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**‘We Came Here for Work’: Recollections of  
Globalisation and Changes to Work in a New Zealand  
Single Industry Town**

A thesis

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the requirements for the  
degree  
of

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## **Abstract**

Globalisation is a term widely associated with an intensification in the mobilisation of goods, services, capital and people, by scholars focused on organisational research. Kelsey (1997) and Stiglitz (2003) are among those scholars who hold that this intensification has been enabled by processes of change in the political economy. They focus on the impact of the implementation of a neo-liberal agenda driven by policy makers in international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In the view of these institutions, responsible global development, governance, and management, and markets are deemed the most salient mechanism for wealth creation and distribution. Market driven growth in economic outputs are purported to deliver wider human emancipation. The functions of the state are to be circumscribed accordingly. This agenda has been amplified through political, social, and economic directives which, according to Boltanski (2011, p.15) has however “not brought about a withering away of the state but its transformation [based] on the model of the firm, to adjust itself to the new forms of capitalism. This observation brings about a focus on corporate ways of thinking as central to understanding the changing modes of organisation in all spheres of life.”

Kelliher and Anderson (2010) purport that changes in the workplace, particularly through the adoption of flexible forms of work and flexible organisational structures have supported, and been supported by the adoption of a neo-liberal agenda. The argument underpinning both the neo-liberal political agenda and the attraction of greater flexibility in work practices is centered on notions of increased freedom and choice for all. Both imply the end purpose and intention of their policy directives are

increased social well-being to be achieved through the particular notion of freedom the neo-liberals harness to their agenda. However, critics suggest that the outcomes associated with Globalisation indicate a flaw in the emancipatory rhetoric of neo-liberal proponents. Critics such as Kaplinsky (2005) and Piketty (2014) draw attention to growing income inequality under the prevailing economic directives referred to interchangeably as Globalisation, global development, or economic growth, deemed necessary to this purported emancipatory agenda. Piketty (2014) tracks the wealth of the top earners over the past 250 years. He concludes that wealth inequalities are not self-correcting as pro-market advocates proclaim. Social and political unrest generated by the seemingly intractable and growing gap between rich and poor is intensifying.

In their examinations of the changes in workplace practice under the conditions of neo-liberalism, Bender and Saturn (2009) and McKee-Ryan, Virick, Prussia, Harvey and Lilly (2009) look to increases in under, over and unemployment as a counter-point to the neo-liberal point of view. Through their focus, multiple forms of unequal power and control are seen at the societal, workplace and individual level that appear to facilitate consent and compliance to Globalisation and changes to work. Yet multiple forms of resistance are also noted. Collective protests such as the mass demonstrations at Seattle in 2000 (Goodman, 2000), Genoa in 2001 ("Genoa Under Siege," 2001) and the Occupy movement of 2011 demonstrate acts of resistance at the level of the individual that are described in the work of Fleming and Sewell (2002) and Gabriel (2008). Structural critical analysts focus their attention on the control/resistance dialectic endemic in capitalist practices, and remind us of the multiple layers of both control and resistance enacted across the spectrum of capitalist dynamics, from the values driving macro policies directing the behaviours of investors, government policy makers, corporate

directors, employees and managers to the micro activities of individuals. In this work, I use a lens of identity framed around the work of Bauman (2004) and Gabriel (2008) to explore these multiple forms of control and resistance, and to illuminate the diverse lived experiences of Globalisation. My research is focused around how i) *the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in individuals lived experiences*, and how ii) *consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as identity at the individual and collective level*. I explore these two themes through an overarching orientation to Critical Theory focusing on the methodological approaches of Alvesson & Deetz (2000) and Boje (2007, 2008; Boje & Rosile, 2008; Boje & Tyler, 2009).

In this research I have turned my attention to the escalation of the neo-liberal agenda as it was given radical, rapid and widespread effect in New Zealand from the 1980s. I do so through an enquiry into localised processes of the work-related changes as they were explored with my research participants. The location of my field work is in the Single Industry Town of Tokoroa, New Zealand - a town originally founded around the local forestry and pulp and paper industry. I draw on secondary material to present a brief historic overview of the case of Tokoroa. It is one of very few N.Z. examples of a 'company town' founded on company land, originally populated almost exclusively with individuals brought into the town to work at the Mill or on its construction. I follow major demographic trends in the town from its boom time, to its decline associated with widespread workforce reduction. My fieldwork involved 32 participants and resulted in 62 hours of recorded interviews. Insights from my fieldwork are structured into two distinct sections. First, I present the secondary research, illustrating how the processes

and practices of Globalisation manifest in the New Zealand context. In these chapters, I argue that New Zealand was a first mover in adopting changes in the politico-economic sphere, moving from Keynesian macro-management to neo-liberal structural adjustment in the 1990s. By the mid-1990s, growing negative aspects of the situation of many New Zealanders came to be attributed to this mode of economic dominance (see for example Kelsey, 1999) and a Third Way political agenda was brought into action. While the NZ Labour Party recanted much of their part in the leadership of these changes, and in 2009 Prime Minister Helen Clark provided an explicit apology to New Zealanders for the misguidance of her government of this era, the overall effect is that New Zealand has remained deeply embedded and committed to the form of Globalisation that was established at the time of my fieldwork. The specific historic context of New Zealand's engagement with, and at time leadership of neo-liberal agendas has resulted in a specific set of publicly espoused 'identities' which have been facilitated by and in turn facilitate these transitions over several decades.

The second section of my report focuses on the primary research drawn from the stories told by participants in this research. The experiences reported by my participants of the period leading up to and on-going during the time of my fieldwork highlight the prevalence of multiple forms of control and resistance, manifested as moments of identification and disidentification of that era. The stories told by participants of their life in Tokoroa during the period 1950-2013 illustrate the observations of Zizek (2000), that whilst a critical structural analysis provides insights into the power relations of global neo-liberalism, the lived experiences of the individual are significantly more complex. Some of the research participants for example, demonstrated an acute awareness of the processes of neo-liberal hegemony, albeit not expressed in academic terms. For others, the day-to-day need to live within

their individual contexts, to support their families, remains their upmost priority. Those individuals do not appear to me as assimilated or domesticated. They are not actively consenting. They are aware of the corporate exacerbation of inequality and inequity in their community but their priorities lie not in political dissent, nor in the furthering of the corporate will, but rather in maintaining their immediate familial and community relations.

From the stories told, some participants might be depicted as one dimensional compliant, consenting or assimilated individuals. These depictions endorse the views of those analysts concerned with the kinds of marginalisation, alienation and exploitation associated with capitalism as typified by critical organisational scholars such as Sewell and Wilkinson (1992) and Banerjee, Carter and Clegg (2009). There were many participants who told stories that indicated active resistance to the dominant narrative of neo-liberalism of this era. They were well aware of a global corporate agenda and demonstrated their resistance through overt actions and through micro acts of identification and disidentification. They too however, cannot be depicted in one dimensional ways. The overarching narratives regarding Globalisation and changes to work generated from neo-liberal proponents and critical scholars alike, where this is achieved through a predominantly structural analysis, do not provide a satisfactory explanation of the experience of the dynamics of Globalisation. Such grand narrating on both parts masks a multitude of complex individual experiences. The uptake of these overarching structural narratives in scholarship and policy seem to provide a deflection from more nuanced analysis and thus avert attention from forms of action that might be amplified in aspirations for systemic transformation. Such

forms of resistance may provide protection from a complete uptake of the neoliberal agenda – or through its tolerance – endorse its claim to freedom of choice. For critical scholars, this seeming paradox provides more scope for emancipatory engagement. Regardless of this meta-analysis, my research would suggest that far from producing a universal group of docile functionaries domesticated to act in the interests of the global elite, the basic human need for social relations, connections to culture, family and community, remain important.

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## **Chapter 1: ‘We Came Here for Work’: Situating the Local in the Global**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The term ‘Globalisation’ has come to hold a great deal of attention and evokes significant emotion for both proponents and critics. The protesters against unfettered global corporate activity in Seattle represented a wide cross section of citizens concerned about the impacts on peoples and planet of an intensifying neoliberal agenda. The Occupy Movement began with a focus on income inequalities but soon became an impassioned call for systemic change. Concerned successful entrepreneurs such as Richard Branson and Bill Gates have joined calls for an incorporation of social concerns into the corporate realm (Dyer, Humphries, Fitzgibbons and Hurd, 2014). Some have joined with the powerful elite who meet each year for the World Economic Forum at Davos to discuss ways in which private companies might work with the not-for-profit sector to improve social and environmental wellbeing. Globalisation, conceived of as primarily a political-economic trajectory is under scrutiny by advocates and critics alike. According to Held and McGrew (2000) however, this term does not carry a universally shared meaning. To its advocates, Globalisation as they understand it, is seen as the remedy to all the world’s ills and a source of much hope. To its critics, Globalisation as they see it, is seen as the cause of all such ills and its acceleration will only intensify the ills they associate with it. But the processes and practices which constitute what both advocates and critics refer to as Globalisation are not just the targets of activists or the complex subjects

of academic critique. Nor can Globalisation be reduced to intentionally constructed strategies developed in the boardrooms of powerful corporations and state organisations. The dynamics which have come to be associated with the term Globalisation are diverse. They impact significantly on our own lived experiences of our daily lives, and those of our friends, families, colleagues and communities. Deetz (1992) argues this impact to be a form of colonisation of the life world. Yet close examinations of these lived experiences are often missing from the scholarship focussed on Globalisation. Critical Management scholars seem primarily concerned with analysing overarching power relations as they see them and presenting case studies about multinational corporations and their perceived favoured status in corporate friendly government considerations. But what are the impressions of workers of and on these dynamics of Globalisation and the changes to work?

### 1.1.1 We Came Here for Work

‘We came here for work’. This quote forms the centrepiece for this thesis and its title. It highlights that this is first and foremost a research project with the personal experiences of my participants at the centre. My work is primarily a study of what it might mean to live in a town which has been entwined with changes in the global politico-economic and corporate spheres and on the job opportunities for individuals. This quote holds another meaning. As an expression of the secondary theme running through this thesis, it stands as a telling also of the living story of myself as an emerging scholar. For me, this thesis represents a journey which began in a very different place to where it ended. Indeed, for me, I ‘came here [to the research] for work’, the work of completing a doctoral study generated

from what appeared at the outset a well-developed set of theoretical perspectives. As the stories of my participants were more deeply explored a more nuanced understanding of myself, my work, and my understanding of the theoretical perspectives I had started with emerged. I present in this work an argument centred on the notion that much can be learned from the exploration of experiences of the everyday as mediated through significant and powerful dynamics referred to as Globalisation in all its complexities.

This chapter begins with an explanation of the purpose I had for this work. I then introduce the research context, and I provide an orientation to my research method. I next provide a guide to the layout of this thesis.

## 1.2 Purpose

My focus in this research began with an intention to explore the lived experience of people in communities who are experiencing the forces of Globalisation and changes the conditions of their employment, which are argued by Maxton (2011) and Stiglitz (2010) to be connected. My thesis was initially based around two research themes:

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in the lived experiences of individuals*

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as narratives and antenarratives of identity at the individual and collective level*

As I emerged from my field work, however, I became increasingly unsettled by my response to my own interpretation of my purpose, my themes and my field work. My unsettling has expanded my purpose, and this report documents both the initial process and my eventual re-thinking.

### **1.3 Research Context**

#### **1.3.1 New Zealand: A Globally Significant Context**

This research began as a case study of Tokoroa, a Single Industry Town, situated in a densely forested area of the central region of the north island of New Zealand. Despite being a seemingly small and distant landmass from the larger geographic regions of the world, New Zealand is an interesting location for research on Globalisation. Its pertinence arises from its political leadership on a number of fronts.

–Leadership in technological field such a refrigeration’ for example enabled the

world-wide export of meat as early as 1882 (Hunter, 2005). New Zealand was the first democracy to grant women the vote (Kelsey, 1999). Significant positions of leadership in the contemporary world are held by New Zealanders as exemplified by leadership on the World Trade Organisation and the United Nations Development Program. In the sphere of political/economic influence New Zealand was a first-mover in interpreting social- democratic macro-level policy associated with Keynesianism and again as a vanguard to neo-liberalism through a programme of structural adjustment referred to as ‘The New Zealand Experiment’ (Kelsey 1997). This rapid and wide-ranging commitment to the principles of neo-liberalism was temporarily modified in the early 2000s under a rhetoric of the Third Way but the incoming National (Conservative) Party of 2008 returned to a more rigorous application of neo-liberal ideals. Today New Zealand is again

significantly committed to the free-trade agenda and to a limited view of state provision of social services as preferred by neo-liberal advocates. The industries recognised as significant to this economically focussed nation are still reflective of its roots as ‘Britain’s Farm’<sup>4</sup>: dairy, sheep, fishing and forestry.

### 1.3.2 Tokoroa: A Single Industry Town

The site of my inquiry is Tokoroa, a single industry rural town in central New Zealand. Tokoroa was founded in 1947 on land owned by New Zealand Forest Products (Healy, 1982). It was once the fastest growing town in the country. Tokoroa is situated 3 hours south of NZ’s biggest city (Auckland) and in close proximity to the large-scale central north island forests. The town was and remains based around the forestry industry. The Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill, built 8km south of the town is a dominant presence on the landscape and in the community. However, as with many industry towns, the global shift to outsourcing aspects of production has seen activities once performed locally being exported off-shore. These include the processing of logs into pulp and the production of paper. Resultant large-scale redundancies have characterised the workforce. The town of Tokoroa has been in a state of population and socio-economic decline since the mid 1980’s – the period also when neo-liberal political and economic ideals were being implemented in this country. At this time, the Mill workforce peaked at approximately 5500 (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). Since the mid-1980’s, the Kinleith workforce has been repeatedly downsized and by 2013 stood at approximately 300 workers. The impact of this downsizing was not only on the direct employees of The Mill, but across the many supporting occupations that enlivened the Town of Tokoroa. Growth and retraction of Tokoroa’s population has mirrored the expansion and retraction of the Kinleith Pulp

and Paper Mill work force. For example, the town's population grew from approximately 1100 in 1948 to a peak of over 19,000 in the 1980's (Campbell & Weerasinghe, 1986) and today stands at 13,206<sup>5</sup>.

## **1.4 Methodological Approach to the Research and Thesis Structure**

I approach this thesis from a qualitative research perspective underpinned by a Habermasian commitment to the importance of human interaction to notions of perceived reality. I thus owe much to a social constructionist epistemology. I gathered my methodological perspective around Denzin and Lincoln's idea of *bricoleurs*, master tradespersons who utilise the tools of their craft available in a creative and flexible manner. With this creativity and flexibility in mind, I regard the research process as reflective and fluid. Such an approach to research contrasts significantly with predilections for a single fixed prescriptive research method generally associated with positivist orientations to organisational enquiries. I draw primarily on the work of Alvesson and Deetz's *Critical Management Research* and David Boje's living story methodologies. The work of Boje is important to my work not only as a methodological approach but also in the presentation of this thesis. I will elaborate on this in Section 1.6. Narrative approaches to research provide the broadest methodological outlines for my scholarship.

### 1.4.1 Living Story Methodology

Not all narrative theorists have moved away radically from the reach and grip of positivist values on the organisational research community and their focus on representing or challenging a given reality or truth in their work. Jorgensen and Boje for example draw on Derrida to argue that traditional

use of narrative methods in research are “linked with an overall modern emphasis on truth, essence, unity and rationality” (2009, p. 32). Although narrative inquirers would (generally) identify themselves with interpretive research paradigms, Jorgensen and Boje argue that qualitative researchers’ preoccupation with constructing narratives is more closely reflective of a positivist style preoccupation with notions of ‘truth’ and ‘fact’. According to Jorgensen and Boje (2009, p. 33), “narrative thus contains a moral and ‘agreed’ interpretation on something that is in reality [or perhaps more consistently thought of as] fragmented, pluralistic, paradoxical and ambiguous”. They advocate for the use of ‘a living story’ methodology, Researchers who adopt a living story methodology focus on storying as fragmented and collective; the complex fragments are continuously co-constructed by multiple participants into what becomes known as ‘the narrative’. Rather than a focus on the tidy ‘Beginning, Middle, End (BME)’ narrative, living story researchers focus on the complexity of antenarratives which occur before, after, and simultaneously to the ‘narrative’ (Boje, 2014).

#### 1.4.2 Method

To provide some parameters for the stories of participants and of myself, I decided on the framing of ‘a case’ as in Stake’s (2000) use of an ‘instrumental case study’. This framing allowed me to frame an image as might an artist or photographer decide what to include or exclude from a given piece of creative work. . The canvas for my chosen case is of the town of Tokoroa. The parameters of the final frame were chosen from the impressions I gathered from both primary and secondary sources. For my empirical work, I used a conversational interviewing technique, based around a single introductory

question. I interviewed 32 self-selected participants who volunteered for the study in response to an article about my research published in the local newspaper. The volunteers who became my participants came from a range of ages, occupational and cultural backgrounds, and had resided in the town for a period ranging from six to over 50 years. They represented both Mill and non-Mill workers, union and non-union members, the employed and unemployed.

I gathered a total of 62 hours of interview recordings. The interviews were transcribed verbatim. Participants read through and amended the transcripts, in some cases a number of times. I then embarked on my interpretation of the transcripts. Each transcript was read and all interview recordings listened to a number of times. I utilised the NVIVO software to collate the themes arising, rather than to technologically generate these themes. As such, the use of this application was not of a pseudo-quantitative nature, but rather the technological equivalent of working with hard copy and highlighters. The initial themes were fed back to participants, who made comments which were incorporated into analysis. The second phase of my analysis involved re-reading transcripts, again listening to recordings, to explore antenarratives running across transcripts, appearing in segments of narrative, sometimes only consisting of a few words in amongst a larger 'story' being told. These themes were also fed back to participants, and responses were incorporated into the analysis.

## **1.5 Report Structure**

The report of my research I present here is structured to convey the emerging story of both myself as researcher, and of the theoretical arguments

concerning the complex responses of those individuals living in the context of Globalisation and changes to work. In Chapter 2, I review the dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work, often presented by proponents of the processes which have become associated with these terms. I contrast this descriptive account with one set of critiques of these processes in Chapter 3. This chapter represents an antenarrative of Globalisation and changes to work. This analysis is based primarily on Gramsci's idea of hegemony and kin concepts such as Foucault's Panopticon and Weber's iron cage that infuse much of this genre. Bravermanian style critiques of the labour process are also examined and as are the subsequent re-readings of this work by scholars such as Barker (1993) and Thompson and Ackroyd (1995). I update this work with the addition of Miller and Rose (1998), and their work on subtle forms of discipline exerted in the workplace. This section culminates in an uptake of the work of Bauman (1998a, 2001, and 2004) who provides a nuanced analysis specifically within the context of 'fluid modernity', his conceptualisation of what others would term Globalisation. This chapter also represents a 'baring' of my own theoretical biases, and the perspective which, until undertaking this research, I unknowingly accepted as 'given'. As much of this more recent work is focused on control over the individual, this analysis draws me to consider the experience of the individual within this context, including my perception of the research process and myself. Although identifying myself as deeply embedded in the work of critical theorists, I now recognise that my perspective was only indicative of a small section of larger community of critical scholars. Rendering visible my shift in perspective has eventuated as an important part of my research process, and in how the research developed as my perspective and practice developed.

In Chapter 4, I present my emerging perspective by focusing on analyses of identity. This chapter represents an example of the significant shift in my scholarship. Social Constructivists draw my attention to the fabricatedness of fixed notions of 'identity'. However, the process of exploring this area, whilst uncomfortable at times, brought me firmly to the work of scholars such as Bauman, Gabriel (2005, 2008) and Garba (2010). In their work, I appreciate the focus on the political and relational aspects of decisions made about who we 'identify' with and who we chose to distance ourselves from. The focus on identity also led me to incorporate a discussion of Maori worldviews, highlighting ways in which human relationships with each other and the planet are not always as assumed in a similar way within the still largely European and North American orientated sites of academia. I close Chapter 4 by arguing that a lens of identity helps to incorporate the experiences of individuals whilst still encouraging the exploration of the overarching power relations at play.

Chapters 5 and 6 constitute the methodological section of my thesis. In Chapter 5, I synthesis the theoretical perspective to be taken in the thesis, drawing together chapters 3 and 4, and culminating in the broad research themes which provide focus to this research. I then argue for the choice of research context, the Single Industry Town. I provide a brief outline of previous work on Single Industry Towns and the characteristics which render them a fruitful context for this research. I extend my research purpose to questions of methodology and method in Chapter 6 where I describe how I adopted a bricolage approach by combining aspects of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) *Critical Management Research* and Boje's (2007, 2008) living story/antenarrative methodologies. I explain more fully why and

how I adapted an instrumental case method from the work of Stakes, collecting both secondary material, and empirical research using an interview method allowing me in Chapters 7 to 10 to represent the presentation and interpretation of both primary and secondary material.

In Chapter 7, I present the dominant narratives New Zealand within the context of Globalisation and changes to work, as these appear in secondary material. The position as early adopter of economic directives renders the New Zealand context as one highly relevant to exploring the impacts of these changes in the global politico- economic sphere on the lives of its citizens. I argue that New Zealand was a first-mover in the adoption of a Keynesian welfare state as a response to social hardship associated with the prevailing form of economic development of the times. NZ was again a front-runner in implementing neo-liberal ideas that saw the prioritisation of economic measures of wellbeing and a focus on individual responsibility. Associated social degradation became undeniable here as elsewhere the policies had taken hold (Kelsey, 1999). To deal with this association Third Way policies were devised notable in the UK, Canada and in NZ. This response was ultimately seen by Rose (2000) not as an alternative to neo-liberalism, but an attempt to mop up its social unrest. In many cases, while a Third Way agenda has influenced current policies, many governments, including in New Zealand, have taken a move back towards pure neo-liberal policies. Social inequality has since escalated (Rashbrooke 2013).

In Chapter 8, I illustrate that Tokoroa provides a unique and thought-provoking case of a single-industry town, with both socio-cultural and geographical isolation and specificity as key characteristics of this region. I

describe how aspects of a community identity as 'Tokoroa', as presented in secondary literature, are reflective of changes in the wider politico-economic and corporate spheres, emphasising the relevance of a lens of identity within a study of the experiences of Globalisation.

In Chapter 9, I present the narratives and antenarratives of Globalisation and changes to work I interpreted and constructed from the stories of my participants. I argue that these complex and varied narratives are representative of identification and disidentification to the dominant narratives. The expression of both narrative and antenarrative are indicative of incomplete subordination to the dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work and support the claim of Levy and Scully (2007) that no hegemony is ever complete. This incompleteness thus provides the opportunity for action.

In Chapter 10, I discuss my formulation of narratives and antenarratives of community identity, interpreted from the stories of my research participants. I argue there that while there was widespread acceptance of a set of dominant narratives of community identity, there were also a number of antenarratives which problematised the notion of a unified community identity.

In Chapter 11, I discuss the implications of insights arising from my research to the realms of scholarship to which I have applied myself and taken guidance from. This chapter revisits the shift in perspective of myself as researcher, and represents the beginning of the next stage of my development as a researcher. I argue that the case of Tokoroa illustrates how a structural

analysis does not adequately account for the complex and varied experiences of the individual, the complex processes of identification and disidentification at multiple levels in the context of Globalisation and changes to work.

## **1.6 A Note on Style and Structure**

As described above, much of this thesis is presented as a set of dominant narratives, and parallel antenarratives. For me, the presentation of the chapters in this form demonstrates the developing analysis, which runs throughout the thesis. I do not argue that dominant narratives are uncontested. For example, In Chapter 2, I present the dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work, oftentimes as presented by proponents of these processes. The absence of widespread critique within this chapter should not be confused with either agreement with this the opinion of proponents, or a disregarding of the many and vocal opponents of these processes. For my work in this thesis, it was important me to me to not only acknowledge this perspective, as a form of reflexivity, but also to be able to present the dominant narratives to ground the remainder of the thesis in light of these dominant narratives. Similarly for the critical analysis of Globalisation presented in Chapter 3, made up of a particular set of perspectives which has heavily impacted on my own scholarly development over the past 15 years. The presentation of these theorists work, and the absence of others, is not an indication that either perspective might have much to offer. For me, the presentation of this particular critical analysis of Globalisation is part of me presenting my own living story as a researcher, barring an analysis which at times is also as ‘messy’ and ‘nuanced’ as the living stories of my participants.

The uptake of identity as focus of my research represents for me a maturation of my scholarship. This maturation is evidence by my capacity to detect weaknesses or contradictions within the dominant narratives of both proponents and critics of Globalisation.

### **1.7 Conclusion**

In this thesis I focus on the importance of the lived experience of Globalisation and changes to work to the people who are living within this context, and to myself, as an emerging scholar. I argue that by incorporating analyses of identity into critical analyses, researchers can explore the varied, complex and nuanced range of experiences and power relations occurring. Moreover, I argue that the experiences of some sit outside of these considerations, and are reflective of a broad range of ways individuals live fruitful lives. An understanding of this complexity illuminates the many spaces for resistance to domination and provides deep reflection for scholars to appreciate that their own 'reality' and 'concerns' are not necessarily those of the individuals living within research contexts.

I now turn my attention in Chapter 2, to the body of the thesis, beginning with a depiction of dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work, as expressed by advocates and historians.

## **Chapter 2: Dominant Narratives of Globalisation and Workplace Change**

### **2.1 Introduction**

Globalisation has been defined as

The closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has been brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportations and communication, the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 9)

This description seems apolitical. Globalisation is, however, a contested term, with some arguing that the majority of the global population are not affected by, involved in, or indeed, excluded from the process and espoused benefits of Globalisation (Held & McGrew, 2000). Others argue that Globalisation is not a new phenomenon, but is simply a continuation of historical processes (Mishan, 1967; Nayyar, 2006). Still others argue that the development of Globalisation is not simply an inevitable outcome of technological change, as implied by the definition offered by Stiglitz above. Instead, Globalisation is viewed by both academic scholars such as Ehrensals (1995) to international governance institutions such as the International Labour Office (2004) as an inherently political process that has facilitated the growth in multinational corporations

and have enabled changes to the nature, structure and location of work.

While the semantics of Globalisation may be contested there is clear evidence that Globalisation is intensifying (Bishop, Reinke, & Adams, 2011). Specifically, there has been an exponential increase in the global trade of goods and services (United Nations Council of Trade and Development, 2009), foreign direct investment (De Angelis & Harvie, 2008; Hirst & Thompson, 1994), and to a lesser degree, migration (Hugo, 2006; Lincoln, 2009; Sanderson & Kentor, 2009; Sanderson & Utz, 2009). Although there was a slight decrease in the *growth* in merchandise trade, economic Globalisation continued to increase throughout the current Great Recession (KOF Swiss Economic Institute, 2013). Indeed, Bishop, Reinke and Adams (2011), argue there is continued potential for ever-increasing rates of trade because of technological improvements and developments in the internet resulting in continuously improved speed and accuracy of record-keeping and tracking of manufacturing and financial transactions.

