). In fact from this perspective the objective of discourse analysis is not simply analysis of discourse per se, but analysis of the relations between discourse and non-discoursal elements of the social, in order to reach a better understanding of these complex relations (including how changes in discourse can cause changes to other elements) (Fairclough 2005).

2.5. Rhetoric in the study of organizations

Rhetoric is persuasion, or symbolic inducement; it is an activity that everybody engages in. Because symbols are often used strategically for persuading an audience, they play a central role in studies of rhetoric (Hartelius & Browning 2008). In addition, tropes, and metaphors (as one type of trope) help in managing ambiguity and conceptual novelty (Vaara et al. 2003, Hartelius & Browning 2008). The classical, Aristotelian, analysis classifies the fundamental concepts within rhetorical theory; i.e. the notion of logos (use of logic and rationality), pathos (appealing to moral, value, and emotion), and ethos (the rhetor’s character, authority, and credibility) (Aristotle 1954). Later, New Rhetoric has shifted the focus to more complex forms of discursive persuasion and ways of convincing (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969).

The study of rhetoric is closely related to the study of discourses. They are both concerned with power (Hartelius & Browning 2008). The rhetorical approach is primarily concerned with the strategic possibilities of discourse in action, although it does not consider strategizing as a strictly rational action (Cheney et al. 2004). The intersection of rhetoric and discourses is

particularly interesting; i.e. how rhetors use grand discourses and familiar rhetorical schemes to gain persuasiveness through recognizability, but this similarly contributes to further naturalization into hegemonic 'common sense' (Zanoni & Janssens 2003). However, there is also a distinct difference between these two approaches. Rhetoric, and particularly New Rhetoric, focuses explicitly on political or interest-laden discourse and seeks to identify genres or recurrent patterns of interests, goals, and shared assumptions. In rhetorical analysis the situational focus (persuasive texts or rhetorical strategies) and cognitive assumptions of direct and dynamic relationship between rhetorical structures of arguments and the cognition and action of actors, is differentiated from discourse analysis; the latter being interested in how texts work in socio-cultural practice (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005).

Organizations initiate and stimulate the advent of certain trends and developments with the help of rhetoric (Cheney et al. 2004). The study of organizational rhetoric is concerned with formal, i.e. public, messages, and discourses, which can be oriented to both the internal and external audiences of the organization (Cheney et al. 2004). The study of rhetoric in the managerial literature conceptualizes rhetoric in five ways: as a theory and interpersonal activity, as the substance that maintains and challenges organizational order, as being constitutive of organizational identity, as a managerial strategy of persuasion, and as a framework for understanding the role of narrative and rational organizational discourses (Hartelius & Browning 2008). According to Cheney et al. (2004) corporate rhetoric serves two primary functions: it draws upon existing cultural assumptions, and also reproduces and reinforces the cultural assumption on which it is based in order to legitimize or delegitimize certain policies.

Rhetoric strategies are means of making general points of view more convincing (Mueller et al. 2004). Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) argue that rhetoric is the tool for deliberate manipulation of institutional logics, which then leads to institutional change. According to

Suddaby and Greenwood rhetorical strategies integrate institutional vocabularies (that expose contradictory institutional logics) and then theorize change (actors connect selected aspects to broader cultural templates). Symon (2005) also studied rhetorical strategies in the case of resisting a technological change project and found that rhetorical strategies included; 'producing a range of identities for 'the resistant', disputing 'realness', producing and negotiating boundaries, and drawing upon local and broader cultural discourse. Rhetorical strategies and their link with broader discourses are elaborated further in Essay 1.

3 *Conceptual framework of the thesis*

This section summarizes the theoretical concepts of this research and sets up the general argument of this thesis based on the four Essays. The theoretical concepts of this research form a circle of relationships that is presented as the conceptual framework of the research, that I call the ‘circle of legitimation’ (Figure 1). The aim of this framework is to describe how discursive struggles affect the (de)legitimacy of organizational and social context, and how this (de)legitimacy of the context can be used to reconstruct discourses, that can be employed for legitimation and resistance in the discursive struggles.

This circle also highlights how each of these three elements (discourses, discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy in the circle work as a resource for the other two elements. The resources employed in this circle are here divided into ‘discursive’ and ‘historical’ resources. Based on a social constructionist epistemology, according which everything we know is socially constructed by discourse, all resources employed in the legitimation process are discursive after a fashion. Therefore, discursive resources are here seen as an inclusive notion, even though discursive resources are sometimes also for example ‘strategic resources’ (Hardy et al .2000) or ‘political resources’ (Symon 2005) in nature. However, the resources drawn from the material world are here separated from the discursive resources and called historical resources to highlight their nature as resources related to the ‘context’ of discourses, although they are a subcategory of discursive resources.

Of the bidirectional relationships between the three elements (discourses, discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy) in the circle it follows that firstly, discourses can serve as discursive resources for discursive struggles but also for the materialization of (de)legitimacy. Secondly, the implications of the discursive struggles not only influence the reconstruction discourses but also the materialization of the social context. Thirdly, the

material forms of organizational and societal context can serve as a powerful historical resources not only for discourses but also to be used directly in discursive struggles. The circle partially explains why resistance towards restructurings, or any similar organizational decision, is a slow process that is dependent on the development of the discourses and parallel changes in organizational and societal contexts.

3.1. Discourses

Discourses are here defined as structured collections of texts embodied in the practices of talking and writing (or visual representations or cultural artefacts), that bring organizationally related objects into being at the same time they are produced, disseminated and consumed (Grant et al. 2004). Thus, discourses have three functions and levels: they are texts (including vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and structure), discursive practices (including production, distribution, circulation and consumption of texts), and instances of social practices (including the ideological or hegemonic relationships that texts demonstrate and in which they participate) (Fairclough 1992). According to this view, in line with CDA, reality is ‘produced’ in and through discourses (Fairclough & Wodak 1997, Hardy & Phillips 2004, Fairclough 2005). Discourses change understanding of social situations, which also makes discursive activity a form of political activity (Hardy & Phillips 1999). However, there are multiple and contradictory meanings and realities existing in an organization, or in any discursive space (Hardy 2001) and discursive actors are commonly embedded in multiple discourses (Hardy & Phillips 2004). The tensions between discourses produce discursive space. These spaces are used for playing one discourse against another, creating new forms of interdiscursivity, and moving between and across multiple discourses. Discourses are always contested to some degree and never completely cohesive and devoid of internal tensions. (Hardy & Phillips 2004)

Underlying CDA is also the assumption that institutional and individual texts and talk (local discourses) reflect and draw upon larger, more dominant societal discourses (for example, the discourse of neo-liberalism). This working of broader societal context as a source of discursive resources for organizational and interorganizational discursive activity has received little attention in the discourse literature (Keenoy et al. 1997, Hardy & Phillips 1999). These societal discourses operate ideologically to restrict opportunities for voice and action in the organizational setting. (Broadfoot et al. 2004) However, sufficient voice can be warranted for an organizational or societal actor if the actor holds a subject position that is recognized by others and therefore gives an opportunity for its holder to initiate discursive activities. If such a subject position is not held by the actor, the impact of their activities or statements will be minimized. (Hardy et al. 2000)

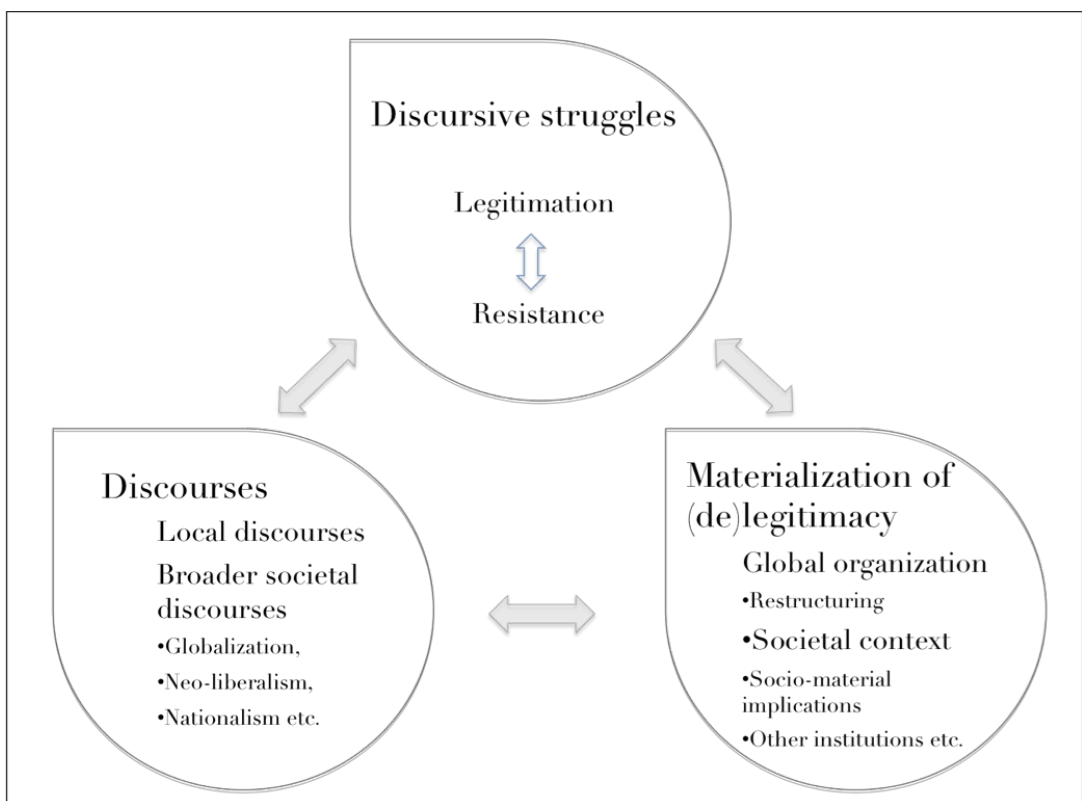


Figure 1: Conceptual framework of the study: the ‘circle of legitimacy’

Rhetoric in this process is not only seen as political expressions of discourses, and in that way only part of discourses, but also as part of the phrasing strategies and the structure. New Rhetoric, which this approach draws upon, represents the political or interest-laden discourse. Rhetoric strategies are means of making general points of view more convincing (Mueller et al. 2004), for example by persuading through recognizability, using, for instance, familiar and popular discourses to persuade (Zanoni & Janssens 2003). Rhetoric thus serves two primary functions: it draws upon existing cultural assumptions, and also reproduces and reinforces the cultural assumptions on which it is based in order to legitimize or delegitimize certain policies (Cheney et al. 2004).

3.2. Discursive struggles over legitimation and resistance

The concept of struggle provides a term for thinking about power and resistance as an interconnected dynamic and moves beyond the dualism of power/resistance. Struggle is a process of ongoing, multiple, and unpredictable calls (power) and responses (resistance) in which power and resistance are often indistinguishable. The interface is one of mutual constitution in which power is never without resistance and vice versa. (Fleming & Spicer 2008) The role that discourses and discursive struggles (Grant & Hardy 2003, Harley & Hardy 2004, Hardy & Phillips 1999) play in the process of legitimation and resistance is a relatively unexplored area (Mumby 2004, 2005, Geppert 2003, Putnam et al. 2005). However, discursive struggles have lately started to interest discourse-oriented scholars (e.g. Harley & Hardy 2004, Livesey 2001, Hardy & Phillips 1999, Real & Putnam 2005, Laine & Vaara 2007). Although these studies meritoriously describe these struggles the concept still lacks a clear definition. Therefore, I define discursive struggles here as struggles between power and resistance (and their producers) in which different discourses and resources related to the socio-material context are employed for legitimizing certain interests and perspectives of social reality.

In these discursive struggles power and resistance reproduce each other. They are entwined rather than in a binary position to each other. Therefore, resistance also constitutes a form of power itself. (Collinson 1994, Knights & Vurdubakis 1994, Riad 2005, Fleming & Spicer 2008) This also means that everybody is an agent of resistance in relation to some power (Knights & Vurdubakis 1994). The power relations in these struggles are established by holding in place, or subtly shifting, meanings and understanding associated with concepts, objects and subject positions¹, which distribute power and privileges among actors (Hardy & Phillips 2004, Thomas & Davies 2005). Discursive texts work as tools that actors in these struggles use in their discursive strategies (Chalaby 1996). Critical approaches to organizational discourse are interested in the ways in which organizational members and interest groups engage in these hegemonic struggles through discourse as social practice (Mumby 2004) and create socially constructed legitimacy for certain causes (e.g. Kostova & Zaheer 1999, Berger & Luckmann 1966).

Socio-historical conditions of existence and means of operation are important in the analysis of power and resistance (Knights & Vurdubakis 1994). This is because the same discourse can be interpreted as resistance or reproducing power relations depending on context (Mumby 2005, Meriläinen et al. 2004, Thomas & Davies 2005, Wood & Kroger 2000, Jermier et al. 1994). In critical discourse studies organizations are seen as the sites of these struggles (Mumby & Clair 1997, 182), but they can also take place outside the organization. For example discourse at the societal level occurs through a broad range of mass media, which provides channels for the production and distribution of texts to a wide and diverse audience (Hardy & Phillips 1999). In this thesis Essays 1 and 2 examine discursive struggles on the organizational level while Essays 3 and 4 focus on broader societal discourses in the media.

¹ *Concepts* are the ideas, categories, relationships, and theories through which we understand the world and relate to one another. An *object* is constituted when a concept is used to make some aspect of the material reality meaningful. *Subject positions* are locations in social space from which certain delimited agents can act. (Hardy & Phillips 1999, 2004).

Although discursive struggles are continuous and do not necessarily have a clear closure (Clegg 1989, Hardy & Phillips 2004) they also have socio-material implications that momentarily stabilize meanings (Maguire & Hardy 2006) or they end up in the production of certain ‘truths’ (Riad 2005). These implications of discursive struggles are diverse, for example (discursive) legitimacy for a certain ideology (Chiapello 2003), identity (Harley & Hardy 2004, Hardy & Phillips 1999, Ainsworth & Hardy 2004), practice (Maguire & Hardy 2006), meaning (Maguire & Hardy 2006), or a subject position (Hardy & Phillips 2004). Thus, some, or all of these implications together, are discursive resources to be enacted either for constraining or facilitating changes in the material context. In some cases, many struggles might be ‘stacked’ on top of each other, resulting in contradictory and unintended outcomes (Fleming & Spicer 2008). On the other hand, emerging, strengthening or weakening some subject positions through these struggles enable the production of discursive texts of different value (Maguire & Hardy 2009). These texts, again, can provide discursive resources for reconstructing the existing discourses (Hardy & Phillips 2004, Maguire & Hardy 2006).

3.3. Materialization of (de)legitimacy

Legitimacy and delegitimacy that are produced in and through both discourses and discursive struggles contribute to the wider socio-material context; i.e. to the structure of organization and the form of restructuring. In other words, legitimacy achieved through discursive struggles, and supported by certain discourses, materializes in the social context. Legitimacy as a general perception or assumption of something desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system (Suchman 1995), justifies the prevailing organizational and societal order (Chiapello 2003). Legitimacy is influenced by the legitimating environment, the organization’s characteristics, and the legitimation process through which the actors in the environment build its perceptions of the organization (Kostova & Zaheer 1999). From the perspective of this thesis, legitimation process takes place with the help of discourses in

discursive struggles. On the other hand, the legitimating environment and organization's characteristics are the basis on which the new organizational or societal structure builds. This means that through legitimacy spillovers (Kostova & Zaheer 1999), the previous de/legitimacy cases also serve as resources for legitimacy and resistance. Therefore restructurings also manifest understanding and acceptance of the form of globalization.

Incorporating material structures into this framework fits with both, the critical realist and social constructionist perspectives. They both accept that our understanding of the material world is mediated by the discourses we employ (Oswick et al. 2000). Where, from the critical realist perspective the social world is prestructured and discourse is dependent on a preconstituted set of separable, yet interdependent, material conditions and social structures (Reed 2004), in the constructionist perspective social reality is socially constructed in discourse (Berger & Luckmann 1966), but this does not mean that there is nothing but discourse, rather that structures, such as organizations, exist through discourse that help us make sense of our world (Mumby & Clair 1997).

3.4. 'The circle of legitimation'

The relationships between the three elements of the 'circle of legitimation', discourses, discursive struggles, and materialization of (de)legitimacy, are bidirectional. Each of these three elements serves as a resource for the other two elements (arrows in Figure 1). Firstly, discourses serve as a pool of discursive resources for generating legitimation and resistance strategies in discursive struggles. This means that individuals can use discourses as resources in their efforts to enact strategy (Hardy et al. 2000). Thus, the same discourse can be employed or appropriated for both purposes: in order to justify and challenge the restructuring. However, actors can only draw on existing discourses. Therefore, the texts they can construct, and how they can construct (and interpret them), are limited and shaped by the nature of prevailing discourses. In this way, discourse structures the social space for action. In

other words, it rules the ways in which the topic can be discussed. (Hardy & Phillips 2004, Phillips et al. 2004, Fairclough 1995) Discourse as a strategic resource is usually mobilized through the following three steps. First, new discursive statements are introduced through the use of symbols, narratives and metaphors (for example symbolic chant, identity narratives, labelling the organization as 'faceless'). Second, these symbols, narratives and metaphors help listeners to understand and construct meaning to the statements. Third, the new discursive statements can take their place (Hardy et al. 2000).

But it is not only the discourses that serve as discursive resources for discursive struggles. The subject positions of actors legitimated in discursive struggles enable the construction of powerful texts. These texts can then serve as discursive resources for reconstructing discourses. Thus, the power relations constituted in discursive struggles shape who influences discourses over time and in what way (Hardy & Phillips 2004). However, sometimes also actors who inhabit lower subject positions are able to produce seductive texts for example by using humour (Collinson 1988). This means that dominant discourses are not held in place by power, but by webs of power and resistance. (Hardy & Phillips 2004). Therefore, the relationship between discourses and discursive struggles in the circle is bidirectional: discourses provide discursive resources to be enacted in discursive struggles, but also discursive struggles, through enabling emerging, reasserting or weakening subject positions, authorize the creation of powerful texts that can shape discourses.

Secondly, the relationship between discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy is also bidirectional. Legitimacy (of, for example, a certain ideology, identity, practice or meaning) achieved in discursive struggles is a discursive resource that can be employed for constraining or facilitating changes in organizational and societal contexts. Thus, discursive struggles, through legitimacy of cause(s), eventually lead to the emergence of new institutions or other socio-material implications that in turn, momentarily stabilize meanings (Maguire &

Hardy 2006). But it is also the legitimacy of the socio-material context that can work as a powerful historical resource employed in discursive struggles. These historical resources can be used to fortify both legitimization and resistance strategies; for example by utilizing previous organizational cases as legitimate examples. As can be seen in Essay 2, for example, particular forms of knowledge of the socio-material context (such as financial data) can be employed to generate legitimacy, but they can also be tapped to generate resistance (Foucault 1980, Hardy & Clegg 1999). Hence, the relationship between discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy in the circle is bidirectional: implications of discursive struggles (for a cause or many causes) serve as discursive resources that can be exploited in how the (de)legitimacy is finally realized in the socio-material context. On the other hand, the materialization of (de)legitimacy serves as a historical resource that can be used to fortify both, legitimization and resistance, strategies in the discursive struggles.

Thirdly, the relationship between discourses and the materialization of (de)legitimacy is also bidirectional. The form of socio-material context work as historical resources for the discourses when actions in the material world affect discourses through production of texts that can be employed in discourses (Phillips et al. 2004). The socio-material contexts, such as examples of previous restructurings and the form that globalization has taken, function as a historical resources for the discourses that are 'updated'; in other words reconstructed, with claims based on the (de)legitimacy of the material world. Thus, meaning and understanding of globalization and restructuring is reformed in the discourses. But discourses also serve as discursive resources for materialization. Discourses, as such, can be used as discursive resources for the organization of organizational and societal structures, institutional change (Phillips et al. 2004, Spicer & Fleming 2007), or to support existing material practices or structures, for example, government and NGOs positions (Hardy & Phillips 1999, Spicer & Fleming 2007). In the case of restructurings, one specific broader societal discourse, the

discourse of globalization, has been found to play a central role in legitimizing it (Spicer & Fleming 2007). It is a dominant discourse in contemporary western societies and it considers restructuring as 'inevitable' (Fiss & Hirsch 2005, Spicer & Fleming 2007). Although the discourse of globalization facilitates legitimizing restructuring, it can also be used as a resource for resistance (Spicer & Fleming 2007) in discursive struggles. In summary, the relationship between materialization of (de)legitimacy and the discourses in the circle is bidirectional: the (de)legitimacy of socio-material context serves as historical resources that can be used to reconstruct discourse. On the other hand, discourses can be used as discursive resources when enacting the materialization of (de)legitimacy; i.e. when changing or stabilizing the forms of socio-material context.

Finally, the important point in this illustration is to note the strong influence of each stage to the next and previous stage; i.e. 'the circle of legitimation', that is formed in this process. Thus, this circle illustrates the process of legitimation through bidirectional relationships between discourses, discursive struggles and materialization of (de)legitimacy. The circle also explains the power relations between processes of legitimation and resistance, and therefore the slow potency of the process of resistance. Thus, the processes of legitimation and resistance are strongly based on existing discourses, the subject positions of discursive actors, and the historical construction of legitimacy (historical resources). Firstly, the discursive texts that the actors can construct and interpret are limited and shaped by the nature of prevailing discourses. Thus, the existing discourses rule the ways in which the topic can be discussed (Hardy & Phillips 2004, Phillips et al. 2004, Fairclough 1995) while establishing new discourses is a process that demands a lot of creativity (Hardy et al. 2000), and working the existing discourses is slow.

Secondly, subject positions, that include both, bureaucratic positions and socially constructed and legitimated positions (Maguire & Hardy 2009), can serve as a discursive resource

(Thomas & Davies 2005). Moreover, the subject positions affect the way in which the text production of the actors will be consequential in shaping discourses (Maguire & Hardy 2009). In discursive struggles actors such as 'the public' can achieve a subject position as a legitimate contributor to the knowledge (Maguire & Hardy 2009). However, actors who inhabit bureaucratic subject positions associated with formal power (authority to make decisions), critical material resources (such as money), network links (relationships among actors) or discursive legitimacy (the right to speak as a legitimate actor) are also likely to produce texts that intend to convey meanings and to produce particular effects (Hardy & Phillips 1999, 2004). Therefore, for example in this research, the managers of restructuring organizations, who possess decision making authority, financial resources, societal relationships with other authorities and who are given a voice in questions related to business, in the discursive struggles (particularly in the beginning of the restructuring process) have the primary subject position to create texts and to define the meaning of restructuring and globalization. Employees or other citizens often lack similar discursive resources at a societal level. The representations of restructuring or globalization that are developed by these social agents in order to accomplish social objectives (i.e. legitimacy or delegitimacy of the restructuring) are discursive resources, and they contribute to the process of globalization itself, although sometimes in ways that agents did not intend or anticipate (Fairclough & Thomas 2004). The exact nature of the relationship between these discursive resources and the ability of actors to produce successful discursive strategies has thus far remained unclear (Hardy & Phillips 1999). Therefore, in this thesis the aim in the Essays is to unfold some of the dynamics between discursive resources and discursive strategies, as well as between different discursive strategies.

Thirdly, the historical resources that are produced from the socio-material context, such as previous restructuring cases, can be utilized to produce not only legitimacy, but also

resistance. However, the actors who employ historical resources, but who cannot simultaneously draw upon already powerful discourses (such as the discourse of globalization), have a disadvantage because they cannot use the persuasive texts of a dominant discourse that has been earlier accepted by many (Harley & Hardy 2004). In the case of restructurings the ones who draw on the discourse of globalization can, for example, appeal to the 'inevitability' of the restructurings and simultaneously use examples of popularity of restructurings as their historical resources in the discursive struggles. The ones who resist can also use previous restructurings as historical resources and highlight their negative effects, but until a change in the trend these historical resources are often not so well available (for example data of the materialization of the restructurings in form of organizational financial calculations). The resistant also simultaneously has to draw on less powerful discourses, that decrease the power in their use. As can be noted from Essay 3 the resisting discourse also inherently seems to lean more on emotional and morally laden texts than on rational explanations, which might further explain the differences in the impacts. The resistant also has the disadvantage of often coming to the scene later i.e. as defendant. Moreover, it is also more difficult for them to present coherent, and therefore appealing, linear narratives from this starting point. (Harley & Hardy 2004)

In summary, the 'circle of legitimation' contributes to the previous theory firstly by describing the intertwined processes of legitimation and resistance, where three interdependent concepts: discourses, discursive struggles, and materialization of (de)legitimacy, are involved as resources for each other. The circle is also able to explain to some extent the slow potency of resistance in organizational change processes, based on the strong influence of the existing discourses, subject positions of actors, and historical resources.

4 *Methodology*

4.1. Critical discourse analysis

Discourse analysis can be understood as a method(ology) and as a perspective on the nature of language and its relationship to the central issues of the social sciences (Wood & Kroger 2000). In this research discourse analysis serves both of these purposes. Although this should be kept in mind, in this section I concentrate on discourse analysis as a methodology that can be based on the constructionist ontology (Berger & Luckman 1966), according which everything is socially constructed. But it coheres also with a critical realist social ontology (Fairclough 2005), in which the social world is prestructured and is not constituted only of language (Reed 2004). Epistemologically they both are based on a discursive construction of social reality (Wood & Kroger 2000, Berger & Luckmann 1966).

Discourse analysis offers a way to incorporate the “linguistic turn” into the study of organizations (Hardy 2001). Discourse analysis, in its narrowest form, means studying texts; that is, the units of analysis in discourse analysis are texts (Potter & Wetherell 1987). Discourse analysis aims to identify some of the multiple meanings assigned to texts (Hardy 2001). In addition to spoken and written language texts might also include cultural artefacts and visual representations (Fairclough 2005, Grant et al. 2001), and can be seen as a product and as a process (Fairclough 2005). While other qualitative methodologies work to understand or interpret social reality as it exists, discourse analysis endeavours to uncover the way in which it is produced (Phillips & Hardy 2002). Discourse analysis in general, as a less-formalized and less-institutionalized methodology, affords creativity to researchers and thus enables them to generate new insights into understanding organizational phenomena (Hardy 2001).

The relationship of discourses to social and historical context and the perception of discourse as discursive practices distinguishes critical discourse analysis (CDA) from the traditional and more narrow approach to discourse analysis that sees discourses more as the study of language or semiotic mechanisms (Grant et al 2001). Other differences are the focus in CDA on power relations (how language can be used for purposes of domination) and intertextuality (how texts are linked to other texts) and interdiscursivity (how individual texts are constituted from diverse discourses) (Fairclough 2005, Meyer 2002). Thus CDA explores how discursive activity structures the social space within which actors act, and how it privileges some actors at the expense of others (Hardy & Phillips 2004)

CDA does not constitute a well-defined empirical method, but rather a cluster of approaches with similar theoretical bases and similar research questions (Meyer 2002). Critical discourse approaches often start by analyzing the micro-level instances of discursive action (small “d”) and then locating them in the context of macro-level “meta” or “grand” discourses (big “D”) (Alvesson & Kärreman 2000), which demonstrates the important connection between text and context in organizational settings (Grant et al. 2001). Discursive approaches are well suited to the analysis of micro (individual), meso (group) or macro (organization) levels, and for a rich array of organizational phenomena (Grant et al. 2001). But even when the focus is on one of these, they cannot be separated from each other. In other words, one cannot choose between small “d” and big “D” approaches (Fairclough 2005).

Hardy (2001) has listed a number of limitations and challenges related to conducting discourse analysis. The problems of how to choose texts for a deeper analysis, and how to reflect the researcher’s role in the research are discussed in relation to warrantability of the research. Besides those challenges, firstly, there is a problem of how to approach data and theory; that is, whether to conduct more theoretically informed work or let the data drive the research, and how to relate the findings to other literatures. Although data collection in discourses analysis

often resembles a traditional qualitative methodology, in many ways there is no typical way of collecting data, but usually it is agreed that similar to grounded theory, the collection of data can continue after commencing the analysis of data (Meyer 2002) and theory (Hardy 2001). In order to carry this out, Hardy (2001) recommends starting with a loose framework. Thereafter she suggests that data and findings are used to yield insights into different theories. To overcome this challenge, in this research an abductive research approach (Dubois & Gadde 2002, Van Maanen et al. 2007, Kovács & Spens 2005) was chosen. It is a different approach to that of Hardy, but also a way to solve the question of order fruitfully. In brief, the core idea of abductive approach is that the theoretical ideas are refined constantly as the empirical analysis proceeds.

The second challenge to conducting critical organizational discourse analysis is that accommodating text and context within the same study is difficult to achieve. According to Hardy many studies succeed in either of these issues but not both. As a result, localized studies treat discourse as an emergent and locally constructed phenomenon, whereas studies concentrating on a macro discourses level tend to refer to rather standardized phenomena (Alvesson & Kärreman 2000). In this research several different but supportive perspectives on discourses, both as locally constructed and global phenomena, were taken throughout. The studies in each of the Essays were advanced simultaneously in different fields. This helped in constructing the context broadly for all of the Essays. It was found, for example, that the discourse of globalization was a broad societal discourse that was widely used for justifying manifold aims, and it was found to have some role in each of the four studies.

Thirdly, according to Hardy the ongoing struggle in organization theory regarding agency and structure, in other words, how material and social constructions are either constrained or facilitated through discourse activity, needs to be satisfactorily resolved. The critical realist approach has been offered by several researchers (e.g. Reed 1998, Fairclough 2005) as a

means to integrate agency and structure because it acknowledges that discursive activity occurs within a preexisting structure of material, social, and discursive relations (Reed 1998), and that an entity can exist independently of our knowledge of it (Fleetwood 2005). From the critical realist perspective, there is no need to choose between agency and structure (Fairclough 2005). According to this view the social world, but not the natural world (as in poststructuralism), is dependent on human action for its existence; i.e. it is socially constructed (ibid.). In this research organizations are seen as political sites where social reality is discursively created through discursive struggles; this means there is agency without denying structure.

4.2. Data

The data for Essays 1 and 2 comprise a large documentary material between the years 1994-2006 and 40 interviews that were conducted between January 2000 and July 2006 in Volvo Bus Corporation. Two of these interviews were small group interviews with 2-3 persons present. In each of the others there was only a single interviewee. Interviewees represented three organizational groups: the corporate management of VBC in Gothenburg, Sweden (5 persons, 6 interviews); the local management of Carrus Oy, in Finland, and Volvo Bus Poland (8 persons, 13 interviews); and employees of Carrus Oy and Volvo Bus Poland (17 persons, 21 interviews). The persons interviewed were both blue-collar and white-collar employees. In the interviews the organizational members were particularly encouraged to speak about the organizational restructuring. Documentary material was also helpful in determining the actual course of events, and in putting oneself in the position of the interviewees. Table 2 summarizes this data.

For Essay 3, 587 newspaper articles concerning the restructurings of Wärtsilä Diesel, Flextronics, Perlos, Leaf Group, Foxconn, and UPM were collected and analyzed. Every case was followed for one year after a unit shutdown announcement. Newspaper articles from

Helsingin Sanomat – the Nordic daily newspaper with the highest number of subscriptions – and the principal local newspapers were collected for analysis. From Helsingin Sanomat a total of 216 texts were collected. In addition 371 articles related to each of the cases were collected from local newspapers: Turun Sanomat (149), Kaleva (17), Aamulehti (60), Etelä-Suomen Sanomat (23), and Kouvolan Sanomat (122).

For Essay 4 all articles from Helsingin Sanomat that resulted from a search using key words ‘Nokia’, ‘omistus’ (ownership) and ‘kansallinen’ (domestic/national) were collected for the period between 1990-2004. The period was chosen based on (in 2006) an ongoing research project of the Nordic Business Press¹ according to which this period was, in general, a phase of growth, professionalization and popularization of business journalism in the Nordic countries. Of a total of 56 articles 48 were found to have been published between 1998 and 2004. The sample was therefore narrowed to include only these 48 articles because 1998-2004 appeared to be the most active period of the discussion. These articles were again narrowed down; all articles that were not explicitly concerned with the ownership of Nokia were also excluded; this resulted in a total of 21 articles that required closer scrutiny.

<i>Essay</i>	<i>Primary data</i>	<i>Secondary data</i>
1	222 documents and archival records	40 interviews
2	40 interviews	222 documents and archival records
3	587 newspaper articles	
4	56 articles	

Table 2: The data

¹ Essay 4 was published in the book written by the project group (Peter Kjaer and Tore Slaatta (Eds.) *Mediating business. The expansion of business journalism*. CBS Press: Copenhagen. 2007).

4.3. Data analysis

4.3.1 Case Volvo Buses (Essays 1 and 2)

Essays 1 and 2 are based on a unique and longitudinal case study of restructuring in a case company, Volvo Buses. They draw upon interview and documentary data collected between the years 1994-2006 by the author of this thesis. The case is rare because it was possible for the author to follow the restructuring and undertake the interviews in real time while the restructuring negotiations progressed. The focus, however, was not on specific official negotiations, but on the broader social and societal argumentation of the members of the organization, around the issue of closure.

In Essay 1 the analysis proceeded through five phases. First, an overall picture of the case was mapped, based on all available material. This mapping was revised a number of times during the analysis in order to provide an increasingly accurate picture of the negotiations. Second, based on the interviews, sensemaking analysis of the shutdown event for all participant groups was conducted. At this point a conference paper was written. It focused on the differences in the way that the shutdown was framed. Third, an analysis of paragraphs and sentences in texts, over several iterations was conducted to find the central themes in the negotiations. In the documentary texts, the coding focused on those parts that were relevant for analysis and often involved “reading between the lines” when interpreting some of the official documents. The interviews were also coded. Fourth, by drawing on previous research on rhetoric (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969), and analysis of legitimacy in organization research (Suddaby & Greenwood 2005, Vaara et al. 2006), the material was organized and coded according to the most central rhetorical legitimation and delegitimation strategies. Fifth, the rhetorical dynamics (i.e. how specific rhetorical legitimation and delegitimation strategies were used in discussions around specific themes) were identified.

In Essay 2 I first focused on the overall variation of the texts. This way I noticed the inherent tensions between power and resistance that appeared in the texts. Thereafter, I identified specific words, sentences and sections where these tensions were central to go deeper to the ‘character’ of these texts. Two discourses that dealt with power and resistance were found: the dominant discourse of globalization (Fairclough 2006, Fairclough & Thomas 2004, Spicer & Fleming 2007, Fiss & Hirsch 2005), and the alternative discourse, which although not an anti-globalization discourse (Fairclough & Thomas 2004), was a local version of capitalism – a discourse of ‘local capitalism’. Second, the focus was placed on the discursive struggles (e.g. Grant & Hardy 2003) between these two main discourses; i.e. how these discourses contested each other. In this regard similar words, meanings, metaphors and other story items in the texts were examined to find the meeting places of these two discourses. Narratives of the same historical events were also juxtaposed. When comparing the similarities, four discursive struggles were found and analyzed: the struggle between relevant discourse themes, the struggle between financial ‘facts’ as discursive resources, the struggle between identity constructions of self and others, and the struggle between organizational ideologies. Third, the analyzed texts were arranged in chronological order in order to be able to look at the evolution of each strategy. Fourth, the quotations that would best reflect the resistance strategies were pinpointed so they could be included as examples of the data in the empirical part of the study (Potter & Wetherell 1987).

During the period of analysis, the secondary data was utilized iteratively to temporally place the social world of discourses (Heracleous & Hendry 2000) in the organizational and material context where restructuring plans were made and conducted. The secondary data were also a resource for the inter-textual analysis that was required to understand those other texts that influenced the texts produced by the interviewees (Fairclough 1992).

4.3.2 Cases Perlos, Wärtsilä, Flextronics, Foxconn, Leaf and UPM (Essay 3)

In Essay 3 a non-traditional approach to critical discourse analysis was taken. The broad set of newspaper texts was analyzed by combining more traditional content analysis with close analysis of particular texts. The analysis here (as in Essays 1 and 2) was ‘abductive’ in character. In short, this means that the empirical analysis and theoretical elaboration proceeded hand in hand, rather than one after another. In the analysis, preliminary categorization based on both Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) and Vaara et al. (2006) was firstly, undertaken. Thus, the material was coded to categories of authority, rationale, moral basis, narrativity, and cosmology (inevitability).

Second, when looking closer at the material the class of rationalization was divided into two categories: explicit financial rationalizations and explanatory rationalizations. This corresponds to a classical distinction of rationalization and instrumental rationalization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Moralizations were also broken down into two varieties according to the basis of their discourse-ideology: humanistic or societal (including nationalistic), and processual moralization (moralization related to processual justice); the latter was found to be an important type of its own. A new class of ‘responsibility shifts’ was also added. With regard to cosmological arguments, naturalizations (rendering something natural), exemplifications (using examples to construct normalness), and narrativizations (constructing plots to create senses of logic) were distinguished as their own groups. Thereafter, the material was coded again using these new groupings. Third, the role of the legitimating and delegitimizing strategies in different facets of the texts was examined, and the example texts for the Essay were chosen.

The reliability of this coding was tested by an independent expert, who examined a sample

equivalent to 30% of the text material. The inter-rater reliability was 94.70%.

4.3.3 Case Nokia (Essay 4)

In Essay 4, all articles published in Helsingin Sanomat between 1998 and 2004 that discussed the ownership of Nokia were analyzed. First, after collecting the sample of 48 articles, the three authors of the Essay independently read the articles and conducted an analysis with regard to the content (what), actors (who), and style (how). After this analysis it was agreed that 27 of these articles would be excluded from the closer analysis because they were not explicitly concerned with the ownership in Nokia.

Second, the 21 remaining articles were further analyzed focusing on both the linguistic content and the sociolinguistic context of these texts. Most importantly, attention was paid to the role of power in these texts; this conforms to the spirit of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995). The focus was especially on the framings (Fiss & Hirsch 2005, Riad 2008) of journalists and the processes of giving meaning and articulations to particular versions of social reality.

Third, attention was paid to the temporal development of the discussion and the period was divided into shorter pieces to analyse the different phases of the discussion.

4.4. Evaluating the research

4.4.1 Reliability

The underlying issue in reliability is whether the process of the study is consistent, reasonably stable over time and across researchers and methods (Miles & Huberman 1994). In the social world that is studied through discourse analysis, meaning is inseparable from context. Different movements (for example words) can have the same meaning in different contexts or different meanings in different contexts. This makes it sometimes difficult to assess whether or not repetition of the study is possible (Wood & Kroger 2000). There is also the

question of what counts as repetition. There is always some sort of inference or theoretical interpretation involved in discourse analysis and the possibility of a new (different) interpretation if another person would conduct “the same case study”. Thus, repetition is not a good criterion of warranty for discourse analysis (ibid). However, organizational discourse acknowledges that the world is not infinitely pliable (Grant et al. 2001).

Thus, warranting reliability in a way that it is warranted in traditional qualitative studies is not possible in this research. However, the ability to conduct another closely similar study would be possible because a case study database was developed during the research project (Yin 1994); in other words all documents, archival records and the transcribed interviews were classified and listed. Moreover, a summary of the interview details was also written as a time line of the case, summing the most important events in the documents and archival records and parallels with the events discussed in the interviews was found and reported. Based on this knowledge one could conduct another ‘similar’ case study, however in a different context and time. In addition, for Essay 3, the coding of the discourses was carried out by three different coders, which decreases the bias effect of one particular coder, and the analysis of Essays 1, 3 and 4 included independent analysis of content by the two/three authors.

4.4.2 Validity

The conventional notion of validity assumes that the goal of research is to produce findings that match as closely as possible the real state of world or the ‘truth’. At the same time, there is an assumption that the world exists independent of our notions about it (Wood & Kroger 2000). For discourse analysis that is based on a critical realist social ontology, the social world is socially constructed, but the natural world is not dependent on human action on its existence (Fairclough 2005), whereas in ontology based on social constructionism everything is socially constructed in discourses. Thus, if reality is wholly or partly constructed it follows that there is no reason to hold reality as the primary criterion for evaluating the research (Wood & Kroger

2000). A traditional way to estimate the validity of research is to value whether the research measures what it was intended to measure (Yin 1995).

For a discourse analyst it is more important to evaluate trustworthiness and soundness. To achieve trustworthiness (Wood & Kroger 2000, Kincheloe & McLaren 1994) the researcher needs to show transparently how the research was conducted and recorded. In traditional qualitative research, instead of trustworthiness, the corresponding evaluation is related to estimating 'internal validity' and 'external validity'. Internal validity, meaning establishing causality, is rejected by critical researchers because it is based on the assumption of the existence of tangible, knowable, cause-and-effect reality, and that research descriptions are able to portray that reality accurately. External validity, which means generalizability of the results within a community, is also rejected by critical scholars because of the unreality related to finding similar contexts that could be easily compared (Kincheloe & McLaren 1994). However, the possibilities and limitations of potential transferability of results to certain types of sites and settings can be discussed in connection to discursive research. For soundness (Wood & Kroger 2000, Kincheloe & McLaren 1994) the researcher needs to engage in demonstrations; i.e. show how interpretations of individual excerpts are grounded in the text (Wood & Kroger 2000).

To increase trustworthiness in this research, generous parts of each study were devoted to reporting the data, the methods, and how the analysis in each study was conducted based on the data. Firstly, the collection of empirical data from multiple sources was carefully reported in each study. The data were collected from multiple sources of evidence in order to find diversities of perception (Stake 2005), to be able to triangulate data (Miles & Huberman 1994), and to achieve what Guba & Lincoln (2005) call fairness; in other words a quality of balance that ensures that different views and perspectives are presented fairly. The sources included documents (letters, minutes of meetings, announcements, reports, newspaper articles

from different sources), archival records (budgets, organizational charts, personal records), interviews (on all organizational levels), and direct observation (taken together the time spent in the site of the research equates to more than two working weeks).

A problem in discourse studies is that there are enormous amounts of different organizational texts that could be accepted as data, but as the discourse analysis method is so labour-intensive there is a need to choose and justify the sampling (Hardy 2001). The task is labour-intensive because both the text and the context need to be studied. To overcome this problem, and to gain trustworthiness, a fairly large number of interviews (40) and a significant amount of organizationally produced texts (222 documents) were collected and analyzed for Essays 1 and 2. The interviewees were chosen according to unofficial conversations with various persons in VBC to ensure that a representative group was selected. I also asked of all of the persons I had already interviewed who they could recommend as a further interviewee in order to see who was sympathizing with whom and whether there were other informal groups in the organization. This kind of approach to the selection helped me to identify the group of interviewees that would best represent the whole organization, not just parts of it.

For Essays 3 and 4 the approach used was to examine several restructuring cases, newspaper outlets, and fairly long observation periods in order to be able to triangulate data and cases. For Essay 3, a large amount of documents (587 newspaper articles) were examined. For Essay 4 all articles on the research subject that were published in the most subscribed Nordic newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat, during the period 1990-2004 were studied; although only 21 were chosen for a closer scrutiny. In this regard, articles that focused on themes that were clearly outside the research area were discounted. The approach, particularly in Essay 3, is also an example of conducting discourse analysis from broad data in order to overcome the sampling problems mentioned above that have been claimed to leave organizational discourse studies too far from the academic mainstream. All the data were carefully documented. The

interviews were transcribed. Summaries of the data were presented in each study. Thereafter the stages of analysis in each study were reported. The preliminary reports of the study were reviewed by the interviewees.

Another problem often encountered in this kind of discursive studies, particularly in critically oriented studies, is related to access to the most important and interesting organizational texts (Alvesson & Deetz 2000). The sensitive data, such as the organizational data in VBC case, is not easily available. In this research rare access to an organization with an on-going restructuring process was granted. I was provided with access to sensitive organizational texts and I was able to meet and interview the crucial stakeholders, which increases the value of the data in this research. However, all the data was collected from a European context (Finland, Sweden and Poland); this can be seen as a limitation.

Reflexivity is one of the challenges in organizational discourses analysis affecting trustworthiness of the research. Reflexivity refers to the challenge of understanding the researcher's role and how the research process shapes outcomes (Potter & Wetherell 1987, Alvesson et al. 2008, Hardy 2001). There are at least four ways in which researchers have sought to address this issue: multi-perspective (using different paradigms, metaphors and theories to understand the phenomenon), multi-voicing (questioning the relationship between the author and the research subject) for example insider/outsider approach (Ahonen & Tienari 2009), positioning (study the broader landscape in which research and researcher are positioned), and destabilizing (questioning theoretical and epistemological assumptions) (Alvesson et al. 2008). In general, in order to avoid biases stemming from researcher effects at the research site (Miles & Huberman 1994), in this study the following tactics were used: the time in the field was lengthy in order to decrease the effect of the researcher's presence on the informants, the interviewees were able to choose the interview sites in order to make them feel comfortable, and off-record discussions were also possible as I was 'hanging around' in the

public spaces of the plants. Moreover, it is not only the multiple choices that the researcher makes during the research process, and even the way of using their interpretative repertoire to make conclusions of the happenings, which might affect the discourses, the researcher also needs to reflect the participants' current institutional roles (for instance, manager) and discursive roles (for instance, interviewee); for example, whether these roles contribute to hearing only 'institutional discourse' (Haworth 2006). These kinds of reflections were also included in the Essays. To avoid biases related to the effects of the site on the researcher (Miles & Huberman 1994) the following tactics were used: collecting interviews and documents from all the organizational levels to avoid biased views, a lot of time was spent away from the site between the interview rounds to avoid the researcher 'going native', background information was also searched from public sources, and triangulation with several data collection method (interviews, observations, newspaper reporting etc.), researchers (in Essays 1, 3 and 4), and theoretical and conceptual perspectives were used (Miles & Huberman 1994). However, the cultural and lingual backgrounds of the authors can never be totally excluded from the research and therefore the possible effects of my, and my co-authors' backgrounds were reported in every study.

Finally, to increase soundness and the ability of the reader to take a stand, in Essays 1 and 2 a total of 64 quotations of the empirical case data of VBC are presented while guiding the reader through the evidence and interpretations leading to the conclusions. These quotations were selected from all the texts representing the data of the case (interviews collected during the over six years of observation time and documentary data concerning a period of over 12 years). Each of these quotations represents a group of similar texts. In Essay 3, 55 examples of the texts with interpretations are included in the research report. In Essay 4, 13 fairly long text excerpts and some shorter excerpts are presented and thereafter interpreted in the research report to let readers evaluate our interpretations and conclusions. Furthermore, in these Essays

each of the citations represents a larger group of similar texts.

5 *Conclusions and contributions*

This research makes several contributions. First and foremost, it shows how global organizational restructuring is constructed in and through discourse; i.e. how it is discursively legitimated and resisted in the organization and in the public discourses of media. In particular, this research contributes by studying the evolution of discursive processes rather than temporary snapshot products of discourses that is a more common approach (Broadfoot et al 2004). Secondly, the research, builds a framework that explains legitimation and resistance as processes of bidirectional relationships between discourses, discursive struggles and the materialization of (de)legitimacy, linked together by continuous serving as each other's discursive resources.

Thirdly, through illustrating 'the circle of legitimation', this thesis partially answers the question of why global organizational restructuring maintains its triumphal march although its consequences are rather controversial at both organizational and societal levels. Thus, it shows how legitimation of restructuring is strongly based on existing discourses, subject positions of actors, and the historical construction of legitimacy. First, the existing discourses limit the way in which topic can be discussed (Hardy & Phillips 2004, Phillips et al. 2004, Fairclough 1995). Working the existing discourses is in many ways possible but slow while creating new discourses is a demanding process (Hardy et al. 2000). Second, although over time in discursive struggles new powerful subject positions can emerge (Maguire & Hardy 2009) it is easier for those whose subject positions are inherently also related to powerful bureaucratic positions to be able to create powerful and seductive texts that pervade discourses, particularly in the beginning of the restructuring processes. Third, the historical resources based on the material world could be exploited in different ways and for different purposes by the resistant, but as the potential amount, and value, of available resources is usually also correlated with

subject positions, the resistant often lack applicable historical resources and discursive legitimacy (right to speak as a legitimate actor) (Hardy & Phillips 1999, 2004). Thus, it is more difficult for the people who resist to have the same opportunities to constitute themselves and their context as equally legitimate. This research helps to understand the power of different organizational members and the media in legitimating controversial organizational decisions such as restructuring. For example, it seems that in the media, even though reporting of restructuring is versatile at the beginning, it shortly after the first news homogenizes, and the reporting begins to avoid sustained critique (Carvalho 2005), which also decreases the discursive resources available to the resistant. As a result it is difficult for resistance to emerge without a slow and mutually constituted discursive turn involving participating of legitimated actors, as demonstrated in Essay 4.

This research also explains ‘the circle of legitimation’ at a deeper level through elaboration of the circle and the results of the four Essays. They together show how certain discursive and rhetorical strategies are used to justify change and organizational restructurings, and how the role of the discursive agent influences the process. For example, the role of accounting rhetoric and calculations in promoting, justifying, and maintaining certain views in the process of reorganizing has increased (Geppert 2003), and its effects should be considered carefully (Ezzamel & Willmott 1998). Accounting claims to present reality and tell the ‘real costs and results’ at the same time that it forms what people are used to considering as legitimate performance. Thus, it has the potential to enable and distort communication (Power et al. 2003). This research further elaborates the role of economic and financial rhetoric and points out how historical resources used for justification (such as financial data) are often better available to the more powerful people in organizations. It also highlights, not only how the more powerful in organizations are able to utilize financial data, but also utilize invented futurological arguments more loosely than the less powerful, while still be able to generate

referred 'factual' arguments.

This research illustrates the role of the discourses in 'the circle of legitimation'. The foremost example of this, the 'discourse of globalization', seems to have hegemony across borders and cultures. It is oriented towards shareholder-value and global manufacturing (Geppert 2003). It legitimates the 'inevitability of change' and serves as a powerful resource for the protagonists of restructurings. If comparing with research conducted just two decades ago it can be observed that earlier restructuring organizations needed to ground their restructuring on the many failed attempts to change the economic results or the absolute unprofitability of a unit (Hardy 1985). In contemporary society, however, restructuring needs no grounding based on this kind of moral discussion. Rather, in the 'discourse of globalization' positive tentative post-restructuring scenarios seem to suffice in order to gain legitimacy in the public and organizational discussions. A further example is that this research also shows how the discourse of the authority often enables the protagonists of the organizational restructuring to weed out the complexity of the phenomenon, even though their arguments could be contested by the antagonists on several levels. In this study also the fact that restructurings are a part of globalization and a discursive resource for new restructurings becomes explicit. Thus, in different ways, 'the circle of legitimation' explains why it is often difficult for local units to resist restructuring plans successfully. It also raises the question of the legitimacy of many restructurings, because the resistance seems active yet powerless to make changes to our societal rules.

A fourth contribution is that the research brings new knowledge about the dynamics of legitimation struggles in which meaning for organizational restructuring is sought. In particular, it offers a picture of the relationship of legitimation, delegitimation and relegitimation in action, in organizational and media texts. It shows how controversial organizational plans, such as organizational restructuring decisions, are negotiated in real life

and how discourses can be resources for each other. Distinguishing between several rhetorical and discursive strategies through which different organizational members and the media seek to legitimate or resist these decisions is also a contribution of this research.

Fifthly, in Essay 1, spelling out the rhetorical perspective in organizational negotiations around shutdown decisions expands the previous discussions relating to organizational rhetoric by adding autopoiesis and cosmos to the more classical division of logos, pathos and ethos, and further elaborates previous categorizations. In Essay 1 the work of Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) is extended by including ethos, together with authorizations, hypocrisy and consistency, as forms of character that can be used as a resource for resistance and legitimacy. Autopoiesis is defined as narratives of purpose and identity that have an auto-communicative function. Thus, autopoiesis and cosmos add to both mythopoiesis and storytelling by noting the power of the continuum that is found in organizational stories as a justification for further continuing to proceed in the same direction. Cosmos is also defined as a broader concept than just the inevitability of change as it also includes futurological elements of justifications. Most importantly, with the help of the rhetorical analysis it is possible to link classical rhetoric with discursive analysis in order to see how, in reality, the restructuring discourses and the global discourse are mobilized. This is an issue that has been demanded by critical scholars.

Sixthly, Essay 2 is an illustration of the simultaneous evolution of both local and global discourses and their utilization for both legitimating and resisting organizational restructurings. It shows that although reversing global organizational restructuring plans through resistance is rarely successful, resistance is not futile. Resistance can influence the evolving of shared discursive themes, employed discursive resources, identity construction, and formulation of organizational ideology. Therefore, resistance has an important role in working organizational discourses towards mutual understanding and finding ways to challenge the discourse of globalization on local organizational level. In this Essay it is also

argued that the context in which the arguments were presented appeared to provide a strong influence on the value of resistance. That is, similar (for example, financial) arguments had more weight in the context of global discourse than in the context of local discourse. The local discursual context did not provide the rights to present similar abstract financial or other scenarios in the credible way that the global context provided, even though the local arguments were often more grounded by facts than by futuristic scenarios.

Seventhly, in Essay 3, a summary of the previous research and a fine grained analysis with empirical illustrations of the discursive legitimization strategies and the popularity of each strategy is presented based on newspaper data. The study presented in this Essay is able to demonstrate the ambiguous dynamics of legitimization and delegitimation. It shows that humanistic moralizations was the strategy, that was used most often for both legitimization and delegitimation purposes. Thereafter, for legitimating purposes the most commonly used strategies were authorizations, explanatory arguments based on economic rationality and naturalizations, where as for delegitimizing purposes the most common strategies after humanistic moralizations were the strategies of societal moralizations, authorizations and processual moralizations. Although rational arguments have sought their way into the local discourses it also seems that delegitimation still leans more strongly to the strategies related to humanistic and societal argument, which might also explain the inability of local discourses and resistance. This further confirms the fact that not all strategies of discourse are equal in their effectiveness. It can also be noted from the findings of this study that national organizations received much more severe criticism than other organizations. This points out that the inevitability of globalization is much more taken for granted if the authority is global or foreign. Moreover, agents to whom authority is rewarded seem to increasingly represent business at the expense of governmental, political and labour market agents (Kjaer et al. 2007). The effect of this 'corporatization' of media and news (Kjaer et al. 2007) can be seen

as a partial explanation for the bias found in discourses. Responsibility shifts were also found to be an important category that has not been reported in previous research.

A final contribution is found in Essay 4. Here an empirical case of media texts is presented and it is shown how different discursive framings were used by journalist in the news with regard to the national ownership of a global organization. It is also a story of the encounter of neo-liberal and nationalistic discourses, and how certain discourses were appropriated for particular reasons. This case vividly indicates how public debates easily become monolithic and it shows the impoverishment of the meanings of the notion of 'national'. It also summarizes some key elements of the short history of a neo-liberal global capitalism discourse in Finland (Ainamo et al. 2006). In particular, it shows the historical turning point after which the neo-liberal discourse forces the nationalistic discourse to fall.

5.1. Avenues for future research

This research area still offers many interesting questions yet to be answered. Firstly, future research could address the question of how global organizational restructuring is responsive to different historical, political, cultural and economic contexts. The data for this research was collected during a period of growth without economic, financial or other societal crises in the focal nations. However, discourses are sensitive to contextual changes. From this perspective investigating whether the ongoing financial crisis has changed the 'circle of legitimation' would provide an interesting avenue for further research.

Moreover, the empirical case study in this thesis is limited to the European context (Sweden, Finland, and Poland) and the media cases to Finnish news reporting, albeit about global organizational changes. In the media cases (Essays 3 and 4) the Finnish newspaper media came out as surprisingly monolithic and prone to consensus in many important discussions. Although there are some similar results, for example from the British context (Carvalho

2005), it would be important to study the discursive struggles in other contexts. In democratic nations one third of the trisection of power is based on the independent media, but it would be interesting to study how much the contemporary media uses its possibilities to question societal order through the distortion function of ideology (Chiapello 2003) in massive societal changes, such as changes related to globalization and restructurings. As was noted in this thesis a closer look to the media discourses might reveal unexpected results.

Moreover, in the industrial level there are already closures of units that once were founded or acquired as 'cheap labour units'. For example, newly established units in East European countries are being replaced by even newer, and cheaper, labour units in the Far East. It would be interesting to study how is legitimization of restructurings and globalization affected by these events? Finally, this research examines only the period of restructuring. In this regard societies that have gone through a loss of a major employer and therefore face many re-employment challenges after the restructurings are not a part of the research, but this would be an important subject for future research.

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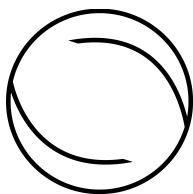
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PART II

1 *Essay 1: Struggles over legitimacy in global organizational restructuring: A rhetorical perspective on legitimation strategies and dynamics in a shutdown case*

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(Forthcoming in Organization Studies)



Struggles Over Legitimacy in Global Organizational Restructuring: A Rhetorical Perspective on Legitimation Strategies and Dynamics in a Shutdown Case

Niina Erkama and Eero Vaara

Abstract

Critical organization scholars have focused increasing attention on industrial and organizational restructurings such as shutdown decisions. However, little is known about the rhetorical strategies used to legitimate or resist plant closures in organizational negotiations. In this article, we draw from New Rhetoric to analyze rhetorical struggles, strategies and dynamics in unfolding organizational negotiations. We focus on the shutdown of the bus body unit of the Sweden-based Volvo Bus Corporation in Finland. We distinguish five types of rhetorical legitimation strategies and dynamics. These include the three classical dynamics of logos (rational arguments), pathos (emotional moral arguments), and ethos (authority-based arguments), but also autopoiesis (autopoietic narratives), and cosmos (cosmological constructions). Our analysis contributes to previous studies on organizational restructuring by providing a more nuanced understanding of how contemporary industrial closures are legitimated and resisted in organizational negotiations. This study also increases theoretical understanding of the role of rhetoric in legitimation more generally.

Keywords: legitimacy, legitimation, resistance, restructuring, rhetoric, shutdown

Organizational restructuring is changing contemporary organizations and industries in the form of downsizing, offshoring, and shutdowns at an unprecedented pace. On the one hand, organizational restructuring is seen as a positive force that increases effectiveness, competitive advantage, and shareholder value through creative destruction. On the other hand, the social and human implications resulting from reductions, cost cuts, and layoffs are drastic. Critical analyses have focused on explaining the causes and consequences of organizational restructuring. In particular, critical scholars have helped us to understand how organizational restructuring as a phenomenon has been socially constructed and legitimated (Hardy 1985), how the discourses of restructuring have changed over time (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006), and how specific decisions have been justified in the media (Vaara and Tienari 2008). Despite these advances, there remains a paucity of knowledge about how exactly radical organizational restructurings such as shutdowns are negotiated in concrete organizational settings. In particular, we know little about the rhetorical struggles and strategies used to legitimate or resist globalization-driven plant closures.

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Hence, the objective of this article is to examine the rhetorical strategies and dynamics in organizational negotiations around globalization-driven shutdown decisions. In this analysis, we draw from the New Rhetoric (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; Cheney et al. 2004; Sillince 2004; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). This provides a theoretical basis that allows us to examine the rhetorical strategies of organizational actors, the dynamics of legitimation and delegitimation, and how the protagonists and antagonists draw from global organizational restructuring discourse in their attempts to legitimate or delegitimize shutdown decisions in unfolding organizational negotiations.

In this article, we focus on the negotiations around the shutdown of the bus body unit of the Swedish company Volvo in Finland between 1998 and 2002. This is a revealing case that was characterized by intensive discussions inside the corporation and in the Finnish media. Hence, this case allows us to develop analytical generalizations that help us to better understand—with due caution—the rhetorical strategies and dynamics in other settings as well. Our analysis is based on extensive documentary, interview, and observation material gathered during and after the negotiations that led to the final closure. As a result of our analysis, we distinguish five types of rhetorical legitimation strategies and dynamics. These include the three classical dynamics of *logos* (rational arguments), *pathos* (emotional moral arguments), and *ethos* (authority-based arguments), but also *autopoiesis* (autopoietic narratives), and *cosmos* (cosmological constructions).

Our study makes a contribution to critical studies on organizational restructuring by identifying and elaborating on the multiple rhetorical strategies and dynamics involved. Thus, our analysis adds to previous studies explaining how organizational restructuring as a phenomenon is legitimated (Hardy 1985), how this legitimation has changed over time (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006), and how contemporary industrial closures are legitimated in the media (Vaara and Tienari 2008). This study also increases our theoretical understanding of the role of rhetoric in legitimation (Green 2004; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). In particular, our findings underscore the crucial role of *autopoiesis* and *cosmos* as powerful but easily overlooked rhetorical strategies in organizational change processes.

We next provide an overview of previous studies of organizational restructuring, highlighting the need to examine the rhetorical strategies of legitimation in more detail. We then outline our rhetorical perspective, which is based on the New Rhetoric. This is followed by a description of our case and the methods used in our rhetorical analysis. The next sections illustrate and exemplify our key findings in terms of the rhetorical dynamics of *logos*, *pathos*, *ethos*, *autopoiesis*, and *cosmos*. Finally, we discuss the implications of these findings.

Critical Research on Organizational Restructuring

Research on organizational restructuring reflects both the changing nature of this phenomenon and shifts in societal values and ideologies (Hardy 1985; Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006). In the 1970s and early 1980s, there was keen academic interest in shutdowns, layoffs, redundancy, retrenchments, and downsizing from

a critical angle (Mick 1975; Edwards 1982; Hardy 1985). The emphasis in this research was on the social and personal costs of the restructuring (Mick 1975; Taber et al. 1979). Historically, this was the most active period of industrial militancy, which is shown in the critical perspective taken in these studies (Edwards 1982; Bright et al. 1983). At that time shutdowns and layoffs generally lacked social and societal legitimacy (Hardy 1985). ‘Restructuring’ as a term had a negative connotation and it was associated with economic distress and closures (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006).

Interestingly, by the 1980s academic interest in organizational shutdowns dwindled because of political and economic but also managerial strategies that legitimized restructurings—now framed as necessary, justifiable, and inevitable (Hardy 1985). Also, industrial militancy decreased radically in the beginning of the 1980s (Edwards 1982; Bright et al. 1983). Restructuring as a term began to receive more positive connotations in terms of increased efficiency, profits, and shareholder value (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006). Retrenchments were perceived not only as events of crisis but also as positive investments for the future (Hardy 1987). Only a few dissonants begged for more aggressive public policy against the changes (Craypo and Davisson 1983). At this time, economists, finance scholars, and strategy researchers became interested in organizational restructuring, in particular in the financial benefits (Zajac and Kraatz 1993; McKinley and Scherer 2000; Clark 2004) and management of change (Gilmore and Hirschhorn 1983; Sutton et al. 1986; Kets de Vries and Balazs 1997; Marshall and Yorks 1994; Freeman 1999).

In the mid-1990s, social organizational analyses (Sennett 1998; Probst 2003; Ehrenreich 2006) and critical approaches to management (Deetz 1992; Alvesson and Willmott 1992, 2003; Ezzamel et al. 2001) again gained ground. In this research, the social costs and human concerns of restructurings have been placed at the center, against the benefits of restructurings (Thomas and Dunkerley 1999; Newell and Dopson 1996; Fiss and Hirsch 2005; Ehrenreich 2006). Among others, Hirsch and DeSoucey (2006) have argued that one should not take the legitimacy of organizational restructuring for granted, nor accept, for example, layoffs as automatic consequences of efficiency demands. They have explained how ‘organizational restructuring’ is a discourse that originated from the US and became naturalized along with the institutionalization of financial and corporate governance models that emphasize shareholder value. This model tends to trigger more downsizing than other systems in which the emphasis is on growth over return, long-term relationships, and stakeholders (Ahmadjian and Robbins 2005; Barsky et al. 1999). Moreover, in the American type of capitalism the attitude towards downsizing has changed in recent decades, developing from a socially risky activity to a legitimate way to produce value for the shareholders (Budros 1997). In this system, managers are primarily accountable to shareholders, but not to employees, who as a stakeholder group usually suffer the most in downsizings. Hence, scholars have called for new models and interpretations of financial reporting instead of the prevailing ones, which encourage management to saddle employees with all the costs of downsizing while management and shareholders skim off the benefits (Barsky et al. 1999). Also, the Western accountancy industry plays a central role in neo-liberal restructuring as ambassadors of shareholders

and consultants who do not question the ends of restructurings (Arnold and Cooper 1999). In other systems of capitalism—e.g. Nordic ‘stakeholder capitalism’—the shareholders are expected to support the company in overcoming crisis situations, if possible without downsizing. However, the adoption of Americanized practices has greatly changed the traditional stakeholder systems in Japan, Europe, and elsewhere (Morgan et al. 2001; Ahmadjian and Robbins 2005). This has undoubtedly greatly changed views regarding radical organizational restructuring.

At a more micro level, other critical scholars have focused on resistance and examined its various forms and effects on restructuring projects (Ezzamel et al. 2001, 2004). In particular, Ezzamel et al. (2001, 2004) have explained how workers’ resistance to new manufacturing and accounting models stems from fundamental conflicts of interest between managers and employees but is also related to identity-building. Their analysis provides examples of employee resistance that impeded or at least slowed down the adoption of practices that would have most severely limited their autonomy or challenged their identity as skilful workers. Recently, researchers have also focused on the role of the media in organizational restructuring. In particular, Vaara and Tienari (2008) have demonstrated how newspaper articles dealing with shutdowns involve specific discursive legitimation strategies that easily pass unnoticed.

To date, however, we lack understanding of how exactly negotiations around globalization-driven shutdown decisions are played out in concrete organizational settings. In particular, there is a need to better understand the rhetorical strategies used to legitimate or resist such drastic decisions.

A Rhetorical Perspective on Legitimation Dynamics

Legitimacy is an age-old issue, the origins of which can be traced all the way to Machiavelli and the ancient Greek philosophers (Zelditch and Walker 2003). It plays a central role in influential social theories (Parsons 1960; Berger and Luckmann 1966; Weber 1968; Habermas 1975; Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1991) and especially in institutional organizational analysis (Meyer and Rowan 1977; March and Olsen 1989; Scott 1995; Suchman 1995; Ruef and Scott 1998; Deephouse and Suchman 2008). While there are distinctively different views on legitimacy, most agree that it is intimately linked with the institutionalization of specific social phenomena and the stability of social relationships (Meyer and Rowan 1977; Suchman, 1995). In organizations, this means that organizational legitimacy is related to the legitimacy of broader cultural and societal beliefs and values but also to the power position of managers (Deephouse and Suchman 2008). For our purposes, it is important to emphasize that legitimacy—or the lack of it—becomes a crucial issue in the context of change, that is, organizational change requires legitimation. In particular, dramatic changes such as organizational restructurings imply ‘legitimacy crises’ that question not only the decisions at hand but also the legitimacy of the entire corporation and its management (Kostova and Zaheer 1999).

Legitimacy involves several dimensions. For instance, Suchman (1995) distinguishes the pragmatic, meaning calculations involving self-interest; the moral, based on normative approval; and the cognitive, based on comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness. Recently, scholars have focused explicit attention on the role of language in legitimation (Creed et al. 2002; Phillips et al. 2004; Vaara et al. 2006). The roots of this perspective may be traced in the management meaning, that is, using language to create meanings that either legitimate or delegitimize change (Pettigrew 1987). Scholars have shown how issues can be framed in specific ways to advance or resist the legitimation of particular phenomena, decisions, practices, or changes in them (Martin et al. 1990; Creed et al. 2002). Whether intentional or not, different accounts can provide radically different understandings of issues, and thus lead to legitimation or delegitimation (Creed et al. 2002). Closely related, scholars have shown how impression management is a central part of legitimation (Ashforth and Gibbs 1990; Arndt and Bigelow 2000; Elsbach and Sutton 1992; Elsbach 1994; Staw et al. 1983; Zimmerman and Zeitz 2002). According to this perspective, the management of legitimacy often involves targeted and even manipulative rhetoric aimed at presenting issues in a way that promotes the interests and protects the power position of specific actors (Elsbach and Sutton 1992; Elsbach 1994; Brown and Jones 2000). One essential finding of this research is that a successful framing requires that the audience can link the message to other discourses and identify with the key concepts and arguments. Lately, scholars have then singled out specific elements in rhetorical justification and identified rhetorical legitimation strategies (Green 2004; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005), which is the perspective that we will build on and develop in this article.

What then are these rhetorical legitimation strategies? They are specific, though not always intentional or conscious, ways of employing rhetorical means to establish sense of legitimacy (or illegitimacy). In classic Aristotelian rhetoric, legitimation is seen as comprising *logos* (logic and rationality), *pathos* (moral, value and emotion), and *ethos* (character and authority) (Aristotle 1954). In the New Rhetoric, the focus has shifted from simple rhetorical techniques to more complex forms of persuasion and convincing (Burke 1966; Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; McCloskey 1985). Cheney et al. (2004: 82) put it as follows: ‘organizational rhetoric is embedded in or implied in interaction that deals with contingencies, uncertainties and ambiguities’. This has led organizational scholars to distinguish ways to employ particular rhetorical strategies that can be used for persuasion or convincing, the emphasis often being on the latter (Cheney et al. 2004; Mueller et al. 2003; Green 2004). Most notably, Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) have identified the following kinds of strategies for the legitimation of mergers in their analysis of special hearings: ontological (rhetoric based on assumptions about what can or cannot exist or co-exist), historical (appeals to history and tradition), teleological (divine purpose or final cause), cosmological (emphasis on inevitability), and value-based theorizations (appeals to wider belief systems).

An important feature of the New Rhetoric is that it allows us to look at the dynamics of legitimation; instead of merely singling out specific rhetorical strategies,

we can examine patterns of legitimation–delegitimation–relegitimation in rhetorical strategizing. This is essential in enabling us to understand the struggles that take place in the context of shutdown negotiations. In simple terms, corporate management most often works to legitimate the decision, while the managers and workers of the shutdown unit try to reverse the decision with specific kinds of actions and arguments. However, individuals adopt different positions in specific settings and particular debates. For example, local managers may represent the corporation toward the employees, while they argue against the shutdown vis-à-vis corporate management. Furthermore, in specific discussions, it is frequent that individuals' subject positions may change, that they look at and frame issues in different ways, and that their rhetorical constructions and strategies also vary.