Globalisation of a particular a particular rearrangement of economic and political power has roots in the initial development and subsequent transformation of the Bretton Woods Institutions influence over national level policy initiatives (Bishop et al., 2011). This development and transformation of the Bretton Woods Institutions represents a political and economic ideological shift from Keynesian to neo-liberally informed macro-level government policies and practices. This political shift opened up avenues for growth in global trade and global forms of organisation. The processes of this political shift are discussed in Section 2.2.

While local trade still predominates, more countries are involved in global goods trade, and export earnings are seen as an important source of national income (United Nations Council of Trade and Development, 2009). Trade agreements, often facilitated by the WTO and endorsed by the World Bank and IMF, are seen as an important part in assisting the export process. Regional Trading Blocs and the growth in MNCs have also facilitated increased trade. The WTO, regional trading blocs, MNC and the impact these new institutions have had on the growing trade are presented in Section 2.3.

The shift away from full employment policies through deregulating labour markets, the intensification of Globalisation and the growth in the number and size of MNCs have been directly linked to significant changes to the structure, conditions and location of organisation and paid employment (Allvin, 2008; Capelli, 1999; Cappelli & Rogovsky, 1994; Fleming, Harley, & Sewell, 2004). Rifkin (2004) argues that this change has manifest in *The End of Work*, in his book of the same title. Many commentators described a transformation in work from rigid forms characterised by the likes of Frederick Taylor and Henry Ford, to more flexible forms characterised by Atkinson (1984), and a shift from manufacturing to knowledge work (Abbasi, Belhadjali, & Hollman, 2009; Bell, 1974). Accompanying flexible forms of work is often a reduction in or spatial relocation of workers. These issues are presented in Sections 2.4 and 2.5. While there is no uniform timeframe of these developments, there are generally accepted timeframes and milestones of the political transformation of economies, the introduction of flexible forms of work, and the rise in global trade. In the next section I introduce the development and subsequent transformation of the Bretton

Woods Institutions, influential in the post World War II period.

## **2.2 The Bretton Woods Institutions and the Mont Pelerin Society**

Towards the close of World War II, the United States government facilitated a series of meetings held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, between key members of the United States and British governments, and key economic thought leaders of the time. The outcome of the Bretton Woods Summit was the formation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), later to become the (WTO) World Trade Organisation (Kelsey, 1997). A number of policy mechanisms accompanied the development of these institutions, such as the agreement on a semi-fixed exchange rate system. The objective of the formation of these institutions was to facilitate the rebuilding of war-torn Europe and to provide international financial stability. A key advisor to these meetings was the economist John Maynard Keynes (Visser, 2000). His influence can be seen in the policy initiatives adopted by these institutions.

From a Keynesian position, societal prosperity and wellbeing is believed to be achieved through state-planned economic growth, provision of a state welfare system and state governed international trade (Kelsey, 1997; Visser, 2000; Winer & Ferris, 2008). Macroeconomic policy focuses on full employment (Mitchell & Muysken, 2008), stability in tax-takes, and welfare support for those temporarily unable to work. This political system is referred to as the Keynesian welfare compromise (Johnson, 1971; Visser, 2000) or the Bretton Woods compromise (Bishop et al., 2011). The dissemination and adoption of Keynesian macro-level management principles and ideals throughout many democratic western nations was achieved through

conditions imposed on countries undertaking IMF loans, and politico-economic advice offered by the World Bank and IMF to nation states. To varying degrees, many western governments sought stable growth of industry, facilitated by regulated imports, exports, prices and wages (Ingham, 2008; Kaplinsky, 2005). Until the 1970s, stable economic growth and positive societal outcomes were attributed to Keynesian policies in most developed countries.

### 2.2.1 The Parallel Process of the Mont Pelerin Society

While the post World War II period is generally associated with Keynesianism in Western democratic societies, not all favoured the social-democratic approach to achieving societal well-being. In 1947, the Mont Pelerin Society met for the first time in Switzerland, to discuss and strengthen their preferred ideological position based on classical economic theory, and in particular, on their interpretation of Adam Smith's works (Backhouse, 2009). Members of the Pelerin Society upheld the view that social well-being can only be achieved through individuals making choices within a framework of ultimate freedom, to be facilitated and disciplined by the 'invisible hand' of the market. The theorising associated with the Mont Pelerin Society was seen as a revival of the *laissez faire* theory prevalent in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The Mont Pelerin Society remains a private, members-only debating society, whose original members were handpicked by Frederick Hayek, (Mirowski, 2009), and included Milton Friedman, George Stigler, Karl Popper and Ludwig van Mises, economists from the Chicago and London Schools of Economics. According to Mirowski, the Society initially sought to stay out of

the sphere of public consciousness, to try to preserve the development of their ideas, which were radically at odds with public opinion of the day, and to actively distance themselves from the Bretton Woods political institutions.

Along with von Hayek, Frank Knight, Milton Friedman and George Stigler, three of the original guests, became influential in the Chicago School of Economics and whose work led to the development of the influence of neo-liberal political ideology. By the 1960s, members of Mont Pelerin, and more publicly, scholars at the Chicago School of Economics were drawing on their developments of classical economics to publicly critique Keynesian macro-level management principles.

### 2.2.2 Widespread Questioning of Keynesianism and the Washington Consensus

By the mid-1970s, there was widespread agreement that much of the world's economies were in recession (Norsworthy & Fulco, 1978), evidenced by trade and budget deficits, rising inflation and unemployment. These conditions were deepened by the collapse of the semi-fixed exchange rate system in 1971-1973, and the 1973 oil shocks (Barsky & Kilian, 2004) which saw an oil embargo imposed against the United States and a subsequent increase in oil price by OPEC member countries. Additional contributing factors included widespread wage increases alongside declining productivity, increased manufacturing capability and production in newly industrialised countries, and a subsequent saturation of consumer markets. Many of these conditions were attributed to Keynesian macro-management policies (Gross & Straussman, 1975).

By the mid-1970s some members of the IMF and the World Bank were also openly questioning Keynesian policies, and began adopting neo-liberal principles as advised by Chicago School economists and others (Stiglitz, 2003). Even during this seeming crisis of Keynesianism, conflicting ideas were evident in findings of The Brandt Commission, convened in 1977. The Commission was formed to consider development issues and income inequality between developed and developing nations, and the role of IMF and World Bank policy in reducing this inequality (Hooke, 1981). The Commission's recommendations were considered to be more aligned with Keynesian policy initiatives, were broadly social-democratic and suggested that loan conditions be tailored to the needs of the receiving countries to avoid harsh impacts on their populations (Chossudovsky, 1996; Stone, 2008). However, given the concurrent development of neo-liberal thought amongst many policy advisors at the time, few of the Commission's recommendations were implemented, and instead, a regime of neo-liberal conditionalities were applied to all loans (Stiglitz, 2003).

Meanwhile, the recessionary conditions gave rise to opposition parties initially in the United Kingdom, the United States, and in New Zealand, proposing the need for neo-liberal reform (Kelsey, 1997). These calls were most notably encapsulated in Margaret Thatcher's catch cry for the time, "There is no alternative" (Kelsey, 1997). The elections of Margaret Thatcher in 1979, Ronald Reagan in 1981, and the Fourth Labour Government of New Zealand in 1984 manifest in the implementation of neo-liberal reform (Hale, 1981). The influence of The Mont Pelerin Society on the incoming governments has been made explicit in the cases of both the United Kingdom

and the United States, whereby personal and ideological links between U.S. president Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with Frederick von Hayek have been well documented (Backhouse, 2009; Mirowski, 2009).

Advised by the IMF and World Bank officials, the newly elected governments in these countries began undertaking structural adjustment programmes, characterised by the deregulation of financial and employment markets, reduction in trade tariffs and subsidies, privatisation of state owned assets, and a reduction in state welfare programmes. Based on experiences of the implementation of these programmes, in 1990 the term ‘The Washington Consensus’ was used to describe a set of nine key elements to a structural adjustment programme (Kelsey, 1997), considered to be a loose set of agreed upon principles that constitute a neo-liberal political agenda.

These principles include:

- Fiscal discipline
- Prioritising public expenditure
- Tax reform
- Deregulation of legislation impeding corporate growth or entry of overseas firms
- Removal of barriers to foreign direct investment
- Liberalisation of financial markets
- Managed exchange rates to encourage competitiveness

- Privatisation of state owned assets
- Ensuring private property rights with minimal

compliance costs (Kelsey, 1997, p. 18)

Proponents of these principles assert that societal well-being is achieved through the operation of efficient markets, resulting in increased consumer choice, economic growth and subsequent reduction in poverty for all, characterised by the phrase “A rising tide lifts all boats” (Hines, Hoynes, & Krueger, 2001). The belief that these principles do lead to social well-being and poverty reduction saw them embedded as a set of conditionalities applied by the IMF on developing countries seeking loans; thus forcing borrower nations to deregulate their economies. The neo-liberal principles explicitly create the legal conditions that are favourable for developing global free trade much of which is facilitated by the World Trade Organisation and regional trading bloc agreements, and by Multinational Corporations (Stiglitz, 2003).

### **2.3 Regional Trading Blocs, The WTO, and MNCs**

An embedded aspect of neo-liberalism is the removal of barriers to international trade, and to this end, a number of regional trading blocs and trade agreements have been made. For example, the current North American Free Trade Agreement was initially signed between Canada and the United States of America in 1987. Mexico was included in 1992. The European Union trading bloc formalised the relationships formed in the European Community with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992.

An outcome of the 1986 to 1993 GATT Uruguay Round was the creation of the World Trade Organisation (WTO). Since then, the WTO trade rounds have focused on providing ‘a forum for negotiating agreements aimed at reducing obstacles to international trade and ensuring a level playing field for all, thus contributing to economic growth and development’ (The World Trade Organisation, 2013). The WTO’s promotion of free trade is based on a belief that competition at a national and international level will result in high quality goods at lower prices, and the creation of new industries and employment growth, ultimately leading to increased widespread social well-being.

The volume of world exports increased dramatically during the period 1950-2000, from a total value of \$61billion in 1950, to \$883billion in 1975, to \$6338billion in 2000 (Nayyar, 2006). According to the IMF (De Rato, 2007), world trade has grown five times since 1980. Financial Globalisation (the movement of money across borders) has increased at an even greater rate, rising from 55% of global GDP in 1990 to 131% in 2004 (De Rato, 2007). At the macro level, financial trade involves multinational companies or financial institutions moving funds across borders, or investing in international currencies as part of investment portfolios. At a micro level, financial trade consists of wage earners investing in the stock market, or in these managed funds.

Much of the increase in goods and services trade is undertaken by multinational corporations. According to the World Trade Organisation (WTO, 2013), 51 of the world’s largest 100 economies are multinational corporations, and the top 500 Multinational Corporations account for

approximately 70% of world trade (World Trade Organisation, 2013a), and these 500 multinational corporations and their foreign affiliates, employ over 69 million employees (United Nations Council of Trade and Development, 2012). One outcome of the Great Recession has been a growth in the proportion of MNCs global trade, as localised and domestic firms have closed operations or sold to MNCs. Moreover, McCauley, McGuire and von Peter (2012) found that MNCs are becoming prevalent in industries that previously were almost exclusively domestic. They suggest that the collapse of international banking companies, which previously operated in limited markets, is likely to lead to growth in the multinational banking sector.

Some proponents argue that there are a number of benefits to an increase in the growth and influence of multinational businesses. These include increased national economic growth (Ching, Hsiao, Wan, & Wang, 2011), enhanced organisational efficiencies, higher profits, more available capital for increased research and development, and consequently an increased range of products available to the consumer at competitive prices. These benefits are argued to be passed onto employees through improved retention rates and opportunities to increase skills (Manzella, 2008), and to shareholders through higher dividend payouts.

Additionally, some argue that MNCs are the most efficient organisational form to help achieve social change, as they operate in multiple countries, unhindered by local political considerations and bureaucracy (Lodge & Wilson, 2006). Brumana and Delmestri's (2012, p. 126) theorising of 'glocalisation' provides insight as to how these social transformations might

occur. They suggest that MNCs are a mixture of ‘local/global elements, adapting and adjusting global cultural material to the local context, and “uploading” local elements to the global sphere’ (p. 126). This conceptualisation draws attention to the influences that MNCs have on local settings, and indeed, the influences that locals have on MNC operations,

Moreover, according to Camerman and De Grauwe (2003), and de Bettignies and Lepineux (2009) many MNCs have a greater access to capital than many governments of developing countries. Given the relative access to capital, proponents argue that MNCs are useful tools for investing in factories, providing jobs, and investing in local infrastructure, including schools and health services (Bhagwati, 2007). According to these proponents, the combined effect of MNC activity is to help reduce global poverty. The increase in multinational business has enabled, and necessitated, changes in the way in which organisations and work is structured, in particular, the introduction of flexible organisational structures and work processes. The contrast between Taylorist and flexible forms of work are illustrative of these widespread changes.

#### **2.4 Taylorism to Flexibility?**

Tayloristic forms of work dominated the period up until the 1970s, particularly in manufacturing contexts. Tayloristic work practices, closely aligned with scientific management (Cappelli & Rogovsky, 1994) are associated with the work of American management consultant, Frederick Taylor (Giddens, 1996). Taylor argued that work processes should be broken down into individual tasks, and that each task be observed and measured, in order to uncover and eliminate areas of inefficiency. Taylor’s

work was closely followed by that of Henry Ford, who developed what some have described as a pseudo-scientific system of mass production. Fordism is the term used to describe the system of industrial assembly line production commonly used in manufacturing, characterised by standardised mass-production, special purpose machinery and unskilled labour. The two ideologies, Taylorist scientific management, combined with Fordist mass production techniques, resulted in bureaucratic organisations, often organised functionally, with many levels of management and administration to support manufacturing (Sigmund, 2008). The formation of bureaucratic functions was enabled by, and necessitated the development of academic disciplines in Management, including Marketing, Finance, Human Resource Management and Strategy.

By the 1980s, a number of employee groups, and some organisational theorists and behavioural scientists had raised concerns about Taylorist job design and management techniques, arguing that these did not fulfil employee psychological needs, and ultimately led to lower levels of productivity. Specific workplace outcomes linked to this argument included high absenteeism, turnover and low levels of job satisfaction. It was believed that these issues could be addressed by increasing flexibility of hours and tasks, widening skill base and training opportunities, and increasing worker participation in decision-making and quality improvement (Maccoby, 1993). One of the first widespread examples of this emphasis was seen in the implementation of 'Japanese Management Practices' associated with organisation-wide strategies of Just-in-Time production (JIT), and Total Quality Management (TQM), and based around employee management techniques including self-managing teams and quality circles (Robinson &

Schroeder, 1993).

Underpinning these systems was an emphasis on increasing organisational flexibility, allowing management to make changes to product or production volume at short notice. Manufacturing flexibility was seen to necessitate workforce flexibility. The preeminent model of the changing shape of work is Atkinson's (1984) model of the flexible firm. Atkinson conceptualises the workplace as consisting of a core set of salaried workers, surrounded by a peripheral workforce, comprised of casual, part-time, and contracted-out workers. From an organisational perspective, this structuring offers numeric, functional, financial flexibilities (Van Der Meer & Ringdal, 2009). The terms numeric and financial flexibility describe when organisations alter the *number* of core workers, by increasing or decreasing part-time and temporary workers, and by applying flexibility to the working hours of core employees. Functional flexibility relates to having core employees capable of performing varied tasks as required, and is generally associated with practices such as teamwork, job rotation, and remote working (Van Der Meer & Ringdal, 2009). Atkinson's model has been applied at the national-level labour market, resulting in a global increase in the number of part-time and contracted positions. While the prevalence of flexible workplace practices (Brenner, Fairris, & Rusher, 2004; Fletcher, 2009; Rodgers, 1992) increased significantly during the 1980s and 1990s, this organisational structure appears to be largely limited to developed countries (Lee, McCann, & Messenger, 2007). Meanwhile, many long-run production facilities are still organised largely according to Tayloristic principles, and increasingly located in developing countries.

Some argue that increased flexible work practices, for example, tele-working, flexible hours, and family friendly policies and practices, enhance the workplace and enable employees to live more balanced lives (Beauregard, 2011; Hayman, 2010). These benefits are seen as particularly applicable to women workers and as useful for attracting and retaining core valued employees. Women are thought to benefit from flexibility when linked to work-life balance programmes as this enables them to perform the dual and multiple roles in family work and society (Hayman, 2010). According to the United Kingdom Taskforce on Family Friendly Working Hours (2009), the benefits of flexible practices go well beyond mutual benefits to individual workers and organisations, to include social benefits:

The social benefits of increasing flexible working opportunities are clear. Enabling more people to work flexibly will improve their lives by providing a better balance between work and home. It will also reduce the number of people dependent on benefits, reduce the number of children of working parents who live in poverty, enable older workers to stay in the labour market, and enable carers to balance their caring responsibilities with paid work and help employees in general to have a better work home balance (p. 3).

The focus of attracting and retaining key staff underpins the development of practices designed to enhance employee engagement with the organisation by improving the organisational culture to embrace the whole person. Examples include Equal Employment Opportunities and Diversity Management policies designed to reduce discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity or disability (Klarsfeld & Bender, 2009; McVittie, McKinlay, & Widdicombe, 2008; Watson, Spoonley, & Fitzgerald, 2009), and the valuing

of organisational spirituality (Grzeda, 2008; Lips-Wiersma, Dean, & Fornaciari, 2009; Long & Mills, 2010; Pandey, Gupta, & Arora, 2009; Pawar, 2009; Poole, 2009; Zaidman, Goldstein-Gidoni, & Nehemya, 2009). As with flexibility, these processes are thought to create benefits to individuals, organisations, and wider society, and seem to be congruent with the mutual benefits espoused by proponents of neo-liberal policies. Much of the discussion around innovations in work practices centres on an assumption of a growth in the professional, creative and service sectors, and an increase in 'knowledge-intensive' work, with a concurrent decline in manufacturing and traditional 'low skilled' work (Kollmeyer, 2009; Brint, 2001).

## **2.5 Manufacturing to 'Knowledge Work'**

Proponents argue that the decline in manufacturing, the rise of service work, and the move towards more flexible forms of work constitutes a transformation to the work landscape (Cappelli & Rogovsky, 1994; Lamb & Sutherland, 2010), both in terms of skill requirements, and in the underlying assumptions of the very 'nature' of work. Aligned with this view is the proliferation of discussions relating to knowledge work and workers (Alvesson, 2001; Sewell, 2005; Lamb & Sutherland, 2010; Shaw, Hall, Edwards, & Baker, 2007; Brint, 2001; Thompson, Warhurst, & Callaghan, 2001); discussions imbued with assumptions of flexibility and freedom for workers. It is also argued that these organisational conditions have 'created' a fundamentally different type of worker as 'self', 'the knowledge worker/creative worker', who demands different management practices and styles that are exemplified by the flexibility discourse (Abbasi et al., 2009; R. Mitchell & Meacheam, 2011).

However, recent empirical work points to a more complex scenario, with a polarisation of growth in ‘low skilled’ and ‘professional and high skilled’ job categories (Brynin, 2002; Fleming et al., 2004; Hughes, 2000; Standing, 1999). Additionally, deeper analysis points to a complex pattern in the skills actually required, for example, ‘knowledge work’ has been found to be predominantly made up of repetitive tasks traditionally associated with low-skilled categories of work (Fleming et al., 2004). Further, the assumption of a generalised technological shift is put into question by claims that as few as 7% of the world’s population have Internet access (Hirst, Thompson, & Bromley, 2009). These studies suggest that espoused changes to work process may be more disparate and complex, contrary to claims made about innovations to work practices. This is evident in debates around workforce reduction and the spatial relocation of work, which are discussed in the next two sections.

### 2.5.1 Workforce Reduction

The implementation of flexible forms of work and organisation structure is often accompanied by a reduction in the core workforce. Therefore, during the 1980s and 1990s, there was a rapid increase in incidences of downsizing, a practice which is now accepted as a way to cut labour costs and ensure continued survival in a competitive global marketplace (Gandolfi, 2007). During the 1980s and 1990s, downsizing was often associated with middle management positions (Ehrensals, 1995), as flexible forms of organisation, and particularly self-managing teams, facilitated a flattening of the organisation and a reduction in the need for middle management tiers. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, downsizing was targeted at

manufacturing jobs, as a result of the Asian Financial Crisis, and subsequent recessionary conditions experienced in many countries. Additionally, during the same time period, the burst of the dot.com bubble resulted in redundancies for highly skilled technological workers. For example, Herring (2001) documented approximately 1 million lay-offs in the United States in the 12 months to December 2001, many the result of the so-called bursting of the 'dot.com bubble'.

During the mid-2000s, downsizing was less prevalent, as global economic conditions generally indicated high levels of growth and corporate prosperity. However, the onset of the Global Financial Crisis, in 2007, saw resurgence in widespread downsizing activity in the manufacturing sector.

Often, downsizing is accompanied by outsourcing of jobs once performed in-house, linking back to Atkinson's flexible firm model. Initially, this outsourcing involved contracting-out to local firms, and this is still a dominant form of outsourcing. However, outsourcing now includes international outsourcing of whole organisational functions. This practice has resulted in a spatial relocation of work.

### 2.5.2 Spatial Relocation of Work

The increase in size and number of multinational corporations, introduction of flexible forms of work, and the facilitation of transfer of capital (and to a lesser degree) labour across borders, has been accompanied by a spatial relocation of work. Whilst labour theorists associated traditional manufacturing with a division of labour based on function or product

(Kelly & Roslender, 1988; Rosenberg, 1976), many now refer to the international division of labour (Harzing, 2004; Lincoln, 2009), whereby functions of an organisation are separated geographically into locations based on labour cost, market access or access to raw materials. The spatial relocation of work was enabled by the reduction of trade barriers, combined with the deregulation of labour and capital markets, changes which were central to the neo-liberal structural adjustment programmes. These policy changes enabled firms to consider restructuring and downsizing in their home location, in order to relocate functions, or outsource operations, internationally.

This relocation of some functions results in work being performed in low-cost locations, a marked change from the traditional form of internationalisation, whereby each location would house a full set of functions. For workers, this has meant that work is located according to skill availability or other relative labour cost. This practice assumes perfect mobility of capital, as organisational resources can seamlessly be moved geographically to facilitate operations. The embedded neo-liberal assumptions of individual freedom and choice further reinforced the claim that workers can make a free choice to move to the location which houses their work category (or choose to retrain).

Lacity, Wilcocks and Rottman (2008) and Miller and Mukherji (2010) describe how although outsourcing was initially deemed most suitable for low-skilled work, a variety of functions at all skill levels are now performed externally to the firm, including in off-shore locations. Low-skilled positions are often outsourced to factories which operate employment conditions

reminiscent of an intensified Tayloristic manufacturing process (Crowley, Tope, Chamberlain, & Hodson, 2010; Rodriguez & Mearns, 2012). In comparison, high-skilled work is also out-sourced, for example, information technology and engineering workers to India (Messner, 2011), and film production workers to New Zealand.

Along with the spatial relocation of work, is an increase in the number of people moving for work including internally within their own country and internationally. The International Labour Office (2013) estimated the worldwide number of migrant workers at 100 million. The oil shocks of the mid 1970s are recognised as being a key event in changing employment migration trends, which up until that time had tended to be on a smaller scale (Rosewarne, 2010). However, the significant increase in labour needs of the Middle Eastern oil producing countries as a result of the oil price increases, and subsequent prosperity in the region, saw a significant movement of low skilled workers from other neighbouring developing economies to the region.

Many national and international policymakers view employment migration as a tool for development (Rosewarne, 2010), allowing the inflow of skills and resources otherwise unavailable. Additionally, the transfer of capital as a result of migration is significant, with worldwide remittances to ‘developing’ countries in 2012 estimated at US\$400 billion (World Bank, 2013).

The prevalence of employment migration has led some to posit that employment migrants can be viewed by policymakers as a distinct

diaspora. A diaspora can be described as a

‘Dispersion of any people or ethnic population, voluntarily or by force, from their traditional homelands and the ensuing developments in their culture in the destination, mostly as a minority. In the economic sense, the diaspora refers to migrants who gather in relatively significant numbers in a particular destination country or region’ (Beine, Docqueir & Ozden, 2011, p. 31).

The study of diaspora originally related to ethnic and national groups, such as the Jewish diaspora post-World War II. However, more recently, the notion of diaspora has also been applied to diverse groups based on gender (Welch, 2003), sexual orientation (Yue, 2011), and many other characteristics which may require individuals to leave their country of origin. Members of the employment migration diaspora are seen as an important link to the homeland, with policymakers turning their attention to return, circular and virtual return migration. Return migrants are those who permanently return to their home location after a period of migration. Circular migrants are characterised by on-going moves between origin and destination (Vertovec, 2006). Virtual return migrants remain located at the destination, but aided by communication technologies, the community of origin can gain some benefits of return migration, for example enabling on-going sharing of skills and resources, without the physical return of the workers (Vertovec, 2006).

The increasing complexity of organisational structure, and the diverse locations of work and workforces, has resulted in the importance of the

management of these workforces being highlighted, through the development of strategic and international Human Resource Management (HRM) practices. Although previously a functional area of study concerned with the day-to-day management of staff, the 1990s saw increased attention paid to the link between HRM practices and organisational performance (Mabey, Salaman, & Storey, 1998; Wright, Snell, & Dyer, 2005). Although many studies have been presented (Becker, Huselid, Pickus, & Spratt, 1997; Chang & Chen, 2002; Delaney & Huselid, 1996; Huselid, Jackson, & Schuler, 1997; Youndt, Snell, Dean, & Lepak, 1996), debate remains as to the exact link between HRM policies and practices and measures of organisational performance. However, the potential for this link led to HRM practice being increasingly considered a *strategic*, rather than an *operational* function, and the Strategic Human Resource Management discipline emerged (Mabey et al., 1998). As a strategic consideration, HRM theory reflects broader strategic management changes. Alongside companies strategising to globalise production and administration, focus also moved towards the global management of human resources (Rowley & Warner, 2007), and has been accompanied by the development of a new academic discipline, International Human Resource Management (Edwards & Kuruvilla, 2005; Perkins & Shortland, 2006).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Throughout this chapter, I have provided a rendition of the dominant narratives of advocates of Globalisation. The development of the Bretton Woods institutions centred on encouraging a politico-economic framework of Keynesian macro- management, to encourage stability during the post-World War II rebuilding period. However, the concurrent development of neo-

liberal thought, as reinforced by the Mont Pelerin Society and the Chicago School of Economics, provided an alternative framework for reform, and was rapidly taken up and supported by both the Bretton Woods institutions and incoming governments in the late 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Western countries.

The ideological argument of neo-liberalism is based on notions of individual freedom and choice, with state-level policies emphasising user-pays systems of healthcare and education, reduced welfare, and emphasising individual responsibility in social well-being. This political agenda has been supported by organisational policies based on the principle that workers have perfect employment mobility, and so key individuals need to be attracted to, and retained by, the organisation through the use of Strategic HRM policies and practices.

Proponents argue that these policies will resolve poverty, provide a wider range of products to the consumer, and thus improve living conditions. However, these changes have not been universally accepted, and have been critiqued widely, based on associated outcomes of these changes. Critics associate these changes with a significant disparity in the outcomes experienced by workers, families and communities. Instances of resistance have also been evidenced at both theoretical and societal levels. In the next chapter, I craft antenarratives to this rendition, based on a critique of the processes and outcomes of Globalisation and changes to work.

## **Chapter 3: Re-Theorising Globalisation: An Antenarrative or Alternative Dominant Narrative?**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The dominant narrative of processes that have led to intensifying Globalisation, particularly the spread of a neo-liberal political agenda and changes in the nature, structure, and location of work were outlined in Chapter 2. The political agenda of neo-liberalism centres on the belief that freedom of choice for individuals with regard to employment and in their purchasing decisions as consumers is the path to social well-being. The neo-liberal political agenda has been translated into and supported by organisational policies across the institutional spectrum. My focus is on how this agenda is promulgated and maintained in the sphere of employment. Drawing on the ideological assumption of freedom of choice for example, workers are deemed to have perfect employment mobility. With this assumption well embedded in the taken-for-granted orientations to the management of work-forces, some organisations have developed Strategic HRM policies and practices that have the aim of attracting and retaining only key individuals with negligible responsibility for those whose services are no longer deemed necessary. HRM policies and practices associated with a rhetoric of job enrichment and of work-life balance are significant in attempts to attract and retain the most desirable employees (Johnson, 2004). Proponents argue that both of these processes will lead to benefits for organisations and to increased prosperity for workers and communities.

The widespread adoption of both neo-liberal political agenda and concomitant organisational policies might seem to suggest a general acceptance and agreement of the assumed connection between changes in employment patterns and increased prosperity for workers and communities. I argued in Chapter 2 however, that the neo-liberal position has been subjected to rigorous critique by those who have sought to demonstrate that the changes to work are less favourable in the lives of many workers, families and communities than the rhetoric implies. Some of the impacts of concern include the destabilising effects of the growing gap between rich and poor (Jaumotte, Lall, & Papageorgiou, 2008; Picketty, 2014), the polarisation of skill levels (Cappelli & Rogovsky, 1994; Fraser, 2010; Galagan, 2011; Hampson & Junor, 2005; Jaros, 2006), unethical management behaviour in relation to prioritising shareholder value over employee or community welfare (Bayou, Reinstein, & Williams, 2011; Birnik & Billsberry, 2008; Boddy, 2011) and a breakdown of a sense of community due to the intensified competition for jobs (Bauman, 2001; Defilippis, Fisher, & Shragge, 2009; Rose, 2000).

In this chapter I offer a critique of the embedded ideological assumptions underpinning Globalisation and changes to work in relation to the assumptions of universal freedom and the purported widespread benefits of these changes. I think of this critique as a parallel ‘story’ to that told in Chapter 2, an antenarrative. This discussion, along with my attention to theories of identity in Chapter 4, provides the theoretical framing for the exploration of the lived experiences of Globalisation and changes to work as reported by the people who became my research participants and whose

insights are explored in Chapters 9 and 10. In this chapter I establish my argument that identity theories provide an opportunity to bring together the multiple critiques of Globalisation and workplace change. Importantly, identity helps to frame insights about how individuals experience and resist Globalisation and changes to work in their daily lives.

I draw on Zygmunt Bauman (1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2004, and 2011) to develop my critical analysis of the processes which have led to intensified Globalisation and changes to work. Bauman's work is illuminating because of his attention to the ways individuals and communities experience Globalisation. In this chapter I also relate the work of critical theorists such as Gramsci, Foucault and Habermas to Bauman's analysis. In particular I highlight parallels between Bauman's theories of individuals' experiences of Globalisation and Gramsci's concept of hegemony. I draw on Bauman and other critical theorists to explore the processes through which widespread societal consent to the adoption of a neo-liberal political agenda and changes to work appears to have been gained, and how the assumptions embedded in Globalisation and changes to work have become seemingly normalised. The continued presence of resistance to these changes at multiple levels however, suggests universal acceptance of Globalisation and changes to work has not been achieved. In particular, work on forms of individualised and micro-resistance tied to processes of identity (Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Gabriel, 2008) see discussions that not all are assimilated or complicit to changes associated with Globalisation and changes to work. I conclude by arguing that identity theories provide a binding thread to weave these elements of critique together.

### **3.2 Bauman and Globalisation**

In contrast to the opinions of advocates of Globalisation, contemporary changes to organisation and to work are not processes that are unifying the world's population according to Bauman (1998a, 1998b, 2001, and 2004). For Bauman (2001) these processes do not result in uniformity of outcomes, but rather are “differentiated and differentiating” (p. 2) resulting in divisions between groups of individuals, albeit not always within traditional nation-state boundaries. Globalisation is conceptualised as ‘glocalisation’ by Bauman (1998b), a context which is experienced as absolute freedom and mobility for some, and a paradoxical extreme localisation for others. Bauman (2011) asserts that the reduced powers of the nation state, decreased trade barriers and increased mobility of capital have resulted in organisations capacity to expand globally in a de-politicised context, largely free from governance and accountability. Under this conceptualisation, the nation state largely turns its attention to issues of security and law enforcement in a bid to win votes, playing to the sense of danger, risk and uncertainty felt by individuals within this ‘fluid modernity’ (ibid).

Bauman pays particular attention to an individual's sense of belonging and community within this demarcated and volatile context. He argues that Globalisation has a direct impact on what we perceive as ‘community’ and how individuals identify with such perceived communities. Bauman (2001) draws on Hobsbawn (1994), who noted that “never was the word ‘community’ used more indiscriminately and emptily than in the decades when communities in the sociological sense became hard to find in real

life” (p. 428). For Bauman, the notion of community represents ‘paradise lost’ or ‘paradise yet to be found’. According to him, modern organisational practices, the impact of which blends into society, aims to replace this lost sense of belonging. In this way, for Bauman, elements of the organisation, be they related to work or to consumer goods and branding, replace elements of the relational attachment many previously experienced within community. He conceptualises the way in which individuals identify with communities by using the labels ‘tourists’ and ‘vagabonds’. Under conditions of Globalisation he posits, individuals are either mobile tourists or immobile vagabonds. Neither experience belonging to a community nor the freedom promised by Globalisation proponents.

### 3.2.1 Tourists and Vagabonds

In his conceptualisation of identity in Globalisation, Bauman (1998a) presents a ‘tourist’ and ‘vagabond’ dichotomy whereby no individual feels a secure connection to, or identification with place. All are strangers of sorts. The dominant class, the ‘tourist’, largely consists of shareholders and elite professional workers and managers. They have absolute mobility enabled by the mobility of capital. This group become portrayed as benevolent absent landlords or managers, disconnecting the owner/worker and investor/community links. Whilst for this group mobility is assured, the continuous mobility and detachment from place leads to identification only with their immediate social unit, and an extreme sense of insecurity. This insecurity results in boundaries – ‘fences’ as Bauman articulates – being placed around this social group and their investments. For Bauman these elites have chosen isolation, away

from unwelcome strangers but yet are confined by their own anxiety about possible invaders. The remaining people become the undesirable 'vagabonds' who are confined to the locality unable to move due to lack of resources, available alternatives in other locations, or attachments to the locality. The vagabonds' movements within the locality become restricted as they are fenced out of spaces which they would have traditionally identified with. These fenced out spaces represent the boundaries which are defined by the tourists. Bauman's depicted relationships become self-regulating as the presence of the tourist group ensures the vagabonds always have something (largely unattainable) to strive for. Under such conditions, to be immobile in a world defined by mobility is to be avoided at all costs. Likewise, the tourists are conditioned to do anything possible to avoid becoming one of the 'vagabonds'.

Bauman describes Globalisation as a process that

Emancipates certain humans from territorial constraints and renders certain community-generating meanings ex-territorial, while denuding the territory, to which other people go on being confined, of its meaning and its identity- endowing capacity' (Bauman, 1998a, p. 18)

For Bauman, employment migration and the spatial relocation of work as discussed in Chapter 2, is not just an economic activity but is part of a process of shaping individual identities. This is so not just for those who experience mobility but also for those for whom mobility is elusive.

Authors such as (Eriksen, 2007; Terkenli, 2005) have espoused time/space compression as a result of technological change and Globalisation. For Bauman, tourists and vagabonds experience differences in the relative importance of time and space. For the tourists time not space is the salient factor. For the vagabond, space becomes all-important. Following Bauman's argument therefore, despite assertions from Eriksen (2007) and Terkenli (2005) that within Globalisation the local is irrelevant, the local has in fact become the only frame of reference for the vagabonds. Bauman challenges the neo-liberal assumption of the possible attainment of freedom of mobility. For him, it is only the elite group who have this 'freedom', and even for them, this freedom is confined by their own anxiety and security concerns and by a lack of attachment with place. Additionally, Bauman's analysis highlights that for many people the local remains important, despite assertions of a singular, globalised context. For the vagabonds, participation in the global realm appears elusive and they are increasingly confined to the local.

### 3.2.2 Bauman and Critical Theory

Like critical theorists such as Banerjee, Carter and Clegg (2009) and Rosewarne (2010), Bauman describes Globalisation as a process that enhances the position and interests of the elite group in society, or in Bauman's terms, the tourists. In evidence of this position, a number of commentators point to the growth in income inequality between and within countries, a trend that is mirrored within the organisational context. For example, according to Nayyar (2006), the ratio of the GDP of the richest 20 countries to the poorest 20 countries rose from 54:1 in 1960-62, to 121:1 in 2000- 2002. Further, in the two decades to 2012, the world's

top 1% saw a real income rise of 60%, while the poorest 5% saw no increase in real incomes (Milanovic, 2012). However, there has been significant movement amongst some of the middle percentiles, which is largely attributed to the growing middle class in India and China leading some to argue that global income inequality is decreasing (Alderson & Nielsen, 2002); while in contrast, the middle classes in many ‘developed’ economies are suffering downward pressures on incomes. According to Ortiz and Cummings (2011), at current rates of progress, it would take approximately 800 years for the ‘bottom billion’ (the poorest 1 billion of the world’s population) to achieve 10% of global income. Translated to the organisational level, there is significant evidence of increasing pay gaps between workers and top executives. One study found the average remuneration of Fortune 500 CEOs was 380 times the average workers wage in 2011, up from 343 times in 2010 (Hunter, 2012). In the New Zealand context, CEOs in 2012 were found to be paid an average of 22.5 times that of workers.

Authors such as Rifkin (2000), Tilly and Wong (2010) and Ongley (2013) argue that the growth in income disparity within and between nations and organisations has its roots in the changes to the shape and conditions of work. In particular, income disparities have been linked to the implementation of flexible forms of work at the organisational, national and global level. Embedded in the discourse of organisational and labour flexibilities is an assumption of a need for continuous and rapid change, further reinforcing the conditions of insecurity Bauman describes under Globalisation. From a critical position, corporations can use flexibility strategies to relocate their operations to take advantage of low cost

labour; or simply threaten to relocate as a means to discipline existing workforces to lower their work-conditions and pay.

From a Gramscian position, the concept of hegemony may help to explain why subordinate groups in society might accept growing income disparities when clearly it is not in their best interests. For Gramsci, hegemony represents a system of social relations whereby the dominant class ensures their continued favoured position. Mumby (1997, p. 343-344) describes hegemony as the process “by which certain conceptions of reality come to hold sway over competing worldviews... non-coercive relations of domination in which subordinated groups actively consent to and support belief systems and structures of power relations that do not necessarily serve - indeed may work against – those groups interests”. Gramsci describes consent as a psychological state involving some kind of acceptance of the prevailing order (Lukes, 2005). This definition has been extended by Lukes to include a behavioural element. Under such a conceptualisation consent can include the carrying out of actions that would indicate consent to the prevailing ideology or social order. Continuing to work within a changing context indicates consent, or at least compliance to prevailing political ideologies.

### **3.3 Processes to Facilitate Acceptance of and Consent to Globalisation**

Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) link the historic improvements in technology and changes in political economy, with changes to work, reminiscent of a technological determinism of sorts. According to Thompson and Ackroyd, it was within a Keynesian ideological framing

that firms were enabled through state funding and protection, to invest significantly in research and implementation of planned technological upgrades. Thompson and Ackroyd argue that this activity established the conditions for current continuous technological change, and a move to flexibility during the 1980s and 1990s. Marcuse (1991) also asserts that the rapidly expanding technological and industrial surplus in the post-war period increased the potentiality of workers and citizens to accept the opportunity for different forms of social organisation. The new forms of social organisation represent techniques developed in part, to facilitate the introduction of new technologies. One such set of techniques is flexible forms of work.

Atkinson's (1984) model of the flexible firm, as outlined in Chapter 2, is a graphic depiction of a model for flexible work at both a firm and labour market level (and arguably at the global workforce level with the increasing prevalence of international outsourcing). This model has been conceptualised as disciplining the workforce at all levels, both core, periphery and marginalised (those falling outside the periphery). Those in the core are disciplined to work longer hours, in order to secure their place in the shrinking group of core employees. Those on the margins strive for greater security or against total exclusion. All are under pressure to enhance value by working longer than standard hours of work.

High official legal hours of work are most often associated with developing countries (Lee, McCann & Messenger, 2007). The issue of time spent in employment is a global issue. The International Labour Office (2011) estimates that 22% of the global workforce is working 48

hours or more per week. In Australia, van Gellecum et al (2008) found that men working 50 or more hours per week increased from 23% in 1982 to 35% in 2002, and women increased their hours of work from 10% to 19% over the same period. In the year to March 2010, New Zealand unemployment rose by 19.3%, however, the total hours worked only fell by only 0.7% in the same period (Statistics NZ), indicating longer hours worked by the remaining workforce. The annual total hours worked have increased from 58,000,000 in 1995 to 72,500,000 in 2009, representing an 80% increase.

While the pressure on core employees is to work longer and for less, those who find employment in the periphery are often subject to and casualised hours of work. Some in this group may prefer the opportunity to work fewer hours than what might be called a standard working week. For example, tertiary students, homemakers, those starting their own businesses may seek part-time employment. Many others, however, have stated a preference for more hours of work; this may be interpreted as a desire to enter the core workforce. Eurostat figures show that in 2012, 6.15 million people in the Euro Zone would prefer more hours of work (Brittain, 2013). In agreement, the UK Labour Force Survey (Office for National Statistics, 2009) reported 3.5 million workers (12.1% of total employed) stated they would prefer to work more hours. Of these, 3 million would be able to start working more hours within a period of two weeks, indicating their immediate availability (Walling & Clancy, 2010). In New Zealand, according to Statistics New Zealand (2013) there was a reported 5.3% underemployment rate in December 2012. It is difficult to estimate the levels of under-reporting in this report, as is the case with all such estimates. In addition to peripheralised workers

seeking more hours of work, many are trying to avoid becoming part of the group of unemployed, now seen as a permanent structural fixture of the global labour market (Lee, McBride, McNutt, & Williams, 2007).

### **3.4 Processes to discipline the workforce**

Gandolfi (2007), Kalleberg (2001) and Kelliher and Anderson (2010) argue that the reorganisation of people in patterns of core and periphery workers and a vulnerable group of un(der)employed act to discipline all workers to accept whatever working conditions and hours are available. In addition to disciplinary effects on workers, global work patterns are also attributed with changes to skill levels. Banerjee, Carter and Clegg (2009) argue that the presence of a smaller yet mobile group of highly skilled workers leads to higher rates of routinised professional and service workers restricted in mobility. An example of this trend is in call centres and outsourced data processing functions. For these workers, the aspects of the job which previously required high levels of skill are removed and can be conducted by a smaller group of highly skilled and mobile workers leaving a high proportion of work still within a deskilled, routinised neo-Taylorist context, performed in the location of lowest cost. In this example, the Bauman's depictions of tourists and vagabonds as illuminating metaphors is clearly applicable. For many workers in both skilled and deskilled occupations, variable disciplinary effects come from the ever-present possibility and frequent reality that the corporate directors may decide to move their operations to alternative locations. The capacity of workers to move to where the jobs are may be variable.

Bauman provides a direct critique of global work flexibility, arguing that as with the overarching benefits of Globalisation, flexible work is experienced as a paradox; ultimate flexibility for the organisation, but forced rigidity for the worker (Bauman, 1998a). For Bauman, in order for organisations to have the required flexibility to hire and discard employees or to move locations as required, the employee needs to be as predictable as possible, having little to no freedom to refuse work offered, or to negotiate working conditions.

Control is inherent in the disciplinary effects of changing work practices. Control can be observed in many dynamics: the use of direct control on the part of the employer over workers, in the balance of power between trade unions and employers, and as held by resisting employees. Westwood and Johnston (2012) describe how ‘control is imminent to organisation, but its modes and foci shift over time in concert with wider social values and discourses that provide the resources and legitimation for its enactment’ (p. 788). Therefore, specific forms of organisational control change in line with changes in the wider context, and aims to gain worker (and societal) consent to these processes, or to facilitate assimilation and embedding of these ideas as normalised practices. There are many levels of control evident within global work; for some, direct control within the workplace remains a reality, for others, the control is more subtle and embedded with structural disciplining of the core/periphery.

#### 3.4.1 Direct Control of the Global Workforce

Braverman (1974) provides a critique of the labour process inherent in

traditional Taylorist bureaucracy. In particular, Braverman focuses on the Taylorist breaking down of tasks, the separation of conception and execution of tasks, and subsequent alienation and deskilling of the workforce. He denounces supposed increases in pay rates under Taylorism, arguing that evidence suggests that while higher pay rates may accompany any workplace change, once management secures the consent of the worker, work intensity increases disproportionately to output. This critique is most often associated with routinised work involved in manufacturing, although it has also been applied to routinised professional and service work, such as in call centres and healthcare.

Although workplace change rhetoric often conveys an increasing ‘knowledge workforce’ and the decline of such routine jobs, recent empirical work points to a more complex scenario, with a polarisation of growth in both traditionally categorised ‘low skilled’ positions, and in ‘professional and high skilled’ categories (Brynin, 2002; Fleming et al., 2004; Hughes & Lowe, 2000; Standing, 1999). Further, as stated earlier, the assumption of a generalised technological shift is put into question by claims that as few as 7% of the world’s population have Internet access (Hirst, Thompson, & Bromley, 2009). These studies suggest that the transformation from routine to knowledge and skilled work is not as wide spread as some argue, and that for many workers, Braverman’s analysis may still be relevant.

Yet another dimension that adds complexity to Braverman’s analysis is the international division of labour. For Braverman, control was exerted directly by supervisors. However, it has been argued that in addition to

working under traditional Taylorist conditions, manufacturing workers in low cost locations also have the additional disciplinary mechanism of the threat of work moving locations, if they were to reduce productivity, or demand improved working conditions. In a recent example, China based corporation Foxconn has announced plans to move locations as a way of addressing high worker dissatisfaction and suicide rates in the current location.

Although direct forms of control can still be observed, many scholars have turned their attention to subtle forms of control embedded in Human Resource Management. In particular, as Taskin and Devos (2005) remind us, while new flexible forms of work appear to have stripped away layers of management and direct supervision, the tacit control of employees through Human Resource Management practices remains as present as under traditional Taylorist work forms.

#### 3.4.2 Domesticating the Workforce

Lukacs (1971) describes how particular groups' interests are normalised and accepted as though in the interests of the whole population. It is a process he terms 'class conditioning'. For Alvesson and Deetz (2000), class conditioning through Globalisation links the general interests of the individual to the financial interests of the organisation. The financial performance of the organisation becomes generally accepted as an unquestioned goal not just for individual workers. Economic performance becomes an unquestioned societal goal. Part of this process involves the *reification* of the abstract concepts of organisation, economy, market and work. According to Berger and Pullman (1965, p. 198), reification is the

“moment in the process of alienation in which the characteristic of thinghood becomes the standard of objective reality”. In simple terms, reification is the treating of abstract concepts as though they are objects. Critical theorists argue that the presence of reification indicates an absence of awareness which prevents realisation that the social dynamics of what is perceived as the ‘real world’ are socially constructed. This world can be remade. Alvesson and Deetz (2000, p. 84) further describes how “through obscuring the construction process, institutional arrangements are no longer seen as choices but as natural and self-evident”. For Bauman (1998a), it is the “progressive spatial segregation, separation and exclusion” (p. 3) inherent in modern Globalisation that act to obscure the socially constructed nature of Globalisation and changes to work, making alternatives difficult to imagine, and therefore naturalising these ideas through their normalisation and acceptance into the taken for granted of a community.

Townley (2005) describes the idea of ‘management’ as such an abstract concept, which has become reified. As a social artefact, enacted through social interaction, ‘management’ ideas reflect the interests of a certain group in society, and as such, is entwined with power relations, begging the question of ‘who holds the power’ (p. 317). In addition to a reified ‘management’, Jermier (1985, Pg. 75) describes how ‘the worker’ has become reified, “in capitalist market systems, workers must sell their labour power and thus become semi-human objects of exchange, commodities, things”.

Banerjee et al (2009) extends the notion of reification to describing the

development of Human Resource Management practices and scholarship as closely linked to the widespread adoption of a neo-liberal political agenda and corporate Globalisation. They argue that the interaction of these processes resulted in an embedding of western managerial ideas, a privileging of managerialism, and the rise of the 'management ideas industry', typified by management consulting services and professional management qualifications, particularly the MBA.

Townley (2005) describes Human Resource Management techniques as manifestations of the power relations between a reified management and workers. She gives the example of the appraisal process, a taken for granted administrative process and performance management technique. Townley argues that this process at an ideological level is one person making a judgment on the worth of another's activities, and that the system of performance appraisal acts as a 'paper Panopticon'; drawing on Foucault's theory of a method of surveillance which is seemingly anonymous, yet potentially continuous in nature. To explain this notion, Foucault (1977) draws on Bentham's design of a prison based around a central watchtower. Under Bentham's design of a prison, a design he described as being equally applicable to schools, hospitals and other institutional buildings, the central watchtower allows the wardens to observe all inmates without the inmates being able to ascertain if they are being watched. Foucault argued that this form of surveillance produced self-regulating behaviour in the inmates and moves the source of discipline from direct supervision to the individual subject. The work of Foucault has been drawn on by many (Gabriel, 2005; Knights & Willmott, 1989; Miller & Rose, 1998) to describe forms of control inherent in Human Resource Management practices and new forms of work. In agreement,

Alvesson and Willmott (2002) describe Human Resource Management techniques as identity control. For Alvesson and Willmott, the genesis of Human Resource Management techniques came in the need to move control from direct forms of supervision to control over 'who' the workers see 'themselves' as. Miller and Rose (1998) suggest that the governance and control of individuals has moved from the domain of society to the workplace, where

A new importance is accorded to regulating the internal psychological world of the worker through a calculated administration of the human relations of the workplace, in order to turn the personal wishes of the employee from an obstacle into an ally of economic efficiency. (p. 55)

According to Miller and Rose (1998), Human Resource Management practices represent workplace governance techniques that aim to align worker and organisational goals importantly so that the worker perceives the organisational goals as their own. In agreement, Deetz (2003a) states that modern human resources management (HRM)

Is clearly in the culture and meaning business, its focus is on the production of a specific type of human being with specific self-conceptions and feelings. And, equally importantly, much of the work promotes concepts of the person that make the critical investigation of the person and his or her experience less likely and seemingly unnecessary (p. 24).

Such constructions of the ‘worker’ as one who is not necessarily committed to an individual organisation (as flexibility dictates changes to organisation/employer on command) depict a worker committed to the overarching dream – that hard work will lead to happiness. By committing to such a dream, such a worker implicitly or explicitly commits to the underlying assumptions of the centrality of profit and corporate sovereignty, not as an individual ‘corporate’ sovereign, but as a collective global ‘corporate’, neo-liberal sovereign – and concurrence with the normalisation and acceptance of the interests of a small elite as if these are the interests of the whole population – the process Lukacs (1971) terms ‘class conditioning’. However, Thompson (1989) argues that rather than achieving a total assimilation of the workforce, these practices may, in fact, have been adopted to try and gain the consent of a workforce increasingly uneasy with conditions of work under Taylorism. He argues that increased rates of industrial action during the 1960s and 1970s necessitated managers to change the way in which they related to workers. Therefore, whilst not discounting the inherent exploitation and alienation of workers, he argues that there have been benefits for some workers in flexible work arrangements, in exchange for increased productivity and financial returns for the organisation. This argument is reflected in the discourse of mutual benefit that often accompanies the introduction of flexible work practices.

Flexible practices have been associated with terms such as ‘family friendly’ and ‘work/life balance’. These are terms which infer worker benefit. However, the degree of tangible worker benefit realised by these flexible practices has been mixed (Skorstad, 2009). There have been two threads of ‘flexibility’ discourse, one relating to the organisational

benefits, and necessity, of flexible workforces, and another relating to the ‘benefits’ of flexible practices for workers. For employers, the rhetoric of ‘crisis’ continues to pervade discussions of workforce flexibility, and the ‘need’ to have a flexible workforce to be able to quickly adjust to fast-changing competitive conditions.

Flexible work practices have been portrayed to employees as an ‘opportunity’, and in relation to ‘work-life balance’ and ‘family-friendly’ policy discussions. This espoused benefit is aligned to the gendered discourse of male ‘breadwinner’, female ‘mother/wife’. The benefits are seen as particularly applicable to the female workforce as they allow for a dual commitment to employment and caring responsibilities attributed to women. The need for women to take on such dual responsibilities has increased with both the trend towards women entering the workforce, breakdown of community, and an increasing ‘user-pays’ ideology that requires a greater cash flow for the necessary services for human wellbeing. This is a pattern consistent with the neo-liberal principle that allocates responsibility for caring of dependents to an assumed family unit in a form recognised by the prevailing authorities. The tying of flexible practices to discourses of ‘work life balance’ illustrates the link between workplaces changes and subsequent changes in society.

James Barker (1993) draws on ideas of self-surveillance in his critique of team based work. He argues that rather than providing for enhanced employee autonomy and enrichment, these ideologies and the subsequent workplace practices such as team based work, result in concertive control. For Barker concertive control manifests in increased

levels of control over the workplace, despite the reduction in direct supervision. Concertive control represents not only a method of control within the workplace, but also represents the further embedding of managerialism, resulting in commitment to ‘the organisation’ and to ‘work’, which further reinforces the importance of these reified processes as seemingly necessary structures in everyday life.