Another important feature of the New Rhetoric is that it links rhetoric with broader discourses (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969; Cheney et al. 2004). Crucially for our purposes, it allows us to connect specific rhetorical strategies with the overall discourse of global organizational restructuring and to focus on how exactly this discourse affects rhetorical strategizing. Unfortunately, only a few studies have examined these dynamics. The recent analysis of Spicer and Fleming (2007) has, however, shown how 'the discourse of globalization' legitimated restructurings by making change appear inevitable. They also showed how such discourse can be resisted, for example by surfacing implicitly shared values, appropriating dominant themes of globalization, and recovering traditional notions of public service. The study of Vaara and Tienari (2008) provides us in turn with an example of how specific discursive strategies are used in a newspaper article to legitimate a shutdown case. Drawing on Critical Discourse Analysis (Rojo and van Dijk 1997; van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Vaara et al. 2006), they focused on four general types of semantic-functional strategy: authorization (legitimation by reference to authority), rationalization (legitimation by reference to utility of action), moralization (legitimation by reference to specific value systems), and mythopoesis (legitimation conveyed through narratives). As to authorization, they showed how specific actors such as the CEO were given a particular position of authority in and through the text. Financial rationalizations played an accentuated role: the shutdown was legitimated by references to expectations of improved financial performance and increased annual savings. Moralizations were key means to delegitmate the decision, but were also used to justify it, for example in terms of 'saving the jobs of others'. Finally, mythopoetical elements such as framing the decision as part of a 'restructuring program' already under way were also powerful means of legitimation.

However, we lack understanding of how globalization-driven organizational restructuring decisions such as shutdowns are rhetorically legitimated and delegitimated in actual organizational negotiations. This leads us to formulate our research questions as follows: What rhetorical legitimation and delegitimation strategies are employed in negotiations around shutdown decisions? What are the rhetorical dynamics of legitimation? How do these strategies relate to the discourse of global organizational restructuring? To answer these questions, we now examine the rhetorical strategies of legitimation and delegitimation, legitimation dynamics, and their linkages to the more general discourse of organizational restructuring in a revealing shutdown case.

The Case: Shutdown of Carrus

We focus on the negotiations around the shutdown of Carrus, which was a bus manufacturing unit of the Swedish company Volvo in Finland. This is a revealing case because the shutdown negotiations lasted for a long time and caused intensive debate between the stakeholders, including the Finnish media. This case thus provides a research design that allows us to examine a variety of rhetorical strategies and dynamics in the unfolding negotiations. This case also allows us to develop analytical generalizations (Tsoukas 1989) that help us to better understand the rhetorical strategies used in other settings.

Even though we adopted a critical approach, we were fortunate to be given consent to carry out this research project and open access to the case. Throughout the research project, we have been very conscious of the ethical concerns in conducting a critical analysis. In particular, we have been careful to protect the anonymity of specific informants, especially those whose actions have not been scrutinized in public. We are proud to be able to publish the case without using pseudonyms. This is relatively rare in critical organization studies, but adds to the validity of our analysis and enhances the prospects for learning from this case.

By the mid-1990s, the Finnish Carrus, a family-owned company, had grown into the second biggest manufacturer of bus bodies in the Nordic countries. In 1996, it produced 450 bus bodies per year and had a turnover of 70 million euros. Carrus's operation relied on cooperation with the Swedish-based Volvo Bus Corporation (VBC), on whose chassis 60% of the Carrus bus bodies were built. In 1995, Carrus and VBC founded a new bus factory in Wroclaw, Poland.

On 1 January 1998, VBC acquired Carrus from its previous owners, forming the second largest manufacturer of bus bodies worldwide. In this acquisition VBC took possession of all three Carrus bus body factories. VBC announced a plan to shut down one of these units only about six months after the acquisition. By the end of the year the decision had become final; Carrus Helsinki (CH), in Vantaa, would be closed. A key idea was to transfer the production to Wroclaw.

This shutdown was part of the Volvo Group's bigger restructuring program. The 'diet' meant getting rid of 5,300 employees. This restructuring was already the third for Volvo in that decade. Altogether, 7,000 employees had been fired on two different occasions in the early 1990s. In addition to CH, Volvo announced it would close factories in other places.

For various reasons, the shutdown was postponed several times. Despite the reported positive financial performance of Carrus and setbacks encountered in Poland, VBC's management neither changed its mind about Wroclaw nor decided to keep CH running. It was not until 17 May 2001 that the final decision to close down the factory was confirmed. The last bus at CH was completed in September 2001. Table 1 provides a summary of the key events.

In the following, we will focus on the rhetorical legitimization and delegitimation strategies used in the negotiations around this case (between 1998 and 2002). This includes both the official co-operation procedure (institutionalized form of negotiation between employer and employees regarding major changes in Finland) and other discussions between the key actors.

Table 1.
Case Timeline

Event	
1953	Production begins in Vantaa
1958	Cooperation with Volvo begins
1989	Carrus Group is founded when several Finnish bus body factories are united
1995	Carrus and VBC found a new factory in Wrocław
1.1.1998	VBC acquires Carrus from its previous Finnish owners
23.6.1998	Press release about planned restructuring where CH is mentioned among other sites
1.12.1998	VBC announces that it will close CH
8.12.1998	Employees walkouts in Helsinki, Tampere and Turku factories
30.1.1999	VBC promises extension of one year for CH
23.3.2001	VBC calls for a cooperation procedure to be started
27.3.2001	Call for cooperation procedure is announced to the employees and to the media
4.4.2001	Start of the cooperation procedure
15.5.2001	End of the cooperation procedure
17.5.2001	Final closure decision for CH
18.5.2001	Press release about the closure, meeting for the personnel, employee group meetings
17.8.2001	A report called 'White Book Poland' by VBC (on the future strategy)
30.9.2001	The last bus is completed in CH
8.10.2001	New cooperation procedure is started in CH
18.10.2001	End of the cooperation procedure
2002	Intensive discussions about the case within VBC and in local media
2001–2004	Development of new operations in Wrocław
2005–2006	Plans and decisions of restructuring in other older units

Empirical Material and Analysis

Our longitudinal case study is based on a unique opportunity to observe and study the shutdown negotiations in real time. We gathered extensive empirical material (see Table 2) which we combined and analyzed to study legitimization strategies and dynamics as part of the events unfolding in the shutdown negotiations. It should be noted that we focused not only on official negotiations, but also the broader social and societal argumentation around the closure issue.

We collected all the documentary material related to the shutdown negotiations. This includes minutes of meetings (including the crucial cooperation procedure); other confidential data given to us by different organizational members (including emails and reports concerning the restructuring); financial strategy concerning

Table 2.
Empirical Data

Data type	Number of documents	Year
Minutes of meeting	15	1998–2001
Financial and strategy documents	9	1994–2003
Press releases by Volvo Bus Corporation	5	1997, 1998, 2001, 2003
Other official publications by Volvo Bus Corporation	13	1998–2002
Confidential documents (letters, emails, reports, etc.)	105	1998–2001
Articles in Helsingin Sanomat (national newspaper)	13	1997–2005
Articles in other newspapers and journals	17	1996–2001
TV news and documents	5	1998–2000
Interviews in CH	11	2000, 2001 2002
Interviews in Tampere factory	13	2000, 2002, 2004
Interviews in Turku factory	6	2000, 2002
Interviews in VBC headquarters	6	2000, 2006
Interviews in Wrocław	4	2004

the project; press releases; official publications by VBC; newspaper articles; TV news; and a documentary film focusing on the employees life at CH under the shutdown threat.

We also conducted 40 in-depth interviews between January 2000 and July 2006. The interviewees include the corporate management of VBC in Gothenburg, Sweden (5 persons, 6 interviews), the local management of Carrus in Finland, and Volvo Polska in Poland (8 persons, 13 interviews), and both blue- and white-collar employees of Carrus and Volvo Polska (17 persons, 21 interviews). Some of the informants were interviewed several times. There were two group interviews where 2 to 3 persons were interviewed at the same time. Importantly, 21 interviews were conducted during the shutdown process: after the initial announcement of the shutdown decision, but before its final implementation. Nine interviews were made within the five months following the final shutdown, and ten interviews after that. The interviews were semi-structured. The interviewees were asked to tell their story of the shutdown process. However, specific questions also focused on particular events, negotiation and resistance tactics, and on the arguments used by the various parties. Anonymity was promised to all interviewees to give them the freedom to speak as private persons. All the interviews were recorded and later transcribed. In addition, the first author spent altogether three working weeks conducting interviews and observing the different Volvo units; this provided her with many opportunities for informal discussion and observation.

Our analysis can be seen as a classical qualitative case study in the sense that it combines various kinds of empirical material that was used to develop an overall understanding of the rhetorical legitimization and delegitimation strategies and dynamics in this case. The approach was 'abductive' (Dubois and Gadde 2002; Van Maanen et al. 2007), meaning that our theoretical ideas were constantly refined as we progressed through the data analysis. Our analysis proceeded in stages, the most important of which are summarized below. First, we created an overall picture of the various phases of the negotiations, the parties involved, and the key events and decisions in the negotiations. In concrete terms, based on all available material, we mapped out who did and said what, where, and when. This mapping was revised various times during the analysis to provide an increasingly accurate picture of the negotiations.

Second, we focused on the ways in which corporate managers, local managers, employees, and their representatives made sense of the shutdown event. This analysis was based on the interviews conducted. This sensemaking analysis led to an early conference paper where we highlighted the differences in their framings. Most importantly, we could see how the corporate managers frequently, though not always, tended to view this issue in global terms, focusing on the Volvo group's overall strategic position and the future of the industry. In turn, the local employees and their representatives tended to focus on the local financial performance and human concerns. Interestingly, the local management at Carrus found themselves in a challenging position: they often had to explain the global concerns to local employees and other stakeholders, while at the same time conveying local concerns to the HQ in Sweden. A closer look at the interviews showed complexities, ambiguities, and contradictions, but these were the overall patterns in this case.

Third, we then focused more systematically on central themes (topoi) in the negotiations by examining both the documentary material and our interviews in great detail and coding them accordingly. This meant a careful analysis of paragraphs and sentences in texts, involving several iterations. In documentary texts, the coding focused on those parts of the texts that were relevant for our analysis and often involved ‘reading between the lines’ when interpreting some of the official documents. In interviews, the coding was systematic, elaborate, and often laborious due to the large amount of text produced. We found and then focused on several themes that were central (recurring and significant) not only in the official negotiations between the corporation and the employees’ representatives (the cooperation procedure) but also in the public discussion and the interviews. These included ‘financial performance’ (debate around past, current and future financial performance), ‘human concerns’ (human and social implications), ‘knowledge’ (competences of Carrus and Wroclaw employees and knowledge transfer to Poland), ‘strategy’ (mainly Volvo’s strategy related to the restructuring program), ‘future of the industry’ (including debates concerning economies of scale and customer service and general discussion on globalization), and ‘fairness/hypocrisy’ (discussions related to the shutdown decision itself and the contradictory messages of the headquarters). As is usually the case with such analysis, our categories include overlaps and some of the themes may actually relate to several categories. Most importantly, global industrial restructuring could be seen as an overall theme linked with most themes. Owing to the central role of this theme, we also identified and coded instances where this discourse was most prevalent in our textual material.

At the fourth stage, we then focused on the rhetorical legitimization strategies of the key actors. By drawing on previous research on rhetoric (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 1969) and analysis of legitimacy in organization research (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005; Vaara et al. 2006), we organized and coded the material according to the most central rhetorical legitimization and de-legitimation strategies. This led us to first identify three types of rhetorical strategies and dynamics following the classical ideas of rhetoric (logos, pathos, ethos). However, we soon also discovered the importance of two other types of rhetoric that we decided to call ‘cosmos’ and ‘autopoiesis’. Accordingly, we focused on rational arguments (logos); emotional moral claims (pathos); authority-based arguments (ethos); autopoietic narratives (autopoiesis); and cosmological constructions (cosmos). We coded the documentary and interview material accordingly.

Fifth, we were amazed by the complexity of the rhetorical strategies used, but wanted to spell out central legitimization–delegitimation–relegitimation dynamics in the negotiations. Thus, we analyzed how specific rhetorical legitimization and delegitimation strategies were used in discussions around specific themes. We concentrated on the most significant patterns that led us to identify the following rhetorical dynamics: logos (financial performance); pathos (human concerns); ethos (human concerns, fairness, hypocrisy); autopoiesis (strategy, knowledge); and cosmos (future of the industry). These findings are summarized in Table 3, and are explained in more detail in the following sections.

Our analysis involves limitations that should be taken seriously. First, even though we were given open access to the case, it was not possible, for example,

to attend official meetings in the cooperation procedure. Thus, our analysis is partly based on second hand information with respect to some key meetings. However, the extensive documentary data, the numerous interviews, and the meetings with the managers and employees have provided us with means to reconstruct credible descriptions of what was actually said and how. Moreover, it should be emphasized that we have not only focused on specific meetings, but mapped out and examined the broader organizational and societal negotiations around this case. Second, related to the previous issue, the interviews and other encounters with the actors may have created interactional dynamics leading to the reproduction of particular kinds of discourse in interviews. Nevertheless, the extensive number of interviews and the ability to compare the interview material with other sources of data such should alleviate these concerns. Third, we conducted the actual analysis in Finnish, but translated some key documents and quotations to English. This has not been unproblematic as some meanings are unavoidably lost and others created in the process of translation. In the end, these difficulties were, however, sidelines to this analysis as we focused on the central rhetorical dynamics that characterized the negotiations.

Rhetorical Strategies and Dynamics in Negotiations Around the Shutdown Decision

Table 3 provides examples of the rhetorical strategies and dynamics that characterized negotiations around this case. We will now elaborate on key features of these strategies and dynamics.

Dynamics of Logos

Logos is a rhetorical dynamic that deals with rational arguments. In shutdown cases, argumentation around financial performance often forms a central rhetorical struggle. In the negotiations regarding the future of Carrus, financial performance was the key issue of debate because of radically different views on profitability. In this case, projections concerning future financial performance were a major part of corporate management's argumentation. The following are typical examples from corporate management interviews during the shutdown negotiations:

One can simplify it by saying that it [the shutdown] is financially efficient! (Corporate manager, 2000)

The bottom line decides it. And what Volvo wants is profitability on the bottom line. (Corporate manager, 2000)

For the local people, including managers and employees, this view was difficult to understand. For them, the calculations showed that CH was profitable, as it had been for several years. Many also focused attention on the comparisons between the units in the Volvo group. As an employee put it:

We are still at this moment doing fine and doing a pretty good result in comparison with other units in Volvo. (Blue collar employee CH, 2000)

Table 3. Legitimation Strategies and Dynamics in the Carrus Case

Legitimation strategy	Themes in negotiations	Examples of legitimization-delegitimation-relegitimation dynamics
Logos: Rational arguments	Financial performance	<p>Legitimation based on poor financial performance: ‘Financial performance is lousy. They spend too many hours [in production]. We don’t do it [close CH] for fun you know.’ (Corporate manager, 2000)</p> <p>Delegitimation by reference to positive financial performance record: ‘Well, I must say that it [the closure decision] felt unreal in the sense that CH was making a good return. It did not make sense for the owner, even a new one, to destroy a unit that was making a good profit.’ (Blue collar employee, 2000)</p> <p>Relegitimation based on estimates of future financial performance: ‘[Carrus is] very conservative instead of really realizing that “we have to change” ... And the thinking [in Carrus] that “we are profitable, so don’t argue with us!” I mean, [they say that] “Let us do what we do. We do things in a profitable way.” But what we see is a threat coming and profitability going down.’ (Corporate manager, 2001)</p>
Pathos: Emotional moral arguments	Human concerns	<p>Delegitimation by reference to human concerns: ‘Everybody is really nervous ... and many have sacrificed things for this factory thinking that it will continue ...’ (Blue collar employee, TV documentary film, 2000)</p> <p>Relegitimation by downplaying human concerns: ‘They have many good people: good engineers, many good bus builders. Of course they felt a bit disappointed that Volvo was doing this. However, we can say that it was told openly, because behind the contract was this strategy and thinking since many years. So, it was the fact of getting it on black and white on print that was a bit surprising and disappointing.’ (Corporate manager, 2000)</p> <p>Relegitimation by reframing human concerns as unavoidable: ‘These issues are unfortunate but unavoidable.’ (Several corporate manager interviews, formal and informal communications)</p>
Ethos: Authority-based arguments	Human concerns Fairness/hypocrisy	<p>Legitimation by reference to authority (hierarchical position and procedural justice): ‘That [shutdown] decision was made at the highest level of Volvo Group, because it was not only Wiima [CH] that was focused on here. There were a number of factories all over the world: bus, cars, trucks factories that were pinpointed on that [shutdown] list.’ (Corporate manager, 2000)</p> <p>Delegitimation by references to unfairness: ‘This uncertainty concerning the future when we do not know whether it will be shut down or not ... The timing is always hanging in the air [which is unfair].’ (White collar employee, 2000)</p>

Table 3. (Continued)

Legitimation strategy	Themes in negotiations	Examples of legitimization-delegitimation-relegitimation dynamics
Autopoiesis: Autopoietic narratives	Strategy Knowledge	<p>Delegitimation by reference to hypocrisy: ‘Volvo advertises in <i>Vo/vo</i> Why these long-term development and trust relationships with its employees. The question is whether they ever came true for Wiima [CH]. ... So how seriously can you take these ... values.’ (Local manager, retrospective interview, 2002)</p> <p>Relegitimation by reference to consistency (see also autopoiesis): ‘And then these decisions that may have come too early and discussions around the shutdown ... We wanted to proceed in the Swedish manner by saying that [shutdown] right in the beginning, even though the actual closure could come only much later.’ (Corporate manager, 2000)</p> <p>Legitimation by reference to strategy: ‘We want to utilise the knowledge and the concept outside Finland and the Nordic area. That was the strategic part of it so to speak. Using it as a base concept in the continental Europe but also outside of Europe. Mexico as one example now.’ (Corporate manager, 2000)</p> <p>Delegitimation by historical reconstructions: ‘We have produced buses for 65 years. Years of proficiency and know-how are something we have here in Finland and in that respect we are leaps ahead of the others.’ (Blue collar employee, 2000)</p> <p>Relegitimation by reference to consistency in strategy: ‘So we can basically say that the original vision we had for Poland has been realized. It has been a longer road than perceived because we underestimated the knowledge, the hidden knowledge.’ (Corporate manager, retrospective interview, 2006)</p>
Cosmos: Cosmological arguments	Future of the industry	<p>Legitimation by reference to inevitability: ‘This whole industry has to change ... You cannot do that in a small factory. You have to build a Polish factory that is based on a philosophy of integrating the building of the chassis and the body.’ (Corporate manager, 2001)</p> <p>Delegitimation by alternative framing of the future of the industry: ‘Is it really time for one big factory in Europe? Its time will pass before it really blossoms ... All factories should be put into a good condition because the benefit of low labour cost [in Poland] will eventually disappear.’ (Local manager, 2002)</p> <p>Relegitimation by reframing of the inevitability argument: ‘But you can say the main factors remain attractive in Poland like competitive workforce and availability of workforce and closeness to Europe.’ (Corporate manager, retrospective interview, 2006)</p>

This view was also supported in the national media. For example, the national TV news put it as follows in their first coverage of the case:

Volvo will close down its profit-making bus body factory that it bought a year ago. (National TV news, 1998)

This was the key argument of the union representatives in the first cooperation procedure meetings. A union representative who had a central role in these negotiations put it as follows when reporting the progress of the cooperation procedure to other employees at CH:

We asked in the cooperation negotiations why one of the few profitable units in VBC is under the threat of shutdown. The answer was that they were seeking to secure the future of the Polish production unit because its cost level is lower ... It is very strange that the company refuses to generate money! (Union representative, 2001)

The local people—both managers and workers—argued that the calculations of the corporate management were unfair and misleading. In particular, Volvo's calculations were based on 'standard product ideology', which did not fit Carrus's customized mode of operation. This was a major argument in the talks between corporate and local managers, for example, in their mail and email exchange. A local manager explained it as follows:

[At VBC] the performance of the factory is the difference above or below the standard cost ... And here [in a bus body factory], every product is different, so all the additional features [ordered by the customers who finally also pay for the modifications] show in the [financial] reports as a divergence [from the target budget]. Of course we cannot manage a standard process if we do not have a standard product. So now they impose the standard product thinking, according to which we just assemble. (Local manager, 2002)

The fact that the financial surplus accumulated by Carrus was not taken into consideration when evaluating the performance of the unit also annoyed the Carrus people. In the negotiations, the corporate managers, however, provided justifications for their approach. In their view, Carrus should not be seen as an independent unit but as a part of a larger group. A corporate manager explained this as follows in the midst of the most intensive negotiations:

In Carrus they are very proud that ... they have a good rating. Now that they are part of the Volvo group, it has no meaning, absolutely not the slightest meaning! Actually, on the contrary: If Carrus has too much money on its accounts and so on, it is a waste of Volvo's money, because Volvo can—through centralisation—earn a much better return on that money. Much better than Carrus would ever be able to make. (Corporate manager, 2001)

Furthermore, in the corporate logic, the point was not about the past, but all about the ability to operate profitably in the future. A corporate manager elaborated on their logic related to future restructuring gains:

[Carrus is] very conservative instead of really realizing that 'we have to change' ... And the thinking [in Carrus] that 'we are profitable, so don't argue with us!' I mean, [they say that] 'Let us do what we do. We do things in a profitable way'. But what we see is a threat coming and profitability going down. (Corporate manager, 2001)

What was most frustrating for the local people—managers as well as employee representatives—was that their counter-arguments had little impact. As they saw it, any 'concrete' calculations could easily be dismissed by references to 'future scenarios', 'cost projections', or 'shareholder expectations' in the corporate managers' responses and other communications in 2001–2002.

In all, the debate around financial performance (logos) illustrates the political nature of accounting information (Knights and Collinson 1987; Ezzamel et al. 2008). Also, it shows how in global restructuring, estimates of future performance appear to be more important than the actual financial performance of specific units. This debate is thus a concrete example of how ‘imaginaries’ and ‘future projections’ (Fairclough and Thomas 2004) enter negotiations around shutdown decisions.

Dynamics of Pathos

Pathos deals with the emotional dynamics of legitimation. In the negotiations, human concerns triggered the most emotional discussions dealing with the moral basis of shutdown. Pointing to problems such as unemployment was an essential part of the resistance campaign of the employees and their union representatives. For example, there was a half-day walkout following the initial announcement of the shutdown decision which focused on ‘the human implications’. ‘The human side’ was the key argument in the workers’ communications in local negotiations as well as in other arenas.

These concerns were also communicated in the media where the workers’ representatives sought support for their views. For instance, the Chief Shop Steward expressed his feelings as follows on the initial shutdown plan in a Finnish TV documentary film:

They no longer care about people. They are playing with others’ money, and employees are only instruments. It has been very difficult to negotiate with Volvo when I no longer know where it is. (Film, TV 2, 2000)

Note how the third sentence expresses a general problem in the negotiations from the workers’ perspective and also constructs Volvo as a ‘faceless’ MNC (that does not care about people).

A particular concern of the workers’ representatives was the situation for those workers who had been at the company a long time. It was framed as unethical to get rid of these people, many of them over 50 years old, who would have major difficulties in finding work elsewhere. The Chief Shop Steward summarized their argumentation in a personnel information meeting as follows:

One can in fact ask whether there is any healthy corporate morality left. How can it make sense for personnel to commit to a company if it only leads to a shutdown. A company also has to have social responsibility. Only focusing on technical and financial aspects leads to severe social consequences. (Chief Shop Steward, 2000)

In the prolonged shutdown process, the human concerns received public sympathy in the Finnish national media (newspapers and TV). This was the case, for example, when the CH workers demonstrated after the announcement of the final shutdown decision. They placed a memorial garland with mourning bands on the windshield of a bus. The workers wore caps with the text ‘Volvo Way: Bye-Bye!’ referring to Volvo’s new strategy and policy called ‘The Volvo Way—You can trust us’. Each employee had a number on the front part of the cap referring to the years worked. Some of the numbers on the caps were above 40.

While the workers’ views could have a significant impact on Finnish public opinion, this was not the case elsewhere. Hence, the pressure on the corporate decision makers, located in Sweden, was not something exceptional in the end. A key corporate manager put things into perspective as follows:

Ilmari [Ilmari Mustonen, the former owner of Carrus] focused on one thing only and that was Carrus. Volvo has 83 markets all over the world. And Carrus is a small unit within Volvo ... or medium ... I mean within the Volvo group Carrus is very small ... It contributes rather well to profits, so it is important from that perspective. But the higher you go up in the Volvo organization, the smaller Carrus gets, so to speak. And I don't think that Leif Johansson, the chief executive officer of Volvo, even knew that Wiima [CH] existed, I guess. (Corporate manager, 2002)

The local people, especially the blue collar employees, focused a great deal of attention on the human side of the shutdown threat. While these views received sympathy, they were in the end dismissed by the corporate decision-maker relatively easily. In fact, they were often framed as 'unfortunate but unavoidable' in the corporate managers' responses and official communications in 2001–2002.

In all, this discussion about human concerns illustrates how a shutdown decision can be resisted by emotional morality-based arguments. However, this case also shows that while an appeal to human concerns may help to rally local support for resistance to the shutdown decision, it can prove inadequate. In fact, while the local community and the media may strongly resist the shutdown, this does not necessarily have a great impact on the MNC management in charge of a number of units and based in another country.

Dynamics of Ethos

Ethos deals with authority-based arguments in legitimation. This involves the credibility of the decision-makers, and so was also the case in the negotiations concerning Carrus, especially when dealing with human concerns. The corporate representatives often explained that the decisions had been made 'at the group level', by 'highest authorities', and by following 'careful reasoning'. In contrast, the employees and occasionally also local managers focused attention on (the lack of) procedural fairness and the (alleged) hypocrisy of Volvo's corporate management.

In the general discussion around this case, employee representatives pointed out that Volvo was not any company, but a Swedish-based group that was supposed to value its 'human resources' and pay specific attention to its human resource practices. These were described, for example, in 'The Volvo Way' booklet launched and marketed by the corporate management of VBC in 2001. Accordingly, many people in Finland argued that corporate management was 'hypocritical' and acting against the corporate values that it was promoting. A seasoned worker put it as follows:

The Volvo Way is a bit like looking at the world from the porch of the Vicarage. It is not about doing, but looking at things from the outside and then giving instructions and demands. Thus, the discussion appears nice, but it is not about listening to the personnel or employees. They do not need to from the porch. It is like the wind. (Blue collar employee, 2001)

A local manager described the situation as follows in a retrospective interview:

In Volvo the concept 'human resources' is highly valued and there is a big human resources department. They seem to be very human-resources-oriented, and the personnel are held in high esteem ... In real life, the commitment to the employees ... they [the employees] are seen merely as something that can be used as a headline when the [financial]

situation is bad, to cool down the owners. '5,000 are fired.' 'Factories are closed.' ... So it seems like they are trying to take the easy way out and at the same time buy the commitment of the employees. But in reality there is no commitment to the employees and the employees are not appreciated. Instead they pander to globalization; any kind of factory can be founded anywhere, and everything is saleable, buyable, and movable. (Local manager, 2002)

A key argument of the local people was that the whole process had been handled in an extremely 'unfair' way by Volvo. In particular, people were forced to live and work under a constant threat of shutdown 'hanging in the air', as the blue-collar employees often put it (1998–2001). Moreover, it was pointed out that by focusing on financial performance, Volvo's representatives were creating 'false hopes' and actually taking advantage of people desperately trying to improve the financial performance of the unit.

On the personal level, the corporate managers in charge did understand and even sympathize with the workers at CH. However, on the whole, the corporate managers tended to view the negotiation and decision-making process in a different light. Both in the official negotiations (especially the cooperation procedure) and in the interviews, they argued that announcing the closure as early as possible was the 'honest' and 'transparent' way to proceed. By so doing, they employed a strategy of consistency (Christensen 2002) in their communication. This consistency strategy was closely linked with the continuous use of strategy rhetoric in which the shutdown was portrayed as a necessary step in a longer-term restructuring plan (see autopoiesis below). A top manager explained their approach as follows:

Leif Johansson, our president, felt that it is better to be very open and present what the future looks like because sooner or later we will face the problem of internal discussions anyway [regarding the shutdown decision] ... So, two years ago he decided that we would go out openly and say, 'We cannot tell the exact time. But we believe strongly that in the near future this will happen' and then we can plan for it. (Corporate manager, 2000)

Thus, the rhetoric around ethos illustrates how the decision-makers may be challenged regarding the hypocrisy in their decisions and actions. However, such rhetoric may be countered by continuous references to consistency (Christensen 2002; Cheney et al. 2004). We will discuss this aspect below in relation to autopoiesis.

Dynamics of Autopoiesis

Autopoiesis deals with narratives of purpose and identity. It is linked with mythopoesis (Vaara and Tienari 2008) and historical reconstruction (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005), but also encompasses other aspects of organizational auto-communication. In the organizational context, this kind of auto-communication is often explicitly linked with 'strategy' (Broms and Gahmberg 1983). This was also the case in the negotiations around the shutdown of CH. In the rhetoric of corporate management, the shutdown was often presented as a logical and necessary step in the 'official restructuring program' started in 1998. This also involved frequent references to specific plans such as the 'White Book' that explained this restructuring strategy and its implications.

This legitimation strategy was often used subtly, in combination with other strategies such as rational arguments. However, sometimes it was used also very intentionally. For instance, for a press conference in 2001, the managers received the following paper with ready-made answers to potential questions:

Q: Why are you shutting down the production in Vantaa?

A: The shutdown is part of the consolidation ['restructuring' is another possible translation] of the industrial operations in Poland, which started in 1998. There is an over-capacity in the Nordic countries and we are to adjust. The factory in Vantaa is the oldest in Carrus.

The views and arguments of the local people were very different. Rather than engaging in a discussion concerning the reorganization of VBC, they focused on the specific knowledge and competence residing in Carrus. The point was that the very competitive advantage of CH was portrayed as resulting from years of experience in customer-oriented production. An experienced worker expressed their argument as follows:

They [corporate management] thought they could get all the knowledge, and it is probably based on a false kind of thinking in that this would be easily machine made, automated and documented. It is a picture that comes from another industry that they have built for themselves, which was misleading, and they certainly did not get all this knowledge, not ever ... It is gone with the wind. (Blue collar employee, 2001)

A local manager described their point in the following way:

A 50-year-old tradition of producing buses here will end ... One could say that the silent knowledge of these people will disappear [along with the shutdown of CH] ... Usually in this kind of situation some of the buses that will not be manufactured here will be manufactured by Volvo, but at least half of them will be lost to the competitors. You cannot force the customers. (Local manager, 2001)

These narratives often involved nostalgia, referring to 'good old times' involving 'more committed management'. In the discussions with corporate managers, the local managers and employee representatives also criticized VBC headquarters for 'determinism', thus linking the strategic justifications with their point about hypocrisy (see above). This is an excerpt from the speech the Chief Shop Steward gave in a meeting in 2001:

Negotiations [the cooperation procedure] concerning the eventual shutdown of the Helsinki [Vantaa] unit of Carrus were called by the employer and started on 2.4.2001. The minutes of the meeting show that in 1998 VBC already presented its plan regarding the restructuring of its operations in Europe. This included for example the closing down of the Helsinki factory. These arguments [for the closure] indicate that the market demand is not the reason for the closure but the plan of VBC for the restructuring itself. Market demand is just an excuse that one can draw attention to, a means for justification and way to make people comprehend and accept the wrongdoings. (Chief Shop Steward, 2001)

Hence, the legitimation and resistance strategies relied on explicit and implicit narrativizations of the history, the present, and the future. Importantly, while the local people could articulate their view on the historically created knowledge and competence base residing in CH, they rarely succeeded in providing a convincing alternative to the future strategy of the VBC as a whole. Thus, their local considerations could in the end not challenge the 'big picture' constructed by the corporate management.

In the shutdown context, this kind of narrativization may provide a particularly powerful legitimization strategy—especially if the decision-makers can refer to continuity in their strategic planning. This may lead to a self-fulfilling story the repetition of which itself forms a major legitimization device.

Dynamics of cosmos

Finally, cosmos deals with arguments of inevitability (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005). Arguing for the inevitability of globalization can be seen as a crucial justification for organizational restructuring as this discourse has become an inherent part of global capitalism (Spicer and Fleming 2007). In particular, globalization seems to reproduce self-reinforcing myths and futurological scenarios (Fairclough and Thomas 2004) that are very hard to challenge.

In the Carrus case, a central part of corporate management's rhetoric was to point out that global restructuring was inevitable. This theme was omnipresent in most of the official documents, often as an uncontested assumption concerning what will necessarily happen in the future. However, this inevitability was sometimes also elaborated on explicitly. This was the case, for example, when referring to what the competitors were doing:

We go the same way as our rivals. Both MAN and Mercedes have very big factories in Turkey. They are producing buses there with the exact same philosophy [of cheap labor]! ... The cost per working hour is clearly higher in the Nordic countries than for example in Poland. (Corporate manager, 2000)

Accordingly, the corporate management often reverted to 'a rhetoric of compulsion' in the negotiations; they argued that in the long run the corporation had no choice but to move production from relatively expensive to more inexpensive locations. This view was eventually crystallized in 'one factory for one continent' thinking in VBC's strategy, a key part of the autopoiesis described above. A key corporate manager explained this reasoning:

We see in front of us that in the long run we will have four big production sites. Poland in Europe ... Mexico will have a factory in that area [North America] ... Then we have a factory in South America, in Curitiba, Brazil, and then a factory in China for Asian Pacific. But this is how it will go in the future. We cannot compete otherwise. (Corporate manager, 2000)

The local managers and employees in turn attempted to challenge this inevitability on the basis of their specific customer-oriented approach. A local manager who had a key role in the face-to-face discussions with the corporate representatives summarized their argument as follows (in an interview conducted after the final closure):

Volvo's world is based on standard production thinking ... maybe one could transform us to a standard factory but unless we can change the customers so that they all want a cheap Chinese bus, then it will be difficult to be a global factory. (Local manager, 2002)

However, the local people also tended to reproduce this inevitability in their argumentation. For example, when trying to persuade headquarters to change their decision, Carrus managers did not challenge the inevitability of globalization *per se*, but the specific idea in investing in Wrocław. The local manager explained this counter-argument as follows:

It is naturally so that if some day the factory in Poland [Wrocław] works OK and if the wages there are just a part of our wages, and all the other things will work there as well, and if we can prove that every car [=bus] will be 100000marks (~17000) cheaper there for good, and the customers buy eagerly, then for sure it is worth to move all the production there! Is it really time for one big factory in Europe? Its time will pass before it really blossoms ... All factories should be put into a good condition because the benefit of low labor cost [in Poland] will eventually disappear. (Local manager, 2002)

Importantly, when insisting that future changes would be inevitable, the corporate managers could effectively deal with resistance based on poor performance in Poland. This is how this issue was tackled in the important report 'White Book Poland':

In spite of the difficulties encountered, the choice of Wrocław as a European industrial hub for VBC has been a correct decision. It offers a long-term cost advantage on body building, and component manufacturing. The deviancies on targets are mainly due to underestimation of the complexity in bus body building as well as the possibility to launch complete buses on new markets. Knowing this, it would have been wiser to take the Wrocław expansion in steps ... However, it should be possible to fulfill the remaining part of plant targets within a 2–3 year period. (White Book Poland, 2001)

The cosmological constructions about the inevitability of change provided were a crucial facet in the corporate managers' justifications. At times, the local people could challenge this reasoning, primarily by pointing to the special nature of CH's operations and the problems encountered in Poland. Nevertheless, these counter-arguments were often met with the 'inevitability of globalization' rhetoric, which proved difficult to resist both in the internal discussions and in external arenas.