Gabriel (2005, 2008) conceptualises control as glass cage or glass palace, drawing on Weber’s notion of the iron cage of modernity. He argues that the illusion of freedom from control in modern workplaces (and wider social life) leads to more nuanced experiences in the workplace, but ever tightening control. According to Gabriel, present conditions still contain all elements of traditional control: electronic, spatial, psychological and cultural (p. 19). This differs from Weber’s (1976) conceptualisation is that in addition to the panoptic gaze from the inside (management) workers are now visible also from the outside to the (increasingly important) consumer, and to a degree to potential future employers. Under these conditions Gabriel argues, ‘image’ becomes all-important. Additionally, as the glass is generally invisible, it hides the appearance of entrapment. The source of anxiety moves from concerns about an individual’s lack of control over their career, to anxiety about the seeming abundance of choice and the subsequent responsibility for the outcomes (or lack of), and the image presented to others.

### 3.4.3 From Workplace Flexibility to Flexible Society

Much of the above discussion is confined to reflections on life within the organisation. However, there is general agreement that changes in

the workplace have led to changes in wider society, in support of Lukacs concern above. As introduced earlier, Bauman argues that contemporary society can be depicted through two metaphors: tourists/vagabonds. The depictions are inherently tied to work and organisational ownership under the conditions of Globalisation. Within Braverman's early analysis of the labour process he expressed concern that changes in the workplace were leading to societal changes, in particular the development of an all-inclusive marketplace for all social and relational activities. For Braverman, the commodification of life ultimately undermined community and family interests, and with increased need for all to work longer hours, caring functions previously carried out by family members were fulfilled by an expansion in paid service and community sector.

Meyer (2007) describes how, although many of the changes under scrutiny appear to be on an organisational level (be it state, institution or corporate), individuals are increasingly schooled to frame their lives in the context of these changes. Meyer describes how the adoption of remarkably similar organisational policies and practices, *despite* vast cultural, social, geographical differences, acts to privilege the aims of these policies and practices, and assimilate them as the aims of a 'general society' Not all have such a totalising view of contemporary social and political arrangements. Rose (2000) for example, argues that Globalisation leads to a dual pulling away from the nation state and an increase in localised politics. Rose (2000, p. 1396) articulates that 'A "politics of life" – of ecology, of family, of personal and cultural identity and lifestyle - has emerged to join and cross-cut the values of emancipation and social justice.' According to Rose, the governing of the individual, manifesting

in changes at both a politico-economic and organisational level, has led to the development of a new 'citizen' who is individualized yet moral and who accepts responsibility for activities previously assumed by the state.

#### 3.4.4 Universal Consent/Assimilation?

In the above analysis I posit my interpretation of some of the processes or purported mechanisms attributed to disciplining the workforce to changes in work and gaining worker or societal consent, or facilitating assimilation, to the overarching agenda of Globalisation and changes to work. A critical analysis holds that these processes deepen the hegemonic rule of the dominant groups in society. Indeed, some income inequality evidence seems to support a view that some are benefiting at the expense of many (Rashbrooke, 2013). However, Bauman argues that although these elites may be financially benefitting, all are disadvantaged within this system; even the elite tourists suffer from increased anxiety and a paradoxical total mobility but lack of 'freedom'. This analysis is supported by McBride's (1999) argument that all workers are stressed under conditions of over, under and unemployment. Further, Gramsci argues that there is a complex relationship between consent and assimilation: both hegemonic consent and assimilation require negotiation. Gramsci (1971) describes hegemony as resilient but incomplete, and this space of incompleteness is where negotiation is required to secure consent. It is also in this space of incompleteness that the possibilities for alternative ideologies arise.

The multiple levels of control embedded within the global production system seem to represent a comprehensive framework for disciplining the

worker and the individual within society. Some might argue that such a complex framework of control might have led to a near total consent, compliance or assimilation to Globalisation and changes to work. Indeed, the taken for granted assumptions of the benefits of economic growth and market-driven policies in national politics, combined with a reduction in industrial action might evidence such a position. However, from a critical position, power/control and resistance form a dialectic, and as such are generally present in tandem. Mittleman and Adler (2004, p. 195) describe resistance as

Not merely a negation. It is more than opposition, evasions, challenges or reactions... Resistance involves new ideas, organisations and institutions, daily practices and a plurality of dispersed, local and personal points of counter power.

Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) describe how in critical analysis power and resistance are often conceptualised as being closely linked and often theorised as partnered. Therefore, if evidence suggests that the power of the global corporates has increased, either through direct control or subtle forms of control and assimilation, it leads us to consider forms of resistance to this control.

### **3.5 Resisting Assimilation**

While Bauman (2001, p. 42) argues that “the chances of resistance to the power holders, and particularly of steady, organised and solidary resistance are minimal – virtually nonexistent”. The continued presence of multiple forms of resistance suggests that the dialectic of power/control

and resistance remains, albeit in differing forms.

### 3.5.1 Grand Resistance

Thompson (1989) describes how workplace conflict, generally consisting of traditional industrial action, increased dramatically from the mid-1960s in most western countries. These instances of resistance centred on more than just issues of pay rates and began to include questions of quality of working life and working conditions. Gabriel (2008) outlines how the planned reduction of trade unionism from the mid-1980s resulted in the loss of a collective voice for many workers, and saw a decline in instances of traditional industrial action. Piazza (2005) links this decline of instances of industrial action directly to processes of Globalisation. However, despite a reduction, this form of resistance remains visible, as do continued collective public protests directly challenging changes largely attributed to Globalisation and changes to work.

Industrial action, in the form of strikes, has continued to be noted, both on a national, and organisational level. In the month of May 2013, general strikes were observed in New Caledonia (Radio New Zealand, 2013), Greece (Kitsantonis & Cowell, 2013) and Spain (Global Post, 2013). At an organisation level, strikes were reported in industries as varied as fast food (Scoop Independent News, 2013b; Turkewitz, 2013), healthcare (Day, 2013; Gorman, 2013) and Internet retailing (Rahn, 2013). These examples suggest that despite a reduction of unionisation rates and industrial action, these activities persist across a diverse range of activity.

Similarly, Brand and Missen (2005) and Mittelman and Adler (2004) focus

their work around an increase in public protests mobilised around the issue of Globalisation. This movement began in the mid-1990s, centred on the NAFTA agreement, and culminated in the Seattle and Genoa WTO protests of 1999 and 2000 ("Genoa Under Siege," 2001). Protests at international leaders meetings, including the WTO, G8 and G20 have continued since these initial protests. More recently, movements have mobilised around the Global Financial Crisis and concerns surrounding unethical behaviour of top executives involved in the collapse of companies during the crisis (Santoro & Strauss, 2013; Williams & Elliot, 2010).

One such example which began as a one-off protest, but developed into a coordinated international movement, is the Occupy Movement which began in September 2011. Originally the movement was protesting a perceived lack of ethics amongst the United States banking and finance sector. However, the movement quickly mobilised around the slogan 'we are the 99%', referring to global rates of income inequality, and the large proportion of global wealth held by just 1% of the world's population. The protest was originally located in the USA financial centre, Wall St, however global versions of the protest spread through 92 cities across 85 countries. While the visible moment has reduced in presence in the years since the initial protests, the ideas presented by Occupy protestors have now been weaved into discourse used by a range of groups, including political and religious leaders, such as Pope Francis.

There have been many instances of acts of resistance to global corporate activity and rising inequality that are less supported by political leaders,

although still coordinated and collective. In August 2011 for example, thousands of people took to the streets of London and other smaller towns and cities in the United Kingdom, in acts of rioting, looting and arson. The riots were coordinated through mobile phone and social media. Some rioters claimed they were protesting against economic decline, racism and the British class structure; however, some opponents claim the riots were an outcome of gang culture and copycat violence. One columnist labelled the rioters as “Thatcher’s Grandchildren” (Mishra, 2011), arguing that even if the individual rioters cited no particular motive other than a mob mentality, the roots of the action could be found in the breakdown of the welfare state during the 1980s, rising social problems, and neo-liberal market ideology (Mishra, 2011; Abbas & Holten, 2011).

Adler and Mittleman (2004) caution against the tendency to assume that these collective movements are based on a single set of grievances, arguing that the reality is a more complex set of individualised agendas mobilised around a common theme. Therefore, despite the presence of large-scale collective protests, the individuals within these groups are not necessarily challenging the same agreed-upon processes or structures. This diversity in the motives of protestors has led some to challenge the efficacy of such protests. Slavoj Zizek (2000) argues that these traditional forms of resistance actually serve to further reinforce the dominant ideology. For Zizek, each dominant ideology needs a group of dissenters who are never actually strong enough in method or number to effectively challenge the underlying systemic assumptions but provide enough resistance to appear as though these ideas are (and have) been challenged. This process then protects the dominant ideology giving the illusion of a democratic process.

Thomas and Davies (2005, p. 687) concur that “To resist something also means to reify it, by privileging it as a meaningful area for political contest”. Zizek (1999) holds that in resisting, the individual is allowing their identity to be formed with the dominant ideology being the key point of reference.

### 3.5.2 Localised and Micro-resistance

Just as forms of control change over time in response to contextual factors (Westwood & Johnston, 2012), Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) remind us that so too do forms of subsequent resistance. Thomas and Davies (2005) assert that traditional conceptualisations of resistance tend to take a negative frame of reference and in doing so often ignore the subtle and more hidden acts. Scholars are now turning their attention to these more subtle forms of resistance, including localised action and development, and identity formation as a site and source for resistance. Indeed, Foucault argued that significant power is vested in everyday acts (McKinlay, 2010). Ayres and Bosia (2011, p. 47) describe such forms as

Small-scale micro encounters arguably are part of a growing broader and more nuanced process of transnational diffusion of resistances, struggles and reformulations... at multiple political and social scales

This assertion links the localised and individualised forms of resistance with the broader political and organisational processes of Globalisation. In a 2012 example that explicitly linked the individual act with macro processes, a 77year old Greek pensioner committed suicide

outside the Greek Parliament, leaving a note linking his act to the countries growing debt and proposed austerity measures (Paphitis, 2012).

Gabriel (2005) argues that the processes that normalise flexibility, have also shaped workers identities in ways that are not in the organisation's interest. Gabriel (2005) describes how in a seeming paradox, the HRM practices which espouse organisational commitment and loyalty based around flexible work, actually lead to a short-term, opportunistic view of work from employees. Gabriel argues that as a result of the focus on image, the employee is constantly evaluating other job opportunities, and whilst is concerned with an image of absolute loyalty to the organisation, has a prevailing self-interest. Gabriel likens this work ethic as the antithesis to Weber's (1976) protestant work ethic. Gabriel holds that this self-interest ultimately leads to exit if the employee is unhappy. Gabriel (2008) thus lends a fresh perspective on peripheral work, pointing out that for some, exiting the core into the periphery is a form of resistance to changes within the core. For these workers, becoming a freelance or consultant worker is seen as a direct challenge to the organisation. Other forms of prevailing, but individualised, workplace resistance include whistleblowing, which allows the individual worker to potentially significantly disrupt the organisational appearance/branding (Gabriel, 2008), and humour and cynicism (Westwood & Johnston, 2012). These forms of resistance are largely based on resisting Globalisation and changes to work through disrupting the image of the organisation.

Another strategy for resistance is termed 'resistance through distance' (Manki, 2003). Under this strategy, individuals look to sidestep the

overarching ideology, rather than take it on directly. Evidence of this process could be drawn from the increase in localised movements. Hess (2009) provides examples including locally funded radio stations, community beautification projects, community gardens and health and education initiatives. These projects are aimed at removing dependence on the global financial, corporate and governance systems.

An overt example of individuals removing themselves from the global production system can be observed in the local produce movement. There has been a significant growth of farmers markets in not only small towns, but in often affluent urban areas. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (United States Department of Agriculture, 2012), in 2012 there were 7,864 farmers markets, a 10% increase in one year. These markets are seen as a mode of not only sourcing economical local produce, but also a way for individuals to act on their dissatisfaction with the global food production system, and minimise 'food miles' (Alkon & Norgaard, 2009; Parasecoli, 2013). Similar instances can be seen in the growth of individuals undertaking home-grown produce, recycling, and foraging. The 'voluntary simplicity' movement is one example of a collective movement of these individual acts (Ussher & Alexander, 2012). Additionally, alternative marketplaces, such as barter systems, clothing exchanges, and toy libraries have also increased in popularity (Albinsson & Yasanthi Perera, 2012). These activities could be seen as overt attempts for individuals to remove themselves from system of global production and consumerism (Albinsson, Wolf, & Kopf, 2010).

However, not all are convinced by arguments that these acts constitute

resistance. Deetz (2008b) argues that these acts can only be conceptualised as resistance under an overarching position of a class struggle, whereby there is a strong repressive party, and a weak subordinated. Deetz holds that this analysis is reductionist and simplistic, and that experiences are actually much more complex and nuanced. Deetz argues that in order to access this complexity, a focus on identity, and rather than resistance as negative, resistance or micro-political acts as ‘generative possibilities’ (p. 389). Therefore, although the levels of control and resistance embedded in processes of Globalisation and changes to work are complex, and at first view may be difficult to expose, for Deetz, identity provides a tool for which to uncover these, and to explore emancipatory opportunities.

Brand and Wissen (2005) go further, arguing that participation in such collective actions is primarily an act of personal identification, enabling ‘them to satisfy themselves of their historical importance and – beyond all political differences – to understand themselves as part of a collective subject’ (p. 9). So for Brand and Wissen, the link between collective resistance to Globalisation and individual identity is clear. Zizek (1999) also links these acts of resistance with identity formation.

A focus on the local and individual may seem contradictory when exploring global processes, however, as articulated by Savage, Bagnall and Longhurst (2005), the local has not been rendered irrelevant by Globalisation, but rather Globalisation can be understood as an increasingly complex array of relationships and ties at a local level. Phillipson (2007) concurs, noting that the impact of global changes to

communities has become an important dimension of sociological research. Phillipson further describes how Globalisation leads to a process of disembedding from community. Indeed, both Bauman's tourists and vagabonds might be considered to be disembedded from community. Mittelman and Adler (2004) identify a lack of research in presenting the voices of those considered 'losers' within Globalisation. Additionally, although significant research has focused on micro processes of resistance and identity as resistance, these works have largely focused on the workplace. There is therefore, a significant research gap examining the impacts of Globalisation at the local level, through the experiences of individuals, and exploring the methods of resistance they undertake.

### **3.6 Conclusion: Identity as a Unifying Thread**

For Bauman, Globalisation has a direct impact on how individuals perceive themselves and their communities. Critical theorists argue that these changes reflect the entrenching of the power of elites, while processes related to changes to work assimilate individuals to the interests of the organisation. Indeed, the reduction of traditional forms of worker resistance, including strikes, would seem to support this view; although instances of these are still noted. Even where public protest is mobilised around outcomes of Globalisation and workplace change, many are now reexamining resistance to include micro forms of resistance through the reassertion of the local, particularly, through identity. The link to identity and the local is strengthened by the view that even within global collective movements, a plurality of motives, often reflective of individual or local concerns, are present.

I entered this chapter with the aim to depict antenarratives in contrast to the dominant narratives of Globalisation presented in Chapter 2. Indeed, the work of Bauman, and of the critical theorists discussed in this chapter certainly represent a differing story to the one presented by proponents of Globalisation, one focused on the subordination of peoples and planet to the benefit of few. However, aspects of these stories are no longer ‘hidden’ as threads amongst the dominant narrative, but have been taken up by many groups who are visibly resisting the processes described in Chapter 2, in the form of large-scale public protest. Widespread concern regarding injustices such as income inequalities and environmental degradation are commonly spoken about in the public sphere. Others, such as business leaders, are not violently protesting, but are expressing an awareness that the narratives in Chapter 2 are not without critique. Therefore, I am led to question whether the depiction in this Chapter constitutes antenarratives, or, in line with Boje’s assertion that ‘ante’ refers to possibilities for future restoring, whether these ‘ante’ narratives have become incorporated into the realm of the dominant narrative. However, many of these analyses, be they dominant or ante-narratives, also depict a certain set of individual experiences within these stories. For Bauman, this is based around the tourist and the vagabond; for Gramsci, this is based around the dominant class and the subordinated. In this research, I am interested in exploring how individuals and communities of individuals experience the processes depicted in Chapter 2. As I have suggested in the closing sections of this chapter, a focus on theories of identity may prove a fruitful addition to my theoretical approach. In the following chapter, Chapter 4, I refine this focus, by exploring the theoretical base of identity, and in particular of identity as a political act and as a form of resistance.

## **Chapter 4: Identity as a Frame for the Stories of Globalisation**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 3, I present antenarratives to the dominant narrative of Globalisation and changes to work. I draw on Zygmunt Bauman's work (1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2004, 2011) to discuss Globalisation and changes to work, and argued that multiple forms of control are embedded in the (re)shaping and (re)locating of work that enable and support the extension of neo-liberal forms of Globalisation. For example, many organisations still rely on direct control embedded in long-run Taylorist production processes, the focus of control being on how the body moves. Other organisations may use more subtle forms of panoptic control embedded in team orientated work processes, with the focus of discipline shifting to the individual. Still other forms of control rely on the use of threats of relocation or plant closure to shape the activities and choices of workers irrespective of the kind of work being performed. Yet, despite these multiple, and sometimes simultaneous, forms of control, acts of resistance to Globalisation and workplace change continues to occur throughout the world. These acts show that consent, compliance or assimilation to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are not complete.

A recurrent theme embedded throughout Chapter 3 is the extent to which the dialectic relationship between control and resistance impacts on an individual's consciousness and sense of self; notions which are central to

debates on what constitutes identity. Additionally, there is a growing interest amongst Critical Management Scholars in teasing out how individual acts of identification are forms of resistance (Thomas & Davies, 2005). Brand and Wissen (2005) interpret collective action as a culmination of individual identification processes whereby local or individualised concerns are being mobilised around global issues. I concluded Chapter 3 by proposing that identity theory provides a useful lens within which to explore individual and collective experiences of the dialectic relationship of control and resistance as this relates to Globalisation and workplace change. Or as Ybema, Keenoy, Oswick, Beverungen, Ellis and Sabelis (2009, p. 300) explain it, “(a)nalytically, the notion of ‘identity’ may be a fundamental bridging concept between the individual and society”.

In this chapter, I develop my argument that identity theory provides a useful and powerful lens to explore the lived experiences of Globalisation and workplace change. I do so by first reviewing the more traditional theories, including the essentialist, dialectic and collective positions on identity formation in Section 4.2. The insights from these theories can be seen to influence a number of more recent developments in how we come to know who we are.

In this chapter, I begin by briefly mapping the identity literature, beginning with traditional biological explanations, moving through to collective explanations. This discussion provides a brief background to the lineage of identity theory. I then move to Bauman’s discussion of identity in Globalisation, and relate this to discussions of identity, locality and belonging. This analysis provides an application of identity theory to the

context of Globalisation. Under Bauman's analysis, power resides at both the individual and structural level, illustrating how the lens of identity can make the link between macro and micro politics. Bauman's analysis leads us to a deeper discussion of identity as power and as resistance. Significantly, while discipline of the self is evident in the workplace and society, critiques of identity regulation illustrate that this control is never complete. Therefore, spaces present for the employment of individual agency, and acts of resistance, both individual and collective. The insights of theorists who consider identity a political act allow us to see that both power and resistance are evident, at both a critical structural level, and at the level of the self. I conclude that identity provides a powerful lens to illuminate the diverse forms of power/control and resistance for individuals in their lived experience of Globalisation.

## **4.2 Traditional Explanations of Identity Formation**

Traditionally, Identity theories focused on essentialist, dialectic, and collective explanations of identity formation. These insights continue to inform current identity scholarship.

### **4.2.1 The Essentialist Argument of Identity Formation**

Underlying the ontological assumptions of biological and or psychological determinism is that there are essential features to our identity that are fixed and unchangeable because of aspects of our biological or psychological make-up that are determined at birth (Gelman, 2004; Tenenbaum and Davidman, 2007). Biological traits associated with identity include race and sex; with some early essentialists arguing that even the shape of our face determined identity (Tenenbaum and Davidman, 2007). The biological

explanation of identity centres *on* the assumption that we *are* our body. A related deterministic explanation lies in early theological explanations of identity. From this perspective, the individual is governed by God, and it is only when the influence of the devil pervades that the individual acts in ways which are not in accordance with biblical teachings.

#### 4.2.2 Dialectic Explanations of Identity Formation

In contrast to the biological determinism and theological positioning, and on what has become known as Cartesian dualism, Descartes argued that our mind and our body are distinct, and that we are not our body, and do not act from divine direction (Brinkman, 2005). Wee and Pelczar (2008, p. 146) describe Cartesian dualism as “the view that there is an ultimate distinction between the mental and the physical”. Inherent in this assumed capacity to split mind from body are issues of how we think about ‘self’; of how we perceive ourselves in terms of the object of our body, as well as in terms of the subjective capacities of our mind and thoughts. The notion that our mind and body are separate opens up wider considerations as to how our identity is formed and the potential of its construction and reconstruction. Instead, the Cartesian subject is deemed to possess individual thoughts, and is capable of logical reasoning from which to inform their actions (Gergen, 2009). That is, the Cartesian subject is capable of self-determined behavior. The ontological proposition of mind/body dualism is a belief that the mind and the body are quite separate entities. The mind is linked to our subjective mental capacities (how we think), while our body is thought to be aligned with objects and our physical self (Sober, 2005).

Dialectic explanations of identity construction revisit the extent of the

Cartesian split, and locate the individual within the social. Hegel (Alcoff, 2003) theorised that dialectic tensions occur within the self. He conceptualised that individuals have multiples 'selves'. For him, the dialectic tension occurs between these various aspects of the self. This tension results in a ranking exercise, based on perceptions of which aspects are more or less desirable. For Hegel, how individuals rank each aspect of the self is informed by how others perceive and value them.

Similarly, the achieved/ascribed theorisation argues that identity is an outcome of a dialectic relationship between the self (achieved) and others (ascribed) (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Ascribed identity is related to factors beyond the control of the individual, and how others perceive those factors. These include the physical embodiment of traits such as sex and race, as well as socially defined notions including ethnicity, religion, and even where one is born and raised. It is what others perceive, think, say and do in relation to these factors that becomes the socially ascribed identity. These ascribed aspects, and what others think about them are beyond the active decisions or control of an individual. In contrast, achieved identity is the process of negotiating a sense of self within the socially ascribed boundaries. Understandings of achieved identity assume a collective influence on the individual's understandings of self.

#### 4.2.3 Collective Explanations

Benwell and Stokoe (2006) suggest that positions or roles available for an individual to identify with are embedded in collective narratives and discourses. Hoelscher and Adelman (2004) see individual memory and narrative as the manifestation and expression of collective group identity.

Moreover, Benwell and Stokoe suggest that these collective narratives construct particular and dichotomous social roles and define the boundaries between these roles. Examples of identity dichotomies might include mother/father, straight/gay, or man/woman. Benwell and Stokoe (2006, p.78) label these social roles as “relational identities”. From this perspective, these relational identities are bound by interactions with others. Lawler (2008) notes that the “situating of the self” (p.42) occurs through a self-narrative that goes beyond one’s own birth, to a sense of history and forebears. In this sense, the process of situating ourselves is a process of examining the wider historical context of our attachment to place, space and others. This view reaffirms the importance of collective memory and historical storytelling to identity.

#### 4.2.4 Summary

Essentialists argue that identity is fixed based on psychological or biological features. While this position has been critiqued for being apolitical, researchers still investigate, for example, the extent to which men and women differ based on their sex-based chromosomes (Gelman, 2004; Pinker, 2004). Moreover, researchers such as Benwell and Stokoe (2006) continue to support the relevance of ascribed identity formation, in so far as biological features, place of birth and/or religious affiliation do shape how one is perceived by others. Meanwhile, the dialectic and collective explanations highlight the centrality of context in the development of one’s identity. These early insights continue to inform later developments of identity theory (as discussed throughout this chapter). For example, Bauman draws on the ascribed/achieved dialectic in his description of the identities formed by tourists and vagabonds, introduced in Chapter 3 and now discussed in more

detail in the following sections.

### **4.3 Identity Within the Context of Globalisation**

As described in Chapter 3, the current context of Globalisation and changes to work has impacted on where we live and work, and how we live and work. Therefore, many have argued that Globalisation and changes to work have impacted on the way in which we see our identity and ourselves. Some theorists have proposed that identity in Globalisation is based on notions of image, driven by increased consumerism and the neo-liberal assumption of consumer sovereignty, described in Chapter 3. One such theory is seen in Bauman's description of the identity of Tourists and Vagabonds, discussed in section 4.3.2. Further, some have argued that increased mobility has detached individuals from their traditional place-based identities, and led them to identify with the 'visible' – material possessions and occupations. For these theorists, locality becomes a central issue to identity, whether it is the changing use of the landscape, or the lack of attachment to locality; locality and a sense of belonging to place is central to identity within the context of Globalisation, and will be discussed in section 4.3.3.

#### **4.3.1 Bauman and Identity**

For Bauman (2004), within a context of Globalisation, the notion of identity is a paradox between the search for (unattainable) security, yet the desire to appear different. Similarly, Thomas and Davies (2005) suggest in Globalisation individuals experience heightened insecurity and vulnerability, conditions which are both caused, and fulfilled (to a degree) by the new context of work. Gabriel (2008) describes these conditions as being framed by a dominant experience of 'spectacle', whereby image, whether in work,

family or other pursuits, becomes the primary concern. In such a context, the pursuit of identity becomes the pursuit of a 'dream', based on the image of 'happiness'. Thus for these authors, feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and anxiety are to be relieved by a search for stability; a stability that can be found in the form of a coherent identity.

Importantly, Bauman portrays the search for identity as a pursuit is only available to the elite tourists. Yet, the tourists experience a relentless pursuit of identity based on what Gabriel describes as an image of happiness, and a dream. However, a fixed state of such an identity is elusive, for although the tourists have the appearance of freedom and material wealth, they no longer have a deep connection to specific localities or wider communities, in which such a security might be rooted. Bauman and Gabriel's depiction of the tourists as drawing on externally provided images reflects identity formation as a project of the self. For Rose (2001), these images are disciplinary tools, as individuals modify themselves so as to achieve the image (rewards) or to evade the feelings of insecurity (punishment of non-conforming). For Rose, identity is entwined with power and control. Identity and power will be discussed further in section 4.4.

In contrast to the supposed mobility and freedom of the tourists, in the context of global relocation of work, vagabonds are stigmatised for their immobility and geographic confinement and have a particular identity imposed on them. Bauman argues that vagabonds are constrained and have limited agency in developing their own identity because of the constructed conditions imposed by Globalisation and changes to work (Lawler, 2008). In many ways, Bauman's position here reflects the ascribed/achieved

theorisation of identity formation. The vagabonds have a particular ascribed identity, and have limited ability to achieve a sense of self within the boundaries set by their immobility, Globalisation and the relocation of work.