In all, the rhetorical dynamics around cosmos are crucial to be able to comprehend the full force of the discourse of organizational restructuring driven by globalization. In brief, by pointing to the inevitability of globalization, corporate managers were able to frame the shutdown as an unavoidable event. This kind of rhetoric may be particularly difficult to challenge as it essentially reproduces a central theme in global capitalist discourse (Fiss and Hirsch 2005; Spicer and Fleming 2007).

Discussion and Conclusion

This article has been motivated by a firm belief that organizational researchers have to continue to study global organizational restructuring from multiple critical perspectives (Hardy 1985; Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006; Vaara and Tienari 2008). This analysis contributes to the literature on organizational restructuring precisely by spelling out a rhetorical perspective that helps us to see how rhetorical strategies are used in negotiations around shutdown decisions and consequently to understand the dynamics of these legitimation struggles. Thus, our analysis adds to the previous studies explaining the legitimation of the phenomenon (Hardy 1985), how its legitimation has changed over time (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006), and how contemporary restructuring decisions are justified in the media (Vaara and Tienari 2008).

Our framework helps to analytically distinguish specific rhetorical strategies, to observe how they are used in legitimation and delegitimation, to see how they

are inter-linked, and thus to understand the resulting rhetorical dynamics. These dynamics include struggles over logos, pathos, and ethos, but also autopoiesis and cosmos. Singling out these five dynamics of legitimation helps us to understand that the overall question of legitimacy can and must be broken down to better understand the complexities involved; rational arguments, emotional moral claims, authority-based arguments, autopoietic narratives, and cosmological constructions may be used in different ways for legitimation, de-legitimation or re-legitimation purposes. Thus, we can better comprehend the multiple discursive facets in the legitimation of drastic organizational restructuring decisions such as industrial shutdowns.

Each of the dynamics deserves attention as they can be found in other restructuring cases as well. First, logos deals with rational arguments around issues such as financial performance. The fact that financial performance was a contested issue may not be surprising *per se* (Knights and Collinson 1987; Ezzamel et al. 2008), but it is interesting to contrast the global and future orientation of the protagonists with the local and current perspective of the antagonists. In a way, this dynamic reveals a fundamental mismatch in such negotiations; it explains how even the most convincing argumentation, which concerns solely the current financial performance of the focal unit, may not be enough. Second, our analysis of pathos illustrates how a shutdown decision can be resisted by emotional moralistic arguments, especially by referring to the human, social, and societal implications. However, the case also shows that while an appeal to human concerns may help to mobilize support for resistance, it can prove inadequate. Thus, this analysis provides an example of the subordination of human concerns in MNCs (Alvesson and Willmott 2003). Third, the rhetoric around ethos in turn illustrates how corporate decision-makers may be challenged with respect to the hypocrisy in their decisions and actions (Brunsson 1989). However, the case also demonstrates how such rhetoric may be dealt with by references to consistency in strategic planning and negotiations (Christensen 2002; Cheney et al. 2004).

Fourth, what we have called autopoiesis is a special form of rhetorical legitimation that rests on organizational auto-communication (Broms and Gahmberg 1983). Our analysis shows that this kind of narrativization may provide a particularly powerful legitimation strategy—especially if managers can refer to continuity in their strategic planning. This may lead to a self-fulfilling story, the repetition of which itself forms a major legitimation device. Fifth, and finally, the rhetorical dynamics around cosmos are the key to understanding how exactly the globalization-driven organizational restructuring discourse is mobilized in concrete negotiations. What is crucial—and perhaps counter-intuitive—is that this rhetoric is ultimately mythical, resting on the ever-present myth of the necessity of change, this time translated into the language of organizational restructuring. As March has put it: ‘The most conventional story of contemporary futurology is a story that observes and predicts dramatic changes in the environment of organizations’ (March 1995: 428).

While all these rhetorical dynamics are important for an understanding of the rhetorical side of shutdown negotiations, we wish to underscore the crucial role of autopoiesis and cosmos in supporting the more classical logos-, pathos-, or ethos-driven arguments. In this way, we can provide a fuller picture of rhetorical

strategizing that links more classical argument-based analysis with discursive studies emphasizing the overwhelming power of organizational restructuring discourse. This helps us to understand how this discourse is mobilized in concrete negotiations, but also how it is then reproduced through such discussions—something that has been called for in this area (Hirsch and DeSoucey 2006).

All these findings raise questions about the possibilities of successful rhetorical resistance. Such negotiations—especially the cooperation procedure—do not correspond to an ‘ideal speech situation’ but rather involve ‘distorted communication’ (Habermas 1975, 1984). This is due to the rhetorical dynamics described above, and also to the apparent asymmetry in the terms of access to all kinds of information and plans, especially in the case of the workers. Overall, this case provides a rather pessimistic view of the limited opportunities of local managers, workers, and their representatives to reverse corporate management shutdown plans. From the perspective of the local people, they seemed to do everything possible to show the viability of the unit—not only in their rhetoric but also otherwise—to resist the shutdown plan. It would, on the other hand, be simplistic to draw the conclusion that all resistance was futile in this case. As indicated in other studies (Thomas and Davies 2005; Spicer and Fleming 2007; Ezzamel et al. 2001, 2004), resistance serves many purposes, including the right to voice one’s concerns and to disagree. In this sense, the debate over the legitimacy of the shutdown decision was also about the legitimacy of resistance. Hence, the articulated counter-arguments and the support gained in local media helped the local people to maintain self-identity and dignity in these tragic circumstances.

Our analysis also has broader implications for the study of legitimacy. In particular, our analysis adds to the recent studies focusing on the role of language in legitimation (Green 2004; Suddaby and Greenwood 2005; Vaara and Tienari 2008). While previous studies have examined discursive legitimation in specific settings such as commission hearings (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005) or media texts (Vaara and Tienari 2008), our analysis has concentrated on rhetorical legitimation strategies in actual organizational negotiations—and thus complements prior research. The findings of these studies are similar in the sense that they all point to a myriad of discursive and rhetorical strategies and their power in the creation of senses of legitimacy or illegitimacy. However, what is specific in our analysis is that it illustrates in a very concrete manner how such rhetorical strategies are used to legitimate or delegitimize as part of unfolding organizational change processes. This is important as it helps us to better understand the actual dynamics of legitimation–delegitimation–relegitimation. It should also be noted that our analysis of ethos highlights the issues of hypocrisy and consistency in ways that add to previous legitimation analysis, which has focused mostly on the positive side of authorizations. Furthermore, autopoiesis provides a new perspective on organizational auto-communication that links with mythopoiesis (Vaara and Tienari 2008), but is more than a specific type of storytelling. Finally, our analysis of cosmos adds to understanding of cosmological arguments (Suddaby and Greenwood 2005) by broadening the scope of inevitability constructions.

We believe that our analysis provides a useful theoretical framework for future studies on organizational restructuring, but also see a need to proceed with new focused analyses. First, while the Carrus case provides us with an understanding of the various kinds of rhetorical legitimation strategies and dynamics, there is a

need to examine other cases in different socio-political and cultural contexts to be able to distinguish and compare rhetorical dynamics in more nuanced ways. Second, while our analysis has examined specific rhetorical resistance strategies, there is much more to resistance (Spicer and Fleming 2007; Ezzamel et al. 2001). Indeed, there is a need to examine in a more detailed way the various ways in which specific actors cope with and resist shutdown and other drastic restructuring plans in multinational corporations. Such studies should draw from previous analyses in this area (Ezzamel et al. 2001, 2004) but focus on the specific features of particular types of restructurings such as closures. Third, issues around subjectivity and identity also warrant more attention, and such analyses could build on previous studies on other types of restructuring illustrating the dynamics of identification and their linkage to resistance (Ezzamel et al. 2004). Shutdown threats often involve a setting where corporate management and the local people represent the two sides of the conflict. However, as our analysis illustrates, a closer look reveals that specific people such as local managers or employee representatives often find themselves in a controversial and challenging situation. Analyses focusing on discursive subjectivity and identity constructions in such circumstances would help us to better understand the multiple and often controversial effects of corporate-driven globalization on individual people.

Note

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**2 *Essay 2: Power and resistance in a multinational organization:
Discursive struggles over organizational restructuring***

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Abstract

Restructuring organizations are sites of discursive struggles where different organizational groups drawing on various discourses compete to shape the social reality of the organization for their own benefit. This study focuses on the temporal development of resistance and discursive struggles following a unit shutdown decision and the broader restructuring plan of a global industrial organization. The paper reports how the discourse of globalization and discourse of local capitalism were employed to justify and challenge the restructuring plans. I argue, that although resisting organizational groups are rarely able to reverse restructuring decisions, resistance contributes to the evolution of shared organizational discourse themes, employed discursive resources, identity construction, and the formation of organizational ideology. Through these means, resistance has an important role in developing organizational discourses towards mutual understanding and, at the organizational level, finding ways to confront the discourse of globalization.

Key words: discursive struggles, discourse of globalization, restructuring, power, resistance

Introduction

Organizational restructurings have become increasingly common in contemporary organizations. These restructurings include different types of major changes to organizational structure, such as shutdowns or relocation of production plants, in order to align organizational fit with strategy (Bowman & Singh 1993, Bowman, Singh, Useem & Bhadury, 1999). The objectives of restructurings are, for example, increased efficiency and savings in labour costs. However, the results of this particular type of restructurings are often unfavourable with regard to organizational performance (Brickley & Van Drunen, 1990; Budros, 1997; Bowman et al., 1999; McKinley & Scherer, 2000); they also generate negative implications for employees, including mass dismissals, and decreases in commitment and well-being at work (Barsky, Hussein & Jablonsky, 1999; Marshall & Yorks, 1994; Probst, 2003). Despite such commonly held negative implications, in the present era of globalization, restructuring decisions that were earlier considered as a cause of dispute, have become accepted and are rarely publicly contested (Hirsch & De Soucey, 2006). Yet, there are usually counter-forces and voices. The reasons for the lack of influence of these voices and the effects of contesting the meaning of restructuring have not been studied widely (Mumby, 2005). Given this lack of knowledge, in this study the focus is on unpacking the contested meaning of organizational restructurings.

In the study, the perspective of discursive struggles (Grant & Hardy, 2003; Harley & Hardy, 2004; Hardy & Phillips, 1999) is utilized to look deeper into the contested meaning of organizational restructuring. This approach was chosen as a means to learn about the political interplay between different organizational discourses in shaping organizational reality and to uncover whether these processes can at least partially explain the increasing number of restructurings. Organizational discourse can be defined in terms of struggles for meaning, in this case the meaning of restructurings, that occur in organizations (Grant & Hardy, 2003).

By studying the discursive struggles that define restructurings we can learn how restructurings, and other controversial organizational decisions, are justified in organizational settings, what are the implications of these struggles, and what discursive strategies are more powerful than others and why.

The discourse analysis method was chosen for this study because it enables a focus on the dynamic interplay between the discourses of power and resistance, and how they shape each other (Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Collinson, 2005); a theme that has been a fairly underdeveloped area of study (Mumby, 2005). This study is based on an uncommon opportunity to research the development of discursive struggles over a long period of time. The empirical part focuses on a case study of the Volvo Bus Corporation. As part of its globalization strategy the firm decided to close its newly acquired unit in Finland and transfer the knowledge of that unit and two other Finnish units to a newly established 'cheap labour unit' in Poland in order to eventually close down all European units with the exception of the Polish unit. The analysis draws on 40 in-depth interviews that were conducted over a six and half year period (between years 2000-2006) during which the restructuring plans, including the shutdown, was decided, postponed, and later executed, and on related documentary material (for example, company documents, articles and press releases) from years 1994-2006.

The focus of the study is on the development of the discursive struggles between two main organizational groups (global managers as protagonists and local managers and employees in Finland as antagonist) employing -the discourse of globalization and the discourse of local capitalism- to justify and challenge the restructuring. Four discursive struggles: the struggle between relevant themes of discussion in relation to the restructuring plans; the struggle between different financial 'facts' as discursive resources; the struggle between identity

construction of self and others; and the struggle between interpretations of organizational ideologies, are distinguished and analyzed. I argue that although resistance is rarely able to reverse organizational decisions, such as restructuring decisions, it is not futile. Although the omnipotent and widely accepted discourse of globalization is difficult to challenge, it can be contested at a local organizational level. Moreover, resistance has an important role in developing organizational discourses through initiating discursive struggles.

Power and resistance in discursive struggles

From the critical discourse analysis perspective, organizations are sites where multiple powers are in continuous struggle. Power relations are everywhere (Foucault, 1980). However, this does not mean that there is no space, agents or justification for resistance, because from a critical perspective resistance is not considered as something outside, or in polar position to power (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994; Mumby, 2004). Resistance is rather understood as inherent in the exercise of power (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2009). Thus, resistance constitutes a form of power itself (Collinson, 1994) and everybody is an agent of resistance in relation to some power (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994). In other words, power at the workplace is seen as both disciplinary and enabling (Collinson, 1994; Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994; Fleming, 2005). Power and resistance also reproduce each other. As Collinson (2005, 1426), adapting Foucault, puts it: “While power creates the conditions for its own resistance, opposition draws in the very power it rejects.” Resistance can also stimulate power to reorganize, adapt and multiply (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994). For studying both power and resistance the concept of struggle provides a term for thinking about them as an interconnected dynamic and moves beyond the dualism of power/resistance (Fleming & Spicer, 2008).

Power and resistance are best understood when examined in specific sites with definite socio-historical conditions of existence and means of operation (Knights & Vurdubakis, 1994). This is because, in one context, the same discourse or action can be interpreted as resistance, while in other circumstances it might reproduce power relations (Mumby, 2005; Meriläinen, Tienari, Thomas & Davies, 2004; Thomas & Davies, 2005; Wood & Kroger, 2000; Jermier, Knights & Nord, 1994). Moreover, resistance can include signs of acceptance, while acceptance can contain aspects of resistance (Ashcraft, 2005; Jermier et al., 1994; Collinson, 1994). The sites and modes of power and resistance are not always obvious (Fleming & Sewell, 2002). Resistance does not only mean opposition to managerial control by the powerless (Thomas & Davies, 2005a). Rather, it can be organized, for example, by dominant organizational voices (such as middle managers) against an organization's practices (Ashcraft, 2005), or by professional elites (such as airline pilots, lawyers, physicians) against their union leadership (Real & Putnam, 2005). Collective responses, formal complaints and legal action are rare modes of resistance in comparison to gossip, toleration, and resignation (Tucker, 1993). Employees often create their own symbolic spaces (Collinson, 1994) where they, for example, resist with the help of cynicism (Fleming, 2005; Fleming & Spicer, 2003), humour (Rodrigues & Collinson, 1995; Prasad & Prasad, 2000; Ackroyd & Thompson, 1999), or silence (Brown & Coupland, 2005) as their means of expressing dissatisfaction. On the other hand, instruments such as sexuality can be used as means for creating domination but can also be an object of resistance (Fleming, 2007).

The critical discourse analysis perspective is concerned with the way discourses produce and sustain power relationships within organizations (see e.g. Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In mainstream management research on power the focus has been on the possession of resources, and little attention has been paid to the communicative aspects of power (Hardy & Clegg, 1996), whereas in critical discourse studies, drawing on literature associated to the

'linguistic turn', power relations and resistance are considered to be constituted in discourse (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). In these studies discourses mean structured collections of texts (spoken or written language) embodied in the practices of talking and writing (or visual representations, and cultural artefacts), that bring organizationally related objects into being at the same time as they are produced, disseminated and consumed (Grant et al., 2004). In this approach discourses do not simply mirror reality, but rather, they constitute situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, 258; Hardy & Phillips, 2004). Thus, discourses are involved in the social construction of reality (Condor & Antaki, 1997; Phillips & Hardy, 2002) and they are a form of political activity because of the way in which they change the understanding of a social situation (Hardy & Phillips, 1999). Discourses are always contested to some degree because they are never completely cohesive and devoid of internal tensions (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). This relates them to the interplay between power and resistance.

To be precise, discourses not only produce, transmit and reinforce power relations, but also threaten, expose and render them fragile (Foucault, 1981). Discourses, language and also decision to remain silent, are a medium of social control and power and means of self-authorship (Brown & Coupland, 2005). In other words, discourse shapes power relations and power relations again shape those actors who are able to influence discourse. However, power is not something connected to individuals or groups, but represents a complex web of relations determined by systems of knowledge constituted in discourse. (Hardy & Phillips, 2004) From this discourse analysis perspective resistance can be understood as a constant process of adaptation, subversion and re-inscription of dominant discourses, in which individuals pervert or subtly shift meanings, and eventually understandings (Thomas &

Davies, 2005a). At the same time resistance also means reproducing power relations by specifying and prioritizing certain meanings (Mumby, 2005; Thomas & Davies, 2005a).

The interplay between power and resistance in the restructuring of organizations through discourses is ultimately related to the social construction of organizational ideology. Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world, which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003). A common core aspect of ideology concerns its character as a set of beliefs about the social world and how it operates, and what values and ideals are worth striving for (Alvesson, 1987). Ideology gives meaning to a political and social organization (Chiapello, 2003). The socially constructed nature of ideology means it is characterized by high degrees of latitude in how it is portrayed as well as interpreted by social actors. Consequently, actors can take control or manipulate how they present issues, as well as employ selective perception in order to protect and maintain their routinized or comfortable ways of perceiving issues (Heracleous, 2004). According to Ricoeur (1975) ideology has three functions: integration (which helps cooperation and coordination), legitimation (legitimizes the social order and gives reasons to accept its structures), and distortion (legitimacy gives 'surplus power' to the dominating, i.e. power to decide upon things other than first agreed). In other words, ideology not only justifies the relational positions of people and institutions, but also provides possibilities to protest if the relationships are in conflict with the dominating discourse. (Chiapello, 2003). The perspective of discursive struggles of power and resistance shows how these functions are employed in organizational settings. Critical discourse analysis aims to make explicit and visible the masked ways that discourse functions ideologically (Broadfoot, Deetz & Anderson, 2004) in everyday organizational practices where it is enacted and embodied (Mumby, 2004).

Discursive contesting of organizational restructuring

Organizations undergoing restructuring have been studied from many perspectives, for example the strategy, finance, economic, organizational, sociological and critical perspectives (e.g. e.g. Brickley & Van Druenen, 1990; Bowman & Singh, 1993; Bethel & Liebeskind, 1993; Sennett, 1998; Probst, 2003; Alvesson & Willmott, 2003; Ehrenreich, 2006; Balogun & Johnson, 2004; Newell & Dopson, 1996). These studies show that organizational restructuring encompasses many different changes in organizational structures (Bowman & Singh, 1993) that not only result in improved corporate efficiency or well-being, but may also trigger resistance. Often, restructuring contributes to unintended long-term environmental turbulence, particularly among organizations in the same industry, and therefore to further organizational restructuring (McKinley & Scherer, 2000), with severe consequences for many organization members in the form of staff downsizing (Edin, 1989; Sennett, 1998; Ehrenreich, 2006), commitment problems (Probst, 2003), decreased feelings of job security (Reilly, Brett & Stroh, 1993), and a decline in trust and job satisfaction (Lee & Teo, 2005). The consequences of restructuring seem to be manifold and often, at least partly unforeseen with regard to top management's expectations (McKinley & Scherer, 2000). That is, restructuring might cause unwanted negative effects for corporate performance (Brickley & Van Druenen, 1990; Bowman & Singh, 1993; Bowman, Singh, Useem & Bhadury, 1999).

Until the mid 1970s most radical restructurings, such as shutdowns, were widely considered to be illegitimate in the public discourses of western countries (Hardy, 1985). The social and personal costs of shutdowns were weighed against economic gains (Mick, 1975). In recent times however, despite the controversial outcomes of restructuring, it is often generally taken for granted that resisting organizational restructuring is somewhat futile. The discourse of globalization plays a central role in legitimizing restructuring (Spicer & Fleming, 2007; Tienari, Vaara, & Björkman, 2003). It stems from the changes in economic, political,

sociological and cultural contexts related to the breakdown of national barriers. According to this widespread dominant discourse, which highlights financial and economic rationalizations, restructuring is often considered 'inevitable' (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Spicer & Fleming, 2007; Tienari et al., 2003). Despite this now widely accepted line of reasoning, Ahmadjian and Robbins (2005) show that this 'inevitability of restructuring' was originally an Anglo-American view of capitalism that emphasizes shareholder power. They show that, for example, in Japanese stakeholder capitalism, the pressure for restructuring has not been as strong because shareholders aim for long-term relationships with corporations and thus support management in their decisions, even when trying to save jobs. In contrast, in shareholder capitalist systems, shareholders often pressure the managers to restructure in order to maximize shareholder value (Bethel & Liebeskind, 1993; Ahmadjian & Robbins, 2005).

In fact, it has been stated that the Anglo-American view has harnessed language as a means to manipulate opinions so that restructuring is seen as a natural occurrence (Hirsch & De Soucey, 2006). The language of restructuring can be used to mask, reframe and sugar-coat economic distress so that it seems to possess positive social outcomes. Moreover, restructuring as a term provides a way to talk legitimately about these controversial situations in a positive tone. (Hirsch & De Soucey, 2006) The use of a discourse of globalization makes the global economy the central aspect of institutional planning. Globalization is facilitated, given legitimacy and political efficacy by suitable discursive narratives (Spicer & Fleming, 2007). However, the discourse of globalization has a 'dialectical' character: it plays an important role in legitimizing restructuring, but it can also be a source of resistance because focal groups can tactically appropriate and interpret this discourse for their own purposes (Spicer & Fleming, 2007). According to Ezzamel et al. (2004), resistance to restructuring can be a long-term process that is dependent on various forms of interpreting organizational

discourses by different organization members. Although restructuring can thus be resisted or challenged, we know little about organizational discursive struggles that aim to shape restructuring, and the consequences of these struggles. Given this dearth of knowledge, in this paper the focus is on the contestation of restructuring in discursive struggles. These struggles are negotiations about the meaning of restructuring, which do not take place in official meetings, but in the everyday discursive interplay between different organizational actors.

Research method

Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was chosen as research method for this study because it focuses on discourses and integrates power (including resistance), history, and ideology to the analysis. In other words it is interested in the use of language as a medium of domination, the situation of discourse in time and space, and the use of ideologies in legitimating certain discourses. (Wodak, 2002; Mumby, 2004, 2005; Harley & Hardy, 2004) Through use of the critical discourse analysis method, contributions can be made to the study of organizational power and resistance because such a method enables the research of the complex, dynamic, and interconnected nature of power and resistance practices. It helps us to see the effects of power and resistance from several perspectives. (Putnam et al., 2005)

The objective in CDA is not the analysis of discourse per se, but the analysis of the relations between discourse and non-discursive elements of the social (Fairclough, 2005). More specifically, the focus is not only on the texts (analysis of language including content, structure and meaning of the text), and discursive practices (process of textual production and interpretation i.e. discursive interaction), but also on how texts work within social context (i.e. in analysing social practice dimension of discourses) (Fairclough, 1992). This study

looks at texts related to the restructuring in a case organization, their production in that organization and their workings in the organizational context.

CDA is also concerned with the discursive struggles between competing groups in different societal settings (Mumby, 2004; Grant & Hardy, 2003). Tensions between discourses produce a discursive space in which individuals and groups can play one discourse against another in discursive struggles, draw on multiple discourses to create new forms of interdiscursivity, and otherwise move between and across multiple discourses (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). Although there is now a growing body of literature examining how meaning is negotiated in organizational discursive struggles and how discursive struggles shape organizational practices (Grant & Hardy, 2003), it has been argued that there is a lack of studies that examine the micro dynamics of discursive processes from a close distance and look at their relationship with larger macro processes of organizational power (Mumby, 2004). Maybe the most advanced in this sense are the studies that have focussed on identity as a central outcome of discursive struggles (Hardy & Phillips, 2004) and how they can provide political or rhetorical resources for resistance or the justification of certain arguments (Symon, 2005; Hardy & Phillips, 2004). The identities through which interpretations of organizational discourses are made can provide a basis for contesting and delaying management's efforts to restructure (Ezzamel, Willmott & Worthington, 2001, Gabriel, 1999). On the other hand, they can also help to legitimize restructuring (Linstead & Thomas, 2002).

Case context

The Volvo Bus Corporation (VBC) was chosen as a case organization because of its restructuring history and plans over an extended time span. At the time of the study as a multinational corporation, VBC aimed for global synergies and knowledge sharing between

its different units, but also simultaneously pursued a strategy of many shutdowns. The restructuring process examined in this study commenced on 1st January 1998 when VBC acquired three Finnish family-owned bus body building units (located in Helsinki, Tampere and Turku) that together had formed Carrus Oy, the largest manufacturer of bus bodies in the Nordic countries. Only half a year after the acquisition, on 23rd June 1998, the global VBC management decided that one of these units, Carrus Oy Helsinki (CH), was to be closed. Its professional knowledge of bus body building, including much tacit knowledge about customer specifications and its production, was to be transferred to Wroclaw, Poland, to a so-called 'cheap labour unit' that VBC and Carrus had jointly founded in 1995. This knowledge transfer from CH to Wroclaw had been started in the same year. The aim was to create a mass production unit of standard products in Wroclaw with the capability of replacing the production in the units closed in Finland (and also later, other European units that would be closed). The shutdown of CH was postponed, but finally took place in 2001. The knowledge transfer and closure preparations concerning the two remaining Carrus units in Finland continued through the rest of the observation period (until 2006).

The production of empirical material

Firstly, the analysis of the empirical material draws on 40 in-depth interviews conducted between January 2000 and July 2006. Two were small group interviews with 2-3 persons, the remaining were personal interviews. Interviewees represented three organizational groups: the corporate management of VBC in Gothenburg, Sweden, the local management of Carrus Oy in Finland and Volvo Bus Poland, and employees of Carrus Oy and Volvo Bus Poland. Table 1 summarizes the number of interviews in the different units. In Finland all the interviews were conducted in Finnish (the native language of all the interviewees and the interviewer), in Sweden interviewees selected from Swedish and English options (foreign languages spoken by the interviewer) - English for all these interviews. In Poland all the

interviews were conducted in English, but an interpreter was used for interviewing two employees who preferred Polish, their native language. I selected the interviewees after discussing the roles and positions of the employees and managers in the company in order to obtain interviews that were as versatile as possible. All interviewees were also asked to state who else I should interview, and why, in order to uncover who was sympathising with whom and to be able to re-evaluate the list of interviewees.

Interviews	VBC	Wroclaw	Helsinki	Tampere	Turku	Total
Top management	6					6
Local management		2	2	6 +1 group	2	12 +1 group
Employees		2	8	6 +1 group	4	20 +1 group
Total	6	4	10	12+2 group	6	38 personal +2 groups

Table 1: The interviews

Anonymity was promised to all interviewees in order to give them freedom to speak as private persons. No one refused to be interviewed. All the interviews were audio recorded and later fully transcribed by the author. On a few occasions the interviewees requested a brief stop to the recording in order to describe something they wished to keep away from others' ears. In most cases it was later agreed how I could express the issue in my research without causing any harm to the interviewee. In most cases on hearing that completion of the research would take some time, interviewees thought their concerns would no longer be a personal problem and were happy to continue their disclosure. There were no apparent feelings of discomfort in any interviews except the two with the Polish employees and the interpreter. I assumed that the fact of the interpreter being present in the situation influenced the atmosphere. I noticed the discomfort from the short answers and the lack of any critical comments. In other interviews there seemed to be no boundaries due to the situation, background or status of the interviewer and interviewees.

The interviews took place in any available quiet corner of the plants and offices or meeting rooms that provided sufficient privacy without interruption. I let the interviewees suggest such places to make them feel as comfortable as possible. During the six and a half year period over which the interviews were conducted, I spent days, altogether several working weeks, observing the different Volvo units. Observations were spontaneous perceptions of local discourses, relationships and attitudes as well as unrecorded conversations, of which the author made field notes. These observations have also strengthened my understanding of the negotiations presented in the empirical part of the study. Besides these spontaneous perceptions I was often invited to tour the plants by the interviewees to see normal working conditions and to meet people. The relationships between me and people in the case organization were very casual. For example I often sat in the plant cafeterias with different people eating lunch or having coffee. All the interviewees I met were advised that the work was independent and not related to any managerial or employee incentives. I felt that people wanted to help me by agreeing to interviews and that interviewees were happy to be able to say what they felt to someone who was not related to any groups in the organization. After each visit to the company I discussed with the interviewees and the managers when I could/should come next time considering future events related to the company operations. The research was ended after a relatively long and stabile period was reached in the restructuring.

I allowed the interviewees to structure the interview. Thus, the interviewees were asked to reflect and report their own narratives of the times of restructuring. The questions I asked were very open. In the first interviews I started by saying: "Carrus was acquired by Volvo some time ago. Could you tell me in you own words what you now think about this period of acquisition". In the later follow up interviews I asked: " How have things been since we met the last time? Last time you told me...". The aim was to bring out diversity in the interviews

in order to search for, not only coherence, but also variance (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) in the texts. As the research topic was rather sensitive, this approach allowed the interviewees to approach the subject in their own way. However, when an interviewee talked about the new industrial structure and the acquisition, knowledge transfer and shutdown related issues I assisted the interviewee with more specific follow-up questions (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) arising from the stories they had recounted during the interview. For example, I asked: “Could you tell me more about this?” or “What did you think about this?”

The research topic (discursive struggles over restructuring) was not revealed to the interviewees. This was not only because the exact research topic was developed during the fieldwork, but also in order to avoid conversations that were overly constricted. Outlining the research topic during the data collection process was also an attempt to minimize the intentionality of the question making from my side. In this way the interviews became quite unique, but this technique also enabled me to decrease my influence during the interviews. My Finnish nationality might have made it easier for me to relate to the Finnish restructuring context and the life of the locals. However, my background of studies in economics and business also helped me to immerse myself in the discourses of the global business units. It might have also been easier for the Finnish interviewees to feel comfortable around me because we were able to speak in a common native language. It was also easier for me to create a relaxed atmosphere in the Finnish interview settings than those abroad, which might have influenced the style of the narratives. The analysis is also based on documentary materials (such as minutes of meetings, balance sheets, copies of e-mails, articles etc.) concerning years 1994-2006 that were helpful in determining the actual course of events and in putting oneself in the position of the interviewees (see Table 2).

Data type	Number of documents	Year
Minutes of meetings	15	1998-2001
Financial and strategy documents	9	1994-2003
Press releases by Volvo Bus Corporation	5	1997, 1998, 2001, 2003
Other official publications by Volvo Bus Corporation	13	1998-2002
Confidential organization documents (letters, emails, reports, etc.)	105	1998-2001
Articles in (the leading national) Helsingin Sanomat newspaper	13	1997-2006
Articles in other newspapers and journals	17	1996-2001
Documentary film for national TV2	1	2000

Table 2: The documentary material

The analysis of the empirical material

When analysing the interviews, I first focussed on the overall alternation in the texts. This helped me to notice the inherent tensions between power and resistance that appeared in the texts. In a second round I examined the interviews again and identified specific words, sentences and sections where these tensions were central. This helped me to provide a grasp of the ‘character’ of the talk in each interview when discussing issues related to the restructuring. As a result of this analysis I could place these texts into two groups. Both of these groups presented different organizational discourses that dealt with resistance and power. Firstly, the dominant discourse was a version of the ‘discourse of globalization’ (Fairclough, 2006; Fairclough & Thomas, 2004; Spicer & Fleming, 2007; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). This discourse drew on classic liberal/neo-liberal economic thoughts that highlight free markets, the globalization of international trade, and the inevitability of measures of restructuring in our contemporary economy for everyone’s benefit. In this discourse globalization represents a chance to restructure the world in order to make it more amenable to business imperatives (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004). Notable also, is that no one appears to be responsible for this development (Fairclough, 2006).

This discourse was strongly related to the control of resistance and thus mostly put forward by the global managers of the organization, who served as legitimate speakers (Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2000) of this discourse and had a subject position that gave them rights to speak in this way (Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2004). This discourse leaned toward the central theme of the financial performance of the organization. According to the producers of the discourse of globalization, the closure of CH and future production investments in Poland were rational and inevitable, necessitated by irreversible globalization. In Poland, labour costs were considerably lower and the new facilities would permit a multiplication of the numbers of bus bodies produced in Europe and would finally enable the closure of all other units in Europe. The vision of the protagonists of discourse of globalization was framed in economic and financial terms. A top manager simplified the logic in 2000:

In all its simplicity, it is based on economic reasons: 15% cheaper in Poland than built here! In the long run, we see that we will have four production sites [globally]. In Europe it is Poland....It will go like that. Otherwise we cannot compete. (global manager 1)

I also found an interdiscursive form of discourse (e.g. Hardy & Phillips, 2004): a resurrected version of the discourse of ‘the immorality of shutdowns’ (Hardy, 1985) that was integrated with a discourse of ‘local economic success and professionalism’ and ‘nationalism’ (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004). This resisting discourse was not an anti-globalization discourse. (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004) as such but a local version of capitalism that was not based on the most radical forms of liberal globalization. This discourse, labelled the ‘discourse of local capitalism’, drew on the local resources of knowledge and agency to resist the restructuring plans. The local managers were central articulators of this discourse. In the discourse of local capitalism, future scenarios of well-functioning and cheap production in Poland were framed as irrelevant since CH was performing well and had a long tradition of developing new products to customer specifications, and therefore should be maintained as a

production site. According to this discourse, the visions of the quick ramp up in Poland were imaginative rather than realistic. However, local capitalism had problems in leveling its aims at the dominant discourse even when discussing economic and financial issues. This is supported by the following quote provided by a key employee from 2001:

The organizational result is conceptually something else (for the global management) than what it is for the local management. That immediately creates a difference between the argument.

(employee 1)

This quote also illustrates how there was an inherent discursive space and tension between these two discourses that led to the discursive struggles around the restructuring.

During the analysis, the documentary material (Table 2) was iteratively examined in order to place the social world of discourses temporally (Heracleous & Hendry, 2000) in the organizational and material context where restructuring plans were made and conducted. The secondary data was also a resource for the inter-textual analysis that was needed to understand the other texts that influenced the production of texts by the interviewees (Fairclough, 1992).

In a third round of analysis I concentrated on the discursive struggles (e.g. Grant & Hardy, 2003) between the protagonists (global managers) and antagonists (locals in Finland) around the restructuring, i.e. how these discourses were employed to justify and contest the restructuring. First, I looked for similar words, meanings, metaphors and other items in the texts of these groups. Narratives of the same historical events were also juxtaposed. When comparing similarities, I found four central struggles highlighted in both discourses. First, was a struggle between relevant themes. In this struggle the organizational members negotiated about the justification of themes around which the legitimation of the restructuring was built. A second struggle was that between different financial ‘facts’ as discursive

resources. In this struggle the organizational members contested each other's sources of 'facts' that were drawn to justify financial arguments. Third, was a struggle between identity constructions of self and others. In this struggle collective identities, with selected 'rival' units and identity boundaries between different organizational groups, were constructed and employed as resources to justify or challenge the restructuring. Fourth, was the struggle between organizational ideologies, where different interpretations of the organizational ideology were put to test.

In a fourth round of analysis, I arranged the analysed texts in chronological order and looked for the appearance of each resistance strategy in order to obtain a picture of the employment of each strategy and look for possible signs of evolution in each of the strategies over the course of time. Lastly, the quotations that would best reflect the struggles were identified so they could be included as examples of the data (Potter & Wetherell, 1987).

Discursive struggles over organizational restructurings

In this empirical section the focus is on the four intertwined discursive struggles that most shaped both main discourses. These struggles were initiated by the organizational members in the Finnish units who reacted to the new challenges resulting from restructuring. However, the focus here is not on resistance, but rather on how power and resistance were enacted through discourses and how the interplay between the two main discourses shaped them both during a long period of struggle over the meaning of restructuring.

The struggle between relevant themes

The limits of discourses provide a space within which self-interested actions can be engaged in order to work towards discursive change that privileges individual's or group's interests and goals (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). In this study, at the beginning both discourses – the local capitalism, discourse of the locals in Finland, and the discourse of global managers in

Sweden drawing from that of globalization – were built around different themes when constructing the organizational reality related to the restructuring. This left a substantial space for discursive struggles. To infiltrate themes relevant to the locals into the discussions the locals surfaced new themes (Spicer & Fleming, 2007). ‘Profitability and financial performance’ was a shared theme that both discourses associated with the question of restructuring. Therefore, before new themes developed, the struggle began by defining the meaning of this shared theme. In the discourse of globalization, promoted by the global managers, the decision to close CH, and the other restructuring plans, were, to a great extent, grounded by global profitability scenarios for the future. The following excerpt is from the press release in which VBC announces the shutdown plans for CH in 1998.

Volvo Bus Corporation will expand and restructure its European industrial organisation and concentrate parts of its European production at the plant in Wroclaw, Poland...Volvo Bus' strategic direction is continued volume growth to maintain the company's position as a leading bus manufacturer and to ensure a long-term competitive industrial structure... Volvo Bus is investing a total of SEK 400 million in the Wroclaw plant, which is being expanded to an annual capacity of 1,100 buses and coaches and an additional 1,400 chassis... Future product introductions and market development will influence when and how the remaining industrial structure in Europe, and specifically the plants in Irvine, Scotland and Vanda, Finland (CH) will be affected. (VBC press release, 1998)

The global managers who drew on the discourse of globalization also presented the future profitability as an apolitical process not dependent on the actions of the global management (Fairclough, 2006). The blame for the shutdown in this discourse was put on an abstract and unpredictable market situation that was not in the hands of the management. A global manager framed the inevitability in 2000 as follows.

...city bus is basically produced in Carrus Helsinki ... depending on the success in Europe, certain city buses will most likely be produced in Poland ... the exact timing (of the closure) will depend on market situations. (global manager 2)

For the locals, grounding restructuring plans in the context of profitability was meaningless and manipulative if not simultaneously related to other corporate values that were executed at local levels. Therefore, the locals surfaced themes of 'production quality', 'experienced work force', 'long experience in knowledge creation', drawing on a discourse of customer care (Zanoni & Janssens, 2003) 'need for customized rather than standardized production' and 'local profitability' that they related to 'profitability and financial performance' in their discourse. From the locals' perspective the global managers intentionally reduced the financial performance of the local units and the survival of a globalized business to a question of future potential and expected - but so far not realized - profits in Poland, and ignored the discourse concerning local abilities and particularly local profitability. In the first example, from year 2000, an employee reflects the local view on 'profitability' and 'experienced work force' in relation to unrealized production goals in Poland.

Well I must say that it (the closure decision) felt unreal in the sense that CH was making a good return. It did not make sense for the owner, even a new one, to destroy a unit that was making a good profit. But it is understandable if you just read the results from the stock exchange pages...And this situation today in Poland. It shows that the employees here (in Finland) have been in this field for a long time. We have better knowledge. We know what is possible and what is not, based on experience. (employee 2)

In the second example a union representative relates the theme 'local profitability' to the profitability discourse of the global managers set out in an information meeting at CH in 2001. This explains how the local side had tried to take up 'local profitability' as a theme in negotiations with the corporate management.

We asked in the consiliation negotiations why one of the few profitable units in VBC (CH) is under the threat of shutdown. The answer was that they were seeking to secure the future of the Polish production unit because its cost level is lower... It is very strange that the company refuses to generate money! (employee 1)

Resistance by justifying new relevant themes relating to the negotiations enabled the locals to call into question some of the premises of the global managers, and directed attention to themes that they first considered less important. The authorized speakers of the discourse of globalization began, little by little, to frame the organizational future not only in terms of the development in the Polish units but also in terms of the abilities of the local Finnish units. However, the existence of the Polish unit was never questioned, unlike the existence of the other European units, despite setbacks in Poland. In 2006 the production in Poland had increased to 800 busses per year (cf. 1400 estimated in the press release of 1998 referred to above). In 2006 a global manager formulated the future of the two remaining Finnish units (Tampere and Turku) and a remaining Swedish unit (Säffle) with a perspective linked to central themes in both of the discourses. In other words, the themes surfaced by the locals were integrated into the 'global profitability' aspect of the discourse of globalization:

There is a difference between the starting points. Poland wants everything specified in detail in advance, while Finland is able to start with a prototype work because of their tradition and abilities in the organization...Säffle, Tampere and Turku, even though they need to compete with that low cost, I think their benefit is still that closeness to customer problems and the ability to quickly understand and to adapt to customer needs... And there is no simple answer to whether the remaining three plants will survive, except to say if they manage to be very competitive even though their weighted cost is five six times above Poland. If they manage to level out that with other advantages like shorter lead times, better products, better customer relations, better flexibility. The only way I think is to be very close to the customer to give a superior offer where the customers are prepared to pay for it...The thing is how we keep the whole system very competitive against Scania, Mercedes and MAN. Most of us have solved it by looking for low

cost labour. But BMW, Toyota, Volvo cars they could not solve it by moving production. They also had to increase value. How do we offer a superior bus? That is yet to be answered. (global manager 3)

In summary, the discursive space between the two organizational discourses was contested by the producers of resistance, who challenged the discourse of globalization in order to justify the restructuring. Although the global managers never gave up the restructuring plans and they closed CH after postponing the closure a few times, the range of shared themes in the two discourses was widened due to the resistance efforts of the locals. This was meaningful particularly for the remaining Finnish units. Acceptance and articulation of new shared themes helped the antagonists to position their discourse closer to that of the protagonists and therefore work towards a mutually understandable meaning of restructuring. Broadening the scope of shared themes in these discussions was essential to the locals in order to make negotiation meaningful, but also because of their process of identity construction, to which I will turn next. Interdiscursivity (see for example Fairclough, 2003; Hardy & Phillips, 1999) between these two organizational discourses also increased and enabled both sides to better draw from both discourses.

The struggle between discursive resources for financial arguments

Individuals can use discourses as a resource in their efforts to enact strategy (Hardy, Palmer & Phillips, 2000). These discourses, again, can draw on a broader societal context as a source of discursive resources for organizational discursive activity (Keenoy et al., 1997, Hardy & Phillips, 1999). In this study the struggle between ‘acceptable’ sources of discursive resources was one of the central struggles between the competing discourses. Worthy of note is that this struggle was around discursive resources that were used for financial arguments; in other words, the use of financial ‘facts’. From the perspective of social constructionism all truth claims, or ‘facts’, are constructions (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004B). Both parties in this

study utilized financial ‘facts’ to construct their organizational reality. However, the ‘facts’ that the parties used as their discursive resource did not draw on shared knowledge. The locals drew on local sources of financial knowledge. To produce exact data to support the arguments of the local discourse, CH continued to produce its own financial reports as well as those required by the corporate reporting system. In the narrative of a corporate manager (in the first quote, from 2000) and, in the narrative of a local manager (in the second quote, from 2002), the parties describe the struggle between creating and utilizing the right kind of discursive resources:

We take decisions like calculation methods. Very hard, and we go through it once, twice, the third time ...We are here going through it with our financial girls (sic) and with all the sales people and, a year after, what we see is they are still using it internally...they have started using two systems now! The old system and the new system! (global manager 2)

I see there is a big problem when they are calculating the results of these very different factories by comparing the costs per bus. One easily comes to wrong conclusions. It is an old saying, but you should be able to compare an apple with another apple, and that is very difficult in this situation with their ways of calculating the results. (local manager 1)

The corporate managers were also induced to legitimize their discursive premises by discursive resources approved by the locals. Three years after the shutdown of CH, the middle managers reported how their efforts to place new demands in their argument had started to bear fruit:

Research has now been done by Volvo people: an ABC-analysis, in which they, for the first time, went through all the products, complete buses, so that you take the real cost not the so-called standard cost per bus...Thus I would say that now there is at last genuine interest to find the truth. You do not need to nag so much about it anymore...They have found the tools for searching for the truth now, but they are afraid to go through with it. Hopefully they will now. (local manager 3)

In summary, discursive representations of phenomena such as restructurings and globalization are resources that are developed by social agents in order to accomplish social objectives (Fairclough & Thomas 2004). Through the struggle between discursive resources the locals questioned the premises of the discursive reality of the global managers and the neutral character of financial 'facts' as incontestable information that inevitably subjugates all other 'facts' upon which the resistance is based.

The struggle between identity constructions (of self and others)

Discursive activity is likely to engage in struggles around identity (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004a). From the discourse perspective identity is fragmented, fluid, ambiguous, always changing and shapes organizations (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Identity is constituted in the personal and shared narratives that people author in their efforts to make sense of their world (Humphreys & Brown, 2002). In this study identity was produced in both the organizational discourses and such identity constructions were utilized as means of power and resistance in two particular ways: by constructing a collective identity with those in selected 'rival' units, and by distancing through identity boundaries. Collective identities are produced in discursive processes and lead to various forms of collective action and acts as a resource for participants in future conversations (Hardy, Lawrence & Grant, 2005). Identity boundaries, on the other hand, are socially constructed 'fences' that separate domains, such as 'who I am' and 'who we are', from other domains (Kreiner, Hollensbe & Sheep, 2006).

Constructing collective identity with selected 'rival' units

A collective identity is a discursively produced object embodied in talk and texts that creates a form of collective of its producers (Hardy et al. 2005). In this study, after being acquired to VBC, the local managers and employees in the three Finnish units constructed a collective identity based on their common history as part of the Carrus Group, although they were units

with different products and in positions of rivalry in running towards a single production unit in Europe. The collective and resistant identity of these units was conferred in the discourse of the global managers. The following quote is from 2000:

They (in Carrus) don't have so much Volvo in their mind. That can be good and that can be bad. Of course they very much have a focus on their own business in Carrus ... Of course they want to be independent in a certain way. (global manager 4)

The common identity construction of the Finnish units was based on viewing smaller factories, such as the Finnish factories, in the organization as producers of tailored products that customers demanded, in contrast to the Polish unit that concentrated on standardized products. This common identity facilitated communication and allowed the Finns to create mutual understanding (Hardy et al, 2005), which later included all the Nordic units. The collective identity acted as a resource for collaboration and prevented internal conflicts (Hardy et al., 2005) The local management was also better able to justify its position and construct its identity through the local discourse during the times of restructuring that challenged its legitimacy (Thomas & Linstead, 2002). Finnish managers explained this in a small group interview in 2004:

Local manager 2: ...there is this Nordic group that meets regularly, once every six weeks, to go through the situation and joint messages are then formed there. Managers of the Nordic units are present plus the commercial management.... Local manager 3: ... I say that the work done by that group ended the continuous search for units to be closed. Although Aabenraa (a Danish unit) has now been closed - but it was mainly for strategic reasons as the aluminium concept was produced in too many places- it has constantly been able to influence the discussion. (local managers 2 and 3)

To initiate discursive activities, actors must hold subject positions that warrant sufficient voice, as recognized by others, otherwise the impact of the activities or statements will be minimized (Hardy et al., 2000). The bonds between the Nordic units were able to give these

units a stronger voice and turn the situation around: from units waiting for calls for a shutdown, to units whose opinions were first sought. Later the corporate managers grouped all the Nordic units together and gave them a role and conferred their identity (Collinson, 2003) as units producing customized products. A global manager explained in 2006:

Säffle and Turku and Tampere are ...quick in starting up and adapting to new needs. So there is, yeah, we can say a somewhat different character and you could call Poland more industrialized. ...So in case there is a continued strong need for customer adaptations I think that is the niche where Säffle, Tampere and Turku will remain strong while standard products would go to Poland.
(global manager 3)

The association that was earlier interpreted as resistance towards the new organizational structures was later positively associated with the central theme of 'financial performance of the organization' within the discourse of globalization. The association emanating from the local levels was also later encouraged by the top management. Global managers said in 2006:

I think the future for Volvo Buses will be to get the similar close contact between the European plants that Carrus represented for Tampere and Turku because in a joint organization they could handle new products, new orders, they could split orders between plants which means they have capacity flexibility. And exactly that is required from Volvo Bus Europe production.
(global manager 3)

Turku and Tampere could integrate their units and processes even more! (global manager 5)

In summary, resisting through collective identity constructions with selected 'rival' units the organizational members of the Nordic units were able to create their factories more distinct roles and articulate why they were needed in the organization. Uniting with other units also provided the Finnish units with a louder voice than what they would have had as a single unit. As a consequence, the unit identities were also reconstructed in the discourse of the global managers.

Distancing through identity boundaries

Although for some employees the knowledge transfer projects appeared as positive opportunities for working abroad, for many others they seemed to represent ruthless exploitation of the Finnish employees, because one of the units was under a shutdown threat. Many Finnish employees felt the need, in terms of unit identity, to create symbolic space to dissociate and distance themselves from the Polish unit and its goals. A CH factory worker stated in a TV-documentary film about the shutdown (Koiso-Kanttila & Hämäläinen, 2000):

Now I say we throw a spanner in the works! They shall learn how to make their buses (in Poland)
all by themselves! (employee 3)

The place of work served as a resource for identity construction (Brown & Humphreys, 2006). The Finns possessing the knowledge needed in Poland, in the local discourse, highlighted from time to time the contradiction of making the Polish unit a well-working ‘copy’ of the Finnish units with the capability for mass production. In the local discourse, for example, attention was drawn to cultural differences between the hierarchical Polish business culture and the less hierarchical Finnish working culture, and questions of quality of the production when constructing the identities of these units. The identity of the Finnish units was strongly based on the employees’ long experience in the field, i.e. a discourse of professionalism and expertise (Thomas & Linstead, 2002). As the Polish unit did not possess the culture of experience, this served as the strongest political boundary that was mentioned when resisting knowledge transfer in the local capitalism discourse. A Finnish key employee reported in 2001:

When I was teaching there (in Wroclaw)...the feeling was that the experience was not transferable to that product although it was called a bus there as well...There is no education for this field. Learning takes place besides working. (employee 1)

The political boundaries of identity were thus used to justify not meeting the goals in Poland. In addition, the Poles reported in 2004 that they had noticed a dissociation from the global organizational goals in the knowledge transfer from the Finns:

I don't believe that there are people who will give you all information if they know that this is the end of their work. Of course not, because they don't want to, but they have no motivation to do that. I feel bad. And I don't feel that it is possible to trick it; first saying you will obtain this information and then you say "okay now you are not needed". (local manager 4, Poland)

Despite the visible political boundaries in the discourse of globalization this kind of distancing of identity from organizational culture and professional ideology was labelled as more symbolic than truly harmful (Kosmala & Herrbach, 2006). A global manager said in 2006:

...when it comes to helping a colleague there can be mixed feelings. Of course, they know in the long run it does not make much difference but they may think that "if we could postpone it a year or two it would mean we would win more time to adapt ourselves to the new situation". So of course there are feelings but in the actual situation, and you may have this confirmed by Poland, I think the support has been 100% loyal support from Finland. Once the decision is taken I feel that the Finnish organization will think that OK, if this is the case, we do our best. So in actual work I cannot recall any failures due to the threat. (global manager 3)

The locals' construction of a collective identity was also discursively distinguished from the identity of the global headquarters. It is typical that antagonists choose moral vocabularies to resist, while protagonists choose pragmatic vocabularies to support the change (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Further, in this study shared, morally loaded expressions, such as, "faceless corporation", were repeated verbatim by several local interviewees, thereby showing social legitimacy and acceptability of this identity to the global organization. At the same time, often the power of management was reproduced, although it was not so aimed

(Mumby, 2005), by granting it the full authority of decisions. A Tampere worked said in an interview in 2000:

We are in a faceless corporation....A listed company is faceless. That is how we feel when they quickly make this kind of (shutdown) decision without communicating directly and with no discussions about it. (employee 4)

The global managers distanced themselves by identifying themselves as advocates of global business that had no choice but to act upon the rules of globalization under duress. The following quotation is from 2000.

We go the same way as our rivals. Both MAN and Mercedes have very big factories in Turkey. They are producing buses there with the exact same philosophy (of cheap labour). (global manager 1)

In summary, distancing identities from the other units brought mostly symbolic value to the locals. However, the symbolic value of distancing should not be underestimated. It often has an important role in creating a feeling of relief to the resisting employees which helps them to perform (Fleming & Spicer, 2003) despite identity struggles. On the other hand, for the global management, distancing gave the potential to resign from the need to make corporate decisions understandable at the local levels.

The struggle between organizational ideologies

Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world, which contribute to establishing and maintaining relationships of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003). Individuals are, in essence, subordinated to ideologies, but can also create, use, and modify them (Alvesson, 1987). Actors can take control or manipulate how they present issues, as well as employ selective perceptions in order to protect and maintain their routinized or comfortable ways of perceiving issues (Heracleous, 2004). In the discourse of globalization the organizational ideology behind the restructuring was presented as a natural consequence

of an inevitable development of the whole industry. A global manager, in 2000, portrayed the organizational ideology as follows:

We travel the same road as our competitors...This whole industry has to change...we have to integrate body and chassis building on a whole different level and that you cannot do in a small body building factory. Instead you have to build a factory in Poland to do that... (global manager 1)

The locals fought to amend the distortion function of ideology (Chiapello, 2003). They protested against the new corporate ideology based on global business incentives and pressure, and instead highlighted an ideology based on the importance of each unit to the global organization. The local organizational ideology that justified the existence of the local units was also 'global', but from a different perspective. For the locals the global managers' ideology was global only in the context of the future, and not when considering the benefits of each unit to the global corporation. In the words of a local managers in 2004:

Local manager 2: Our vision in this tough intra-organizational competition is, instead of only regarding our cost level, in which in the long run we could do badly, we also merge other values like product concept matters into this and in that way we make us important in Volvo. They are the justification for our existence and therefore Volvo needs us and our goal is to actively market that... Our contribution is not only our operative income for Volvo, but also the euros, dollars, pesetas—all that comes through our concept (in other factories around the world where the concept is taken up). Local manager 3: We are worth keeping in the organization not because we are nice and bright, but because we can help them to earn a lot of money. In our presentations we always calculate at the end "earnings to Volvo by Carrus". There we mention besides normal business profits also the dividends, that Volvo have got from us: altogether SEK 550 million, that is more than what they have paid for this company...then the sum of business deals that they have got though the Carrus concept. Local manager 2: They are about 1400 (buses) per year. (local managers 2 and 3)

The local organizational ideology was also strongly based on developing the local base of knowledge. One employee talked about this aspect in the following way:

To further develop that (Polish unit) they are still going to need some of these smaller workshops, at least those two (Carrus units) and that one unit in Sweden, which have a bit of a different style of building than what we had (in CH). ...And when they think they know it all, then we know what happens [i.e. they will close down the unit]. For that reason, on the other hand, I think that the only way for these national units here to survive is to focus on increasing the knowledge. Otherwise it won't work. We should in principle be a bit ahead (of the other units) all the time.
(employee 1)

The struggle over interpretations of organizational ideology through the distortion function of the ideology utilized by the locals resulted in greater integration between the competing interpretations. In comparison to the earlier radical utterance in the global discourse about moving the European production solely to the mass production unit in Poland, later the relational position of the older units is also framed in the dominant discourse, with an emphasis on their knowledge and experience. The future was formulated by a global manager in 2006 as follows:

We are still very much depending on the knowledge of the Nordic centers like Turku and Tampere. Poland is also gaining that status, but as yet Poland has not transferred any product. So it takes time to understand the concept so fully that you can transfer it to somebody else and it is still only the old plants, Säffle and Finland, who can do that... So we can basically say that the original vision we had for Poland has been realized. It has been a longer road than perceived, because we underestimated the knowledge, the hidden knowledge.... (global manager 3)

In summary, discursive resistance through the distortion function of ideology was able to achieve better integration between the global and local interpretations of organizational ideology that were both based on a global, albeit differently so, construction of the reality.

Discussion

This study focuses on discursive struggles, involving both resistance and power, in a restructuring organization in which three newly acquired organizational units struggled against the decision to shutdown one of those units, and for the survival and organizational position of the other two units. Although this case is unique in many ways, the analysis brings new knowledge about the longitudinal discursive interplay between power and resistance in a restructuring organization. Through a discursive research method, I was able to focus simultaneously on evolving organizational discourses, and their impact on the development of power and resistance in the organization. When employing longitudinal approaches, as in this study, we can see the effects of resistance and the influence of discursive struggles over a longer time period. In general terms, resistance can be understood as a constant process of adaptation, subversion and re-inscription of dominant discourses, in which individuals pervert or subtly shift meanings, and eventually understandings (Thomas & Davies, 2005a). However, from the perspective of this study, not only changes in the dominant discourse but also changes in the less dominant local discourse are also interesting; i.e. how they are adapting, subverting or being re-inscripted along with the dominant discourses. According to the evidence from this study, resistance against the discourse of globalization is difficult, but not futile. I argue, that although resistance is rarely able to reverse global organizational decisions, such as restructuring decisions, it can still influence the evolution of shared discursal themes, employed discursive resources, identity construction and the formation of organizational ideology, through which subordinate, and dominant, discourses can develop. Even the symbolic value of resistance can be meaningful and create a feeling of relief for the resisting employees, which help them to perform (Fleming & Spicer, 2003).

This process can also refine the meaning of restructuring from a general understanding to a concept of multiple meanings. Firstly, in this study, although the dominant discourse had reduced the question of survival of a globalized business to an issue of the future potential found in a 'cheap labour country', the alternative discourse of the locals, that of local capitalism, was able to manipulate and broaden, to some extent, the organizational discourse themes. Consequently, the corporate management had to commit itself more to issues such as ways to assess not only global, but also local, profitability. Secondly, the dominant discourse shaped the local discourse to develop its arguments towards the way in which the dominant discourse articulated its aims. This led the locals to argue their case with a shared lexicon (Spicer & Fleming, 2007) of financial arguments and rhetoric especially acknowledged in the discourse of globalization. Thus, the local themes were generated in a different form and dressed in a financial corporate language. At the same time, the locals developed the arguments of the global managers by challenging the discursive resources that the corporate discourse employed. However, the context in which the arguments were presented significantly influenced their value. That is, the financial arguments had more weight in the context of discourse of globalization. The antagonists' context did not give the rights to present the similar abstract financial or other scenarios in a credible way that the protagonists' context gave. Therefore, the local arguments were often grounded more by facts than future scenarios. Ironically, in the end the financial arguments of the dominant discourse proved more tentative than they had been first promoted. 'The truth' ('real costs and results') that accounting claims to present often, as is the case here, form what is then seen as the legitimate performance, which gives accounting the ability to enable and distort communication (Power, Laughlin & Cooper, 2003). As a consequence of this and other things, there were substantial delays in ramping up of the Polish unit.

Thirdly, identity concerns have been found to be a strong motivational factor for resistance (Ezzamel et al., 2004). In this study locals were concerned about their identity in the new organization, but they also employed identity constructions as a resistance strategy against the discourse of globalization. The shared identity construction between 'rival' units and the boundaries between the Nordic units and the Polish unit resulted in a stronger role for these discursively created groups in both of the discourses. Further, the global managers used identity constructions to distance themselves from the locals. This highlighted their role as global business advocates whose actions need not always be made understandable at local levels.

Finally, the organizational groups engaged in a struggle between organizational ideologies. Ideologies have a role not only in justifying or reproducing control and relational power positions but also in grounding resistance and protests (Chiapello, 2003). Interestingly, both discourses created interpretations about the organizational ideology, highlighting the aspects of global business. However, drawing on the discourse of globalization, global managers focussed on the future oriented aspects of globalization, while for the locals, drawing on the local capitalism discourse, a global business ideology also needed to cover the past and present evaluation of business output, including a valuation of each unit's contribution to global organizational profits.

It is important to note that although the resistance researched in this study is at the level of discourse, these discursive forms of resistance also usually direct operational forms of resistance. For example, a strong discourse of resistance might motivate organizational misbehaviour (Ackroyd & Thompson, 1999). However, the frame of discourse makes it possible to understand both of these forms of organizational resistance (Mumby 2005), and to

pay attention to the contemporary, potentially new, forms of resistance that might be born out of the ever-present fear of losing one's job (Collinson, 1994).

Conclusion

The longitudinal discursive approach in this study contributes by explaining the relationship between discursive processes and the products of these processes realized in organizational power relations over the course of time. This paper also points out the importance of discursive strategies for justifying and contesting organizational decisions (Vaara, Tienari & Laurila, 2006), and the potential for resistant groups to transform discourses and even contest the discourse of globalization (Spicer & Fleming, 2007). Although it often seems that the discourse of globalization is not contestable, a longitudinal analysis in this study shows that an argument based on the discourse of globalization can be questioned in many ways in the course of time. One reason for this is that the barriers to access of various kinds of organizational knowledge decrease over time and thereby enable organizational groups other than those at the highest organizational levels to find the discursive resources that support their discourses. Even space and support for financial counter-arguments can be found, although financial arguments are usually considered as an especially strong discipline (Knights & Collinson, 1987) in that they are considered fact-like, non-challengeable arguments, or a 'non-negotiable truth'.

In addition, this paper is a demonstration of the power of different discursive contexts. It shows how the global context provided the potential for the protagonists to screen out the complexity of the phenomenon and to stick to its decisions even though the antagonists contested their arguments on several levels. It also shows how the local discourse found ways to maintain its existence, although not the power it held in the 1970s, when the efforts to avoid restructuring were legitimized in the emerging discourse of globalization (Hardy,

1985). In our contemporary society, it seems that the legitimacy of actions in this discourse is gained by pointing out its future potential or even 'imaginaries' (Fairclough & Thomas, 2004).

The formation of resistance strategies shown in this case study also confirms the twofold position of middle managers (local managers) as both the subject and object of resistance. Even middle managers can be fairly oppressed and the subject of resistance (Thomas & Davies, 2005b; Fairclough & Thomas, 2004), although they are usually considered as a powerful elite group. Middle managers are not univocal or passive victims of restructuring, but rather active agents constructing, resisting and challenging the subjectivities offered to them (Linstead & Thomas, 2002). The study also illustrates that it is difficult for all organizational managers to influence resistance on the level of discourse in ways other than engaging in the discursive struggles.

Developing the themes from this study, some interesting avenues for future research would be to examine how the constant changes of global managers, and less changing middle managers, influence the development of organizational discourses in the long term: what happens to the organizational discourses when management suddenly changes. One could also consider why the existence of a 'cheap labour unit' was never questioned despite continuous operational slack, while the older units were constantly required to prove their importance. As a consequence an interesting research avenue would be to examine whether the discursive processes create hegemony around the existence of so called cheap labour units. These avenues would add to our understanding of the multifaceted meanings of restructuring and the role of discursive struggles for organizational processes.

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**3 *Essay 3: On the darker side of globalization: A Critical discursive
analysis of the legitimation of global industrial restructuring***

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(Unpublished manuscript)

Abstract

This article focuses on the discursive legitimation of global industrial restructuring. By using methods of critical discourse analysis, we examine the media coverage of six controversial offshoring and shutdown cases in Finland. As a result of our abductive analysis, we distinguish struggles over voice, economic rationality, moral responsibility, and inevitability. Our analysis reveals discursive dynamics that characterize each of these struggles. We argue that a full understanding of the discursive aspects of legitimation requires an appreciation of all these inter-related micro-level struggles. In particular, it is important to emphasize the various subtle ways in which inevitability is constructed.

Introduction

Globalization challenges established values and practices in corporate decision-making. In particular, decisions to transfer production from one country to another create political and ideological struggles in various places around the world. From a corporate perspective, these struggles are legitimacy crises that involve fundamental strategic questions (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999). From the societal point of view, the question is about moral responsibility (Basu & Palazzo, 2008). In today's world, these struggles are not only fought between the immediate stakeholders; in fact, the media form an increasingly central arena for the legitimization or delegitimation of such decisions. These mediatized struggles have thus become an essential part of MNE decision-making. Nevertheless, we lack knowledge regarding how the discursive and ideological struggles are actually played out.

In this paper, we argue that it is useful to adopt a discursive perspective: to view legitimacy as a discursively constituted sense of appropriateness. This perspective helps to go beyond the simplistic view that specific decisions are either legitimate or illegitimate and to focus attention on the micro-level discursive practices and strategies through which senses of legitimacy and illegitimacy are continuously produced and reproduced. Our analysis draws from recent studies on rhetorical (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) and discursive (Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006) legitimation that have identified specific legitimation strategies in contexts such as mergers and acquisitions. However, we argue that there is a need to take a step further towards a full appreciation of the complexities involved in legitimation. In particular, we lack understanding of the inherent dialectics of legitimation, of how the legitimation of controversial decisions entails an omnipresent struggle.

We draw from critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1997, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2002), and argue for a micro-level approach to discursive legitimation. This allows one to

focus on the textual level of discursive legitimation struggles. From this perspective, legitimacy means a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse. Thus, any sense of legitimacy can be linked with a specific discourse and ideology. Careful linguistic analysis of this kind can identify legitimation strategies that form the basis for subtle legitimation in and through texts. These are specific, though not always intentional or conscious, ways of employing different discourses or discursive resources to establish legitimacy. However, we wish to emphasize the incomplete, ambiguous, and contested nature of legitimation. This means in simple terms that in the case of controversial organizational decisions, legitimation and delegitimation are often simultaneously employed strategies in the discursive dialectics surrounding controversial organizational decisions.

Our analysis focuses on the public discussion around recent cases involving relocation of production from Finland to other countries. Finland provides a particularly interesting setting because its business system and society as a whole has been characterized by accentuated collective responsibility for the well-being of specific communities. This has also been reflected in the decision-making of Finnish corporations, which have usually adopted a cautious approach to radical changes such as transfer of production or plant closures. However, things have changed recently; corporations operating in Finland have started to engage in unprecedented and previously socially unacceptable maneuvers such as shutdowns of production units that have not been clearly unprofitable. In our analysis, we concentrate on the media coverage around these offshoring decisions. By analyzing the extensive media text material, we focus on the micro-level discursive processes, functions and strategies.

As a result of our abductive analysis, we were able to identify struggles over voice, economic rationality, moral responsibility, and inevitability. Our analysis reveals specific discursive dialectics that characterize each of these struggles. The key conclusion is that a full

understanding of the discursive aspects of legitimation requires an appreciation of all these inter-related micro-level struggles, not only the most apparent argumentative level. In particular, we maintain that the cosmological level – the discursive construction of inevitability – deserves specific attention as it easily passes unnoticed in traditional rhetorical or discursive analysis.

Discursive legitimation of global industrial restructuring

Globalization as Discourse

Any review of the literature on ‘globalization’ suggests that it is a contested concept and phenomenon (Castells, 1996; Bauman, 1998; Giddens, 1999; Bartelson, 2000; Guillén, 2001; Drori, 2007). Guillén (2001), for example, points out that the disagreement starts from the question of whether ‘it is really happening’. Fiss and Hirsch (2005) in turn underscore the vagueness of the concept and the multiple ways of looking at this phenomenon. On the whole, the protagonists link globalization with economic growth that is advantageous for all (Levitt, 1983; Ohmae, 1990). Critics argue that contemporary globalization is fundamentally unbalanced, and leads to unprecedented social and societal problems such as inequality and poverty (Bauman, 1998; Bourdieu, 1998; Gilpin, 2000; Mittelman, 2000).

Following Guillén (2001: 236), we see globalization as “a process leading to greater interdependence and mutual awareness (reflexivity) among economic, political, and social units in the world, and among actors in general.” In this paper, we focus on the reflexive side of globalization and the power of this discourse in the social construction of reality (Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). More specifically, we take a critical discursive perspective that allows us to examine how the discourse of globalization reproduces, legitimates and naturalizes specific views of social and economic order, and not others (Fairclough, 2006). This is not to downplay the material aspects or implications of globalization, but to underscore the fact that

‘globalization’ is reproduced in talk and decision-making, with fundamental social, cultural, and economic implications (Tomlinson, 1999). As Bauman puts it, “globalization is talked into being” (1998). A key characteristic of this globalization discourse is that it is modernistic in spirit (Giddens, 1990) and future-oriented (Cameron & Palan, 2004; Fairclough & Thomas, 2004). It is often the belief in the inevitability of this process that is its key driving force (Fairclough, 2006).

Globalization discourse is linked with ideology (Cox, 1996) and its multiple framings tend to reproduce complex and contradictory ideological associations (Fourcade-Gourinchas & Babb, 2002; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005). Many see neoliberalism (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001) and global capitalism (Fairclough, 2006) as the ideology behind globalization. However, the resistance of globalization may reflect other ideologies such as radical humanism (Held, McGrew, Goldbatt, & Perraton, 1999). Often, globalization can also be resisted on nationalist grounds if constructed national interests seem to be at stake (Anderson, 1983; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999). Consequently, globalization is a contested discourse that involves fundamental ideological struggles.

These struggles are a central part of the decision-making of multinational enterprises (MNEs). MNEs are arguably at the nexus of globalization: on the one hand, they face competitive pressures that arise from globalization; on the other, they are primary agents promoting globalization through their actions (Chandler & Mazlich, 2005; Jones, 2005). In their decision-making, they face the discursive and ideological struggles related to global industrial restructuring. Such struggles are particularly salient when MNEs make controversial decisions. These include decisions to transfer production from one location to another, often called ‘offshoring’ for want of a better term. Such decisions tend to create legitimacy

struggles in and around the MNEs in question. This is the case at the corporate level and at specific locations, especially where units are to be shut down (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999).