#### 4.3.2 Identity and Locality

*Where* we are is closely entwined with *who* we are (Morley, 2001). There is wide dialogue on the link between location and notions of space, place and identity (Antonsich, 2010; Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Goldberg, 2006; LLamas, 2007; Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003; Proshanky, Fabien, & Kaminoff, 1983; Strangleman, 2001; Woods, 2007). In this sense Lovell (1998) sees “belonging and locality as markers of identity” (p. 15). Parkin (1998) also sees locality as central to identity, questioning whether an individual can identify with any group that does not have some “territorial reference point” (p. ix). According to Lovell, locality impacts identity in both the territorial placement of the self, as well as significantly contributing to individual and collective memory of social relations. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) concur that “social memory and social space conjoin to produce much of the context for modern identities – and the often rigorous contestation of those identities” (p. 348)

However, Lovell (1998) points out that in the context of Globalisation the common themes of ‘displacement, dislocation and dispossession’ prevail. Within this context, identity may not be linked to a singular place, but rather be “deterritorialised” (p. 5), occurring between places, or impacted by movement in place, rather than attachment to a specific fixed location. The parallels between Lovell’s discussion and Bauman’s are clear. The deterritorialisation can be related to the continuously mobile tourists, whose

attachment becomes to their mobility, to their lack of fixed place and belonging. Further, Lovell (1998) sees a distinction between those with territory rights and those without and that “[i]dentity can crystallise around a sense of belonging predicated on hierarchically defined rights of access to territory, which then serve to stratify social groups according to perceived origin” (p. 6)

Others link identity with locality through theorising the sense of ‘home’ and belonging (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Hardwick & Mansfield, 2009; Morley, 2001), inherently tied to place. For Morley, home refers to both the physical spaces, as well as “*heimat*” (p. 425), a German term with no direct English translation used widely to refer to emotional and social sense of ‘home’. However, the importance of belonging has certainly been linked to identity formation (Lovell, 1998; Morley, 2001; Puddifoot, 1994). In this sense, belonging is not only linked to physical space, but also to the social spaces with which an individual may identify and feel a sense of belonging. Morley sees the notion of home to be the antagonist to the type of globalised mobility discussed by Bauman.

Yet Edwards questions the essence of locality to identity when stating that

Belonging, like identity, is neither monolithic nor all-encompassing, and belonging to locality or place is not always relevant... Belonging to locality is comparable to belonging, for instance, to a particular family or a particular past. It is through the expression of an inclination either to belong or not that pasts, places and significant social relationships are conceptualized (Edwards, 1998, p. 148)

Additionally, for Bauman, place and territory is also a primary means of differentiating the tourists and the vagabonds, rendering locality as inherently political. Indeed, Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) argue that the way in which landscapes are appropriated by various groups is inherently a political process, and has a lasting impact on power relations associated with locality. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) discuss the importance of “places of memory” (p. 350), arguing that it is not only the landscape itself, but the way in which the history of such landscape is preserved in memory that is tied to political processes.

Zukin (1991) discusses the impact of changes in the organisational realm to the “landscape of economy and culture... landscapes of power” (p. 5). Zukin describes how notions of “market” and “place” (p. 9) have historically been entwined, with the marketplace being a centre for both economic and social relations. However, Zukin argues that modernity (and global) discourses not only ignored issues of *place*, but emphasise a move away from the importance of place, as it is subordinated to economic progress. For Zukin the landscape is a complex series of layers, and involves not only a material layer, but also social, cultural, political and economic layers (Zukin, 1991). Zukin asserts that although changes to the material landscape are apparent, the process of deindustrialisation has systematically destructed the underlying social, cultural and economic bases to the landscape.

### 4.3.3 Identity and Community

Bauman sees community being located at the intersection of locality and identity, and as such, the notion of community is problematised in

Globalisation. For Bauman (2001, p. 2), as with the search for identity, the search for community as “a mission to rediscover greater ontological security in modernity, but this involves reconciling the tension between our need for both security and freedom”. Therefore, the individual becomes entwined in a search for a sense of ‘community’ with others who appear to be pursuing similar, or desirable, ends. Indeed, the identity attributed to community, or the ‘community identity’ has become a central theme in recent identity scholarship. Paramount to these discussions is the importance of a sense of ‘belonging’ (Puddifoot, 1994) and of ‘territory’ to notions of collective community identity (Colombo & Senatore, 2005). Clarke et al (2009) concur that the community’s discursive practices form “the distinctive shared calibration points that define themselves and their local reality” (p. 325).

According to Parkin, it is the collective memories of themselves as a group/s that inform notions of both individual and community identity. Puddifoot (2003) uses the term “sense of community identity” (p. 88) to describe both the individual perceptions of the community and those aspects shared amongst members. For Foreman and Whetten (2002) and Stets and Burke (2000) community identity manifests as social norms reflected in the behaviour of individuals and groups belonging to community. These social norms are generally believed to be constructed overtime through individual (psychological) and group (sociological) interactions (Deason & Randolph, 1998; Howarth, 2002; James & Eisenberg, 2004; Llamas, 2007; Proshanky et al., 1983; Puddifoot, 2003; Wiesenfeld, 1996). Identity also involves not only identifying with places and social groups, but also processes of *disidentification* with other places and social groups (Hardwick & Mansfield, 2009). In this way, identity is concerned not only with who I am, but also who I *am not*, an issue we now turn to.

#### 4.3.4 Insider/Outsider

Hardwick and Mansfield (2009) describe how identity is not just concerned with ‘who I am’, but concurrently ‘who I am NOT’, again highlighting the importance of image. Therefore, notions of insider/outsider become important. Further, for many, strong communities lead to intolerance and ‘othering’ of those perceived to be on the outside of these communities (Fraser, 2005). From this perspective, territory and location is also an important aspect of a collective identity, as spatial boundaries define who is outside the collective, as well as linking those on the inside. Fink (2006) develops this by suggesting that the construction of community identity is a political “act of border-making. Exclusions from networks of kinship and friendship are, in the end, just as telling as the signs of solidarity” (p. 134). For Fink, the “calculation of community must consider those voices, willingly or unwillingly, consigned to the periphery” (p. 135), thus Fink is highlighting the place of *outsiders*. Pietsch and Marotta (2009) describe notions of ‘us and them’ as central to the construction of community identity. They further suggest that ‘strangers’ have a central role in maintaining the ‘us’ and the ‘them’. Pietsch and Marotta (2009) see nationalism as an example of this process through the social construction of ‘aliens’ and ‘nationals’. This social construction is legalised, and structured into hierarchies of ‘others’, including the acceptable ‘alien’ – Bauman’s tourists – the illegal alien, and those who are not even able to cross the border – the vagabonds. This ordering of ‘strangers’ provides a sense of order and security for the insiders.

#### 4.3.5 Summary

The early essentialist discussions present identity formation as an apolitical natural outcome of one's biology or psychological state. However, more recent theorisations locate identity formation within territorial, as well as historical, political, economic, and social contexts. Moreover, Globalisation and workplace change have directly affected the context of identity formation, a context that Bauman describes as 'liquid modernity'. Because identity formation is tied to the socio-political and economic processes of Globalisation and workplace change, the development of an identity based on whether one belongs or is excluded from this new context must necessarily be viewed as an inherently political process. Alvesson et al (2008) posit that identity can provide a way to unpack the contemporary aspects of the dialectic relationship between control and resistance. Specifically, they argue that a focus on the politics of identity can bridge the complex macro/micro, global/local dichotomies at play in the globalised context.

#### **4.4 Identity as Power**

For Thomas and Davies (2005), power is inherently experienced at the individual level, and as such they argue that identity must be understood as an inherently political notion. For them, identity politics is concerned with how individuals come to know and challenge the processes by which their identities are constructed. Lawler (2008) argues that power and knowledge are interlinked, and that sources of power also produce 'knowledge's' which govern how people come to understand themselves.

A focus on identity politics problematises the collective/social and individual dichotomy often found in identity theory and literature (as reviewed above).

The political position foregrounds the interrelated processes through which the individual and the collective explanations of identity construction are interwoven. Rather than focusing on a ‘one or the other’ perspective, identity politics illuminates how the two interplay with overarching power relations to contribute to how individuals understand themselves, and their position in the wider collective. Thus, despite assertions that Globalisation had led to fluid, ever changing, and ever more elusive identities. However, paradoxically, there is also a continued motivation to find seemingly fixed collective groups (such as ethnicity, gender, sexuality) to identify with. This motivation comes from a desire to have named membership in order to have the individuals interests rendered visible. Additionally, for Bauman and fellow identity in Globalisation writers (Gabriel, 2005; Thomas, 2009), this fluidity leads to a greater desire and drive to seek a fixed, secure identity.

#### 4.4.1 Identity and Discourse

For some, discourse is central to the construction of identity, as a medium which makes possible, and yet which limits, understanding through the normalising of certain discourses over others (Clarke, Brown & Haley, 2009). Once discourses are normalised they become sets of social rules, or ‘discursive regimes’ (Clarke et al., 2009). For Clarke et al (2009), these “discursive regimes offer epistemological spaces of individuals or groups to occupy” (p. 325). From this perspective, discourse shapes who we think we are, and how we think we can act (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006).

However, not all discourses are equally influential, with some holding more institutional and material support than others. From a discursive perspective,

identity is seen as a performance, a construction in action, and/or a historical set of discursive structures imposed on, and therefore shaping, the individual's view of themselves. Gramsci (1971) is often related to the latter view, as these discursive structures are seen as part of the wider structure of hegemonic control.

For Foucault (2002), discourses are active processes that produce what they describe. He argues that discourse has a “repressive presence of that it does not say” (p. 25), both an “already said” and a “not said” (p. 25). In this description, Foucault is signaling the implicit power contained in discourse; rather than viewing language as a benign form of communication, Foucault sees discourses as reflective of wider power relations. Additionally, he is reflecting on the historical contextual nature of discourse, that the meanings and inherent value judgments contained in communication are reflective of historic processes of power. For Foucauldian theorists, identity is a product of discourses which act as the rules imposed upon the individual which challenge their subjectivity.

Thomas and Davies (2005) critique Foucault's work on identity, arguing that he assumes individuals are just docile bodies. Indeed, Alvesson and Willmott (2002) posit that discussions of power are only meaningful whereby individuals have some degree of freedom, agency and choice.

As described in Section 3.3.4 from a critical position, power/control and resistance form a dialectic, and as such are generally present in tandem. Implicit in Foucault, Bauman and Gabriel's conceptualisation of identity in Globalisation is identity control.      Therefore, it is pertinent to consider

identity regulation, agency and resistance.

#### 4.4.2 Control and Identity Regulation

For Beech (2008), notions of self-identity are made up of identity work, the processes of identification, and identity regulation. For Alvesson and Willmott (2002) identity regulation, the imposed rules contained in discourses, is a form of normative control. Nair (2010) conceptualises identification as behavioural control, particularly within an organisational setting. Alvesson and Willmott describe how group members are provided with scripts of enactment which dictate the rules which one must follow in order to be accepted into, and identify with, the group. Within the context of organisations, they argue that

Organisational control is accomplished through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses about work and organisation, with which they become more or less identified. (p. 620)

Nair (2010) argues that less visible forms of identity regulation often become apparent during times of change. At these times, individuals may find they don't 'fit' with the new context, and so must be "re-socialised" (p. 13), making visible more subtle forms of identity regulation.

However, Alvesson and Willmott (2002) argue that this identity control is necessarily (as with all control) incomplete and therefore precarious. Therefore, the incomplete nature of identity regulation opens up spaces for possible resistance to discursive regimes, just as incomplete hegemonic control opens up spaces for societal resistance. This view reinforces the

power/control and resistance dialectic theme in critical work, and contains an inherent assumption of some degree of individual agency, in so far as the individual is not completely subjected to normative control.

#### 4.4.3 Critiques of Identity Politics

There have been a number of critiques of identity politics, most vehemently from post structural and postmodern theorists. Identity politics has traditionally focused on broad notions, based around race, gender and nationality, which is seen by poststructuralists as categorising (Gimenez, 2006). Poststructuralists reject notions of fixed social identities or fixed communities. From a Poststructuralist perspective, identity is never fixed, and is defined only by the processes and actions that occur while a person is trying to attain a sense of identity (McKinlay, 2010). According to Fraser (2003), poststructuralists hold that by focusing on established categories of disadvantage, identity politics serves to reaffirm an individual's status as a "victim" (p. 443). From a postmodern perspective, identity politics provides a false stability to notions of identity, and reifies the points of identification. For these theorists, identity politics is seen as essentialising. For Fraser (2003), the poststructural refusal of identity also ignores positive aspects of identification which may lead to new social and political movements. Additionally, Deetz (2008b) argues

Identity politics can be disruptive in ways that the more normalized economic conflicts cannot, though that is not to say it always is. Rather than degrade identity politics, our attention might be better directed to where and when it is disruptive (p. 391)

A postmodern/post structural reading of identity focuses on the reflexive processes between the individual and social norms and practice (McKinlay, 2010). According to Stavro (2007), much of the critique of identity politics comes from a misconception about the roots and meaning of identity politics. For him, identity politics was firmly inspired by Hegelian notions of dialogical process, and represents the process of being recognised, or not, by the dominant culture, containing both elements of self- construction and structural elements, a co-construction of the individual and the context.

#### 4.4.4 Summary

According to Bauman and others (Gabriel, 2005; Thomas, 2009), within the context of Globalisation, power resides at many levels, structural, organisational and individual, all being entwined with identity. For many identity theorists, including Foucault, this power is sustained and conveyed through discourse. New forms of work focus on identity regulation through discursive regimes that encourage individuals to mould their identity to the needs of the organisation. However, critiques of this perspective argue that this assumes individuals have limited agency, and are merely docile bodies. Yet the continued evidence of resistance, as outlined in section 3.5 suggest that control over identity is not complete, and that the individual has some degree of agency in the formation of their identity.

### **4.5 Agency in Identity Formation**

The debates about the presence of, and degree of agency, an individual has over the process of identity formation is one of the key areas where

theorists differ. For Clarke et al (2009), identity is a fragile work in progress, a product of a continuing dialectic between structure and agency.

#### 4.5.1 Performativity in Identity

Conceptualising identity as a discursive performance draws on Butler's (1990) notion of performativity. According to McKinlay (2010), performativity describes the way in which individuals act out their identities. Some argue that performativity is an active process whereby the individual makes active choices, and interacts with established social norms. A performative understanding holds that identity production involves both a discursive (or talking) element and a performance (or acting) element. Identity is conceptualised as being embedded in, defined by, and constructed through discourse and subsequent action. This discursive element is supported by performance; that is how we act and interact with others, and in relation to the discourse(s) of identity that we are exposed to or that are available to us. Conceiving identity as a performance implies that there is an audience to our 'act', and that identity formation is entwined with the interactional as well as the relational aspects between the 'actor/s' and their audience (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Ybema, et al (2009) suggest that people differentiate between "their personal identities as human beings and their public identities as social actors" (p. 300).

#### 4.5.2 Agency in Identity Formation

The element of performativity implies active agency on the part of the individual actor when forming and performing their identity. Garba (2010, p. 55) describes identity as a "strategic fiction" that is socially, symbolically

and discursively constructed, and is historically contingent. Thus, for Garba, (2010, p. 57) the formation of identity is “dependant on incessant repetition, intermingling, transformation and consolidation of their traits” (Garba, 2010, p. 57). Put simply, we form our ideas about what constitutes our own identity through observing others, and deciding where we align ourselves relative to them. This includes constructing identity in “contradistinction to that of her real or imagined enemy” (Garba, 2010, p.57) by rejecting what we see in those individuals that we do not like, or perceive as an enemy. Thus, identity is not fixed, but rather, as Bondi (1993, p. 97) emphasises “as process, as performance and as provisional”.

Benwell and Stokoe (2006) suggest another dimension to the performance of identity. They suggest that individuals perceive a sense of a ‘real’ self, and based on this perception, choose which aspects of this self to express in specific social situations, and which aspects to keep private. These choices are said to be based on how certain aspects of the ‘real self’ align with, and will be received by, the ‘audience’.

#### 4.5.3 Summary

A performative understanding of identity holds that identity is concerned with the image of the self which is enacted through a co-constructed performance. This view has an underlying assumption that the individual has the ability to act, and to make active decisions, at least in part, about the formation of their identity. Garba (2010) goes so far as to suggest that identity formation is a strategic activity. If we are to assume that the individual has a degree of agency over their identity, then the control discussed in section 4.4 is incomplete, and the individual is not

completely assimilated. In this situation, there are spaces for the individual to resist the identity regulation and discursive regimes.

#### 4.6 Identity as Resistance

More recently, attention from critical researchers has turned to how the ways in which we identify may be conceptualised as resistance. This conceptualisation is typified by the work of Costas and Fleming (2009) and Fleming and Sewell (Fleming & Sewell, 2002). According to Thomas and Davies (2005, p. 687), the motivation to resist comes from the representation of “self as other”. Resistance is conceptualised by Thomas and Davies as the ways in which individuals respond to the discomfort they feel when they are ‘othered’. One way in which individuals may do this is to exploit ambiguity around meanings contained in dominant discourses. According to Thomas (2009), these moments serve to unsettle and subtly alter understandings, “weakening the grip of dominant discourses” (p. 174).

Diprose and McGregor (2009) discuss how “oppositional histories and narrative” (p.

52) work to produce collective identities that underpin political action. The authors particularly focus on how outside interest groups (in their case, NGOs) can influence individuals to incorporate new understandings of and resistance to wider political and economic processes into their identities. Others, such as Koyuncu Lorasdağı (2009) have discussed the incorporation of cultural artefacts (such as head coverings) to convey a certain identity as a form of resistance. Diprose and McGregor (2009) also

draw attention not just to the *use* of identity *as* resistance, but also to how acts of resistance impact identity. In particular, the authors draw attention to how resistance occupy and change space, and alter place-based identities.

#### **4.7 Conclusion**

At the close of Chapter 3, I suggested that a lens of identity could help to frame the diverse lived experiences of Globalisation. In this chapter, I have used an identity lens to illustrate that both power/control, resultant assimilation, AND resistance are evident in the context of Globalisation. Applying Bauman's conceptualisation of tourists and vagabonds, we can see that for the tourists, power/control is exerted through both the alienation from place due to constant mobility, through the insecurity and anxiety felt through detachment from community, and through the threat of punishment in the form of becoming a vagabond. For this group, we can see that there is evidence of both structural power and control, and control over the self. For the vagabond, their identity is imposed upon them, and the power/control is imposed through their lack of mobility, and through their desire to join the tourist group.

An identity lens allows us to explore the subtleties and diverse responses to, and lived experiences within the context of Globalisation. This lens provides the opportunity to go further than a structural analysis, which may explore the structural/macro power structures, and collective resistance, but in the absence of these, would assume compliance or consent. In contrast, an identity lens renders not only macro forms of power and resistance visible, but also provides a tool to explore power and resistance at the level of the individual.

While I concur with Ybema et al's (2009) and Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) proposition that identity frames both the macro and micro, I also heed Ybema et al's warning that in practice, "identity does not always live up to its promise as a mediating concept" (p. 302). The authors contend that a broad view of identity needs to be taken, balancing close individual readings, and broader macro contextual factors. Clarke et al (2009) remind us that identity is neither fixed nor coherent, but is also not completely fluid and individualised. For them, the multiplicity of competing discourses and resources available to the individual means that there are often competing or contrasting perspectives integrated into an individual's notion of identity.

In support, for Gibson-Graham et al (2001), identity is an approach from which to explore the complexities of both the structural and individual: "The decisive role of the subject has become the overlap between the hegemonic politics of radical democracy, the Millennial politics of Empire, the Foucauldian micro-politics... and the politics of place" (p. 32). Viewing identity not as fixed and object, but as a relational process, entwined with politics and power, is the conceptualisation of identity that I have worked to develop in this chapter, and which I will be incorporating into my research methodology, discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

In the following chapter, I outline the research purpose and themes, which have emerged from discussions in the chapters 2-4. I also outline an argument that the research context of the Single Industry Town provides a specific example to explore the lived experiences of Globalisation and changes to work. I conclude Chapter 5 by outlining my focused research questions.

## Chapter 5: Purpose of the Research

### 5.1 Introduction

Bishop, Reinke and Adams (2011) that Globalisation constitutes an intensification in the mobilisation of goods, services, capital and people. Stiglitz (2003), Monbiot (2003) and Shiva (2005) argue that this intensification has been enabled by processes of change in the political economy, in particular the implementation of a neo-liberal political agenda. Additionally, changes in the workplace, particularly the adoption of flexible practices, both flexible forms of work and flexible organisational structures have supported, and been supported by, the adoption of a neo-liberal agenda. These changes were introduced in Chapter 2. The argument underpinning both the neo-liberal political agenda and flexible work practices is centred on notions of increased freedom and choice for all, leading to increased social well-being. However, as introduced in Chapter 3, not all are convinced that the outcomes associated with Globalisation are consistent with this argument. Critiques are evidenced by income inequality, and increased under, over and unemployment (Ortiz & Cummins, 2011; Rashbrooke, 2013). Further, multiple forms of power and control are evidenced, at the societal, workplace and individual level, to facilitate consent to Globalisation and changes to work (Miller & Rose, 1998). Yet, multiple forms of resistance are also noted, from collective protests to resistance at the level of the individual. In Chapter 4, I illustrated how a lens of identity could help to illuminate these multiple forms of control and resistance, and provide a powerful analytical tool for exploring the diverse lived experiences of Globalisation.

In this chapter, I draw these threads together and outline the purpose of this research. I begin by outlining my research interest, informed by my interest in the work of theorists such as Gramsci (1971), Foucault (1970, 1977, 1982, 1997, 2002) and Habermas (1985), and the more recent contributions of critical management scholars such as Alvesson and Willmott (1992b, 1996, 2002), Fleming (Fleming & Sewell, 2002; Fleming & Spicer, 2005; Fleming & Spicer, 2003; Fleming & Sturdy, 2009) and Deetz (2000, 2003a, 2008a; Deetz & Hegbloom, 2007). I outline how the literature presented in Chapters 2-4 has contributed to this focus. From this broad focus, I then outline the three research themes, which form the overarching framework for this research. These themes give rise to the selection of a research context. I argue that the Single Industry Town (SIT) provides a specific context to carry out this research, and discuss previous work on SITs in Globalisation, and power, control and identity in SITs. Having selected a research context, I then narrow the research themes into specific research questions.

## **5.2 Research Focus**

Broadly, as outlined in Chapter 1, my interest lies in the lived experience of Globalisation and changes to work. As a student of Human Resource Management, Organisational Behaviour and Strategic Management, the benefits of these changes on increased organisational performance have been emphasised to me. However, my background in Critical Management Studies, has tempered my enthusiasm, and I am interested in exploring whether individuals, workers, families and communities share these benefits. Additionally, I am motivated to explore how these macro contextual changes manifest at the local level, for the individuals living within this context.

In this section, I outline my broad research focus. I briefly describe how my interest in the work of critical theorists has informed the way in which I perceive Globalisation and changes to work. I then briefly recap on the conclusions formed in a review of literature and relevant theory, as outlined in Chapters 2-4. Finally, I synthesise these facets into a broad research focus, which will lead me to forming my research themes.

### 5.2.1 Critical Research Interest

This research was initially driven by my interest in the work of critical management theorists, and particularly their concern about the exploitative tendencies of capitalism. Of particular interest to me was the widespread adoption of neo-liberal policies and practices, and the concurrent spread of global corporate activity and adoption new work practices. From the perspective of analysts such as Alvesson & Willmott (1992a), Shiva (2005) and Monbiot (2003, 2008), this adoption is concerning, as neo-liberal policies seem to represent unfettered capitalism; capitalism in potentially its most exploitative and destructive form. This concern seemed reasonable to me, evidenced by changes in income inequality and rates of over under and unemployment. Further, the dual processes of Globalisation and changes to work, in particular the adoption of flexibility and concurrent human resource management practices, seems to have moved corporate control over workers from the workplace to every part of life, and even to the self.

## 5.2.2 Synthesising the Literature

In Chapters 2-4, I reviewed previous work in the context of Globalisation, critiques of Globalisation and theories of identity. These three chapters constituted the background and theoretical framework for this thesis. In this section, I draw together the conclusions from each of these chapters, to synthesise the argument developed across all three, which, along with my interest in a critical perspective described above, provides my focus for this research.

### 5.2.2.1 *The Context of Globalisation*

In Chapter 2, I outlined the processes that have led to intensifying Globalisation, particularly the spread of a neo-liberal political agenda and changes in the nature, structure, and location of work. The political agenda of neo-liberalism centres on the belief that individual and consumer freedom of choice is the path to social well-being. The neo-liberal political agenda has been translated into and supported by organisational policies. For example, drawing on the ideological assumption of freedom of choice, workers are deemed to have perfect employment mobility. In response, some organisations have developed Strategic HRM policies and practices that have the aim of attracting and retaining key individuals. Some of these HRM policies and practices are associated with a rhetoric of job enrichment and work-life balance (Johnson, 2004). Proponents argue that both of these processes will lead to benefits for both organisations, and increased prosperity for individuals, workers and communities. The prolific and seemingly unquestioned adoption of both neo-liberal political agenda and

concomitant organisational changes might seem to suggest widespread acceptance and agreement of this argument.

In this thesis, I am particularly interested in the response, or lack of response to, these processes by the individuals living and working within the context of Globalisation and changes to work. I am also interested in the documented outcomes of these processes at the local level. To explore these issues, I turned my attention, in Chapter 3, to critiques of, and theorising of, Globalisation and changes to work.

#### *5.2.2.2 Theorising Globalisation*

In Chapter 3, I argued that multiple forms of control are embedded in the (re)shaping and (re)locating of work that enable and support the extension of neo-liberal forms of Globalisation. For example, many organisations still rely on direct control embedded in long-run Taylorist production processes (Crowley et al., 2010; Ngai & Smith, 2007). In contrast, other organisations seem to use more subtle forms of panoptic control embedded in team orientated work-structures, with the focus of discipline shifting to individual consciousness. Still other forms of control rely on disciplining by way of threats of relocation or plant closure to shape the activities and choices of workers, irrespective of the kind of work being performed. Yet, despite these multiple, and sometimes simultaneous, forms of control, acts of resistance to Globalisation and workplace change continues to occur throughout the world. These acts show that consent, compliance or assimilation to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are not complete. Moreover, these witnessed acts of control and counter acts of resistance, remind us of the dialectic relationship between the two.

These conclusions further deepen my research interest, drawing my attention further to the individual and localised manifestations of these macro changes. Additionally, I identified gaps in the extant literature, worthy of exploration. Mittelman and Adler (2004) identify a lack of research in presenting the voices of those considered ‘losers’ within Globalisation. Additionally, although significant research has focused on micro processes of resistance and identity as resistance (Iedema, Rhodes, & Scheeres, 2006; Nair, 2010; Thomas & Davies, 2005), these works have largely focused on the workplace. There is therefore, a significant research gap examining the impacts of Globalisation at the local level, through the experiences of individuals, and exploring the methods of resistance they undertake. These gaps are consistent with my emerging focus of the responses, or lack of, to the changes of Globalisation and changes to work. Further, the conclusions in Chapter 3 led me to search for a theoretical lens which would help me to explore the individual lived experiences, whilst still being embedded in the macro context. In Chapter 4, I argue that identity represents such a lens.