Such decisions have received surprisingly little attention in academic literature. The widespread sociological discussion on globalization tends to highlight the adverse effects of MNE actions. This literature, however, tends to remain at an abstract level and not to focus on specific decision-making processes. There are, nevertheless, exceptions that provide insights into the discursive dynamics involved. For example, Fiss and Hirsch (2005) showed how discourses on ‘globalization’ became increasingly contested in the US in the late 1990s in response to an increasing awareness of job losses and wage erosion caused by transfers of production. Ahmadjian and Robbins (2005) in turn illustrated how corporate restructuring in the form of downsizing and divestiture was linked with clashes of stakeholder- and shareholder business models in the Japanese economy in the 1990s. Hirsch and DeSoucey (2006) in turn examined how the discourse of ‘organizational restructuring’ is closely linked to ‘globalization’ and used to legitimate controversial measures such as downsizing. In particular, they argued that “the language of restructuring is regularly used to mask, reframe, and sugarcoat economic slumps” (Hirsch & DeSoucey, 2006: 171).

Organization scholars have tended to look at issues such as ‘offshoring’ from the corporate perspective, without a broader critical reflection of the social phenomenon in question. In particular, critical analyses are scarce (Doh, 2005; Levy, 2005). Nevertheless, there are interesting openings that highlight controversies in this discourse. Cohen and El-Sawal (2007) focused on accounts of offshoring in the UK and India. They found that the respondents frequently mobilized cultural stereotypes when making sense of this process and its outcomes. Knights and Jones (2007) argued that as discursive metaphors, neither ‘dream’ nor ‘nightmare’ captures the essential meanings of the discourse on offshoring. Mir, Mir, and

Bapuji (2007) in turn found that this discourse involves class struggle, worker alienation, intra-organizational bargaining, imperialism and cultural dislocation.

The fact remains, however, that there is a lack of understanding of how globalization and its adverse effects are discursively legitimated and resisted in concrete organizational settings. In particular, there is a paucity of knowledge on the role of the media in such struggles. For this purpose, we now proceed to outline a critical discursive perspective on legitimation that will allow us to focus on the micro-level discursive dynamics.

Legitimation of Organizational Change

The concept of legitimacy has a significant role in sociological analysis in general (Parsons, 1960; Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Weber, 1968; Giddens, 1984) and organizational analysis (Dowling & Pfeffer, 1975; Meyer & Rowan, 1977; March & Olsen, 1989; Scott, 1995; Suchman, 1995; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008) in particular. While there are distinctively different views on legitimacy, most agree that it is intimately linked with the institutionalization of specific social phenomena and the stability of social relationships (Suchman, 1995; Ruef & Scott, 1998; Colyvas & Powell, 2006). These analyses have shown that legitimacy can rest on different bases: pragmatic (calculations involving self-interest), moral (based on normative approval) and cognitive (based on comprehensibility and taken-for-grantedness) (Suchman 1995). From this perspective, unexpected and controversial actions are most interesting because they can trigger 'legitimacy crises' where the previous conceptions of taken-for-grantedness and normalness are challenged (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999).

Lately, researchers have paid attention to the discursive aspects of legitimation (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Researchers have accordingly examined how issues are framed

(Martin et al., 1990; Creed et al., 2002; Maguire, Hardy, & Lawrence, 2004) and how impression management is used in legitimation (Staw et al., 1983; Ashforth & Gibbs, 1990; Elsbach & Sutton, 1992; Elsbach, 1994; Arndt & Bigelow, 2000). Others have singled out specific elements in rhetorical justification (Green, 2004, Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005, Vaara et al., 2006). In particular, Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) developed a rhetorical perspective on legitimation strategies. They identified the following kinds of strategies for the legitimation of radical institutional change: ontological (rhetoric based on premises on what can or cannot exist or co-exist), historical (appeals to history and tradition), teleological (divine purpose or final cause), cosmological (emphasis on inevitability), and value-based theorizations (appeals to wider belief systems). Vaara et al. (2006) took a critical discursive perspective on a cross-border merger. They identified five types of strategy used for the legitimation of merger: normalization (exemplification of 'normal' function or behavior), authorization (authority construction), rationalization (rationale), moralization (moral basis), and narrativization (construction of a compelling plot). This study summarizes these previous studies but is also an elaboration of them. Our analysis breaks down the strategies of previous research into ten subgroups, shows the discursive legitimation dynamics of media text in action, and is able to make a contribution by analyzing the popularity of these different legitimation strategies.

In this paper, we draw from these studies, but wish to develop the CDA perspective further so that it allows us to capture the variety of discursive strategies and practices used in legitimacy struggles over global industrial restructuring. The cornerstones of this perspective are (1) the central role of discourses in the creation of senses of legitimacy, (2) the idea that legitimacy involves discursive and ideological struggles, (3) the view that texts are key sites of the struggles, and (4) the central role of micro-level textual practices and strategies in legitimation.

First, in CDA, senses of legitimacy are created in relation to specific discourses (van Dijk, 1998; Fairclough, 2003). Available discourses greatly constrain specific actors when they make sense of and give sense to social changes. In fact, specific discourses warrant voice to particular concerns in legitimation (Fairclough, 1997; van Dijk, 1998). However, social actors can also purposefully mobilize particular discourses for their own advantage. This does not mean a simplistic position on intentionality, but rather an understanding that emphasizes the constant discursive strategizing around controversial decisions.

Second, CDA starts from the assumption that discourses involve struggles. These are not always apparent, and it is a key objective in CDA to unravel specific conceptions that pass unnoticed, for example taken-for-granted assumptions around globalization (Fairclough, 2006). These struggles also deal with more fundamental ideological issues. In fact, legitimation usually involves the mobilization of specific value-laden standpoints and moral assumptions that are linked with specific ideologies (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997; van Dijk, 1998; van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999).

Third, from a CDA perspective, legitimation takes place at the textual level. Texts are here understood broadly as any instances of language use ranging from published documents to conversations, covering various genres of social interaction (Fairclough 2003: 2-3). Unlike some other more abstract forms of discourse analysis, CDA focuses on micro-level practices and their empirical analysis. Thus, CDA allows one to focus on concrete texts as sites of discursive and ideological struggles. In this view, texts are the key to a detailed understanding of how exactly specific issues or changes – such as offshoring and shutdowns – are discursively constructed, legitimated, and resisted. In this view, texts both reflect generally held assumptions and at times transform and challenge such assumptions. What is important is that this view of legitimacy highlights the complexities, ambiguities and contradictions

involved in legitimation. That is, specific texts often involve multiple kinds of discursive practices and strategies that either legitimate or de-legitimate particular actions or phenomena.

Fourth, essential to CDA is a focus on the specific textual practices and strategies through which legitimation is carried out. These legitimation strategies are specific, but not always intentional or conscious ways of using discursive resources to establish legitimacy or de-legitimacy. From this kind of perspective, legitimation can be seen as a discursive process creating senses of legitimacy or illegitimacy in specific texts and social contexts. That is, certain things come to be portrayed as positive, beneficial, ethical, understandable, necessary, or otherwise acceptable in the texts in question (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). In contrast, other things are constructed as negative, harmful, intolerable, or, for example, morally reprehensible. However, this does not mean that legitimation and delegitimation would always be symmetrical processes. For example, in their analysis of 20th century revolutions, Martin et al. (1990) illustrated that the delegitimation of the regime under attack and the legitimation of an alternative regime did not follow the same patterns.

What then are these strategies? A CDA analysis, like any other discursive analysis, can start from the Aristotelian analysis comprising *logos* (logic and rationality), *pathos* (moral, value and emotion), and *ethos* (character and authority) (Aristotle, 1954). In the New Rhetoric, focus has shifted from simple rhetorical techniques to more complex forms of discursive persuasion and convincing (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). The seminal analysis of Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) referred to above is a rare example of such organizational analysis. However, in CDA, it is important to emphasize the linkages between text, discourse, and ideology. This has led van Leeuwen and his colleagues to develop a special 'grammar of legitimation'. According to van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999), there are four general types of

semantic-functional strategy, that is ways in which language is used to establish senses of legitimacy: ‘authorization’ (reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law and of persons in whom institutional authority is vested), ‘rationalization’ (reference to the utility of institutionalized social action), ‘moral evaluation’ (reference to value systems that provide the moral basis), and ‘mythopoesis’ (legitimation conveyed through narratives). This means telling stories or constructing narrative structures to indicate how the issue in question relates to the past or the future. The study by Vaara et al. (2006) referred to is based on this model.

In the spirit of CDA, we underscore that the variety of legitimation strategies used depends on the issue and context. Consequently, struggles over globalization in general and transfer of production in particular involve specific discursive strategies and practices that must be taken seriously. We also wish to emphasize an issue that has so far received little attention in CDA: the dynamics involved in the use of specific strategies within specific texts. That is, following the struggle perspective to its logical conclusion means that it is not only the strategies but their dialectics within the texts that are crucial for development of a fine-grained understanding of the discursive and textual aspects of legitimation.

The Media as an Arena for Legitimation

In contemporary society, legitimation processes take place in various social arenas. The media have become a particularly important legitimation arena that both reflects commonly held assumptions and actively shapes public opinion (Deephhouse, 1996; Lamertz & Baum, 1998; Abrahamson & Fairchild, 1999; Mazza & Alvarez, 2000; Boje et al., 2004). In particular, media coverage tends to determine the public agenda and the ways in which specific issues such as offshoring or shutdown decisions are framed (McCombs, 1997; Carroll & McCombs, 2003). Importantly for our analysis, this role is accentuated in legitimacy crises

where the corporate image may be at stake and need special ‘management’ (Elsbach & Sutton, 1992; Elsbach, 1994; Boje et al., 2004).

From a critical discursive perspective, media texts are key to legitimation in the sense that they – probably more so than any other texts – synthesize various aspects of the discursive and ideological struggles (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1990). They can thus be understood as key sites of legitimacy struggles. As texts, they are a hybrid genre that can include various kinds of elements ranging from more factual news reporting to personified columns (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1990). The authorship of the texts is also a complex issue: On the one hand, journalists are the ultimate authors of the texts. On the other, the texts also reproduce others’ voices and concerns. In this sense, journalists act as gatekeepers and editors (Parsons, 1989). In fact, journalists play a crucial role in promoting or downplaying specific discourses, warranting voice to specific concerns or silencing them (Kjaer & Slaatta, 2007).

Importantly, media texts reflect the complexities, ambiguities and contradictions involved in legitimation. That is, specific texts often involve multiple kinds of discursive practices and strategies that either legitimate or de-legitimate particular actions or phenomena. These legitimation effects can be the result of deliberate journalistic choices. However, the texts also often involve subtle forms of legitimation, delegitimation or re-legitimation of which the author of the text is not really aware. Thus, it is useful to adopt a micro-level discursive approach that can identify specific textual facets and discursive strategies and practices and their dialectics within these complex texts.

Methodology

Our study focuses on six cases that have received wide public attention in the Finnish media: the decision of Wärtsilä to terminate its diesel engine manufacturing in Turku (2004), the

decision of Flextronics to shut down its newly acquired electronics manufacturing services plant in Oulu (2004), the decision of Perlos to close down its electronics production in Ylöjärvi (2005), the decision of Leaf to close its unit in Turku (2005), the shutdown of Foxconn's mobile phone cover production in Hollola and Lahti (2005-2006), and the closure of United Paper Mill's (UPM) Voikkaa paper mill (2006). It is interesting that although none of these cases had been unprofitable as such, the economic rationale for the closure was related to the future benefits created by global industrial restructuring. In all these cases, this meant the transfer of production to venues located elsewhere in the world. These decisions were unprecedented in the sense that the consensus-based tradition in Finland has previously kept corporations from making such moves (Tainio & Lilja, 2003). It is thus not surprising that these cases have generated an interesting public debate in Finland, where the legitimacy of these decisions and global industrial restructuring more generally has been contested.

This Finnish debate serves as an illuminative case for our analysis of discursive legitimation struggles precisely because it allows us to examine the use of both legitimation and delegitimation strategies and practices in a discussion that stretches the boundaries of previous conceptions of social responsibility. This is not to say that the Finnish case would be generalizable to other contexts. In fact, the Finnish case – as any setting – certainly reflects specific features of its national business system (Whitley, 1992; Morgan, Whitley, and Moen 2005), and the effects and features of globalization in Finland are likely to be different from those in other settings. However, we believe that this case allows us to make analytical generalizations concerning the discursive legitimacy struggles and dialectics that with due caution can also characterize legitimacy struggles in other contexts.

Our empirical design is based on analysis of 612 newspaper articles. The selected articles were the main pieces of news or commentary discussing the decision at hand. Helsingin

Sanomat, the leading national and the Nordic daily newspaper with the most subscriptions, serves as our primary data source. From Helsingin Sanomat we collected all the articles – a total of 232 texts – concerning such cases for a period of one year beginning from the announcement of the closure decision. In addition, we examined the press coverage in the leading local newspapers for the same period. Altogether, 380 articles related to each of our cases were collected from local newspapers: Turun Sanomat (100+51), Kaleva (17), Aamulehti (60), Etelä-Suomen Sanomat (27), and Kouvolan Sanomat (125). Table 1 below summarizes our empirical data.

Insert Table 1 here

Data Analysis

The tradition in CDA is to engage in a close reading of specific texts (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2002). Studying a large number of texts is relatively rare in CDA, except in studies that combine more traditional content analysis with close analysis of particular texts, which is our approach here. A broader set of texts allows us to examine a fuller picture of the legitimating struggles and draw conclusions about the relative importance of specific legitimation and delegitimation strategies.

As is often the case in discourse analysis, our analysis was ‘abductive’ (Wodak, 2004). This means that our theoretical ideas were developed alongside an increasingly targeted empirical analysis. On the whole, this analysis proceeded in three stages. First, after having gathered the material, we used a combination of the legitimation strategy typologies of Suddaby and Greenwood’s (2005) and Vaara et al. (2006). This resulted in a preliminary categorization based on authority, rationale, moral basis, narrativity, and cosmology (inevitability), each including various sub-categories. We coded the material accordingly.

In the second stage, we discovered that most of the rationalizations dealt with economic issues and more specifically with the issue of profitability. After a closer examination of these arguments, we identified two argumentative levels: explicit financial rationalizations and explanatory rationalizations that focused on the explanations of economic performance. This corresponds to a classical distinction of rationalization and instrumental rationalization (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). We also saw that the moralizations could be broken down into two varieties according to their discourse-ideological basis: humanistic or societal (including nationalistic). Furthermore, we identified processual moralization (moralization related to processual justice) as an important type of its own. After noting the frequent use of discursive moves that can be called ‘responsibility shifts’, we added this form to our codings. We also realized that cosmological elements (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) played a crucial role in the texts. After examining these elements in more detail, we distinguished naturalizations (rendering something natural), exemplifications (using examples to construct normalness), and narrativizations (constructing plots to create senses of logic) as central cosmological legitimation strategies. We recoded the texts on this basis.

In the third stage, we examined the role of the legitimating and delegitimizing strategies in different facets of the texts. This led us to develop our key argument: that legitimacy struggles can be broken down into specific discursive facets each with its own specific dialectics. Methodologically, these can be seen as four different readings of the legitimacy struggles, each highlighting particular discursive facets. At this stage, we looked more closely into specific texts and analyzed particular examples to better understand the essential linguistic features of the discursive dialectics.

Table 2 below provides a summary of our codings and examples of specific legitimation or delegitimation strategies. The frequencies measure whether the particular strategy was used in

a text, not its total number of occurrence in the coded textual material. For example, protagonists could be given voice and serve as authorities several times in one text, or the same text could include multiple naturalizations of globalization.

Insert Table 2 here

Discourse analysis is necessarily interpretative – and often subjective. Consequently, our interpretations of the texts can be challenged, and many texts may be read otherwise. However, extreme care was taken in the actual coding and recoding of the material that was done by the authors and a research assistant. This resulted in a detailed scheme that was used systematically in the final coding. To test the reliability of this coding, an independent expert examined a sample equivalent to 30% of our textual material. The inter-rater reliability was very high (94.70 %), providing confidence in the accuracy of the final codings. This agreement naturally provides no guarantee that other interesting discursive strategies and practices do not contribute to legitimization or delegitimation.

Finally, all of our material was in the Finnish language, and we conducted the analysis in Finnish. The examples provided in this paper are direct translations. Translations from one natural language are always problematic as meanings are lost and new ones are added in the process of translation. However, most of our essential findings concerning the legitimization struggles and strategies are analogous across different languages.

Results

As a result of our analysis, we distinguished and elaborated on struggles over voice, economic rationality, moral responsibility, and inevitability. These can be seen as different discursive facets of legitimization, each involving particular discursive dialectics. It should be

noted that identification of these strategies is primarily an analytical effort, and that these strategies were often intertwined in actual texts.

Struggles over Voice

A fundamental part of legitimation rests on authority (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Vaara et al., 2006). Authorization in CDA is usually seen as the first semantic-functional category (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). In critical media analysis, authorization is also related to the question of voice: whose voices are heard and whose are marginalized (Rojo & van Dijk, 1997). In this sense, journalists play a double role: they stand as authors of the texts but also gatekeepers for others' views and voices. Excluding the positioning of the journalists, the data comprised explicit authorizations in the form of clear references to protagonists in 18,95% and antagonists in 25,49% of the texts. Interestingly, voice was given to both authorities (ones whose comments legitimate and ones whose comments delegitimize) in the same article in 25,35% of all the articles that utilized this strategy (about 9% of all the articles) (Table 3). In other articles, which used this strategy the voice was given to either agents who legitimized or delegitimized the restructuring. As for the protagonists, the corporate representatives whose comments were given a great deal of space in the texts, as in the following examples (our underlining), were particularly important:

According to Jaap van den Bent, Director of Leaf International, the closure aims at improving cost efficiency. (Leaf 24.5.2005)

CEO Jussi Pesonen justifies the program [transfer of production] by the new and rapidly changing business environment. (UPM 9.3.2006)

In contrast, employees' representatives such as union representatives were often given voice as the principal antagonists. Sometimes, these comments were used to dramatize the

unfortunate consequences. However, often they also included clear-cut delegitimizing views.

The following are typical examples:

Raimo Häikiö, Chief Shop Steward at Leaf (Left-Wing Party) estimated that closing down the Turku confectionary factory will eliminate about a thousand jobs from the Turku region if the multiplicative effects are taken into account. (Leaf 13.7.2005)

Riitta Salo, union representative at the Ylöjärvi factory, to be shut down: “Globalization is a process that should be controlled better so that people would suffer less.” (Perlos 22.6.2005)

In addition, specific actors such as market analysts, investors, economic experts, trade union representatives, politicians, ministers, and representatives of city government were given voice as protagonists or antagonists, for example as follows:

Pekka Ylä-Anttila, Research Director of the Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA, predicts stormy closure news to be heard also in the future. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

Minister of Labor Tarja Filatov disapproves the furious outsourcing fever of corporations. (Perlos 18.2.2006)

These authorizations also included non-personified authorities such as ‘the markets’ or ‘industry experts’ as in the following:

This suits the markets. The stock price started to increase immediately after the restructuring news. (UPM 10.3.2007)

Interestingly, frequent references to specific actors tended to strengthen their authority position. For example, some experts seemed to become ‘gurus’ of globalization. This was, for example, with some researchers (see above), consultants, and industry analysts. Such

authority positions resemble what Bourdieu and Wacquant (2001) have provocatively called ‘communication consultants to the Prince’.

The point is that specific voices thus represented particular positions in these debates. The protagonists tended to reflect and reproduce ‘global capitalist’ ideas and ideology, while the antagonist voices were often linked with ‘local capitalism’, humanism, and nationalism as alternative ideological positions. A further analysis of these positions, however, requires a closer look at the other discursive facets of legitimation, especially argumentation around economic rationality and moral responsibility.

Struggles over Economic Rationality

Struggles over economic rationality form the second important facet in our analysis. Logos (rationality) is a key part of rhetoric (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), and various forms of rationalization are central legitimation strategies (Vaara et al., 2006). In our texts, the rationality debate focused on economic and financial aspects, not least because the units to be shut down had not been clearly unprofitable. In the structure of the texts, the legitimating comments of the protagonists often came first, and were then followed by the de-legitimizing comments.

Financial arguments. Explicit financial rationalizations for the transfers were found in 10,62% of the texts, while arguments against were located in 9,31% of the texts. The following is a typical example where globalization was seen to provide substantial economic benefits:

The decision of Wärtsilä shows that companies operating in international markets have to base their decisions on purely economic reasons. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

Interestingly, the antagonist seemed to argue precisely the opposite by maintaining that the units to be shut down had been profitable or at least not clearly unprofitable. The following is a typical example:

The decision of Wärtsilä has been criticized because the economic situation of the company did not force it to close down the Turku unit. (Wärtsilä)

At times, the media texts focused on this ambiguity by using an ironic, cynical, or witty tone of voice:

During the past decades the redundancies were justified by the lack of success of the company in question. As far as is known this is not the case in Flextronics. At least in the past accounting period sales and profits improved substantially. One never knows what the meaning of the figures of the past accounting period is as companies today live in the pulse of quarters. (Flextronics 5.10.2004)

This leads to an important observation: the very meaning of profitability differed in the legitimating and de-legitimizing arguments. In the legitimating arguments, the performance of the whole group was the central question, and specific units were considered only as part of this bigger picture. Furthermore, these profitability considerations were future-oriented and based on estimates of future benefits. In contrast, for the local people, the unit-specific profitability was the key issue. Thus, the struggle over profitability involved a juxtaposition of the logics of 'global' and 'local' capitalism. This is an interesting finding because it shows how traditional financial arguments do not seem to weigh as much as they used to in the framework of global organizational restructuring. This debate is thus a concrete example of how 'imaginaries' and 'future projections' (Fairclough and Thomas 2004) displace more traditional financial arguments in the legitimation of global industrial restructuring.

Explanatory Rationalizations. In addition to explicit financial argumentation, the texts frequently included more instrumental rationalizations in the form of explanations for economic performance. Legitimizing strategic rationalizations were found in 15,85% of the texts, whilst de-legitimizing strategic rationalizations characterized 13,56% of the material. Legitimizing arguments usually involved ‘strategic jargon’, that is terms such as ‘competitiveness’, ‘economies of scale’, ‘production capacity’, ‘flexibility’, ‘efficiency’, ‘cost reductions’, or ‘savings’ achieved by the offshoring and shutdown decisions. The following are typical examples:

Centralization brings flexibility in market fluctuations. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

The closure decision is first and foremost due to efficiency: Two factories produce power plants more efficiently than three units. (Wärtsilä 18.1.2004)

However, the texts also involved a variety of explanatory rationalizations that were used for de-legitimizing purposes. These rationalizations often focused on issues such as ‘labor costs’, ‘investment’, ‘customers’, or ‘orders received’.

The employees did not foresee the ending of the production as the operations have been totally normal and for the last couple of years there has been plenty of work. According to Salo [Chief Shop Steward], Ylöjärvi was the best corporate unit in Finland. The elected officials also wonder about the implementation of new production space, in which among others new production lines are built. (Perlos 28.4.2005)

These rationalizations are very interesting as they provide another insight into the juxtaposition of global and local capitalism. What is noteworthy is that most of the legitimizing explanatory rationalizations drew on a more abstract ‘strategy jargon’ while the delegitimizing explanations usually focused on concrete local concerns. Importantly, the

antagonists were rarely able to challenge the broader strategic considerations. In fact, the syntheses of the journalists often led to legitimating conclusions as in the following example:

For Leaf Finland this means the shutdown of the very profitable Turku unit. The management of Leaf International calculates that by closing down its own units the capacity that is left will be better utilized and performance for the corporation as a whole will improve. At the same time a corporation owned by capital investors will become more attractive to invest in. (Leaf 25.5.2005)

Note how this text thus explains the ambiguity about financial performance and promotes the role of capital investors as the key stakeholders of the companies.

Struggles over Moral Responsibility

Moral or value-based arguments form another key facet of discursive legitimation. Not surprisingly, moral statements played a central role in the texts describing and commenting on the consequences of the shutdown decisions. In the structure of the texts, delegitimizing moralizations usually came first, and were then followed by legitimating moralizations that tended to downplay the moral concerns

Moralization by Human Concerns. A significant number of the moralizations were based on humanistic discourse and ideology. In this kind of framing, the delegitimizing arguments (34,80%) tended to emphasize the human concerns whilst the legitimating arguments downplayed such problems (27,29%). Of articles that were utilizing humanistic moralization strategy 21,41% combined both legitimation and delegitimation arguments about the case. It is also interesting that humanistic moralizations was the strategy that was on the overall most popular for delegitimizing the restructuring considering all the articles. The delegitimizing

moralizations often focused on the drastic human implications for those who would lose their jobs in Finland:

There will be as many unemployed as during the deepest recession. (Perlos 18.2.2006)

It is unfair that profit-making companies like Wärtsilä and Leaf can make their employees redundant almost without taking any responsibility for them. The bitterness of the factory employees is totally understandable. (Leaf 30.5.2005)

Emphasizing the unfortunate human concerns was in fact the most central delegitimation strategy in our texts. At the same time, the key decision-makers and other protagonists tended to downplay the human concerns. This was done, for instance, by marginalizing the people that would have to deal with the problem or downplaying the stressful situation of redundant employees trying to find new jobs:

The redundant employees of Perlos Ylöjärvi have been re-employed well. Furthermore, the unemployment wave has not hit Ylöjärvi, although people were afraid that it would. (Perlos 11.1.2006)

Despite the bad news, the Mayor of Kuusankoski Reijo Huttunen is somewhat optimistic: “One can think that this is a new beginning for Kuusankoski.” (UPM 13.5.2006)

As the examples show, this rhetoric was characterized by abstractions and euphemisms that drew attention away from the human implications of the shutdown decisions. In their comments, the protagonists also frequently pointed to active measures taken to alleviate the problems caused for the employees, even though they would not concern the majority of the redundant:

According to Viialainen, the package offered by UPM for the Voikkaa factory is ”in many ways exemplary.” They agreed at Voikkaa on, for instance, pension arrangements, new training, employment opportunities, and promotion of entrepreneurship. (UPM 5.6.2006)

Interestingly, the protagonists at times also attacked the morality of those people who would resist the decisions as in the following example:

Johansson [CEO] reminds that by stalling [production] the employees will make it more difficult for a couple of hundred employees to keep their jobs. (Wärtsilä 28.1.2004)

The journalistic syntheses often juxtaposed these different moral views. This is a typical example:

“The employer was not ready to pay for anything. Only money counted. The main thing was to kick ass and rush on to closure,” described Häikiö [Chief Shop Steward] the proceeding of the negotiations according to the co-operation act [a law regarding compulsory negotiations in Finland]. In contrast, Leaf’s CEO, David Nuutinen, praised how there was agreement about the support package that emerged from the negotiations and that it was very good. (Leaf 13.7.2005)

Societal Moralization. In many articles, the decisions to relocate production related to broader societal concerns and national politics. Delegitimizing societal arguments were found in 34.15% and legitimating arguments in 11.60% of the texts. Often the articles adopted a nationalistic perspective and reflected on the implications for the region or the whole national economy.

The closure of the Flextronics factory is a terrible blow – it is heavy not only for the employees but also for the whole city and its surrounding municipalities. (Flextronics 25.9.2004)

”Someone should look after the interests of the Fatherland,” demanded Jouko Skinnari (Social Democratic Party). (Leaf 19.6.2005).

The nationalistic voices questioned the morality of exploiting Finnish resources or know-how in a dramatic way. In two cases out of five (Wärtsilä and Perlos), there were also questions concerning investment that government had made in these companies with the aim of providing support for Finnish R&D and employment:

The corporation used government money to develop the engine production that is to be moved to Trieste. (Wärtsilä 24.1. 2004)

Antti Puro, Elected Official of Senior Clerical Employees, is very sad since the shutdown decisions will move Finnish innovations abroad. “Even people, who were developing Xylitol [a famous Finnish innovation, a sweetener that is used worldwide] got the sack,” Puro complained. (Leaf 13.7.2005)

The texts also involved open moralization concerning the corporate decision-makers and owners. These were rhetorical strategies used by the antagonists to openly question the moral basis of the decisions. Such moralizations appeared to be most effective when they contrasted the shutdown decision with the dividends distributed to the owners, as in the following:

Corporate profit sharing is a question of the owners’ ethical values. Will the increased profits used for investing, hiring new employees, pay increases, or will they be paid out in dividends to the owners. Nowadays self-interest has won – with the help of the state’s favorable dividend tax system. (Perlos 1.6.2005)

At times the texts also included moral reflections on the target countries:

Jobs are not being exported to help new target countries but to make use of their “better” competitiveness. That is nothing else but exploitation and social dumping, since we know Finland is the most competitive country in the whole world when measured otherwise. (Perlos 14.7.2005)

The legitimating statements were in turn often characterized by shifting attention to the (positive) future of the remaining operations:

In Vaasa, the R&D operations will continue, but in Turku only services. These services are growing and are currently the most profitable area. It is expected that they will employ 200 persons in Turku. Services and maintenance are exactly the kind of high know-how operations in which Finnish labor can also be competitive in the future. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

In fact, the protagonists often underlined that the decisions had been necessary precisely to protect the future of the remaining operations and the jobs of those still working in the company. The following is a typical example:

According to Järvinen [Manager of Finnish Funding Agency for Technology and Innovation], transferring production abroad can sometimes be the only way to keep at least some of the jobs. (Perlos 1.7.2005)

Processual Moralization. In addition to the consequences of the offshoring and shutdown decisions, the media texts also concentrated on the decision-making process and its fairness. Delegitimizing processual arguments played an important role in 18,95% and legitimating processual arguments in 8,66% of the articles examined. The antagonists criticized the decision-making procedures, for example, by pointing to its ‘undemocratic’ nature. Also, the

morality of the faceless management style of the new capitalist managers was questioned, especially in our later cases.

According to Savschenko [Chairperson of Finnish Food Workers' Union], what makes it difficult is that "we do not even know who is behind the capital investment company which made the decision." (Leaf 2.6.2005)

Many of the critical arguments focused on the unfairness in choosing the new locations:

The employees were furious especially about the fact that the good results of their work will be transferred from Finland to the Italians. They reasoned that it is more expensive for the employer to lay people off in Italy. "Production is to be transferred to a place where they have made losses. We have been afraid of this, but the decision came as a surprise to many," says the Chief Shop Steward. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

"When they started to build factories in China that was supposed to guarantee work for us, too. All the high technology work was assumed to stay here," Salo [Chief Shop Steward] says. (Perlos 28.4.2005)

At times, the critical comments blamed specific corporate managers:

The Leaf confectionary factory primarily served domestic markets and it was profitable. According to the capital investor, the factory was more difficult to manage than its other factories, so it will be closed. One can wonder how long the new owners sat down and worked to find out how the operations of the Turku factory could be improved. (Leaf 26.5.2005)

The corporate decision-makers, in turn, emphasized that the decisions had been made after careful reflections, as in the following:

“These kinds of decisions are not made easily. On the contrary, they have been prepared for a long time. There were only bad alternatives available,” Johansson [CEO] says (Wärtsilä 28.1.2004)

They also often underscored the ‘fairness’ of the decision by pointing to similar decisions in other parts of the corporation, which again naturalized the prevailing organizational methods.

Responsibility shifts. Finally, the moralizations included transfers of responsibility from the corporation to other actors (13.07%) and respective retransfers (14.22%). Some of the attributions focused on the city or government:

The City of Turku is partly responsible for closing the Wärtsilä factory (Wärtsilä 21.1. 2004)

The point in closing down in Finland was that it’s easier to get rid of employees here. It is more expensive in other countries than in Finland. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

These shifts effectively reduced corporate responsibility by blaming other social actors for not maintaining conditions that would enable continuation of production. Such attributions are arguably common in the new global capitalism, where the role of nation-states is to provide competitive conditions for MNEs (Fairclough 2006). Scapegoats were also sought elsewhere. For example, trade unions were blamed for not defending the employees’ rights:

In the market square, in addition to the faceless foreign capital investors, the Central Organization of Finnish Trade Unions got an earful. According to Raimo Häikiö, Chief Shop Steward of Leaf factory in Turku, the Central Organization has been “totally toothless in defending Finnish jobs.” “It should gather the whole trade union field together and start fighting to save jobs in Finland,” Häikiö demanded. (Leaf 2.6.2005)

Our material also included examples where the corporations were actually praised for their attention to social responsibility:

Perlos has managed its social responsibility well. The corporation has been helpful in finding new tenants [for the closed factory building]. (Perlos 11.8.2005)

However, the texts also included re-attributions where, for example politicians limited their own responsibility. The following is a typical example:

[The Prime Minister] Vanhanen emphasized that he or the government cannot interfere in corporate decision-making such as shutdown decisions (Wärtsilä 28.1.2004)

These moralization struggles thus involved a juxtaposition of the old moral regime characterized by attribution of wider social responsibility to corporations and the new one where their social responsibility is played down.

Struggles over Inevitability

Finally, the texts also involved a fundamental struggle concerning the inevitability of such global industrial restructuring. Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) point to cosmological justifications as one form of legitimation, and our analysis identified naturalization, exemplification, and narrativization as typical discursive strategies through which such a sense of inevitability was created.

Naturalization. A major part of the media texts naturalized (14,71%) or denaturalized (11.60%) this related phenomenon. ‘Globalization’ was typically portrayed as an inevitable trend or ‘natural force’. In fact, the offshoring and shutdown decisions were seen as inherent parts of contemporary globalization. The following are typical examples:

According to the cold laws of the economy, it doesn't pay to produce these engines anywhere in Europe, especially not in Finland. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

It is realism to acknowledge that cases like Wärtsilä do happen and will also happen in the future. Finland cannot have an influence on globalization. (Wärtsilä 28.1.2004)

Only a miracle could save 600 jobs in Perlos Ylöjärvi. China Syndrome: The focus is on permanent transfer of sales and production of mobiles phones to Asia and the Americas (Perlos 28.4.2005)

The tide turned to China a long time ago (Foxconn 8.3.2006)

Such naturalization was accomplished by using specific metaphors that constructed a sense of 'economic law' or 'natural force' around the shutdown decisions (e.g., "cold law" or "tide" above). Nominalizations (Fairclough, 2003) were also frequently used. In fact, key terms such as 'industrial restructuring' or 'globalization' are themselves examples of the way in which a specific decision-making process is linguistically portrayed as an objectified phenomenon. In many pieces of texts particular decision-makers were actually presented as 'powerless' actors that did not really 'have a choice' or could not be held accountable for the unfortunate shutdown decisions:

There might be willingness in corporations to value nationality and traditions, but in reality that is not possible. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

Interestingly, the texts also included attempts to denaturalize 'globalization' in general or 'global industrial restructuring' in particular. The following are typical examples:

Closing the Oulainen factory was a reminder of the grotesque nature of the market economy, which used to be seen as capitalism. The individual is no more than a pawn. It is not enough

that he turns a profit for the owner of the company. S/he also has to produce the highest possible profit. Moreover, the profit has to increase year after year. In its purest form, capitalism functions just like this. (Flextronics 5.10.2004)

Faceless capital is responsible for a decision that will result in the loss of over 400 jobs in Turku. The tsunamis of globalization have hit Turku with exceptional force. (Leaf 29.5.2005)

However, this distinction between naturalization and denaturalization is somewhat problematic. This is because most of the denaturalizations included naturalizing elements. Consider, for example, the term “tsunami,” which portrays globalization and its adverse effects as inevitable, natural phenomena. In this sense, the denaturalizations, ironically, also contributed to the reproduction of inevitable images. This observation is analogous to the argument that the discourse of racial inequality may actually reproduce this inequality (Wetherell and Potter 1992).