### 5.2.2.3 Identity

In Chapter 4, I used an identity lens to illustrate that power/control, resultant assimilation, and resistance are all evident in the context of Globalisation. Using Bauman’s conceptualisation of tourists and vagabonds, for the tourists, power/control is exerted through a combination of the alienation from place due to constant mobility, through the insecurity and anxiety felt through detachment from community, and through the threat of punishment in the form of becoming a vagabond. For this group, we can see that there is evidence of both structural power and control, and control/ self-discipline.

For the vagabond, their identity is imposed upon them, and the power/control is imposed through their lack of mobility, and through their desire to join the tourist group.

An identity lens allows me to explore the subtleties and diverse responses to, and the experiences of living within, this context of Globalisation. This lens provides the opportunity to go beyond a structural analysis, which explores the macro power structures, and collective resistance, but in the absence of these, would assume compliance or consent. An identity lens renders these macro forms of power and resistance visible, and also provides a tool to explore power and resistance at the level of the individual.

### 5.2.3 Summary

The extant literature, combined with my interest in the work of critical theorists, has resulted in a robust research focus centred on the lived experience of Globalisation and changes to work. In particular, I am interested in how the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in individuals and community's daily lives. A lens of identity helps me to explore the multiple forms of control and resistance.

I also address significant gaps in the extant literature. In particular, many of the studies of micro-level control and resistance are situated in the context of the workplace. There is little evidence of studies which explore these constructs outside the organisational walls. For me, this seems paradoxical, given the argument that control has moved away from the workplace to the management of the self and of all spheres of life. I also intend to incorporate

Mittleman and Adler's (2004) call for research which provides voice to those so-called 'losers' in Globalisation. In the following section, I outline the broad research themes which frame this research.

### **5.3 Research Themes**

The research interest describe in Section 5.2 is expressed as two distinct research themes.

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in the stories of individuals*

This theme relates specifically to individuals expressed understandings of processes and policies of Globalisation and changes to work. This theme aims to explore how individuals express their understanding of these processes, and the impacts of these processes on their lives. Within this theme, I explore whether these changes are as significant and substantial as much of the Globalisation and changes to work literature would have us believe (from both a managerial and critical perspective), or whether the individuals embedded in these processes have a more diverse set of concerns.

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as identity at the individual and collective level*

This theme leads on from Research Theme 1, by exploring the ways in which the understandings in Theme 1 are accepted, and incorporated into

identity, or resisted. This theme also aims to explore the dialectical relationship between control and resistance in daily life routines. In particular, as it has been argued that organisational control has moved beyond the workplace, I aim to explore the forms of resistance which also manifest in those spaces individuals occupy outside the workplace, such as community. Indeed Burawoy et al (2000) notes that in researching Globalisation, this connection between the macro and the micro is significant, commenting that

At both [local and global] levels movement is manifold and multiple, combined and reversible, uneven and unpredictable. We, therefore... ascending from the local to the global by stitching together our ethnographies... we needed an orientating map that is attentive to both global and local simultaneously, that would allow us to compose the global from below. (Burawoy et al, 2000, p. 343)

The research themes above hold implications for the context of the research. In particular, the themes hold notions including Globalisation, changes to work, specificity of locality/landscape, and a context that extends beyond the organisational walls, but is still significantly related to the workplace. Therefore, the most opportune research field for this thesis would be a community that was entwined with these themes. In the next section I detail my justification for this position.

#### **5.4 Finding a Research Context**

Historically, Single Industry Towns were constructed for, and often by, industry, entwining industry and workplace with community. Additionally, many of these towns were built in developed countries, such as Canada, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand, at a time when manufacturing

work predominated. Many of these industries have experienced significant downsizing over the past 30 years, consistent with changes to work discussed in Chapter 2. Many of the employers associated with these towns are now part of larger multinational corporations, which necessarily locates Single Industry Towns within the global corporate portfolio of business. Additionally, as these towns are predominantly low-skilled manufacturing based, and with many of the functions also performed elsewhere in the global corporate portfolio, the threat of industry closure or further downsizing is significant.

In addition, many of these towns are also resource dependant, associated with specific resources such as forestry and mining. As such, these towns are often deeply connected with the landscape and the landscape is not just where they live, but also entwined with their means to live and work.

For Barnes and Hayter (1992), these towns represent a micro-level manifestation of macro trends. According to them,

The... resource towns that form the backbone of the province's economy literally come and go – are created and annihilated – in the cyclonic ferocity of the accumulation process. In this sense such communities are the fulcrums connecting wider economic changes with those on the ground. They are the points where the tensions between place and space, between metropole and margin, are most directly manifest. (Barnes & Hayter, 1992, p. 653)

From the above description, residents in these towns might be considered to be part of Bauman's vagabonds, restricted to location, even when the work

leaves. For many, the option of moving is complicated by a lack of transferrable skills, or ties to place. Therefore, the context of the Single Industry Town may also fulfil Mittleman and Adler's (2004) call to give voice to the so-called 'losers' in Globalisation.

Therefore, the Single Industry Town represents a powerful context for exploring the lived experiences of Globalisation and changes to work. In the following section, I outline the context of the Single Industry Town, and previous work on identity, power and resistance in Single Industry Towns. This discussion highlights the insights to be gained from exploring the research themes within this context.

## **5.5 The Single Industry Town**

There is a small but well-established group of researchers interested in the particular characteristics of Single Industry Towns (often called 'resource-based communities' in North America). Most of this writing has come from the North American experience, and particularly the Canadian experience (Barnes & Hayter, 1992; Behrisch, Hayter, & Barnes, 2002; Halseth, 1999; Hayter, 1997; Hayter & Barnes, 1990; Leadbeater, 2004; Lucas, 1972; Parkins, 2003; Randall & Ironside, 1996). The preeminent work on Single Industry Towns is Lucas' (1971) study, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Communities of Single Industry*. This in-depth case study presents a demographic and ethnographic account of life in single-industry towns. Lucas points out that Single Industry Towns have specific characteristics which differentiate them from other small towns. Although as specific examples, in terms of history and social characteristics, these towns have also been shown to be broadly representative of macro-level economic,

political and social trends which can be applied to many other contexts. The Lucas study was conducted at a time of growth for many of these towns, and although he briefly covers issues relating to industry “maturity” (p. 90), his book appears to be focused on the economic and social potential of these towns in prosperous times.

### 5.5.1 Single Industry Towns and Keynesian Political Economy

Single Industry Towns were the result of state-level employment and social planning throughout the Keynesian macro-management period of the 1930s-1970s (Southcott, 2000). As a result, a number of towns were developed with a dual role of supporting industry, and aiding state employment and social goals. Many of these towns were, by definition, Single Industry Towns.

During the time when a Keynesian politico-economic ideology predominated, SIT's were characterised by high levels of population and employment growth, and were largely viewed as prosperous centres of economic growth and opportunity (Lucas, 1972). Globally, the mid 1970s saw the introduction of a range of neo-liberal economic and political policies at the state level, which intensified during the 1980s and 1990s. This change in state-level policy resulted in significant changes to the prevailing political, economic, social and corporate ideology, including the removal of state intervention in industry and, to a degree, social planning, and a competitive corporate environment (Birch & Mykhnenko, 2009; Kelsey, 1997). Eversole and Martin (2006) describe the impacts on the community when regional resource-based industry is owned and controlled offshore. For Eversole and Martin, international ownership often leads to higher levels of

employment instability, and concurrent higher levels of unemployment and social issues for the surrounding community.

### 5.5.2 Lucas: Typology of Development in a Single Industry Town

There appears to be general agreement of Lucas' 4-stage model (Bradbury & St- Martin, 1983; Halseth, 1999), in which Lucas conceptualises stages of construction, recruitment, transition and maturity. However, some have attempted to add to the model, taking into account economic and corporate trends which have become prevalent since the Lucas publication. For example, Bradbury and St-Martin (1983) argues for the addition of another stage, "winding down" (p. 134), which is particularly applicable to industries relying on non-renewable resources, and hence have a limited lifespan. Bradbury and St-Martin argue that during this winding down period, migration activity again reaches high levels – this time out-migration, and so the cycle from construction to wind-down represents a traditional economic model of boom/bust. Halseth (1999) extends the Bradbury and St-Martin model, with his study of three towns in British Columbia that experienced workforce downsizing. Halseth found that, rather than each town following one particular path of population change, there were a number of different possibilities for Single Industry Towns in times of change. The possibility of Bradbury and St-Martin-type 'wind down' out-migration was a possibility, but more likely was a variable level of population decline, from an initial increase in out-flow of residents during the restructuring and downsizing period, to a period of renewed population stability.

### 5.5.3 SIT in Globalisation: From Sovereign Empire to Corporate Empire

Innis (1950) made a significant contribution to the understanding of changes within Single Industry Towns, with the description of the ‘Staples Model’. This model proposed that, in Canada, national economic history and geography are shaped by resource-dependant industries, which produce semi-processed or raw goods (staples) to be ‘exported’ to urban areas or internationally to other countries. Innis described the Staples communities as a link between the land and the urban areas. He also went on to describe how, as a colony, this flow of ‘staples’ went to the British Empire. In this respect, the Canadian experience is similar to the New Zealand experience, as New Zealand was once considered Britain’s Farm (The Reserve Bank of New Zealand, 2007). Many of New Zealand’s primary products were exported to Britain up until the 1970s, when Britain joined the European Union.

Innis (1950) argues that after the withdrawal of the colonial relationship between Britain and Canada, the flow of staples remained within the country, although often transported between small communities and urban centres to maintain internal trade. During this period, the Canadian state coordinated the national industry to trade at the international level. However, with the development of global trading, Innis contends that the developing trading relationships in staples has reverted to a form of colony/empire. The difference is that towns and states resemble the colonies, and the ‘market’ is in the control of the global corporate empire. Leadbeater (2004) extends this analysis by describing how productivity gains and profits made in Single Industry Towns are invested elsewhere globally, so contribute to an outflow of money from the area. Norcliffe (1994) locates Single Industry Towns in the centre of the processes of Globalisation, noting that these “are towns whose existence depends on the outside world being willing to

purchase the staple at a price that makes production profitable” (p. 12). Barnes and Hayter (1992, p. 648) further suggest “there are both widespread geographical shifts in production and markets (changes in space) but also accentuated clinging to local community in the face of such disarray (consolidation of place)”. Barnes and Hayter’s words further assert the importance of studies f o c u s e d at the local level.

#### 5.5.4 Changes to Work in SITs

The shift from Keynesian macro-management to neo-liberal economic and political ideology in the mid-1970s resulted in a fundamental ideological shift for Single Industry Towns (Randall & Ironside, 1996). Changing workplace practices were an outcome of these changes, and global HR practice was enabled. Previously, work in the towns was largely state or industry-planned, developed and protected, and the industry and town could be seen as an instrument of the state. Under a neo-liberal ideology, which enabled global ownership, the workers compete with the larger global labour market, and the industry and town became an instrument of global capital (Hurd, 2003).

Under a global neo-liberal framework, these towns are now exposed to the impact of global competition (Southcott, 2000). Many of the major employers in these towns have carried out restructuring and downsizing, and the size of the stable workforce has dramatically reduced. There has also been a prevalence of outsourcing, whereby previously in-house functions are now contracted out.

Within Single Industry Towns, instances of functional, numerical and financial flexibility have all been noted (Randall & Ironside, 1996). Norcliffe (1994) notes that many of the forms of flexibility proposed by Atkinson (1984) are evident in many Single Industry Towns in Canada, particularly during the mid-1980s period.

Changes in global competition and the structure of work have had an impact on the skill and occupation mix within Single Industry Towns. The change from manufacturing-based work to service and knowledge work, as discussed in Chapter 2, is also documented in the Single Industry Town context. Southcott (2000) notes a decline in blue-collar positions in the SITs he studied, and a concurrent increase in the proportion of professional occupations. Also noted is an increase in self-employment, and other forms of peripheral work. Bradbury and St Martin (1983) note that “jobs are combined to use the skills of one individual to replace the less specific or technical skills of several junior workers” (p. 137). In a New Zealand study of a SIT, Fitzgerald, Taylor and McClintock (2002) point to a deskilling process, noting that many workers have found their jobs transformed by technological changes to the production system, making traditional skills redundant.

#### 5.5.5 Industrial Paternalism as Panoptic Control

Industrial paternalism was common in the emerging Single Industry Towns (Lucas, 1972; Rollwagen, 2006; White, 2004). Many authors draw on Dworkin (1971, 1988) in defining paternalism as a social construct. In one such adaptation, Goodell (1985) describes “Paternalism is interference in

another's autonomy justified by reasons referring exclusively to their welfare, good, happiness, needs, interests or values" (p. 247). A commonly accepted definition of industrial paternalism is

A method of business administration whereby a company decides what is in the best interests of its workers in a manner suggestive of a father's dealings with his children. The term describes the parent-like authority exercised by a company over its employees, and, in company towns, the residents as well. (White, 2004, p. 46).

In conceptualising industrial paternalism, I look to commonly held stereotypes of fatherhood, including: provider of income, home, stability; authoritarian decision-maker (Henwood & Procter, 2003; Morman & Floyd, 2006).

Tracing the roots of industrialisation, previous research has outlined the emergence of concern about early industrial communities in Europe and North America during the mid-1800, a period characterised by the emerging struggle between labour and capital, and the poor conditions in working communities (Shackel & Palus, 2006). Many began to turn their attention to ways to address these problems, including politicians, academics, trade unionists and industrialists.

Progressive era reformers ...wrote about the chaotic, unnatural, and unsanitary living conditions that severely impacted the urban industrial worker. Solutions ranged from radical socialist revolutions to more conservative approaches that slightly modified capitalism. These milder reforms, which became widely adopted, include

providing more affordable services to workers, including the municipalisation of electricity, sewage and water systems. Well-planned living environments, they believed, would make better citizens and better workers, because they would feel gratitude for the patron industrialist who made for these better conditions; the corporations would provide what their workers were organizing to demand, and in doing so circumvent and undercut the power of organized labour. (Shackel & Palus, 2006, p. 830)

This suggestion that significant industrial presence in the planning and maintenance of communities would address both the issue of worker health, and labour conflict manifest in many ‘company towns’ built throughout Europe and North America in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

During the mid-1900s, the emerging industrial relations and human relations scholars strengthened the emphasis on the link between worker welfare and productivity (Shackel & Palus, 2006). Furthermore, the introduction of Keynesianism in the post-World War II period (Offe, 1983; Stiglitz, 2000; Visser, 2000) emphasising state paternalism, provided further legitimacy to the strategic planning of communities.

The discourses of ‘the Single Industry Town’ have significantly changed since the growth period of the post-war era, and are now dominated by descriptions of decline, and meritocracy, as embedded in neo-liberalism. Where once the state played an active role in the very early development and recruitment of citizens to these (often remote) locations, the rhetoric is now predominated with notions of individual responsibility and effort (or

perceived lack thereof). The popular social construction of the ‘Single Industry Town’ is currently one which is poor, dirty, and slightly out of date and somehow residents are unable (or unwilling) to adapt to the new ‘necessities’ of the global marketplace.

Discussions of paternalism have been common in research on Single Industry Towns. Of emphasis in these studies is a discourse of mutual benefit, in that industrial paternalism dually benefitted the townspeople by providing housing, physical and social infrastructure, but also had positive benefits for the organisation. Shackel and Palus (2006, p. 830) describe how “a sense of paternalism also meant that workers often overlooked some work related hazards. In return, they believed that they were entitled to job security and improved wages and working conditions”. Indeed, according to White (2004, p. 46) “employers sought to “control” or administer the lives of their workers, the majority of residents, in order to ensure a stable, efficient workforce, and secure a profit”.

However, some have suggested that organisational benefits went far beyond productivity gains, and suggested that industrialists had an enduring impact on the social construction of ‘the worker’. For example, Porteous (1970, p. 127) maintains that “as a method of social planning, it is a means of uplifting and moulding the worker through the socio-religious ideals of the philanthropic industrialist”. Lucas (1972, p. 173) describes how “the family intrudes into the plant; but these relations are reciprocal for the industry intrudes into the family. As a result, there is an integration of the families in the community, each maintaining mutual obligations”.

Further, Green (2010, p. 5) notes that paternalism results “in a watchfulness toward the citizenry on the part of the company overlords: such guardians have tended to favour tidiness in housekeeping, sobriety, and oftentimes regular religious observance”.

This notion of mutual benefit often led to a sense of indebtedness towards ‘the company’ (White, 2004), and extended ‘the company’s’ jurisdiction far beyond the workplace. For example, management often had a role in providing housing and town planning, including the planning of parks and other social spaces, and commercial areas (White, 2004). Porteous (1970) confirms that often corporate and town politics were entwined in Single Industry Towns.

Once the community, and workforce, was established, the general trend was for the company to begin to instil a sense of citizenship in the townspeople, by divesting civic responsibilities and personal home ownership. Lucas (2008, p. 69) describes how in Single Industry Towns, “traditionally local office holding, voting rights, and taxes have been based on ownership or rental of property. The shift of the ownership of the physical community seems to embody a shift in citizen commitment”.

However, in the period immediately following the transition of responsibilities, reluctance on the part of the townspeople to relinquish their ties to the paternal company has been noted. Some have posited that the totalitarian involvement of the industrialist results in the townspeople having little role in the construction of community identity (Lucas, 1972). As noted by Lucas (2008, p. 82) “there is no leadership outside the company. In

fact, it's reached the point where the company must take the lead or else it's criticized. They unfortunately have substituted company spirit for community spirit, but you can't be associated with the company twenty-four hours a day". Lucas proceeds to comment that

As a result if the reluctance of the citizens to take over all power, authority and responsibility, the company finds itself with residual problems long after it has divested itself of original duties. After many years, sets of patterned expectations, responsibilities and obligations are not easily forsaken. The populace is reminded that rights and privileges also involve duties and obligations. (p. 75)

This reinvestment, in particular, is facilitated by the increase in number and size of multinational corporations, and the spatial relocation of work, has significantly impacted many Single Industry Towns. Many factories, which were originally owned by companies based either in the town, or within the country of origin, have since become part of multinational corporations. Through a distancing of ownership from the town, as described by Bauman in relation to the benevolent tourists, many of these towns are seen as single sites of profitability within a global network of sites. Each site is therefore required to perform within the larger multinational profitability. This form of financial control is reminiscent of concerns about the control inherent in an application of a flexibility model to a global workforce, outlined in Chapter 3.

There have been documented instances of this control being exerted explicitly, with underperforming towns threatened explicitly with closure of sites (Bradbury & Sendbueler, 1988; Prudham, 2008), and even in some cases with the explicit implication that this work would have to be moved to an

alternative, more profitable site.

#### 5.5.6 Resistance in SITs

The research themes in Section 5.3 include a focus on the response to the processes of Globalisation. Therefore, accounts of resistance, or a lack of, within the Single Industry Town context will further emphasise this research context as a powerful one for exploring these themes.

Traditionally, resistance to organisational practices in Single Industry Towns was centred on the workplace, with many documented examples of industrial conflict, most prominently strikes and lockouts, in these towns. Many have assumed that as the power of unions in the industries that made up these towns has been weakened, so too would the incidence of industrial action. However, cases of industrial action continue to be documented (Shabalala & Mkhize, 2014; Clover, 2009).

Instances of more subtle forms of resistance to organisational practices have also been noted, often in the context of those towns in countries which have moved from a manufacturing to a service and knowledge work focus. In such contexts, alongside traditional forms of resistance, authors note instances of more localised resistance, involving a renewal of focus on the local, and a disidentification with the global corporate ‘parent’.

Leadbeater (2004) observes that a common community response is to discursively minimise the impacts, rather emphasising positive new

developments, new businesses or residents, beautification projects, positive achievements and other localised forms of community development. According to Leadbeater, such messages are most often conveyed by local government representatives or local business people.

Barnes and Hayter (1992) present the case of Chemainus, British Columbia, where local government and business representatives initiated a series of murals around the town, depicting the town's heritage, and also prospects for the future. These multiple forms of resistance illustrate that a complexity of responses to Globalisation and changes to work are evident in the Single Industry Town context. However, none of these studies go the step further to examining how these forms may play out in individual or collective identity.

#### 5.5.7 Importance of Locality to Identity in SITs

The connection between landscape and community identity in Single Industry Towns has been well documented (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). Many of these towns are based in remote locations, and often the landscape forms both an isolating factor, and a key production resource. Therefore, the landscape is both a means of income and survival, but also a factor which differentiates these towns from others in a more urban landscape. This connection to specific locality helps in the exploration of the aspects of identity tied to locality, and how this is impacted when the use of the landscape is changed by changes in the organisational realm.

### 5.5.8 Insiders and Outsiders in SITs

It has been noted that in Single Industry Towns, the sense of belonging to the town is heightened, perhaps due to the physical remoteness, specific location, or shared experiences during often extreme periods of boom and bust. This sense of belonging also gives rise to such dynamics as the identification of insiders and outsiders to the community, and a range of social demarcations within the community based on perceptions of ‘us and them’.

In his study, Goldberg (2006) found a number of dimensions that affected insider/outsider dynamics. First, there was a process of self-segregation based on how long people had resided in the town, and that those who were ‘newcomers’ tended to mix socially with others who had lived in the town for a similar time. Second, the amount of extended family in the town partially determined insider/outsider status (Goldberg, 2006). Members connected to the original families were seen to be more closely ‘inside’, compared to those who may have resided in the town for as long, but didn’t have the connection to founding families. Third, geographic origin was equated with perceived cultural differences. This manifested in outsiders viewed as ‘different’, and many undesirable events in the town were often blamed on outsiders, or the offender’s connection to the ‘outside’. Finally, in the context of downsized industry and declining employment, is the demarcation between those who ‘stay’ and those who ‘go’. In one sense, those who remain are assumed to lack the motivation or interest in the ‘opportunities’ available elsewhere (Goldberg, 2006). However, despite the negative assessment of those who remain, the ties to the town for those who leave remain strong.

### 5.5.9 Summary

In the brief overview of the context of the Single Industry Town, I have argued that such towns provide a powerful context for exploring my research themes, identified in Section 5.3. These towns represent an opportunity to explore the embedded issues in a specific, locality-bounded, context which provides a unique prospect for this research. In the next section, I refine the broad themes developed in Section 5.3. To incorporate the context of the Single Industry Town, forming specific research questions.

## **5.6 Refined Research Focus**

In section 5.3, I outlined two key research themes of interest in this thesis. These were

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in individuals lived experiences*

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as identity at the individual and collective level*

In Section 5.5 I described the context of the Single Industry Town, and illustrated that such a research context provided an amplified opportunity to explore these themes. With an identified contextual focus, I can therefore refine these research themes into specific research questions.

In identifying a focus for my research, I take heed of Alvesson and Sandberg's (2011) call for research questions that focus less on the narrow identification of 'gaps' in the literature. For them this approach lends itself to further narrowing of already- dominant fields and approaches. Alvesson & Sandberg advocate for research focus leading from a dialogic problematising process, questioning the extant literature and one's own dominant research position. The authors assert that such an approach will more likely lead to new and novel methodologies and research insights. As such, I have chosen to structure my research not around specific research questions, but rather around the broad themes presented above, refined as:

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in the stories told by individuals in a Single Industry Town*

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as identity at the individual and collective level by individuals in a Single Industry Town*

## **5.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have brought together the conclusions of Chapters 2-4 to outline the purpose of this research. My broad interest in the lived experience of Globalisation has been refined and shaped by the literature covered in chapters 2-4, combined with my personal interest in the work of critical theorists. Resultant research themes focus on the manifestations of these contextual changes on individuals lived experiences, and responses to these

changes, from an identity perspective.

I argued that the research context of the Single Industry Town provides a specific, and powerful, field to explore these themes. Within the Single Industry Town literature, there is evidence of many of the facets covered in Chapters 2-4. Moreover, the physical location and boundedness of these towns provides a unique opportunity to research in a context that is inherently connected to industry, yet at times isolated from the broader urban landscape.

The choice of the Single Industry Town as research context led me in Section 5.6, to refine my focus, which has guided my investigation. The research themes and questions described above reflect methodological assumptions, and gives rise to issues of methodology and research design. The methodology, methods, and research design I used in this study are outlined in Chapter 6.

## Chapter 6: Methodology

### 6.1 Introduction

In the early chapters of this report, I located significant research gaps in the literature about Globalisation. I noted that the particular form of Globalisation prevalent during the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was driven by forms of political, economic and social development that intensified what is now readily referred to as neo-liberalism. I noted significant research gaps about the impact of these changes as experienced at the local level. These noted gaps are consistent with my interest in the changes in employment achieved in the context of a rapid and radical neo-liberal led reorganisation of New Zealand during the 1990s and the apparent lack of resistance to this reorganisation as might have been anticipated by critical analysts. Curious about this apparent lack of resistance, I sought a theoretical lens which would help me explore the lived experiences of people affected by changes their employment at the local level while still keeping my attention on the macro context of these changes.

In Chapter 4 I argued that an examination of ‘identity’ provides such an opportunity. It was opportune that I had access to members of a community whose lives were variously entwined with an employer in an industry of global significance and with such local influence that their town could be thought of as a Single Industry Town. Reported research into the understandings of processes and policies of Globalisation and changes to work experienced by people in Single Industry Towns across a number of

countries were reviewed in Chapter 5. The combination of these literature searches provided a rich source of insight that enabled me to form two key

research themes to serve my intended focus:

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in individuals' lived experiences*

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work are expressed as and through identity formation*

Thus, in Section 5.5 I argued that the research context of the Single Industry Town provides an amplified context in which to carry out this research into the implications of identity formation as a response to changes to work, changes generated by directives at the global level but as experienced by individuals as specific company policies at the local level. Access to just such a town in New Zealand where the types of changes to work engendered by the prevailing processes of Globalisation were evident opened the opportunity for my fieldwork. Once the research context was identified, I focused the two broad research themes which guided the empirical phase of this research. These themes give rise to methodological implications I consider in this chapter.

In this chapter I outline the strengths and limitations of robust qualitative research design and related research methods. In Section 6.2 I attend to

questions of research paradigm and matters of ontology and epistemology. In Section 6.3 I draw on Denzin and Lincoln's bricolage approach to combine aspects of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) in *Critical Management Research* and Boje's living story methodology (2007, 2008) to explain my research orientation. The use of an instrumental case is explained in Sections 6.4-6.7. I discuss there the process of interviewing, the examination and use of secondary research, my method of analysis, and the ethical considerations associated with this project. In Section 6.8, I outline the specific research design for this project, my processes of participant selection, interview strategy, transcription, analytical strategy and ethical procedures. I conclude this chapter by commenting on issues of research validity in Section 6.9.