Exemplification. Closely related to the previous legitimization strategies was the strategy of exemplification, which could be used in a positive (7.52%) or a critical (8.17%) sense. This was a strategy that placed the current offshoring and shutdown decisions into a wider economic context and thus rendered them intelligible. Often justification or moral acceptance was sought by presenting previous positive cases of globalization or by naming role models that had been successful in the globalizing economy. The following are typical examples:

Finnish companies have already adapted to globalization. In fact, Nokia’s success story would not have been possible without globalization. Now it is time for the rest of the society to adapt. (Wärtsilä 28.1.2004)

Perlos has already announced that it will open two factories in China and one in Mexico. It will follow its customers, for example Nokia, overseas because it does not pay to haul mobile phone covers long distances. (Perlos 28.4.2005)

In contrast to positive examples, the previous shutdown cases were used when pointing out the possible negative outcomes of the present cases or indicating a broader trend that was harmful for national or global development, as in the following examples:

Of the Finnish corporations, especially electronics companies Nokia, Elcoteq, Perlos, Foxconn (previously Eimo), Efore and Salcomp have transferred production to less expensive countries such as the dictatorship of China. Other favorite countries of these companies are Hungary, Russia, India, Mexico and Brazil. (Perlos 22.5.2005)

The news about Leaf unavoidably resembled the recent news about the transfer of Wärtsilä diesel motor factory to Trieste, Italy. Professional and intelligent employees were fired and the operations were transferred to Italy on the basis of better profitability. (Leaf 30.5.2005)

However, it is noteworthy that even such critical examples often constructed a sense of inevitability and thus ironically contributed to the legitimization of these decisions:

Salcomp, Perlos, Leaf The list of factories killed by the international competition is long, and the daily shutdown news makes one gradually numb. (Perlos 29.5.2005)

Narrativization. The media texts also included narrativizations that constructed more or less coherent stories around the units in question, thus providing a plot around the offshoring and shutdown decisions. We distinguished logical narrativizations that tended to legitimate the decision (5,88%) from critical narrativizations that aimed at delegitimation (5.23%). The most explicit examples of logical narrativizations were articles that described the history of

the company or recent events in a way that explained the final outcome. The following are typical examples:

The situation has changed radically since last April. Consolidation has taken place in the markets, and new constellations have been created in the mobile phone sector. On the other hand, other players have left this segment. Significant changes have also affected our project situation, and we have to respond to the changes fast. (Flextronics 27.7.2005)

UPM has prepared the restructuring plans for a long time, so stakeholders have been able to anticipate harsh decisions from the company. (UPM 9.3.2006)

These narrativizations could also place the shutdown in a wider context. For example, an influential article in Helsingin Sanomat (26.3.2006) portrayed the evolution of specific industries to their inevitable end, starting from ancient tar production in Finland and ending with the “rise and fall” of electronics manufacturing services. As the following illustrates, such discursive constructions often underscored the inevitability of the shutdown decision and thus alleviated the moral responsibility of the decision-makers:

In Finland we have faced this challenge before. In the 1980s the industry cut down in Finland and scaled up abroad. This trend has now resumed. (Wärtsilä 15.1.2004)

However, at times the narrativizations also involved irony and thus questioned the logic and morality of the decisions taken. The following is a typical example:

The Wärtsilä 46 engine that was developed in Turku saved the factory in the past decade. But what is ironic is that this time the same product led to the factory's doom [as its production was transferred to Trieste]. (Wärtsilä, 15.1.2004)

Importantly, just like denaturalization and critical exemplification, also the ironic narrativizations tended to reproduce a sense of inevitability.

Discussion and conclusions

This analysis has focused on an important question in contemporary globalization: How controversial decisions regarding transfer of production are discursively legitimated or contested in media texts. Our analysis shows that such legitimacy struggles involve multiple dimensions or facets: struggles over voice, economic rationality, moral responsibility, and inevitability. Each of these struggles deals with specific linguistic legitimation and delegitimation strategies and practices that can be seen as the fundamental building blocks in the social construction of senses of legitimacy or illegitimacy. What is important is that most texts include multiple legitimation or delegitimation strategies and practices. This means that legitimacy is a complex and controversial phenomenon, and that one should beware of overly simplistic interpretations of the legitimation effects of specific media texts. In particular, it is not enough to examine the most obvious rational or moral arguments to understand the legitimation or delegitimation dynamics; one should also pay special attention to the subtle discursive means that work to establish cosmological inevitability around globalization and its adverse effects

This analysis has implications on studies of globalization (Alderson, 1999; Guillén, 2001; Fourcade-Gourinchas & Babb, 2002; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005) and the role of MNEs in it (Kostova & Zaheer, 1999; Kogut & Walker, 2004; Drori, 2007). We believe that our analysis makes a special contribution by showing how exactly globalization and its adverse effects are “talked into being” (Bauman, 1998) in MNE decision-making. By focusing on the legitimation and delegitimation dynamics and the specific discursive strategies that are used to establish legitimacy or illegitimacy, we can better understand the discursive foundations of

global industrial restructuring. In particular, we can see that specific actors become institutionalized authorities for speaking for or against the decisions made. We can also see that the crucial issue of economic rationality seems to involve two competing logics: 'local capitalism' (the traditional view that looks at the profitability of the unit per se) and 'global capitalism' that shifts attention to future benefits to be achieved precisely by the reorganization of operations globally. Moral arguments regarding social responsibility are a central part of the public sensemaking processes, and it is no wonder that these decisions are resisted on various moral grounds, including human, societal, and processual concerns. At the same time, it is interesting to see how relegitimizing arguments can draw on analogous strategies in downplaying or shifting the moral concerns. However, the underlying issue of inevitability is perhaps the most interesting. It seems that naturalizations, both positive and negative exemplifications, and narrativizations contribute to an increasing sense of cosmological inevitability, even in cases which are contested. An interesting point is for example that naturalizations served as a more popular means to legitimate a restructuring (14,71%) than for example financial arguments (10,62%), which confirms the notion of growing importance of the discourse of globalization.

It appears that this level of legitimation may in the end be decisive in terms of how overall perceptions of the legitimacy of global industrial restructuring develop over time. Furthermore, this kind of rhetoric is particularly difficult to challenge as it essentially reproduces a central theme in global capitalist discourse. What is crucial – and counter-intuitive – is that this discourse is ultimately mythical, resting on the ever-present myth of the necessity of change, this time translated into the language of global industrial restructuring. As March put it: "The most conventional story of contemporary futurology is a story that observes and predicts dramatic changes in the environment of organizations." (March 1995: 428)

These findings have also implications on analyses of legitimacy and legitimation. As indicated in recent papers (Arndt & Bigelow, 2000; Rao et al., 2003; Phillips et al., 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008), there is a 'theoretical revival' in analyses of legitimacy that focuses attention on legitimation processes. One fruitful avenue is to focus on discursive aspects (Creed et al., 2002; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Vaara et al., 2006), and we have aimed at contributing to this literature. While our analysis builds on previous studies (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Vaara et al., 2006), we believe that we have taken the micro-level discursive perspective further, to its logical conclusion, by showing that media texts themselves are sites of struggle involving a myriad of legitimation strategies. Hence, we are not only saying that actors use the media to legitimate or resist, or that some texts are powerful in advancing senses of legitimacy or illegitimacy, but that most texts comprise various and often contradictory legitimating and delegitimizing elements. This view can be seen as an alternative to traditional, simplistic 'on-off' perspectives on legitimacy. In fact, this kind of perspectives forces one to see the complex, ambiguous, and contradictory elements in discursive legitimation and delegitimation.

So does this lead to a conclusion where we are not able to say anything about the legitimating or de-legitimizing effects of specific texts or discussions in the media? Not at all. On the contrary, a CDA analysis allows one to distinguish the very elements and logics on which senses of legitimacy and illegitimacy are based on. The point is that through a careful analysis of larger sets of texts, one can actually see what kinds of practices and strategies are used – more or less consciously – for legitimating or delegitimation purposes. As our analysis illustrates, there are various linguistic strategies and practices, many of which are subtle, and pass easily pass unnoticed in traditional analyses of legitimation. This is especially the case with the cosmological strategies creating and reproducing sense of inevitability. The crucial point is that the use of particular legitimation or delegitimation strategies and practices – be

they specific words, metaphors, attributes, rhetorical arguments, or narrative structures – reproduces certain and not other ways of making sense of these phenomena. This is the key to understanding the inter-textual power of media discussions.

Our analysis makes a methodological contribution by providing a model for future studies of legitimation focusing on globalization or other issues. Distinguishing discursive struggles at different levels of analysis – voice, rationality, morality, and inevitability – provides a ‘methodological reading tool’ that can be helpful in future studies. This kind of analysis makes it possible to engage in multiple readings of texts and disentangle and elaborate on specific legitimation strategies. Also, this kind of methodological approach makes it possible to connect more traditional argumentative bases of legitimacy with discursive strategies that establish and reproduce ‘taken-for-grantedness’, which is one of the central questions in current debates on legitimacy (Deephouse & Suchman, 2008; Colyvas & Powell, 2006).

Our analysis also helps to better understand the role of the media in legitimation. Even though previous studies have examined media texts, the role of journalists and journalistic practices has remained under-theorized (Vaara et al., 2006; Deephouse & Suchman, 2008). Our analysis adds to this understanding by highlighting the author-editor role of journalists, by illustrating complexities and ambiguities in journalistic practices that contribute to legitimation or delegitimation, and by underscoring the importance of inter-textual linkages in public discussion. From our data we can conclude that although journalists often aim for versatile understanding and impartial reporting of events they choose different strategies by which they legitimize and by which they delegitimize. When comparing legitimation and delegitimation strategies in each article we can note that the same strategy was not always used for both legitimation and delegitimation purposes in the same article. In this sense, authorizations was the strategy that was used in most balanced way. In 25,35% of the articles

using authorization strategy, authorizations for both legitimation and delegitimation purposes were utilized. In the case of naturalizations (22,90%) and humanistic moralizations (21,41%) the combination of legitimation and delegitimation arguments in the same article was almost as high. Even more than about journalists' choices these results tell us that legitimation and delegitimation struggles are ambiguous and dynamic processes in which strategies of several kind are utilized to refute opposite arguments. To simplify, for example, legitimation by exemplification might be refuted by the strategy of societal moralizations.

If we look at the popularity of each legitimation and delegitimation strategy, humanistic moralizations was the most popular strategy used for delegitimation (34,80%) but interestingly also for legitimation (27,29%). Thereafter, for legitimating purposes, the most commonly used strategies were authorizations, explanatory arguments based on economic rationality and naturalizations, where as for delegitimizing purposes the most common after humanistic moralizations were the strategies of societal moralizations, authorizations and processual moralizations. These results also reveal that there is a journalistic tendency to use certain strategies more often for legitimizing restructurings (such as economic rationalizations) and certain for delegitimizing them (such as moral responsibility). These choices unavoidably have an influence on the impressiveness of these strategies and the whole discussion.

Our analysis indeed shows that journalists have a great deal of power in the legitimation or delegitimation of controversial actions such as offshoring or shutdown decisions: Journalistic choices over whose voices are heard, which arguments are put forth, what moral issues are raised and how, and how globalization is in general portrayed can greatly influences senses of legitimacy or illegitimacy. However, at the same time, this analysis indicates that many textual choices and framings are more reproductions of commonplace discourse than

altogether deliberate strategic choices. This is yet another reason to pay attention to the micro-level of discursive legitimation to understand the establishment of specific legitimation strategies and practices.

Although his analysis has not focused on corporate social responsibility per se, it is interesting to note that it provides us with a better understanding of how conceptions of corporate social responsibility are constructed and reconstructed in public debate. In a sense, this analysis illustrates how boundaries of corporate social responsibility are being drawn in public when confronted with a new controversial issue: transfer of production even in profitable operations. While most studies of corporate social responsibility tend to focus on moral issues and ethical theories and their linkage to economic logic (Margolis & Walsh, 2003; Basu & Palazzo, 2008), this analysis shows that public debates also include other facets. In fact, one way of interpreting our findings is that examining only the moralistic aspects of the debate can be misleading as it easily means an inability to appreciate the importance of other discursive facets – most notably the cosmological.

Our study has limitations that should be taken seriously. This study only focused on the public discussion and media material on specific offshoring cases in Finland. Obviously, many aspects of the findings are context-specific, and analysis of offshoring or other decisions in other contexts could lead to somewhat different results. However, we think that one is also likely to find analogous legitimation struggle and strategy types in other settings. Our analysis – as any other discursive analysis – has focused on specific legitimation strategies and their discursive features. There are undoubtedly many other types of strategy as well as important and interesting linguistic functions and processes that can be found in these or other texts. This is a challenge for future research. Our analysis has focused on public discussion during a relatively short time period; this is an unavoidable choice since we have

sought to examine how the media makes sense of new types of global industrial restructuring. However, there are many important questions that can be answered only with more longitudinal research designs and data. For example, it would be interesting to examine how the legitimation or delegitimation strategies have changed over time. Also, it would be worthwhile to analyze the dynamics of text production; for example, how corporate communications or union statements are spread, edited, and translated in the media.

There are also other issues that could be examined in future studies. While we have engaged in CDA and thus highlighted micro-level linguistic features, there is a need to go further and examine, for example how specific rhetorical structures, modalities, or metaphoric expressions characterize protagonist or antagonist argumentation. It would also be interesting to examine journalistic practices further, for instance by observing how journalists actually follow cases and construct their texts (Kjaer & Slaatta, 2007). Furthermore, this kind of legitimation analysis can also be applied to other types of texts. These include press releases, speeches, minutes of meetings, negotiations, texts in specialized media, as well as academic texts. For example, while working on this article, it became increasingly apparent that existing business literature on offshoring tends to reproduce the myth of 'inevitability'. Thus, whether we like it or not, we all involved in discursive strategizing.

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Corporation	Wärtsilä Diesel (Finland)	Flextronics (USA/Singapore)	Perlos (Finland)	Leaf Group (Holland/ multi- national)	Foxconn (Taiwan, multinational)	UPM, United Paper Mills (Finland)
Field	World's leading ship power and service provider	World's leading electronics manufacturing services provider	World's leading electro-mechanical module supplier to telecommunications, healthcare and automotive industries.	One of the major corporations in the European candy market, operating in more than 15 countries, with a large collection of popular candy brands	One of world's leading manufacturers of plastic components for electronics.	One of the world's leading pulp and paper corporations.
Unit to be closed	Maritime diesel power plant factory	Sheet metal engineering factory	Technical plastics factory	Confectionery factory	Plastic cover factory	Paper mill
Location	Turku	Oulainen	Ylöjärvi	Turku	Hollola and Lahti	Voikkaa in Kuusankoski
Number of employees in the unit	480	240	570	419		
Production transfer to	Italy	Poland	Hungary	Units in Eastern Europe	Other units, production increased especially in the Far East	Other mills, production increased especially in the Far East
Observation period	14 Jan 2004-14 Jan 2005	24 Sep 2004-24 Sep 2005	28 Apr 2005-28 Apr 2006	24 May 2005-24 May 2006	24 Aug 2005 - 24 Aug 2006	9 Mar 2006 – 9 Mar 2007
Articles in HS	51	3	43	34	24	77
Local newspaper	Turun Sanomat leading newspaper in the Turku region and west coast of Finland	Kaleva leading newspaper in Oulu region and northern Finland	Aamulehti leading newspaper in Tampere region	Turun Sanomat leading newspaper in Turku region and west coast of Finland	Etela-Suomen Sanomat leading regional newspaper in Lahti region	Kouvola Sanomat Leading regional newspaper in the Kymi region
Articles in local newspaper	100	17	60	51	27	125

Table 1: Empirical material

Legitimacy struggle	Legitimation strategy types	Legitimation strategies	Examples	Frequency in texts	Frequency in texts (either or both)
Voice	Authorizations	Voicing protagonists	Research Director of The Research Institute of the Finnish Economy ETLA Pekka Ylä-Anttila predicts ...	18,95%	35,46%
		Voicing antagonists	Minister of Labor Tarja Filatov disapproves ...	25,49%	
Economic rationality	Financial arguments	Legitimizing financial arguments	The electronics contract manufacturer Flextronics shuts down its factory in Oulainen because its products can be produced cheaper in Poland and China.	10,62%	17,97%
		De-legitimizing financial arguments	During the past decades the redundancies were justified through the lack of success of the company in question. As far as is known this is not the case in Flextronics. At least during the past accounting period sales and profits improved substantially.	9,31%	
	Explanatory arguments	Legitimizing explanatory arguments	Structural overcapacity has become the critical issue in the beginning of 2005, and the future does not seem any better.	15,85%	25,65%
		De-legitimizing explanatory arguments	The employees do not buy claims regarding inefficiency.	13,56%	
Moral responsibility	Humanistic moralizations	De-legitimizing humanistic arguments	It is unfair that profit-making companies like Wärtsilä and Leaf can make their employees redundant almost without taking any responsibility for their employees.	34,80%	51,14%
		Legitimizing humanistic arguments	The redundant employees of Perlos Ylöjärvi have been re-employed well. Furthermore, the unemployment wave has not hit Ylöjärvi although people were afraid that it would.	27,29%	
	Societal moralizations	Delegitimizing societal arguments	The reason for exporting jobs is not to help new target countries but to make use of their "better" competitiveness. This is nothing other than exploitation and social dumping, since we know Finland is the most competitive country in the whole world when measured otherwise.	34,15%	40,03%
		Legitimizing societal arguments	In Vaasa, the R&D operations will continue, but in Turku only services. These services are growing and are currently the most profitable area. It is expected that they will employ 200 persons in Turku. Services and maintenance are exactly the kind of high know-how operations in which Finnish work can also be competitive in the future.	11,60%	
	Processual moralizations	Delegitimizing processual arguments	According to Savschenko [chairman of Finnish food workers' union], what makes it difficult is that "we do not even know who is behind the capital investment company which made the decision".	18,95%	25,16%
		Legitimizing processual arguments	These kinds of decisions are not made easily. On the contrary, they have been prepared for along time. There were only bad alternatives.	8,66%	
	Responsibility shifts	Responsibility shifts (from corporations)	Perlos has managed its social responsibility well. The corporation has been helpful in finding new tenants [for the closed factory building].	13,07%	24,35%
		Responsibility shifts (back to corporations)	Unreasonable critique towards the City of Turku concerning the Wärtsilä decision.	14,22%	

Inevitability	Naturalizations	Naturalizations	It is <u>realism</u> to acknowledge that cases like Wärtsilä <u>do happen and will also happen in the future</u> . <u>Finland cannot have an influence on globalization</u> .	14,71%	21,41%
		Denaturalizations	Closing the Oulainen factory was a reminder of the <u>grotesque nature of the market economy</u> that used to be panned as capitalism. The individual is no more than a <u>pawn</u> . It is not enough that he earns a profit for the owner of the company. He also has to earn the highest possible profit. Moreover, the profit has to increase year after year. In its purest form capitalism functions just like this.	11.60%	
	Exemplifications	Positive exemplifications	Finnish companies have already adapted to globalization. In fact, <u>Nokia's success story would not have been possible without globalization</u> . Now it is time for the rest of the society to adapt.	7.52%	14,54%
		Negative exemplifications	The news about Leaf unavoidably <u>resembled the recent news about the transfer of Wärtsilä diesel motor factory to Trieste, Italy</u> . Professional and intelligent employees were fired and the operations were transferred to Italy on the basis of better profitability.	8.17%	
	Narrativizations	Logical narrativizations	In Finland we <u>have faced this challenge before</u> . In the 1980s the industry cut down in Finland and scaled up abroad. <u>This trend has now resumed</u> .	5,88%	9,64%
		Critical narrativizations	The Wärtsilä 46 engine that was developed in Turku saved the factory in the last decade. But <u>what is ironic is that this time the same product led to the factory's doom</u> .	5.23%	

Table 2: Legitimation struggles, strategies, and typical examples

Combination of legitimation and delegitimation	% of articles using this strategy	% of all articles
Authorizations	25,35	8,99
Financial arguments	10,91	1,96
Explanatory arguments	14,65	3,76
Humanistic moralizations	21,41	10,95
Societal moralizations	14,29	5,72
Processual moralizations	9,74	2,45
Responsibility shifts	12,08	2,94
Naturalizations	22,90	4,90
Exemplifications	7,87	1,14
Narrativizations	15,25	1,47

Table 3: Percentages of articles combining legitimizing and delegitimizing arguments of same strategy

**4 *Essay 4: The gospel according to the global market. How
journalists frame ownership in the case of Nokia in
Finland.***

Authors: Janne Tienari, Eero Vaara & Niina Erkama

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CHAPTER 7

The Gospel According to the Global Market

How Journalists Frame Ownership in the Case of *Nokia* in Finland

**JANNE TIENARI, EERO VAARA
& NIINA ERKAMA**

Introduction

Journalists are able to present complex and multifaceted business issues in particular ways, framing and reinterpreting common concepts in their texts. In this chapter, we look at the way Finnish journalists have framed the concept of ownership in the case of the telecommunications company *Nokia*, and note how these framings have altered over time.

National ownership of internationalizing companies has traditionally been of crucial interest to small nation-states (Katzenstein 1985). National or domestic ownership has been favoured in the Nordic countries, where export orientation and internationalization of economic activity have been combined with welfare-state nationalism at home. However, the ownership discourse has recently showed signs of change.

Through in-depth critical analysis of media texts, we shed some new light on the issues discussed in the preceding chapters of this volume. The transformation, growth and success of Nokia is the most significant corporate example that contemporary Finland can offer to a book on business journalism. Nokia has strong Finnish roots (Häikiö 2001). In the 1990s, however, the majority of Nokia's shares fell successively into the ownership of American and other non-Finnish investors (Tainio 2003). Nokia yet continues to attract a great deal of attention in the Finnish media.

The focus here is on texts published in *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS)¹, the daily newspaper that is arguably the most important press outlet in the contemporary Finnish media order. HS has the largest daily subscription rate of printed media outlets in the Nordic countries. Since the mid-1960s, it has been in the forefront when it comes to producing and disseminating economic and business news as well as developing business journalism in Finland (Tienari et al. 2002, Ainamo 2003).

We adopt a perspective of discursive framings in our analysis (Fiss & Hirsch 2005). Framing refers here to processes whereby specific versions of social reality are given meaning and articulation. Focusing on the Nokia case, we show how business journalists become protagonists of neo-liberalism,² that is to say, how the discourse of neo-liberal global capitalism – based on a glorification of the ‘free’ market – comes to dominate discussion in a given societal context. This discourse becomes dominant by way of numerous recurring framings. In connection with Nokia, these framings include *exemplarity* (using a single case as a powerful example), *historical reconstruction* (framing the past, present and future in particular ways), *authorization* (using specific ‘experts’ to legitimize particular interpretations) and, ultimately, *naturalization* (framing foreign ownership as inevitable).

We first briefly tell the story of Nokia. We then introduce our discursive framings approach, and go on to specify and illustrate how journalists in *Helsingin Sanomat* have framed ownership in relation to the Nokia case during the period 1998-2004. Finally, we summarize

¹ *Helsingin Sanomat* is the descendant of the newspaper *Päivälehti*, which was established in 1889. *Päivälehti* was founded by a cohort of Finnish-speaking, nationalistic entrepreneurs and politicians. Russian authorities closed the paper down in 1903, but it was re-established as *Helsingin Sanomat* (‘Helsinki News’) in 1904. In the 1930s, *Helsingin Sanomat* began to reinvent itself from its origins in the Finnish nationalist movement into an independent and neutral outlet. Today, it is considered liberally rightwing. SanomaWSOY, a media corporation grown up around *Helsingin Sanomat*, remains controlled by the descendants of Eero Erkkö, the founder of *Päivälehti*.

² *Neo-liberalism* has gradually become the hegemonic post-Cold War system of economic and social relations (Friedman 1999). It is based on the removal of barriers to the ‘free’ movement of capital and goods around the globe, and on the extension of the market to virtually all areas of social life. This is in contrast to the form of Keynesian capitalism practiced in Finland and the other Nordic countries in the decades following World War II. While the Finnish business system was characterized until the 1990s by a regulated and relatively closed economy, it has since transformed itself towards a market-oriented model (Skurnik 2005). Specifically, while the Finnish economy was previously open-outward (relying on export revenue) and closed-inward (protecting the domestic market), it transformed itself in the 1990s to be open both ways (Tainio et al. 1999). Abolishing restrictions on foreigners to own stocks in Finnish companies in 1993 is one example of this. In all, during the process of deregulation, large Finnish corporations have shifted from being driven by production to being finance-driven; managers manage firms increasingly as investment targets rather than production units (Tainio et al. 2003).

our arguments, and offer some conclusions based on our analysis. The insights offered are not exhaustive, but reflect our own focus and framing of the research.

The Nokia Story

In 1917 Finland became an independent republic for the first time, having been a part of the Kingdom of Sweden between 1323 and 1809 and of Czarist Russia between 1809 and 1917. The Winter War in 1939-1940 represents a grand Finnish survival story that has been nurtured actively over the years. The Finns banded together to perform what has been described in heroic terms as a miracle. Under the leadership of Field Marshal Carl Gustav Mannerheim, the Finns repelled the attack of the vast Red Army. The Soviets had the quantity, the Finns the quality. With an efficiency based on mobility, initiative and quick decisions down the chain of command, the Finnish army survived and succeeded in keeping Finland independent.

There is a curious rhetorical parallel between the Winter War and the recent success of Nokia. 'The significance of Nokia to the Finnish identity can be compared with...the Winter War. It is a question of national stories of survival' (HS, 23 November, 2001). In the Finnish media the transformation and phenomenal growth of Nokia in the 1990s has been presented as the ultimate Finnish success story. The glory is there for all to see. As an industrial conglomerate, Nokia ran into deep financial difficulties in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The company struggled with its ailing commercial electronics business and the legacy of an ambitious but costly internationalization strategy. In 1992, 41-year-old Mr Jorma Ollila, whose background was in financial management rather than engineering, was appointed General Manager of the company, and later became its CEO. Ollila surrounded himself with a like-minded team of executives and began to realize a strategy focusing on telecommunications. Today, Nokia is a world leader in this expanding market.

The growth and success of Nokia has been interpreted by Finnish academics as the result of several elements. In an early study on the breakthrough of Nokia Mobile Phones, Pulkkinen (1997) emphasized the contextual nature of the process, that is, exploiting specific institutional traits in the home market and turning them into capabilities internal to the firm. Finnish society played an important part in this. Ali-Yrkkö et al. (2000), among others, emphasized Nokia's steady flow of investments in research and development. Ainamo and Pantzar (2000) picked out the product design aspects of the process. Häikiö (2001)

maintained that due to the previous traumatic internationalization experience in the 1980s, the Nokia management of the 1990s was marked by caution and a bias in favor organic growth.

The vision launched by Ollila and his team in the early 1990s was condensed into a potent message: focused, global, telecom-oriented, high value-added products (Häikiö 2001). In 1994 Nokia's board of directors officially accepted the exit from cables, rubber, power and consumer electronics. In 1996 the restructuring of the business portfolio was completed when Nokia succeeded in selling off its consumer electronics business. Aunesluoma (2003) connects Nokia's rapid rise with the global prominence of technological change, which coincided with a successful focusing of business operations, efficient manufacturing and managerial capabilities – all in the context of the worldwide deregulation of telecommunications.

In addition to focus, management and technology, Tainio (2003: 61) places great emphasis on the capital and ownership aspects of Nokia's transformation, growth and success: 'A small Finnish conglomerate sustaining huge losses reinvents itself as a telecom company and in a few years dominates the world market for mobile phones. It was listed on the New York Stock Exchange in 1994.' This, according to Tainio, was the single most decisive moment in Nokia's success story. 'Since early 1997 the majority of Nokia shares have been in American hands.' Tainio describes the excitement of American investors and its consequences: 'it's been a wonderful ride for all concerned (Fortune, 01 May 2000).' In Tainio's words, it was the American investors' enthusiasm in particular that fuelled a virtuous circle for Nokia, providing the company's top management with capital with which to implement their vision and to fulfil their promises. Tainio (2003: 71) quotes CEO Jorma Ollila: 'Listing on the NYSE was a more important step than we thought. But the access to capital was less important than the presence as such (Ollila 2000).'

The story of Nokia since the early 1990s is an intriguing one. Due to its dramatic character, this story has attracted an overwhelming amount of attention from a wide range of stakeholders. It opens a door into business journalism – and into the public debate in general – in contemporary Finnish society. Nokia is a typical example of a subject for business journalists, but it is also an extreme case. Nokia is typical in the sense that in attracting foreign ownership, it is no different from a number of other Finnish companies in the 1990s and 2000s (Tainio et al. 2003). Nokia, however, is an extreme case in the Finnish context because of its unique growth and success.

All in all, Nokia's story reflects large-scale, global economic and social change, which affects people differently and arouses different opinions and interpretations. In theory at least it can be expected to become subject to a variety of discursive framings in the media.

Discursive Framings

Fiss and Hirsch (2005) argue that contemporary discourse on globalization is a struggle between different discursive framings. Globalization discourse may be conceived as a struggle about perceptions of the legitimacy of particular forms of economic and social change. The concept of framing captures the processes whereby societal actors influence the interpretations of social reality on the part of various audiences. Framing is the outcome of a process that combines both material change and symbolic construction (Fiss & Hirsch 2005, cf. Bourdieu 1998, Fairclough & Thomas 2004).

Framing³ refers to processes of giving meaning and to articulations of particular versions of social reality. In a study of major US newspapers and company press releases, Fiss and Hirsch (2005) note the contradictory conclusions on globalization appearing in the various texts. They suggest that these conclusions illustrate the way in which diverse interpretations – positive, neutral and negative framings – can selectively cite and proclaim empirical support. Fiss and Hirsch claim that globalization has become a grand contest of social constructions. It has become an umbrella concept and, consequently, it requires substantial interpretation (Hirsch & Levin 1999). It also incorporates a temporal element. Fiss and Hirsch maintain that as globalization discourse spread through the United States between 1984 and 1998, its tone shifted markedly. Emergent globalization discourses were connected in part with macroeconomic fluctuations. Frame contests arose as various actors sought to influence the interpretation of changes in accordance with their own interests.

The mass media represent and contextualize economic news (Gavin 1998). Journalists, like other societal actors, are involved in the framing of concepts. They link interpretations to common ideas. They take part in the defining of concepts by making claims in the public realm. The media are powerful in that they promote particular versions of social reality, while marginalizing and excluding others (Fairclough

³ The concept of framing has been used, for example, in the literature on social movements (Snow & Benford 1992) and rioting (Ellingson 1995) to capture processes whereby actors influence the interpretations of social reality among their audiences.

1995). This can be seen as a result of the continuous pressure of space and time under which journalists work and where their choices have to be made. Limited space in the media outlets means that individual texts have to be compressed. Time pressures mean that texts have to be produced rapidly.

Bourdieu (1998) argues that journalists think in clichés, relying on banal, conventional, common ideas or commonplaces that are generally accepted. Journalists write what everybody ‘already knows’. They write what they think their audience expects them to write. In this way, journalists often reproduce commonly held views rather than act as opinion-leaders in relation to given phenomena. There are also controls that shape their work. The purpose of commercial media corporations is to make profits for their shareholders, and this is likely to shape media content (Herkman 2005).

Journalists frame issues and themes discursively. As a result commonplaces become part of the framing in media work (Fiske 1989). If the journalists choose to frame their stories with what everybody ‘already knows’, they reduce the uncertainty of how the story will be received and interpreted by the readers. Journalists need to be aware of earlier texts on given issues so that they can link the messages they wish to convey into a larger totality – because their readers will probably be doing the same. Journalists also rely on their sources, that is, on specific actors who provide them with information. This means that the journalists’ framings are also infused with the viewpoints and interpretations of their sources.

Journalists can pursue various strategies to produce texts linking their interpretations to ideas common in a given context. Such strategies can be regarded as discourse practices that are available to journalists (Fairclough 1995, 1997). Hellgren et al. (2002) suggest that journalists can enact practices, factualizing (establishing facts), for instance, or rationalizing (justifying states of affair within a framework of economic rationale), or emotionalizing (appealing to the emotions of an audience) all in order to make sense of business issues for the benefit of their own audience. Further, the various genres of journalism such as editorials, news features or columns, have traditionally favored particular practices and excluded others. In recent years, however, a number of intermediary forms have appeared between ‘pure’ news reporting and opinion pieces such as columns, and it has become increasingly difficult for readers to distinguish between these intermediary forms or hybridized genres of journalism (Fairclough 1997).

In the present chapter, we focus on the ways in which Finnish journalists frame ownership in relation to Nokia. We analyze texts published in *Helsingin Sanomat* between 1998 and 2004⁴ (see Table 7.1). As is evident from the preceding chapters of this book, the 1990s and early 2000s belong to a general phase of growth, professionalization and popularization of business journalism in the Nordic countries. The following account is based on our analysis of media texts, in the spirit of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1997). It is not intended to be – and it never could be – exhaustive.

How Journalists Frame Ownership: The Case of Nokia in Finland

Our account of how journalists in *Helsingin Sanomat* frame ownership in relation to the story of Nokia is divided into three sections. The first section covers the spring of 1998, focusing on the nascent debate on domestic versus foreign ownership in Finland. The second section is based on texts published in 1998-1999, illustrating the growing hegemony of a particular discourse within the ownership discussion. The third section covers the period 2000-2004, describing what we call the ultimate drying up of the discussion.

Does Ownership Matter...?

Mr. Ollila, Nokia's CEO, addressed the annual function of the Finnish Cultural Foundation on 27 February 1998. *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS) ran two news articles based on his address. The first appeared in the domestic section the following day, under the heading 'Jorma Ollila, CEO of Nokia: Connections between national culture and industry are significant'. The second article was published in the economy and finance section a few days later under the heading 'A nationalist spirit is awakening in companies'.