## 6.2 Choosing a Paradigm

A research paradigm is defined by Guba and Lincoln as "the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method, but in ontologically or epistemologically fundamental ways" (1994, p. 105). Explicit attention to a chosen research paradigm allows researchers to describe their assumptions and the way these assumptions influence the research focus and process. For Guba and Lincoln (1994), the first decision to be made by a researcher is the choice between qualitative or quantitative research methods, or a combination of the two. Broadly, this research follows a qualitative methodology, described by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) as "situated activity that locates the observer in the world... attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). Guba and Lincoln (2005) provided an original typology of four paradigmatic categories: Positivism, Postpositivism, Constructivism and Critical Theory. Later, they added a fifth, participatory research, arguing this

to be representative of a paradigm, rather than method. Guba and Lincoln see these paradigms differing based on three basic questions – the ontological question, the epistemological question, and the methodological question. The authors view these paradigms as not restrictive and mutually exclusive, but rather as broad categories to help discuss and consider questions of the veracity and assumptions of each paradigm. The ontological and epistemological assumptions discussed in the next section situate my research between a Constructivist and Critical Theoretical Paradigm.

### 6.2.1 Ontology & Epistemology

Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe ontology as being concerned with “the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it” (p. 108). It is the study of that which is believed to exist within a certain worldview. Epistemology is the theory of knowledge (O'Brian, 2006). The question of epistemology has been described by Guba and Lincoln (1994) as “what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?” (p. 108). Epistemology is the study of how we can come to know [about] the entities that are proposed in a specific worldview, the entities of the ontological assumptions of a given project.

My ontological positioning is drawn from a Habermasian perspective, emphasising the importance of collective interaction in the production of shared beliefs. This orientation is consistent with a constructionist position in the Guba and Lincoln typology. Habermas rejects the positivist ontology of an objective reality to be captured in a depiction of facts, and proposes a subjective epistemology (of what we come to know and how we do so)

through an engagement in mutual processes of social constructions. He also proposes an element of realism ontology. He holds that there are elements outside of the subject which place constraints on the extent of the totality of social construction (Duberley & Johnson, 2009). Influenced by my reading of Habermas, I take up the tenets of social constructionism with an element of realism in this thesis. Yolles (2007, p. 79) urges us to consider the connections and systems that might constitute reality as part of ontology. This view suggests an individual's reality is an outcome of complex connections between physical [and to some extent necessary] elements and those considerations that are open to s u b j e c t i v e interpretation or individual or collective fabrication or re-fabrication through processes of social interactions.

The belief that knowledge is socially constructed, influenced by not only the parties subject to or instrumental in the creation of such knowledge, but also influenced by the wider necessary (or perceived, previously constructed social reality as real or necessary) contextual factors is consistent with Aronowitz and Ausch's (2000) 'ontohistorical paradigm'. They write that

...There is no inside or outside to processes of scientific discovery. We know the world because we are rooted in it and make it, where 'making' is not a reference to consciousness but to material practices, not only to produce 'things' but also culture and what Foucault calls 'discursive formations'. The 'truth-value' of propositions is neither the focus of inquiry nor apposite to the problematic of the ontohistorical paradigm. (Aronowitz & Ausch, 2000, p. 713)

Related to knowledge being socially constructed, is the notion that our

actions as researchers can affect the ‘knowledge’ we ‘find’. Wheatley (1999) describes the universe as a ‘participative universe’ where the act of looking for certain information evokes the information we went looking for – and simultaneously eliminates our opportunities to observe other information. My ontological and epistemological positioning, as described here, is consistent with many aspects of a social constructionist perspective.

### *6.2.1.1 Social Constructionism*

Underpinning my research, and consistent with many of the ontological and epistemological assumptions above, is a constructionist ontology and epistemology. Burr (2003, p. 2-5) describes a series of characteristics which are consistent with a social constructionist paradigm. Firstly, is a critical stance, or suspicion, towards knowledge that is presented as taken for granted. In this regard, social constructionists attempt to remain conscious of underlying assumptions, inherent in the attribution of labels apportioned to individuals that set the parameters of entitlements and responsibilities. Secondly, is the foregrounding of the importance of contextual factors – historical, social, cultural and economic-political? In this regard, accepted knowledge and meaning is assumed to be specific to these factors, and is reliant on the context in order to sustain (or develop) understanding. Thirdly, knowledge is understood to be sustained by social processes. Such processes are made up of meanings and understandings which are constructed and maintained through normalised [and at times naturalised] social interaction and experience. Knowledge is understood by Burr as a form of sense-making that is created and sustained through social relations. Humans, in Burr’s paradigm, construct, negotiate, impose

and change the meanings and understandings with which they make sense of their world, and attempt to co-ordinate and control individual and collective identity and actions. Taken together, through the processes of sense making posited by Burr this form of socially-dependant knowledge and action are thought to be interdependent. Just as social processes and action lead to construction of knowledge, so too do the meanings and understandings embedded in this knowledge lead us to act in specific ways.

In summary, for this research project I have chosen to adapt a constructionist research paradigm as outlined by Guba and Lincoln with its associated qualitative orientation. I place a specific focus on elements of interest generated from my understanding of critical organisation theory. Embedded in this paradigm are ontological and epistemological assumptions consistent with a social constructionist perspective that suggests anything that comes to be understood as knowledge, at any time or place, is socially constructed. Ontological assumptions about what can be assumed to exist at a given time and place, and how we can understand the qualities proposed in the taken-for-granted realities and necessities are closely intertwined in the creation, maintenance and change of a world-view – a way of being (human). This ontological and epistemological positioning has implications for the choice of research methodology, discussed in the following section.

### **6.3 Choosing a Method**

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that qualitative researchers are not required to adhere to a single set of ‘rules’, such as laid out with a ‘grounded theory methodology’ or ‘case study methodology’ for example. Qualitative research methods, as they conceive of them, are methods of

research not so much driven by rules which must be adhered to and applied to any context, but rather as a set of tools of which some may or may not be of use in a particular circumstance to serve a particular and explicit intent. This approach to qualitative research is seen to be more consistent with a reflexive research approach. Among the possibilities open to a researcher committed to this genre of work, is the notion of bricolage, a notion I have found attractive for my project. In adapting the notion to my work, I adopt elements of the work of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) *Critical Management Research methodology*, and of Boje's (2007, 2008; Boje & Jorgensen, 2008) *Living Story methodology*. These methodological approaches are discussed in the following sections.

### 6.3.1 A Bricolage Approach to Research

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) introduce the metaphor of the bricoleur, the "Jack of all trades" and the "quilt maker" (p.4) to describe the qualitative researcher. Denzin and Lincoln describe the complexity of qualitative methodology as a Bricolage, defined as "construction or creation from what is immediately available for us: an assemblage of haphazard or incongruous elements" (Oxford Dictionary, 2014). In a research context, the bricoleur "uses the aesthetic and material tools of his or her craft... if the researcher needs to invent, or piece together new tools or techniques, he or she will do so. Choices regarding which interpretive practices to employ are not necessarily made in advance" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 4). This method of research holds ontological and epistemological implications. Drawing on the bricolage metaphor, Kincheloe and McLaren (2005, p. 319-320) describe these implications in the following passage:

As bricoleurs prepare to explore that which is not readily apparent to

the ethnographic eye, that realm of complexity in knowledge production that insists on initiating a conversation about what it is that qualitative researchers are observing and interpreting in the world, this clarification of a complex ontology is needed. This conversation is especially important because it hasn't generally taken place. Bricoleurs maintain that this object of inquiry is ontologically complex in that it can't be described as an encapsulated entity. In this more open view, the project of inquiry is always a part of many contexts and processes; it is culturally inscribed and historically situated... the design and methods used to analyse this social fabric cannot be separated from the way reality is construed. Thus, ontology and epistemology are lined inextricably in ways that shape the researcher... a deep interdisciplinarity is justified by an understanding of the complexity of the object of inquiry and the demands such complications place on the research act.

I have taken a bricolage approach to my research. I view the research process not as a fixed process but as a fluid set of interactions and therefore I do not commit to adhering strictly to specific set of methodological 'rules' to guide my research. Rather, I have studied a variety of research methods and I have selected the methods of enquiry I believe will bring insightful observations from my project. Broadly, the methods I have chosen to use draw on both Alvesson and Deetz (2000) Critical Management Research methodology, and Boje's (2007, 2008; Boje & Jorgensen, 2008) living story/antenarrative methodology.

### 6.3.2 Critical Management Research

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My research interest, both in my past work, and in this thesis, is broadly located within the Critical Management Studies tradition. According to Alvesson, Bridgman and Willmott (2009, p. 1), Critical Management Studies (CMS)

Has emerged as a movement that questions the authority and relevance of mainstream thinking and practice. Its focus is ‘management’ not as a group or function but as a pervasive institution that is entrenched within capitalist economic functions. Its concern is with the study *of*, and sometimes *against*, management... critical of established social practices and institutional arrangements. CMS challenges prevailing relations of domination – patriarchal, neo-imperialist as well as capitalist – and anticipates the development of alternatives to them.

Critical Management Studies is generally seen as a focus on management, drawing on the broader critical theoretical research traditions developed from the Frankfurt School (Adorno, 2000; Marcuse, 1991), and incorporating broader critical work including that of Habermas (1985, 1988), Gramsci (1971), Foucault (1970, 1982, 1997, 2002), and more recently Deetz (2000, 2003a, 2003b, 2008a), Mumby (1997), Jermier (1985), Zizek (1991, 1998, 2000, 2008), Chomsky (1991, 1993, 2008), Alvesson and Willmott (1992b, 1996, 1992c, 2003). Duberley and Johnson (2009) describe the agenda of critical theorists as one of working to expose the conditions and assumptions that construct individual’s social worlds, in the process exposing the asymmetrical power relationships and structures, and resultant distorted communication. Thomas (1993, p. 2) concurs, describing the aim of the critical theorist as being to “describe, analyse and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centres and assumptions that inhibit, repress or

constrain” with an intent to transform these power relations.

More recently, Critical Management Studies scholars have moved focus from the structural arguments of Marxist critique to a wider range of explorations into the manifestations of power structures at both the macro and micro level. Zizek (2000) advocates for a focus on the particular within the universal, not prejudicing either structural or individual consideration, but finding space for the inclusion of both in a respect for the complexity of social relations. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005, p. 321) describe the interconnectedness of the macro and micro when describing how a focus on whose interests are being served informs “where our own frames of reference come from”. This highlights the centrality of self and identity, and in doing so connects these ideas to the wider macro socio-power structures. This explanation is congruent with my argument that identity can be conceptualised relationally, as an on-going process, rather than a fixed object; and provides justification for situating this study within a Critical Management Studies framework.

Broadly, this research follows a critical interpretive research paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It distinguishes this work by its move away from the non-critical traditional roots of interpretive practice typically focused on non-political, micro- level explanations. Interpretive research has now grown to encompass a variety of perspectives, including a growing focus on exploring the micro *in light of* the macro (Prasad & Prasad, 2002). My work presents a demonstration in research practice of this move. Critical management researchers, drawing on Alvesson and Deetz (2000) framework, are concerned with three primary activities: i) producing insight,

ii) critique and iii) transformative redefinition. One way of incorporating transformative redefinition is by providing a space for participants' voices, although the making of space of even amplifying voices is in and of itself not transformative. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) argue that critical theory calls on individuals to act, and provides direction, while postmodernists posit that any action will be limited by our own subjective domination (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000), as we will be bound by our own conceptualisations and agenda for self-fulfillment. This could be seen as a dialectic of conflict and consensus. Alvesson and Deetz (2000) posit that both are needed in order to achieve emancipation and societal transformation, and that the solution lies in applying each to different moments.

In endeavoring to transfer Alvesson and Deetz proposition of critical postmodernism to a work-able method, Alvesson and Deetz propose various options, including following both postmodern and critical theoretical themes, without attempting a synthesis. A second proposed option is to allow space within the critical analysis for various individual *voices* to be heard, organizing analysis as *conversations* between various theoretical perspectives or interest groups. In this work, I draw on the second option, to acknowledge and analyse the overarching structures whilst providing space for individual experience within this to be heard. In particular, in this research the 'tools' I utilise are interviews, case study, and at the analytic stage, the use of Bauman's 'tourists' and 'vagabonds' as heuristic devices to organize the themes I interpreted from participants storying. These methods are further described in Section 6.3.

### 6.3.2.1 *Critical Management Research in this Thesis*

The lived experiences of Globalisation as experienced by the research

participants is the focus of my research. I am particularly interested in the ways in which individuals resist, comply with, are assimilated into, or attempt to ignore/deny the changes associated with these processes. My orientation to this research is to explore these experiences with a focus on processes of identification. Critical management research orientations provide a useful methodological focus for this research in its focus on issues of power and control, its consistency with my underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions, and its clear 3-step framework of producing insight, critique, and transformative redefinition. Within this framework, I draw on aspects of Alvesson and Deetz's Critical Management Research methodology to consider the broader socio-political, historic and economic context of the research. I also heed their calls to consider multiple forms of information, taking both interview accounts and a range of archival sources and field notes. The use of multiple sources of data is also consistent with the assortment of 'tools' used in a bricolage approach to research. Denzin and Lincoln describe how sources of data are not fixed for the bricoleur, but are adapted as the research matures.

I conceptualise Alvesson and Deetz three-stage approach as forming the framing for my research method. Within this frame, the contextualising of the research is a form of 'producing insight', ensuring a rich analysis of the complex contextual factors, although I conceptualise the approach I have taken as not 'producing' insight, but rather creating interpretations with which insight may be drawn. Producing critique is achieved through the application of a range of theoretical lenses. Consistent with Alvesson and Deetz's call to bridge critical and postmodern approaches, I use identity as a theoretical lens to connect a broad range of theoretical approaches from traditional structural analyses of Gramsci to accounts in the style of Bauman. Transformative

redefinition is explored through a dual process of providing a space for participants to tell their stories and through the retelling of the broader story of Globalisation and changes to work in a way which is at odds with the prevailing explanation of these processes. In working towards a workable research method within this framework, I draw on aspects of living story/antenarrative methodology drawn from Boje (2007), and Jorgensen and Boje (2008, 2009), based on the notion of antenarrative. Boje's living story/antenarrative methodology is both a methodology for the collection, presentation and analysis of research particularly in relation to the interview material, but also in relation to the reading of the other material.

### 6.3.3 Living Story/Antenarrative Methodology

Jorgensen and Boje (2009, p. 32), draw on Derrida to argue that traditional use of narrative theory is "linked with an overall modern emphasis on truth, essence, unity and rationality". Although narrative inquirers would (generally) identify with interpretive paradigms, Jorgensen and Boje argue that the qualitative preoccupation with constructing narratives in this sense is reminiscent of a positivist preoccupation with notions of truth and 'fact'. In agreement, Yolles (2007) believes that the clear (stated or unstated) definitions, with embedded assumptions, and clear sequence of events suggests a sense of causality that may be suspect. According to Jorgensen and Boje (2009, p. 33), "narrative thus contains a moral and 'agreed' interpretation on something that is in reality fragmented, pluralistic, paradoxical and ambiguous". Researchers who adopt a living story methodology focus on the fragmented and collective nature of stories; the complex fragments which are continuously co-constructed by multiple

participants into what becomes known as ‘the narrative’. Rather than a focus on the tidy ‘Beginning, Middle, End (BME)’, living story researchers focus on the complexity of antenarratives which occur before, after, and simultaneously to the ‘narrative’. Mason (2004) also highlights the collective nature of storying, suggesting that “a misreading of personal narrative as an individualistic discursive form has fuelled the hold of the concept of individualism on popular and sociological imagination, in the face of increasingly compelling empirical evidence about the extent and nature of people's connectivity with others”. For Yolles (2007, p. 75), stories become living stories when they “move to enter the culture of a social collective... [and] become dismantled”. Yolles further describes “Here stories are fragmented and its shreds are collected together with those from other stories, perhaps disparately, arbitrarily and spontaneously over time by uncoordinated individuals in the collective” (ibid). Yolles describes how fragments of antenarrative are often pieced together to form narrative, either directly, or indirectly as metaphor, which becomes part of the collective historical account, a form of “local myth” (p. 75).

Although antenarrative is taken to mean ‘before’ narrative, this ‘before’ is not a set chronological construct, but rather a continuous process of emphasizing the historical conditions and circumstances in which stories “develop(ed), evolve(d) and change(d)” (Jorgensen & Boje, 2008, p. 4). These conditions and circumstances are not only chronologically ‘before’, but might also be seen as running under the more composed narrative. For Boje and Tyler (2009, p. 173), the living story “recognises the plurality of selves that constitute our identity, and our reflexivity that is out of time, more upon what lies below and above”. Boje (2008, p. 1) further describes antenarratives as involving “a form of repackaging – where new

characteristics are recognized and old characteristics are minimized”, involving chaos, not in the sense of a “neglect of order” (p. 2), but whereby “order is hidden, subterranean, preconscious”. For Boje, although antenarratives appear ‘disorganised’, they are “self-organizing frontiers, fragments that seem to cling to other fragments, and form interesting complexity patterns of assemblage relationships to context and to one another” (p. 3).

In Boje’s conceptualisation of antenarrative, ‘ante’ is also taken in the sense of the payoff of a bet – ‘upping the ante’. For Boje and Rosile (2008, p. 173), the ante relates to the authors’ belief that “something transformational will occur as a result of the telling” of the antenarrative. Part of this transformational potential comes from “reviving directly disqualified knowledges” (Jorgensen & Boje, 2008, p. 11). This transformational emphasis situates the antenarrative living story comfortably beside a Critical Management Studies methodology.

In contrast to antenarratives, Yolles (2007) describes dominant narratives as holding clear formal definitions, sequence, and a bounded rationality that suggests causality. For him, this creates a “narrative prison” (p. 76), distinguishing between ‘proper’ and ‘improper’ stories. This restricts the researcher, as the ‘proper’ stories are often those entwined with dominant strands of thought, and dominant power relations. Jorgensen and Boje (2009) concur, noting that “narrative thus contains a moral and ‘agreed’ interpretation on something that is in reality fragmented, pluralistic, paradoxical and ambiguous” (p. 33). For them, such narratives “institutionalize and strengthen particular traits” (p. 32). They describe that

these tidy narratives often contain power which governs the ways in which people talk, act, remember and convey their stories. They draw on Foucault to conceive narrative as “mask and disguise... as a retrospective rationalization of talk and actions that, in reality, were not rational and were not logically coherent” (Jorgensen & Boje, 2009, p. 38). Both Jorgensen and Boje, and Yolles assert the importance of considering the ‘pre’ and ‘post’ stories – those fragments or pieces of context which occur before, after, and over and under the dominant narrative. Additionally, the narrative may involve many ‘dead stories’ – those which have been forgotten, or hidden. This approach acknowledges that the process of forming a narrative is not merely a process of storying or of conveying a meaning, but actually a process of meaning-making, of the narrator sorting through complex information and making sense of this information by forming the appearance of a tidy story. Vaara and Tierni (2011) describe how there are always multiple competing narratives and antenarratives, and that storytelling is the process through which parts of these are mobilised and enacted.

For Boje, a living story differs, in that living story “is collective on-going, simultaneous, fragmented, and distributive storying and re-storying by all the storytellers reshaping, re-historicizing and contemporalizing” (Boje, 2008, p. 3). He conceptualises this process as being retrospective and reflexive; a continuous process of restorying through the act of telling, hearing, reading and writing. Linking this insight to Alvesson and Deetz (2000) process of transformative redefinition above, this process results in the restorying of previously subordinated participants, as the act of telling or hearing, reading and writing, impacts on those participants and their own living stories. This approach shares aspects with Bishop’s “collaborative storying” (Bishop in

Denzin & Lincoln, p. 116) which “focuses on collaborative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness, engagement, and involvement with the other research participants within the cultural worldview/discursive practice within which they function...a position where the stories of the other participants merged with my own to create new stories”.

However, for Boje (2008), the emphasis of the living story methodology is larger than the story itself. For him, the power of the methodology lies in the process of sensemaking, which he articulates as a narrative process of sorting your thoughts, getting your ‘thoughts together’. Vaara and Tierni (2011) see the assembling of living stories as the action through which antenarratives are mobilized. Boje asserts that there are four key aspects to what he terms the landscape and temporal dimensions of the ‘story fabric’:

*Simultaneity:* There are many stories being told at once, some related, others not. All simultaneous accounts are interpreted and attributed meaning by the listener.

*Fragmentation:* Rarely is the whole story told. More often, storytellers provide fragmented accounts, sections of stories. Further, for Boje, those listening and reading the stories fill in gaps and silences, so even if the writer/teller attempts to tell a ‘whole’ story, the heard/read story will be significantly different.

*Trajectory:* The trajectory dimension describes the path in which the stories track as the emerging stories picks up fragments and discards others.

*Morphing:* The morphing dimension of living stories describes how the story is told, the performance aspect of the telling -

performance changes, gains legitimacy, with some elements emphasised over others.

#### *6.3.3.1 Living Story Methodology in this Thesis*

Within the framework of critical management research methodology, the living story method provides me with a number of tools which lead to a significantly more robust process. In particular, the living story places focus on the importance of fragments of narrative as pertinent, rather than anticipating a complete or stable narrative. This focus is consistent with the identity lens, particularly within a social constructionist paradigm, which rejects notions of a fixed, stable notion of identity or context. Therefore, it would be inconsistent for me to treat the participants narratives as ‘fact’, or as fixed, stable whole ‘stories’, but rather this approach requires me to take fragments of themes, or narratives across a range of texts. Additionally, this focus on fragments which collectively form a re-telling is consistent with my desire to engage in ‘transformative redefinition’, through the formation of alternative tellings of dominant processes.

The processes of engaging with living story encouraged me to look at the local myths and historical narratives, and to critically analyse these in line with other accounts and historical documents of a range of events associated with participant’s recollections. Research methods recognising living stories are inherently collaborative. The stories are created by researcher, participants and historic texts. This recognition of collaboration with participants is in line with my ontological and epistemological assumptions presented in Section 6.2.

#### 6.3.4 Summary

In Sections 6.3.1 - 6.3.3, I outlined the methodological framework of my thesis. Broadly, I heed Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) call for a bricolage approach to qualitative research methodology. I draw on a critical management research methodology to foreground power and control and to take into account the broader context of the research. I also draw on Alvesson and Deetz approach of producing insight, critique, and transformative redefinition as a way of understanding the overarching purpose of this research. I supplement this approach with Boje's living story/antenarrative methodology, to provide a focus on fragments of narrative; the narratives which occur above and below, before and after the dominant, or told narrative. I also draw on Boje to understand the stories told as a meaning making process, and the storying as a fluid process of identification, both for the participant, researcher, and subsequent readers. This focus is not only consistent with my approach to an identity lens, but also to the aspirations of transformative redefinition in the Alvesson and Deetz framework.

#### **6.4 Method**

In section 6.3, I outlined my chosen methodology, following a bricolage approach, and drawing on both Critical Management Research and Living Story methodologies. In this section, I outline the methods chosen to carry out the research, namely an Instrumental Case method, entailing interviews, archival research and analysis methods based on thematic analysis. The specific research design will be outlined in Section 6.6.

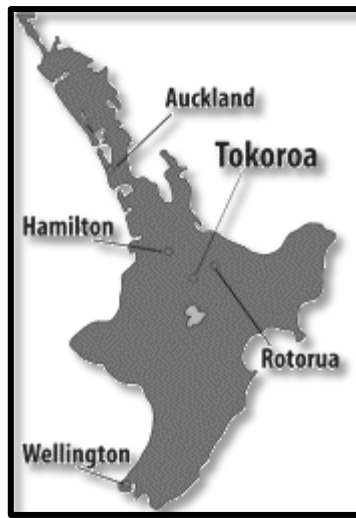
#### 6.4.1 Instrumental Case: Tokoroa

I framed my research around an instrumental case approach (Stake, 2000), drawing an indicative single context, which can be justified as bringing additional insight to support the aims of the research. For Stake, an instrumental case is useful if a “a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue... the case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else” (p. 437). As discussed in Chapter 5, Single Industry Towns provide an ideal context to explore my research themes. In selecting a specific Single Industry Town as an instrumental case, the following criteria were considered:

- Geographic locality: proximity to the University (practical)
- Historical industry/government/community relationship

Tokoroa fulfilled both these criteria. Tokoroa is in the South Waikato region, approximately 1-hours’ drive from Hamilton, and has a population of approximately 12,000 people. This region provides an excellent example of workforce change throughout the past 100 years, from the post WWI employment initiatives which led to the planting of the Central North Island forests, to the post WWII state-planned industrial development which led to the opening of the Kinleith Pulp & Paper Mill. Tokoroa was one of the first sites of employment migration from the Pacific Islands in the 1960s, when the demand for labour at the Mill could not be met by the national labour supply. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Tokoroa had a higher population growth rate than the national average. In 1980, the population of Tokoroa was 19,250, and the number of full-time employees at Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill was 5456. The first employment downsizing

at the Mill came in 1986 and was quickly followed by successive workforce downsizing. By 2003, the Mill employed just 380 employees. The structure of the workforce had moved from a model of full-time employees, to a core/periphery model, with many functions outsourced to independent contractors. A comprehensive case of the town, and the New Zealand context of Globalisation and changes to work, is presented in Chapter 7.



**Figure 1 - Location of Tokoroa**

#### 6.4.2 Interviews

I employed semi-structured interview method in my primary research. According to Creswell (2009) the key advantages of the interview are that it provides in-depth information in situations where participants cannot be directly observed, and it allows the researcher degrees of control over questioning. Further, Perakyla (2005) asserts that interviews may allow the researcher to explore areas that are otherwise inaccessible, for example exploring the subjective perception of events. Further, Perakyla argues that the interview, to some degree, may overcome issues of space and time. Individual memory may be the only way to access accounts of historical

events. As this topic is concerned with the historical changes experienced by individuals, the individual memories of these events, as accessed in interviews, will illuminate this aspect of the research focus. Additionally, according to Alvesson and Deetz (2000), the drilling method of interviewing, incorporated in my interview strategy, allows the researcher to explore issues with a greater degree of depth.

The key limitations of the interview method include that the information provided is filtered through the bias of both researcher and participant and that it is conducted in a ‘manufactured’ research setting, as opposed to a natural setting (Creswell, 2009). According to Jorgensen and Boje, whilst the individual interview may appear problematic when exploring collective stories, but regardless, it still provides a very worthwhile position in the empirical phase of living story research

In practical terms, story implies that we need knowledge about interactions and negotiations among actors. We don’t want to argue for avoiding interviews with actors because individual actors are invaluable sources of memory in most cases, and it would be extremely difficult to interpret interactions without asking the actors who take part in these interactions. But these accounts need to be supplemented with other forms of source material and they need to be organized so that they provide knowledge of interactions in contexts, spaces and time. (Jorgensen & Boje, 2008, p. 14)

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) remind us that in the context of critical management research, where political context is a central theme, to also consider the chosen methods in terms of the political context of the research. They note that interview participants are not just benign subjects,

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but are also “political actors” (p. 132) in a variety of realms, both in their lives, and within the interview context. I see the addition of antenarrative analysis, with its focus on contextualising the participants’ accounts, on exploring the hidden stories, the above and below stories, attends to this concern. Additionally, by contextualising the interview with pertinent information about the participants, these political positions are rendered explicit.