In the first article Ollila was reported as stressing the significance of nations and national culture before broadening his theme to discuss the role and fate of Finland in Europe. Ollila was reported as claiming that 'Finland will face a completely new international configuration next

⁴ We searched the archives of *Helsingin Sanomat* for articles published since 1990 using the key words 'Nokia', 'omistus' (ownership) and 'kansallinen' (domestic/ national). This produced a sample of 56 articles, mainly editorials, news pieces and columns in the economy and finance section of the newspaper. Curiously, 48 of the articles were published during the period 1998-2004, which we then chose as our empirical focus. The three authors of this chapter first read the articles independently, and analyzed them in terms of content (what), actors (who) and style (how). From the sample of 48, we chose for closer scrutiny a total of 21 articles that were explicitly concerned with ownership in Nokia.

year when our country holds the presidency of the EU and hopefully becomes part of the EMU'. According to Ollila, HS reported, Europe should strike a balance between integration and a national approach. Ollila was said to have 'emphasized that the roots of business life and economy lie much deeper in the national soil than is apparent, and it will be beneficial for the Finnish economy in the future, too, to have strong domestic ownership.' Ollila went on to discuss the continuing importance of regions and local communities, 'presenting Nokia as an example of a company that has always relied on strong local communities. He quoted success stories from Oulu and Salo [towns in Finland] to exemplify the importance of cultural consciousness as a vital force.'

HS's interpretation of this message was recycled a few days later: 'The roots of business are much deeper in the national soil than is apparent on the surface.' Great prominence was given to the assertion that 'One of the most important explanations for the success of Finland and the Finns is, after all, the strength of the national culture, Finnishness.' The journalist then asked: 'Who said this and when? Wrong. It was Jorma Ollila, the CEO of Nokia, the largest and most international industrial company in Finland, owned 70 percent by foreigners.' The journalist went on to suggest that 'Questions about Finnishness have begun to hover increasingly often in the minds of Finnish industrial executives. Many corporate executives are terrified, for example, about banks selling off their stakes in industry', because 'cross-ownership [between banks and industrial corporations] has become unfashionable'.

These texts display a curious mixture of stating 'facts' and of pandering to the nationalist sentiments and identification of the readers of HS. Two days later, on 6 March, 1998, HS ran an article under the headline 'A longing for domestic ownership has arisen'. The journalist reflected upon an American investment fund that had 'penetrated' as the single largest stockholder in UPM-Kymmene, a major Finnish forestry company. This was said to 'be reinforcing fears that have been simmering for some time. What if they come and take over the flagships of Finnish industry...'. Here, foreign ownership – 'they' – seems to represent a mysterious threat from outside; a force that may disturb the established ways of running businesses in Finland. Around a month later, on 10 April, the theme of domestic versus foreign ownership was taken up again in HS, also with direct reference to Nokia. In an article headed 'Nokia University Ltd', the opening words ran:

CEO Lars Ramqvist announced last summer that the telecommunications giant Ericsson is thinking of transferring its headquarters out of Sweden, because the company's markets are elsewhere. Jorma Ollila, CEO of Nokia, quickly confirmed that the Nokia headquarters will stay in Finland.

'We need Finland,' Ollila maintained.

What on earth does Nokia need Finland for? Nokia's markets are also elsewhere. 75 percent of the ownership of the company is abroad.

'The people, the atmosphere, education and economic policy decisions are all right in Finland,' Ollila listed the reasons why Nokia feels comfortable in Finland.

The journalist concluded: 'It is worthwhile for Nokia to stay in Finland, because Finland needs Nokia more than Nokia needs Finland.' The point was that 'Keeping the company in Finland is in the national interest, as the beneficial operational environment that has been created for Nokia confirms.' Nokia had by now become the favourite child of Finnish journalists – and of society in general. The company's well-being and satisfaction had become a question of national interest now that a 'beneficial operative environment' had 'been created' for its existence (see also Pulkkinen 1997). At this stage assumptions about Finnishness as a source of advantage to Nokia also appeared in the general discussion. Up to a point Ollila's address served to fuel such ideas. Against this background it is worth noting that the journalist quoted above was already expressing doubts about the nationalist argument. In the text the company has now risen above the nation in the hierarchy of contemporary society, and the link between companies and nations is becoming increasingly ambiguous.

Mr. Asko Schrey, Chief Operating Officer of the Helsinki Stock Exchange, wrote a guest column in HS on 19 May, 1998. Schrey applauded foreign investors who since 1993 (when restrictions on foreign ownership were lifted) have 'believed in our recovering national economy and in our companies quoted on the Stock Exchange; in their dynamism and innovativeness.' Schrey reminded his readers that 'the HEX-index, which measures the average development of stock prices, indicates that Finnish companies have been worthy of the trust placed in them.' Schrey then added a few words apparently aimed at Finnish investors: 'Investors must get used to the fact that you cannot put restrictions on capital in an efficient market economy. Domestic ownership in Nokia is now about 20 percent and domestic sales about five

percent.’ In effect, Nokia had ceased to be Finnish. Mr. Schrey went on to fine tune his message:

Discussion about the ownership of Finnish companies has begun to sound rather weird. The nationality of owners is hardly the most important thing. Rather, it’s a question of how well the company fulfils its mission as part of the economy. For the investor, it’s the profitability of the investment that is always most important, seeing that the company is successful and is showing good results.

We’re on the wrong track if we call for more domestic ownership, trying to force companies to adopt strategies detrimental to competitiveness, or burdening them with social obligations stemming from an outmoded welfare state model. This way of thinking would mean going back to the ‘era of cementing’ [i.e. regulation], the sins of which have not yet been fully atoned.

So, ownership matters, but its nationality does not. This is an argument at the center of contemporary neo-liberalism, an ideology geared to breaking down barriers to the movement of capital or goods around the globe, and to extending the market to virtually all areas of social life (for criticism of this view, see e.g. Fairclough & Thomas 2004, Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001). When Mr. Schrey declares that companies must fulfil their ‘mission as part of the economy’ efficiently and profitably, it is clear that ‘the economy’ is no longer national, but interconnected and global. It is dominated by professional owners – in other words, by investors.

As the text above exemplifies, the discourse of neo-liberalism proclaims its own inevitability and the outmoded nature of its alternatives. ‘Domestic ownership’ is belittled and represented in the text as the opposite of ‘competitiveness’. From this perspective, the discussion begins to ‘sound rather weird’ when people still dare to talk of ‘burdening’ companies with the ‘social obligations stemming from an outmoded welfare state model.’ The text presents regulation as the mother of all evils, apparently taking the great recession in Finland in the early 1990s as an example. The ‘sins’ that are claimed to have led to this recession ‘have not yet been fully atoned.’

The day after Schrey’s column had appeared, in an editorial article under the headline ‘Who cares about Finland?’, HS commented on a study undertaken by researchers at ETLA (The Research Institute of

the Finnish Economy; like the Stock Exchange, another institution infused with the neo-liberalist agenda):

ETLA has made a study of companies that have fallen under foreign ownership. Foreign ownership has been growing rapidly. Foreigners already own one in three of the 500 largest companies [in Finland].

The research undertaken by Mika Pajarinen and Pekka Ylä-Anttila dissolves any fears about foreigners coming here only to over-exploit [the opportunities for investing in Finnish stocks]. According to the study, foreign ownership has introduced marketing and internationalization competence into Finnish companies. Also, return on investment is greater in companies owned by foreigners.

Again, comments such as ‘foreign ownership has introduced marketing and internationalization competence into Finnish companies’ and ‘return on investment is greater in companies owned by foreigners’ are typical of the neo-liberal market discourse, which seeks to set specific criteria and time-frames for assessing the value of social action. On the other hand, it could be argued that the origins of competence are impossible to measure in practice and that the time-frame was still too short for assessing the impact of foreign ownership on Finnish companies.⁵ The above text can be seen as another example of an attempt by certain actors to glorify unrestrained global capitalism. It is interesting, though, that the journalist reporting on ETLA’s study did not seem to be totally convinced. He concludes his article with a comment on the time-frame set by the researchers (the following oracular last sentence is worth noting):

However, this research does not answer the important question: what happens in the long term to companies that come under foreigner ownership? What will happen to Finland when more and more core companies are in foreign hands? It’s impossible to answer such questions yet, because too little time has passed to allow for reliable answers.

⁵ Apparently, in April 2006, Ylä-Anttila and Pajarinen published a study indicating that companies owned by Finnish families had been more profitable than the subsidiaries of foreign companies operating in Finland in 1986-2004. Their study was based on companies’ financial statements. ‘According to Pekka Ylä-Anttila, the present study is the first in Finland to investigate the impact of ownership structure on company profitability. Degree of solvency and growth were also studied’, HS reported on 4 April, 2006. (Sic!)

Opening borders is part of internationalization. But the line has to be drawn somewhere.

Despite reflections of this kind about the appropriate time-frame for judging the costs and benefits of foreign ownership in companies, the neo-liberal bandwaggon continued to roll on. 'According to *Taloussanomat* [a daily business newspaper from the same publisher as HS], it is "anachronistic" or outmoded to worry about securing domestic ownership' (Editorial, 18 April, 1998). 'The Economist has recently maintained that "economic nationalism" delays cross-border unions between companies in some countries' (Editorial, 17 March, 1999). In an interview with HS on 31 May, 1998, Mr. Vesa Vainio, Chairman of the Board for the financial services company MeritaNordbanken (the outcome of a Swedish-Finnish merger in 1997), 'declares that it is stupid to slam foreign ownership. There is no sense in it, either, from the company point of view or that of the so-called business economy, because foreigners are as good owners as Finns, or even better.' The punchline in Vesa Vainio's commentary was that 'talk about restricting foreign ownership belongs to another era.'

The Gospel According to the Global Market

Alongside the triumphant discourse of neo-liberalism, a rhetoric of helplessness seems to emerge in the texts published in *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1998 and 1999. On 16 September 1998, for example, the economy and finance section of HS ran an article under the headline 'The power in Nokia slips abroad: Half the voting rights soon in foreign hands'. The journalist noted that 'Foreigners already possess over 40 percent of the voting rights in Nokia. Foreigners' voting rights have increased over the last year, parallel with the growth in their share of the company's market value.' Non-Finns already accounted for and owned some 80 percent of Nokia's market value. In this way, 'power has fragmented into the four corners of the world.'

The metaphor of 'slipping' seems to reflect a sense of powerlessness. It is a metaphor that recurs in texts published in HS during 1998 and 1999. The question of voting rights came up because at the time Nokia had two share series. The voting rights of K-shares were tenfold in comparison to A-shares. Maintaining such a distinction used to be common as a safety measure in Finnish companies, mainly to prevent hostile takeovers and to bolster the power of longstanding Finnish owners.

Financial analyst Lauri Rosendahl (Aros Securities) was interviewed for the article quoted above. At the time Rosendahl was one of the best known Finnish analysts specializing on Nokia. He was frequently quoted in the media. He declared that ‘growth in the market value of the share must exceed all national interests.’ According to the journalist, Rosendahl says that ‘this attitude is beginning to be delightfully common in Finland, too.’ Rosendahl’s message was clear. It reinforced the neo-liberal argument:

Sometimes people still say that national ownership should be defended. I wonder what on earth they mean. The goal of a company cannot be to maintain jobs at the expense of undermining the profitability and of reducing shareprices.

Again, a note of inevitability can be detected in this comment. Finland, ‘too’, is catching up with the inevitable global development, although some ignorant people apparently still question this. Some time later, at the beginning of 1999 the debate about selling shares in Finnish companies to foreigners flared up again in HS, triggered by the annulment of the traditional cross-ownership in Finnish companies. Several Finnish companies had recently merged across national borders. Merita, the financial services company, is a case in point. In October 1997 Merita merged with Sweden’s Nordbanken. An editorial article under the headline ‘The gate was opened’, published on 10 January 1999, began as follows:

It’s hard to describe something of vast proportions – a great emotion or a big issue. The words can so easily sound grossly inflated or very flat.

On Thursday at 4 pm, MeritaNordbanken sold its Pohjola shares to the Swedish insurance company Skandia. At a stroke, a hundred-year-old bastion of Finnish wealth was available to the Swedes.

“Skandia inquired about the shares just before Christmas, and we’ve responded to their inquiry,” said MeritaNordbanken chairman, Vesa Vainio, commenting on the sale.

Back in 1808, on 5 May, Vice-Admiral Carl Olof Cronstedt surrendered the Viapori fortress to the Russians without much of a fight.

The basic underlying issue discussed in the HS article is domestic versus foreign ownership or, more specifically, the sale of stocks in Pohjola, a major Finnish insurance company, to foreign buyers – here represented by Skandia, a Swedish insurance company. The journalist talks about ‘surrender’ and refers to events that occurred some 200 years ago. Historical reflection is used to frame the text in a particular way, and Nokia was once again a factor in the argument. First, ‘Merita had three very important holdings: shares in Nokia, Sampo and Pohjola.’ Next, ‘The Nokia shares were sold to international investors, scattered to the four winds.’ And, finally, came ‘the sale of Pohjola, the last major Finnish holder of Nokia shares.’ Once again a sense of helplessness in face of global capitalism is apparent.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1999 the Nokia board put a proposal before the annual general meeting whereby the various share series in the company were to be combined. This proposal was accepted in March and the tenfold voting rights of K-shares in comparison to A-shares ceased to exist. In anticipation of this, HS speculated on 2 February that ‘the traditional Finnish owners slip into the line-up of regular owners [i.e. they no longer have special privileges], in addition to American and British funds.’ The comment in HS sounds rather deterministic: ‘Share series with powerful voting rights were created to protect the company from a hostile takeover. However, Nokia has grown too big for Finland.’

The journalist drew parallels with domestic owners in other countries, in particular, with the Wallenberg dynasty in Sweden: ‘National ownership is vanishing elsewhere, too.’ The writer (whose name was not given) went on to reflect:

Globalization appears to lead to a situation whereby world trade in all industries is dominated by about ten major companies with which other companies have to become associated in some way or another. These worldwide companies, including Nokia and Ericsson in their particular industry, are so expensive that their ownership becomes increasingly fragmented.

The traditional owner role vanishes and faceless investors running after the highest yield take their place.

The point is that ownership is becoming increasingly ‘faceless’. The journalist quoted above continues: ‘When steady owners disappear, the executives’ position gets stronger.’ After this, though, the wording becomes ambiguous: ‘So, in the end, there’s nothing but the emotions of

the investors to oppose corporate executives. Even the most mighty corporate executive is powerless when a hurricane of hope or fear rages among a scattered collection of owners.’ The metaphors of slipping and disappearing recur, and a sense of puzzlement appears in the text. Two days later, *Helsingin Sanomat* published an article under the headline ‘The pain of losing power’ (Editorial, 2 February 1999):

In Finland, as in other industrialized countries, companies that are regarded as national property slip away into the hands of foreign investors as internationalization spreads. Disputes about the privatization of state-owned companies then fan the emotional flames. [...]

In the case of Finland, one might ask whose power is taken away exactly. Theoretically there are two parties in particular that lose out: the people and what is known as the blue-and-white capital.⁶ This notion is based, however, on mythical conceptions of power: who has had it, and who is genuinely losing it. In the real world, the idea of the power of the people over its own property, in particular, has become a remote illusion.

Opponents of privatization are deemed to be emotional, that is to say, not rational. The concept of ‘internationalization’, which has positive connotations in the context of the Finnish economy and Finnish business (typically to a small, export-driven nation-state), is used to frame this point in a particular way. It is interesting to note that in this line of argument, ‘the real world’ appears to have taken power from ‘the people’. The article goes on:

⁶ *Blue-and-white capital* refers here to a specific Finnish ‘economic power bloc’, which was now crumbling. Until the 1990s, Finland was characterized by highly centralized governance structures. A manifestation of this was the formation of economic power blocs, two of which centred on the Union Bank of Finland (UBF) and the Kansallis Banking Group. UBF was established in 1862. It was the first commercial bank in Finland (then under Russian rule). During the early decades of its operation it was known as the bank of ‘Swedish-speaking money’ in Finland. Kansallis, established in 1889, was a specifically Finnish countermove against this concentration of bank financing. Pohjola, the insurance company, became a key part of Kansallis’ Finnish-nationalist, blue-and-white power bloc (Kuusterä 1990, Vihola, 2000, Kuisma, 2004). Eventually the centralized governance structures in Finland began to disintegrate. The two largest Finnish commercial banks, UBF and Kansallis, merged in February 1995 to form Merita Bank. In October 1997, Merita merged with Nordbanken, the fourth largest Swedish bank at the time. The initial domestic Finnish merger and the subsequent cross-border mergers (see Björkman et al. 2003) were extremely crucial events in the restructuring of the financial services industry in Finland and in the Nordic region.

The blue-and-white capital has created degenerate cross-ownership, and opportunities have been missed. Personal disputes between and within the different camps took over and the results have not stood to the challenges of time. [...]

Nokia is an example of a company that has escaped the hands of the traditional Finnish power apparatus and become a worldwide company; its operations pander to the needs of the modern world. This situation is pleasing for economic reasons; billions in tax revenues and jobs are more than welcome.

The Nokia example is also important in that it restores the right marching orders and division of labour in our country. A company that is well looked-after takes care of itself and its own business, and the State is at its best when it, too, looks after its own business: governing the country, not companies.

It is worth noting that in HS Nokia is constantly used as a radiant example of the virtues of deregulation and the ‘free’ market. It has ‘escaped the hands of the traditional Finnish power apparatus’ and now manages to ‘pander to the needs of the modern world’ and, in this way, to contribute to Finnish society by generating ‘tax revenues and jobs’. A sceptical reading of such comments might find that foreign ownership is being presented as the sole reason for Nokia’s growth and success. Such a framing plays down the role of research and development or of technological innovations and successful operative (as opposed to strategic) management in making sense of Nokia’s success. Nonetheless, the tone of the text is very optimistic.

In an article headed ‘Bravery, capability and composure’, published on 6 December 1999 – the Finnish day of independence – HS made the following claim: ‘In the economy, independence is about buffers – financial and mental. These generate the strength to prepare and to act. The paradox is that a company can be more independent, the more dispersed its ownership is throughout the world.’ This rather abstract argument is then given concrete form: ‘Nokia is a good example of this as it is one of the largest companies in Europe in terms of market value, and it is also one of the most independent.’ Who enjoys this independence remains unclear in the article. Presumably, the reference is to the top management of the company, which is curiously constructed here as a counterforce vis-à-vis the owners.

Overall, 1998 and 1999 seem to have been marked in HS by a fairly intensive debate about domestic against foreign ownership. Several dramatic cross-border mergers and acquisitions involving major Fin-

nish companies occurred in 1997 and 1998, and the Nokia example could be linked to these events. In October 1997 Merita, the largest financial institution in Finland, merged with Sweden's Nordbanken. In June 1998 one of the major Finnish forestry companies, state-owned Enso, merged with Sweden's Stora. Commenting on the MeritaNordbanken merger, *Helsingin Sanomat* and other Finnish media drew on the nationalistic discourse alongside the dominating neo-liberal one (Vaara & Tienari 2002, Risberg et al. 2003). The merger between Stora and Enso triggered similarly contrasting approaches. Due to the fact that Enso was owned by the Finnish state, the debate in the Finnish media was particularly intensive. However, the neo-liberal discourse emerged as the dominant tone in connection with the StoraEnso case as well (Vaara et al. 2006). When taken up in connection with Nokia, discussion on ownership clearly reflects the hegemony of the gospel according to the global market.

It is interesting to note that as regards cross-border mergers and acquisitions, Finnish business journalists could now deride actors in other countries for being overly nationalistic. For example, this showed in comments on the Norwegians in the Finnish media when MeritaNordbanken tried to acquire a Norwegian financial services company (Tienari et al. 2003). *Kauppalehti*, the Finnish business daily, wrote on 21 September, 1999: 'Although the importance of domestic ownership is declining everywhere else, it still appears to be a strong value in Norway, since that country has stayed out of the EU and the Euro zone.' In view of the public discussion in Finland described above, this seems rather a paradoxical comment. It is, however, a sign of the times.

When Domestic Ownership Becomes a Fantasy

On 24 July 2000, Dr. Pekka Ylä-Anttila, an economist in ETLA, wrote a column on the editorial page of *Helsingin Sanomat* with the headline 'The Finnish economy has benefited from its internationalization'. His opening words, which were picked up by the editing journalist, ran as follows: 'Economic nationalism in Finland emphasized protectionism. The debate on the risks of foreign ownership is now being toned down', writes Ylä-Anttila.

Ylä-Anttila drew on the neo-liberal discourse already specified above. 'Finland is a country that is very dependent on international markets and foreign trade. It was the opening of financial markets and European integration in the 1990s that revealed the weaknesses of the closed economy that had hitherto prevailed.' He then went on to ham-

mer home his point: 'Internationalization was curtailed by the World Wars, with their restrictions on foreign trade and protectionism. In Finland, emphasis on economic nationalism gave an additional flavour to this. National ownership and production and the Finnishness of companies were regarded as crucial.' This, according to Ylä-Anttila, is both inefficient and outmoded:

Without widespread foreign ownership and foreign capital a phenomenon such as Nokia would not have been possible in a small country. Many defenders of blue-and-white capital seem to have forgotten this.

Foreign ownership has made capital expenditure more efficient in companies operating in Finland. Foreign owners have been more demanding than domestic ones. In companies that have turned to foreign ownership, the yield on capital has been higher.

Nokia is once again used as a positive example in support of deregulation and the 'free' market. Foreign owners – treated here as a group – are portrayed as more demanding than Finnish ones, and it is claimed that this has led to more efficient capital expenditure in the companies. There is no reference to the question of time-frames or to other measures for comparing the impact of domestic as opposed to foreign ownership in Finnish companies. 'Yield on capital' is everything that matters, but there is no mention that the 'yield' is now increasingly pocketed by non-Finns, and that this may have consequences for the Finnish economy and Finnish society in the long term.

Since 1998-1999, explicit mention in HS of the domestic-foreign ownership issue in Nokia seem to have become rare. A three-volume history of Nokia by Dr. Martti Häikiö was published in November 2001. The last volume was devoted to the period 1992-2000.⁷ Mr. Max Jakobson, a well-known Finnish diplomat and right-wing lobbyist, reviewed Häikiö's book for HS on 23 November 2001 under the heading 'The history of a phenomenal rise'. The question that intrigued both Häikiö and Jakobson most was how to explain Nokia's rise 'to become one of the world's largest companies of the 1990s'.

According to Jakobson, Häikiö's answer was that 'the new management of Nokia bravely detached the company from its past. The

⁷ As an industrial conglomerate, Nokia is the result of a major merger in 1966, although Nokia Ab was established already in the 1860s. The first volume of Häikiö's work covers the period up to 1982, while the second focuses on 1982-1991, and the third on 1992-2000.

company ceased to be a conglomerate and came to focus on telecommunications. This happened at exactly the right moment when international markets for telecommunications were opening up and when technological development was accelerating.’ The ownership question fitted neatly into this picture: ‘The internationalization of a bank-centred ownership structure, too, was a significant change. When the two share series were combined in 1999, the ownership of Nokia in its entirety came to be determined by the market. The result is that domestic ownership is now only a part of it. Private American investors represent the largest group of owners.’ The nationalistic rhetoric then made a brief reappearance as if to reassure HS’s readers that Nokia – despite its present ownership structure – was still Finnish:

Despite this Häikiö asserts that Nokia is still a Finnish company: “the significance of Nokia to the Finnish identity can be compared with Kalevala [Finnish national epic] and the Winter War. It is a question of national stories of survival.” [...]

These comparisons may be far-fetched but the fact is that Nokia is still a Finnish company: its headquarters are located in Helsinki, its management is almost entirely Finnish, and its research and development activities are to a large extent in the hands of Finns.

By and large, in all comments and articles published in HS, Nokia seems to have been portrayed increasingly as a success story, and one that demonstrates the virtues of global capitalism generally. It also seems that the discussion has turned increasingly monolithic in this respect. In a curious article entitled ‘The Russians are coming’ on 20 May 2003, HS returned to the question of ownership on its editorial page. Historical reflection was again intrinsic to the framing in the text:

Foreign capital played an important part in the industrialization of our country, and the times when Finland has become wealthier have been times when its borders have been open. [...]

There is not enough capital in Finland for us to seal off our companies from foreign ownership. [...] Finnish ownership is in the hands of individuals, wealthy families and trusts, and that is not enough.

The fantasy of domestic ownership is thus increasingly an illusion.

Closing our doors to foreign owners is impossible, and gives a false sense of security. A small country must find other ways of protecting itself.

The only thing left is social policy: enhancing learning and competence, a wise tax policy and taking care of the service structures in society. [...]

Domestic ownership, then, has finally become something that can be called a ‘fantasy’. The only function left for Finnish society is to secure a favourable operative environment for transnational corporations. There is thus a moral element in the debate, separating society and corporations from one another, and assigning different moral rules and obligations to both sides. Comments such as ‘The only thing left is social policy: enhancing learning and competence, a wise tax policy and taking care of the service structures in society’ do have a markedly ambiguous air.

The next day, on 21 May 2003, HS commented on the merger between the Stock Exchanges in Stockholm and Helsinki. The heading was ‘Financing small companies becomes increasingly difficult’ and below it was declared that ‘selling the Helsinki Stock Exchange to Sweden arouses nationalist feelings.’ Nokia popped up again as an example:

The Stock Exchanges in Stockholm and Helsinki and, in their wake, in the Baltic countries, have now been wrapped up as an attractive package for potential buyers. The titbit in the package is one of the most attractive shares in the world, that is, Nokia. The majority of Nokia shares are still traded on the Helsinki Stock Exchange.

The bottom line was that ‘Only in Nokia, UPM-Kymmene and Amer is foreign ownership purely investor-driven.’ As a whole, Finnish listed companies had not apparently managed to attract foreign investors, at least not the ‘right’ active kind. It is interesting that the journalist claims that ‘the majority of Nokia shares are still traded on the Helsinki Stock Exchange’, despite the fact that Nokia was listed in the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) as early as 1994, and that the vast majority of the Nokia shares are held by non-Finns.

Nokia’s financial performance then stumbled briefly in 2004, and the Finnish nation sighed. ‘Faith in Nokia is tested’ was the title of an article in the economy and finance section of HS on 18 August, 2004.

‘Finns haven’t sold their last Nokia shares, but they haven’t started to buy shares back to Finland. Finnish investors presumably have similar doubts and desires about the future of Nokia as other investors.’ The implicit message seems to be that Finnish investors are gradually becoming ‘normal’, as they focus more on the return on investment, and rely less on nationalistic emotion. Finally, then, it is business as usual in Finland in the neo-liberal mode.

Discursive Framings in Relation to Nokia

Our analysis of how journalists in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the major daily newspaper in Finland, have covered the topic of Nokia’s ownership between 1998 and 2004 enables us to summarize some key elements in the short history of the neo-liberal global capitalism discourse in Finland. Our close critical reading of media texts raises several points about the discursive framings involved.

First, we have shown how a powerful single case like that of Nokia can be used by journalists to frame a more general issue, here, that of domestic as opposed to foreign ownership of corporations. This implies framing by *exemplarity*.⁸ The Nokia case, which has undoubtedly been successful so far, has provided Finnish journalists with endless opportunities to argue in favour of the ‘free’ market characterized by the open flow of capital and, thus, by foreign ownership. Nokia could be used as a pretext and positive example to extend the argument to other corporate cases.

Second, *historical reconstruction* appeared in the media texts studied, and the past, present and future were framed in particular ways. The regulated past in Finland was presented as having culminated in the deep recession of the early 1990s. The past was frequently reconstructed as problematic, and then used to celebrate the virtues of deregulation. Although it could be argued that experience of foreign ownership in Finnish listed companies is still relatively limited (the last restrictions were abolished in 1993) and, consequently, the time-frame for assessing its consequences for Finnish society has been too brief, a questioning tone all but disappeared from the texts studied in the new millenium. This particular reconstruction of the recession is interesting, as a common earlier interpretation of its causes emphasized

⁸ *Exemplarity* is a concept more common in philosophy than in organization or media studies. It concerns means for providing a transition from generality to particularity, or vice versa, in order to facilitate understanding of an idea or statement (Harvey 2002). In reference to management, exemplarity has been used in connection with the ability to set examples to enact change in organizations (Melkonian 2005).

the deregulation of the Finnish financial system (effected since the early 1980s), and the subsequent overheating of the economy.

Third, it is clear that personalities played a central role in the ways in which the neo-liberal discourse was framed in relation to the Nokia case. This can be referred to as *authorization*. Jorma Ollila (CEO 1992-2006) emerged as an authority whose comments were eagerly reported and interpreted. He even gained celebrity status (Fairclough 1995) as he enabled journalists to personify the drama in Nokia's phenomenal rise to global success. Significantly, positions of authority like this allow frequent opportunities for proclaiming the virtues of global capitalism and foreign ownership more generally. Other personalities-cum-authorities included business analysts and various 'experts' of a more general kind.

Fourth, historical reconstruction and authorization are connected with the final discursive framing in the studied texts, namely *naturalization* (Vaara & Tienari 2002). In the studied texts, this ultimately appeared in the form of a rhetoric of inevitability, often accompanied by a rhetoric of helplessness and powerlessness. Foreign ownership in Finnish firms was represented as a force of nature, which could not be questioned or resisted (Kuronen et al. 2005).

Overall, it can be seen how the notion of the 'national' in relation to ownership in Nokia has shifted by way of the journalists' framings, as it has become adapted to the neo-liberal discourse. The 'national' now seems to carry only a part of the meanings that it had in the 1990s. Nokia can still be discursively constructed by journalists as a Finnish company, although it is owned almost entirely by non-Finns, and an increasing part of its production and operations is overseas. It remains the successful flagship of Finnish enterprise.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have applied a discursive framings perspective to the study of media texts in relation to corporate ownership (Fiss & Hirsch 2005). Our analysis gives rise to some general reflections on the rise of the Nordic business press. Particular interpretations of a complex issue can cite and assert empirical support selectively such that a particular discourse becomes dominant in the media coverage (Fiss & Hirsch 2005). The crucial point is that the dominant discourse justifies and legitimates particular moralities and principles, on the one hand, and downplays its alternatives, on the other (Vaara & Tienari 2002). The media participate in promoting particular versions of social reality, while marginalizing and excluding others (Fairclough 1995).

This is not altogether surprising. The findings reported by Fiss and Hirsch (2005: 47), for example, ‘speak to a critical “project” conception of globalization as a political-economic construct promoted mainly by financial actors and institutions, with the idea of the free market at its center’. Our analysis shows that this conception is eagerly picked up by business journalists.

While we would like to believe that journalists covering business-related phenomena seek to act as neutral observers, it is clear that specific voices are privileged and others are silenced in the texts produced. Public debates on given issues become monolithic. Neo-liberal global capitalism becomes constructed as taken-for-granted and inevitable (for critique, see Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001, Fairclough & Thomas 2004). Business journalists emerge as protagonists of this form of capitalism as they frame specific social actions, for example, reworking of legislation, trading stocks and changing articles of association in corporations, or managing efficient and profitable business in general – all this usually *ex post* but sometimes in anticipation.

Our findings appear to support Herkman’s (2005) claim that journalists may not be as self-dependent as is sometimes claimed; there are control mechanisms and journalistic practices that shape their work. Our analysis indicates that *Helsingin Sanomat*, despite its nature as part of the general media rather than a specialized business media platform, has done its share in celebrating neo-liberal global capitalism, that is, a particular political ideology. Blatantly nationalistic framings did appear sporadically in 1998 and 1999, but all but disappeared from later coverage of ownership in the Nokia case.

However, studies of other corporate cases in which the success of foreign ownership is not so apparent do show that the triumphal neo-liberal discourse can appear in a variety of contextualized versions. For example, journalists covering business issues continue to invoke nationalist sentiments in connection with dramatic events like cross-border mergers or acquisitions – *Helsingin Sanomat*’s journalists among them (Vaara & Tienari 2002, Hellgren et al. 2002, Risberg et al. 2003, Tienari et al. 2003, Vaara et al. 2006). The neo-liberal discourse prevails, but it may be challenged by or infused with banal nationalistic discourse (Billig 1995). While it would be easy to dismiss nationalistic framings as an example of the way in which journalists may ‘merely’ be narrativizing the economy and, in doing so, drawing on the popular discourse, we maintain that nationalistic framings may be serving a more fundamental purpose. Journalists appropriate the nationalistic discourse for particular reasons, while simultaneously re-

constructing nationalism and keeping it alive as a potential counterforce to neo-liberal global capitalism.

Finally, our analysis begs the question of the specificity of the Finnish context. To what extent do particular national histories affect the way in which contemporary business phenomena are framed by journalists in the public debate? While there are no definite answers to this fundamental question, earlier studies have suggested that similar discursive dynamics are at work in the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish media.

For example, according to Hellgren et al.'s (2002) study on the merger between Astra (Sweden) and Zeneca (UK), a discourse based on an economic and financial rationale dominated the Swedish media coverage, although a discourse promoting nationalistic sentiments offered an alternative discursive frame. Tienari et al.'s (2003) study on Norwegian media texts reporting the attempts of a foreign company to acquire a Norwegian one also illustrates the dominance of neo-liberal discourse. At the same time, the same study shows how representations of economic nationalism continue to occupy a significant place in the Norwegian media. Peter Kjær's study of Danish media texts (Chapter 6 in the present volume) suggests that framings seen from a financial perspective and giving voice to the demands of the 'free' market (in what we would term neo-liberal discourse) are visible in Denmark, but again specific contextual references appear. We suggest, however, that over and beyond the similarities, the neo-liberal global capitalist discourse represented a rather more dramatic discursive turn-around in the Finnish media in the late 1990s than could be seen in the other Nordic countries. The neo-liberal discourse has hit Finland in a big way.

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Table 7.1 Media Text Material

Title	Section (and date)
<i>Jorma Ollila, CEO of Nokia: Connections between national culture and industry are significant</i>	Domestic (1998-2-28)
<i>A nationalist spirit is awakening in companies</i>	Economy & finance (1998-3-4)
<i>A longing for domestic ownership has arisen</i>	Economy & finance (1998-3-6)
<i>Nokia University Ltd</i>	Economy & finance (1998-4-10)
<i>Difference: the acid test of globalization</i>	Editorial (1998-4-18)
<i>Pension funds and savings into shares</i>	Guest column (1998-5-19)
<i>Who cares about Finland?</i>	Editorial (1998-5-20)
<i>Tauno, where's that boat of ours?</i>	Economy & finance (1998-5-31)
<i>The power in Nokia slips abroad Half the voting rights soon in foreign hands</i>	Economy & finance (1998-9-16)
<i>Jewels for sale</i>	Editorial (1998-12-18)
<i>The gate was opened</i>	Editorial (1999-1-10)
<i>Everyone manages for himself</i>	Editorial (1999-2-2)
<i>The pain of losing power</i>	Editorial (1999-2-4)
<i>Blue-and-white capital – does it exist?</i>	Editorial (1999-3-17)
<i>Bravery, capability and composure</i>	Editorial (1999-12-6)
<i>The Finnish economy has benefited from its internationalization</i>	Editorial (2000-7-24)
<i>The history of a phenomenal rise</i>	Culture / book review (2001-11-23)
<i>The Russians are coming</i>	Editorial (2003-5-20)
<i>Financing small companies becomes increasingly difficult</i>	Economy & finance (2003-5-21)
<i>Faith in Nokia is tested</i>	Economy & finance (2004-8-18)
<i>Vesa Puttonen: small domestic ownership is a problem for the national economy</i>	Economy & finance (2004-9-3)

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- A:327. MARKUS M. MÄKELÄ: Essays on software product development. A Strategic management viewpoint. 2008. ISBN 978-952-488-238-5.
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