According to Alex & Hammarstrom (2008) the interviewer is a co-actor in any interview situation, and there is always power present. Further, as a key assumption in this thesis, with power, there is always resistance. Thus, “during an interview, power is created and probably shifts” (p. 170). Traditionally, focus has been on the power held by the interviewer over the interviewee, as the interviewee is an ‘object’ for the researcher’s means. Alex and Hammarstrom argue the interview may be experienced as “a form of abuse” (p. 170). These authors suggest that reflexivity and awareness are vital for reducing the risk of such situations. For Alex and Hammarstrom, reflexivity becomes an embedded part of analysis, and as such is, in part, an analytical strategy. For them, the interviewer needs to be aware of reinforcing dominant discourses, including brining symbolic power into the research relationship through, for example, presenting as ‘an academic’. The dominant discourse around such a presentation would infer a power imbalance in favour of the interviewer, and contain assumptions of high intelligence and expertise. Such assumptions are not conducive to a participative interview environment.

#### 6.4.3 Archival/ Secondary research

In addition to the interview research, further material was collected from secondary sources. These sources comprised of publicly available material such as newspaper articles, company publications, local government reports, public statistics, and academic publications. The focus of this secondary research was firstly to provide context for the research, and secondly, to provide an indication of the dominant themes relating to the town, as upheld in national media and corporate publications. The advantages of archival research include that it allows a rich description to be built up over time, with the inclusion of multiple sources of information. The method is also unobtrusive (Creswell, 2009) and is able to be carried out in the initial stages of the inquiry to contextually orientate the researcher. The key limitation of an archival method is that it is time consuming, and requires a methodical approach on the part of the researcher (Creswell, 2009), both in ensuring a complete search, and in compiling and documenting the information gathered.

#### 6.4.4 Analysis/Interpretation

The ways in which I carried out analysis in this research are detailed in Section 6.8.5. However, within a critical constructionist paradigm, there are a number of theoretical issues to consider when analysing results. I heed Czarniawska's (2000, p. 19) advice regarding the importance of acknowledging that research outcomes always involve interpretation. She stresses that even when paying close attention to the 'voice' of participants, "polyphony is a textual strategy – the 'voices of the field' do not speak for themselves; it is the author who makes them communicate on his or her conditions". Czarniawska describes the interpretation and analysis of material as a dual process involving "pasting together fragments of authentic

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narratives, taken straight from an interview protocol, decontextualising them but, in return, also recontextualising them” (p. 19). According to Jorgensen and Boje (2008, p. 5), such interpretation involves “not the search for the single coherent plot in texts, talk and actions because interpretation already lies underneath them: when there is no single coherent plot to interpret”.

Drawing on elements of living story methodology, the interpretation/analysis phase of this research carries a focus on emergence; how different phenomena emerge through dominant stories (or silences). This emergence is on-going, never fixed or complete, interpreted differently by each reader, participant, and thus made ‘real’ through the stories and actions. For Vaara and Tiernari (2011, p. 372) this phase involved a focus on identifying ‘storytelling episodes’, consisting of “fragments of communication, conversation or text, that constructed identities and interests in time and space” (ibid). This quote highlights the contextual nature of the text, and the importance of paying attention to context during the analysis phase. This focus on context is consistent with Foucault’s notion of genealogy of texts. A focus on genealogy involves “writing the history of the present which means taking an interest in the past in order to write the history of the present” (Jorgensen & Boje, 2008, p. 10). My multiple stage analytical strategy, as outlined in Section 6.6.5, aims to both attend to the fluid, fragmented nature of themes, as well as contextualising these themes. Additional contextualising occurs through the presentation of my story of the case study, drawn from the secondary research, and is told in Chapters 7 and 8, to acknowledge that this information is not merely ‘background’ to the research, but an inherent part of the ‘story’ of Tokoroa and the people who live there.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006) a theme is a section of material that “captures something important about the data... and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (p. 82). Braun and Clarke caution that the relative ‘importance’ of a theme is not related to the frequency of the theme, but rather to whether it is judged to capture something important in relation to the aims of the research. Braun and Clarke feel suggest the researcher has a number of decisions regarding how to deal with themes appearing from the material. Firstly, the researcher needs to decide whether to provide a broad description of the data set, or a more detailed analysis of one particular aspect (p. 83). In this study, I have chosen to focus on a deep analysis of a limited number of themes, rather than attempting to describe and discuss every theme which was apparent. In part, this decision was to avoid losing complexity and depth of the analysis, which often happens with a full thematic description (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Secondly, Braun and Clarke discuss the choice between inductive and theoretically driven analysis. According to them, the choice is between a data-driven coding process in which the themes bear little resemblance to the researcher’s original questions, and a pre-conceived theoretically- driven coding structure. However, even Braun and Clarke assert that no research happens “in a vacuum” (p. 84), and as such there is always an element of preconceived ideas which influence the analysis process. A further decision is regarding whether to focus on a surface semantic analysis, or an interpretive, latent analysis. In Braun and Clarke’s words: “Thus, for latent thematic analysis, the development of the themes themselves involves interpretative work, and the analysis produced is not just description, but is already theorised” (p. 84).

## **6.5 Research Ethics**

The specific ethical procedure followed in this research is detailed in Section 6.8.6. However, the theoretical concept of research ethics contains a number of important points of discussion to be considered. In traditional narrative methodologies, the narrative ethic is privileged, in that the ethical question centres on question of the ‘integrity’ of the narrative content. In contrast, some assert that the important social function of telling a story, for the teller, listener and actors, should be the ethical focus, regardless of relative ‘truth’. This point particularly holds as all narrative is, to some degree, ‘un-true’. Therefore, in determining the integrity of my research, I am less concerned with assessing the relative truth of the participant’s accounts, but rather in my role as interpreting these in a sensitive manner, remaining aware through the process that this story telling is a relational act of co-construction and meaning making for both participants and for me, the researcher.

Boje & Tyler (2009) highlight the importance of the role of the researcher in maintaining an ethic of sensitivity. They draw on Bakhtin’s notion of moral answerability, arguing for a ‘faithfulness’ in the foregrounding of particular parts of the story. In this sense, it is important for me to make explicit that the insights presented in Chapters 7-10 are my telling of these stories, rather than presenting them as an objective account of a truth delivered by participants. Yardley (2008) asserts that this presentation of a researcher’s interpretation requires trust between both the researcher and the participants, and that this “requires generosity of spirit, a willingness to imagine another’s life and walk in another’s shoes” (p. 3). Throughout this research I have heeded Yardley’s caution that researchers must act knowing that they are

undertaking the “shaping and ownership of meaning” (p. 8). Therefore, in addition to the formal required procedures, as required by the University of Waikato Ethics Committee, I also approached all aspects of this research with a sensitivity of taking the upmost care to respect the stories shared by participants, and the relationships built as part of the research process. Oftentimes this led me to going ‘above and beyond’ the scope of researcher or of my research project, so as to preserve the trust built between researcher and participant.

## **6.6 The Research Process**

Consistent with the methodology and methods above, the research was carried out in a systematic and rigorous manner. The specific activities carried out are described in the following sections.

### **6.6.1 Participant Selection**

In this research I began with a focus on two distinct groups of participants: i) current residents and ii) previous residents. Across both groups, I aimed to recruit 15 participants.

It was envisaged that participants in the current resident group would reflect the dynamics of the town, and its interaction with the single-industry (Forestry). I identified a number of groups of possible interest, and I aimed to interview individuals from each of the following:

- Current, or previous workers at the pulp and paper Mill
- Those who have never worked at the pulp and paper Mill, but

may have worked in the associated industry

- Small business owners – the service sector for the industry
- Governance bodies – council, trade union
- Wider community – families, teachers

Across these groups, I also aimed to gain access to a range of characteristics including:

- Men and women
- Varied age ranges
- Varied lengths of tenure in the town
- Varied culture/ethnicity identity

An important part of the Tokoroa ‘story’ is the views of those who have left the town. This is in line with Alvesson and Deetz (2000) call to not only focus on those currently embedded in the research context. Additionally, in order to address the issues of population decline, and the complexity of the unemployment and demographic characteristics of the town’s population, it is also important to hear from those who are no longer living in the town. As such, I also aimed to recruit a number of former residents. It was initially envisaged that most participants would be recruited through key informants and purposive sampling, as explained below.

#### *6.6.1.1 Key Informants*

During the initial preparatory phase, a number of individuals informally

signaled an interest to act as key informants for this research. Once these individuals had been fully informed about the project, and provided consent, they passed on information about the research to groups and individuals they felt might be interested, who could contact me directly if they intended to participate.

#### *6.6.1.2 Purposive Sampling*

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) purposive sampling is used when researchers “seek out groups, settings, and individuals where, and for whom the processes being studied are most likely to occur” (p. 370). Participants may be chosen based on theoretically important characteristics, or life history and experiences (Mertens, 2009). For this research, the purposive sample was initiated using key informants, and from there was attempted to be built using a snowball sampling technique, whereby previous participants are asked to recommend participation to individuals they may know who may be of value to the project.

#### *6.6.1.3 Self-Selection and Snowball Sampling*

My original approach to finding participants yielded only two participants. I proceeded to place a call in the local paper, the *South Waikato News* for participants (in the form of a newspaper article), and from this, received an overwhelming response, requiring me to reject potential participants due to large numbers. Participants also subsequently suggested other possible participants, some of whom elected to join the study. The resultant selection strategy therefore was one of self-selection and snowball sampling.

### 6.6.2 Participant Characteristics

The participant criteria of having permanently resided in Tokoroa for at least one year was applied to generating a mixed sample of 17 women and 15 men, aged between 30-85 years. Participant details can be found in Table 1 below. The participants were recruited initially using a self-selected sampling based on public notices and then through snowballing. Of the participants, three were currently living outside of Tokoroa, with the remaining 29 currently residing in the town. All had resided in the town for at least six years, with the longest period of residence being 66 years. The participants were from a broad range of ethnicities, with 10 identifying as New Zealand European. Of the remaining, six identified as New Zealand Maori, eight as Cook Island Maori, one as Fijian, one as Samoan, and seven as continental European. 16 participants had extended family living in Tokoroa.

The participants were from a wide variety of skill and employment backgrounds. Seven were retired, 12 employed full time, six employed part time, one was a full-time student, and two are currently unemployed. All had experience working within the local workforce, in a variety of occupations, including skilled trades people, forestry workers, administration, management, education. Four were university degree-qualified, one held a PhD, and 10 had formal trade qualifications.

Participants had a variety of experiences with work and their interaction with Kinleith Mill and parent companies. 28 of the participants had worked during their time in Tokoroa, with 15 being past or current employees of

either New Zealand Forest Products or Carter Holt Harvey. Seven participants had experienced redundancy from either New Zealand Forest Products or Carter Holt Harvey. Moreover, 13 participants had at some stage been provided with company housing by New Zealand Forest Products.

### 6.6.3 Interview Strategy

Each interview lasted from 40 minutes to 3hours in duration. The interviews were digitally recorded, with the participants consent. I drew on Rubin and Rubin (2005), who describe a form of thematic interviewing termed “Responsive Interviews” (p. 15) which is based around an inductive interviewing technique. In this technique, the specific focus of the interview becomes apparent as the interview progresses, in response to both participant and researcher interest. Rather than a set list of questions, the researcher enters the interview with a “conversational guide” (p. 147), which contains points of reference to guide the early stages of the interview. Interviews were conducted in a conversational format, with the following question used as starting questions:

- What does Tokoroa mean to you?

Chapter 6 Methodology

Participant Number	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Place of Birth	Years lived in Tokoroa (If a break, indicated by '+')	Current Resident?	Year Moved to Tokoroa	Work	Past/Present NZFP Employee	Provided Company House by NZFP	Past/Current CHH Employee	Experienced Redundancy from NZFP/CHH	Extended Family in Tokoroa
1	M	52	NZ European	NZ	13	N	1997	Y	N	N	N	N	N
2	F	75	European	United Kingdom	18+8	Y	1961	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
3	M	78	European	United Kingdom	18+8	Y	1961	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
4	M	72	European	Netherlands	52	Y	1959	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
5	F	67	European	Netherlands	57	Y	1954	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N
6	M	62	NZ Samoan	Auckland	36	Y	1975	Y	Y	N	N	N	N
7	F	37	Cook Island	NZ	20+4	Y	1974	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
8	M	30	Maori	NZ	14	N	1992	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y
9	F	35	Cook Island	NZ	30+	Y	1976	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
10	M	85	Cook Island	Aitutaki	51	Y	1960	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
11	M	52	Cook Island	Aitutaki	48	Y	1963	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
12	F	42	European	Tokoroa	17	N		Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
13	M	64	NZ European	England	40	Y	1971	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
14	F	65	NZ	NZ	31	Y	1980	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
15	M	68	Maori	NZ		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
16	F	52	NZ European	NZ	8+9	Y		Y	N	N	N	N	N
17	F	75	Fijian	Levuka Fiji	44	Y	1967	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
18	F	52	NZ European	NZ	4	N	1960	N	N	N	N	N	N
19	F	77	European	United Kingdom	4	N	1960	N	N	N	N	N	N
20	M	71	NZ European	NZ		Y	1951	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
21	M	66	European	United Kingdom	61	Y	1950	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
22	F	66	NZ European	NZ	55	Y	1956	Y	N	Y	N	N	N
23	F	76	European	United Kingdom	46	Y	1965	N	N	Y	N	N	Y
24	M	78	European	United Kingdom	46	Y	1965	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
25	M	53	Maori	NZ		Y		Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
26	M	71	NZ European	NZ	64	Y	1947	Y	N	N	N	N	N
27	F	69	NZ European	NZ	57	Y	1954	Y	N	N	N	N	N
28	M	45	Maori	NZ	5	Y	2006	Y	N	N	Y	N	N
29	F	42	Maori	NZ	5	Y	2006	N	N	N	N	N	Y
30	M	39	Cook Island	Tokoroa	31	Y	1972	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
31	F	53	Cook Island	Aitutaki	31	Y	1980	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
32	F	39	NZ European	NZ	39	N	1972	Y	N	N	N	N	N

This question is intentionally broad, with my aim being to minimise any guiding of the responses or topics covered. However, in saying this, I do acknowledge that my participant information sheet, contained in Appendix 2 is explicit about my interest in issues of Globalisation and restructuring in Single Industry Towns, which may have led my participants towards certain topics and/or away from others. However, my intention to remain open to the complexity of the conversational interviewed remained, and participants did cover a complex range of topics, many unrelated to the themes covered in the participant information sheet.

Once the conversation had started, I was guided by the participants' responses. I asked probing questions to clarify or to prompt a response if there were gaps in the conversation. I also used a drilling technique (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000), whereby I drew on insights from previous secondary and primary material to inform subsequent interview themes. The interviews were digitally recorded. These recordings were not just digital copies of the transcripts, but also consist of a discrete data set in themselves, being the recording of human interactions. Such recordings may contain aspects which are not present in the transcripts, such as inflection in voice, tone, semi-verbal cues such as sighing. The interview transcripts, and field notes were supplemented with material provided by participants as artefacts to supplement their accounts. Such material included letters and photographs.

#### 6.6.4 Transcribing

The interviews were transcribed verbatim using Microsoft Word, rendering

630 pages of transcripts. A copy of each transcript was forwarded to the corresponding participant, who was given a 2-week period to respond with any changes or feedback on the content. Only one participant opted to make any additions or alternations to the transcripts.

### 6.6.5 Analytical Strategy

I conducted a 3-stage analysis process:

1. Initial analysis
2. Traditional thematic analysis utilising NVIVO
3. Antenarrative thematic analysis

#### 6.6.5.1 *Initial Analysis*

Immediately following each interview I wrote reflections and extensive field-notes. I noted any themes which I felt had either emerged from that particular interview or that I remembered relating to previous interviews. Although this process is a taken-for-granted part of interview research, it is seldom noted as part of the analytical strategy, however, it is clear that this is a form of anecdotal analysis and interpretation. As noted by Braun and Clarke (2006), transcription is an “*interpretative act*, where meanings are created, rather than simply a mechanical act of putting spoken sounds on paper” (p. 88). During the transcription process, I was re-familiarising myself with the interview conversations, and beginning to make linkages between comments participants made.

#### 6.6.5.2 *Traditional Thematic Analysis*

My initial process of analysis drew on Braun and Clarke's (2006) 5-step inductive thematic analysis process. Their steps include familiarizing yourself with the material, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes. In this inductive process, the researcher is not coding based on a pre-determined set of research questions. Additionally, I followed a latent analytical process, looking beyond the explicit meanings of the words and phrases, but, consistent with a constructionist perspective, explore the underlying assumptions, interpretations, gaps and meanings. In practice, the phase of familiarisation involved me reading each transcript twice, the second time reading alongside listening to the audio of the interview, and making notes about tone.

#### *6.6.5.3 NVIVO Analysis*

As a supplement to my thematic analysis, and as a tool for organising and collating my transcripts, I used NVIVO 8. Initially, I intended to conduct a significant amount of the analysis via the programme, however quickly realised that due to the interpretative nature of my research interests, the depth of material collected, and my own preference for a tactile research process, NVIVO was much more a supplement to my traditional paper-based analytical strategy. Regardless, the NVIVO analysis proved fruitful. All transcripts were uploaded into NVIVO, along with a spreadsheet of participants and key demographic characteristics, which formed the NVIVO casebook, a collation of both transcripts and characteristics of my participants.

I undertook a process of coding, using purely free nodes in the first instance,

and coding every statement made by each participant. In doing so, I aimed to be as inductive as possible, not reinforcing the results of the paper thematic analysis, but performing a totally separate process, in order to discover any new insights that I might have missed during the thematic process. I found it interesting that this coding required a much *closer* reading of the text, particularly as I am less comfortable reading on computer, and as such, seemed less likely to (subconsciously) read forward, making assumptions about what was said in the middle of passages. I was aware that this reading became a very detailed reading of the text, and a number of new insights were illuminated through this process

#### 6.6.5.4 Narrative/Antenarrative Thematic Analysis

During the process of narrative/antenarrative analysis I re-read the transcripts for themes/stories emerging across the dominant themes, taking extracts and fragments of text from each theme, and also from the secondary material. I embedded these in the wider contextual case I had developed from secondary material to re-theme. As part of this process, I looked at whether each theme was *dominant narrative* or *antenarrative* (Boje, 2008). I differentiated through a process of exploring the level of agreement on a particular narrative amongst participants, and referring to the narratives contained in secondary material such as newspaper articles. I also looked at whether narratives were presented as though ‘secrets’ or with a sense that the participant was somehow ‘breaking the rules’ by telling the story. I also explored the dialogic relationships between these emic and etic themes; where were these differences, similarities, where does the emic reflect the etic, where are there points of resistance to the etic. This process enabled me to examine the underlying power relations, and issues of whether some themes had been silenced on a collective level.

#### 6.6.5.5 *Grouping the Themes for Presentation*

In the final stage of my analysis, undertaken by most thematic researchers, but rarely explicitly considered an analytical activity, is the grouping of themes for presentation in the fieldwork chapters.

#### 6.6.6 Ethical Process

Prior to any participant contact, I gained formal ethical approval from the University of Waikato Ethics Committee (Appendix 2). Once participants made initial contact, I forwarded an information sheet (Appendix 2) to each participant, along with a note to contact me if they required further information, or if they wished to proceed. Participants were not offered any incentive to participate. All participants who made initial contact proceeded to interview. In arranging a mutually suitable interview time, I also gave each participant the option of meeting at a ‘neutral’ location (in a pre-arranged interview room) or at a location of their choosing. All except one participant opted to meet me in their own home.

The preference for meeting in the home of research participants required me to face the ethical issue of researcher safety, as I had originally been planning on interviewing in pre-arranged public places. However, earlier contact with the community had suggested that perceived participant risk, in the form of public exposure, might prove important to the participants. As such, I decided to give each participant the option of meeting in a venue most suitable to *them*, and instead put in place means to ensure researcher safety. For example, I organised a contact with whom I would text message on entering the interview with interview location and phone number. The

contact had instructions to follow up had I not sent another text message within an hour. In the first instance this would be a phone call to myself, then to the participants contact number, and finally, if required, to the police. This was not enacted, as all interviews were of a legitimate and safe nature.

Participants completed a consent form (Appendix 2), and were advised, both in the information sheet, the consent form, and I reiterated in person, that participants could withdraw from the research any time up to two weeks after they had approved the transcript. Participants were also made aware that they could edit the draft transcript, and remove any material they were not comfortable with.

### **6.7 Questioning 'Validity'**

According to Creswell (2009) validity in qualitative research is concerned with “determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the research, the participant, or the readers of an account” (p. 191). From a social constructivist perspective, it is recognized that notions of ‘accuracy’ are socially and contextually embedded. Therefore, it is inconsistent to strive for *absolute accuracy*. , Many qualitative researchers are now refuting the term ‘validity’, and instead seeking for authenticity in research. According to Czarniawska (2000), this process involves “creating an impression of authenticity, of recontextualisation that is interesting (‘novel’), credible and respectful” (p.19). This is also achieved through making explicit that the ‘findings’ are the researchers interpretations of the participant’s words, rather than ‘fact’.

Creswell (2009) suggests the use of multiple “validity strategies” (p. 191),

which are also useful in considering authenticity and credibility of research.

In this research, I employed a number of approaches, including:

- Seeking feedback from participants on raw transcripts, and compiled stories
- Triangulating multiple interview accounts with archival material
- Using rich, thick description in presentation of findings
- Presenting all information (as practical), even if running counter to themes
- Clarifying bias through researcher reflexivity
- Peer debriefing

## 6.8 Conclusion

At the close of Chapter 5, I presented 10 research questions, falling within two broad research themes, which frame my research into the lived experience of Globalisation and workplace change. I outlined my chosen research context, the Single Industry Town, and justified this decision. In this chapter, I have moved this research purpose to methodology, method, and research design. I began by locating my research within the qualitative tradition, following a social constructionist ontological and epistemological positioning. Within this paradigm, there were a number of methodological choices. I have adopted a bricolage approach, combining aspects of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) *Critical Management Research* and Boje's (2008) living story/antenarrative methodologies. I employ an instrumental case method, using interviews and secondary research methods.

In Section 6.6 I outline my research design and describe the research process, outlining the activities undertaken in participant and case selection, interview strategies, Transcribing, Analytical Strategy and Ethical procedures. Within this section I also describe my resultant participant characteristics, and the selection of Tokoroa as my case study. I close with comments on validity. I now turn to Chapter where I present the case study of the NZ context of Globalisation and changes to work.

## **Chapter 7: Narratives of New Zealand in the Context of Globalisation and Changes to Work**

### **7.1 Introduction**

Globalisation has been depicted in Chapter 2 as unifying, and in Chapter 3 as differentiating in the mobilisation of goods, services, capital and people. This intensification is argued by Stiglitz (2003) to have been enabled by processes of change in the political economy, in particular the implementation of a neo-liberal political agenda. The narrative in Chapter 2 depicted that changes in the workplace, particularly the adoption of flexible practices, both flexible forms of work and flexible organisational structures, have supported and have been supported by the adoption of a neo-liberal agenda. The arguments underpinning both the neo-liberal political agenda and the support for flexible work practices are centred on notions of increased freedom and choice for all, leading to increased well-being for people and planet. As introduced in Chapter 3, not all researchers and analysts are convinced that the outcomes associated with Globalisation are consistent with emancipatory assumptions of the neo-liberals. Critics such as Picketty (2014) draw attention to growing income inequality, and increased under, over and unemployment as a counter-point the neo-liberal point of view. Further, multiple forms of unequal power and control are evidenced, at the societal, workplace and individual level, to facilitate consent to Globalisation and changes to work. Multiple forms of resistance are also noted. Collective protests such as the mass demonstrations at Seattle (Goodman, 2000) to personal acts of resistance at the level of the individual that are described in the work of Gabriel (2008) and Fleming & Sewell (2002). In Chapter 4, I illustrated how

focusing my research lens on identity formation may provide a frame to examine more closely these multiple forms of control and resistance, and provide a powerful analytical tool for exploring the diverse lived experiences of Globalisation.

In Chapter 5, I outlined my research focus and questions, arguing that the context of the Single Industry Town provided an ideal case for exploring the lived experiences of Globalisation and changes to work. I further identified specific research questions, which have been explored through both primary and secondary research.

In this chapter, I address the first and second of the secondary research questions – ‘How do these changes in the political economy and the structure of work manifest in the New Zealand context?’ and ‘How is the NZ identity documented in light of these social, historical, socio-political and economic contexts?’.

As described by Kelsey (1997), New Zealand was a first-mover in interpreting social- democratic macro-level policy, associated with Keynesianism. Additionally, Kelsey (1997) describes that New Zealand was also a first mover in the structuring of Keynesian macro-management to neo-liberalism, through a programme of structural adjustment referred to as ‘*The New Zealand Experiment*’. Kelsey’s 1997 analysis is accepted as the foremost analysis of this process. In the following sections, I will provide a brief overview of the history of changes in the New Zealand political economy. I follow with a description of concurrent changes in the nature of international trade and commercial activity in New Zealand. The transference of these

macro-level changes to changes in the nature and structure of work have been accompanied by demographic changes, including an ageing population and increased female workforce participation, which are briefly described. Following the above discussion of changes occurring, I move my focus to workplace outcomes, including the increase in knowledge work, changes in work-based training, and the application of flexible work practices. As described in Chapter 4, a frame of identity can help to bridge between these structural changes, and the experiences of the individual. Therefore, in the close of this chapter, I describe and discuss the ways in which New Zealand identities have been documented, and entwined with these changes. This discussion provides not only an example of the complex relationship between the structural and the individual, but also provides essential background context for the reading of the case of the Single Industry Town, in Chapter 8, and the experiences of participants, as outlined in Chapters 9 and 10.

## **7.2 A Brief History of the New Zealand Political Economy**

Arguably, Globalisation, the geographic mobility of people, capital, goods and services across national boundaries, has been a significant feature of the New Zealand context since the arrival of Colonial European Settlers in the mid-1800s (Kelsey, 1999). From this time, the regular transference of goods back to Britain, the transference of private capital from wealthy British benefactors, and the migration of peoples to New Zealand has, in many ways, shaped the social, political and economic context of the nation. Even prior to European settlement during the 1800s, the indigenous Maori were engaged in trade between Iwi groups (Kelsey, 1997) and themselves settled in New Zealand from Polynesia. However, since the mid-1970s, the nature of global relations, and New Zealand's place in the global environment has shifted, and

global business and trade has intensified. Additionally, the case of New Zealand is both reflective of, and was instrumental in, developing the larger macro- changes in the political economy as discussed in Chapter 2. It is the processes and outcomes of what? In the context of New Zealand which are the subject of this chapter.

The manifestation of Globalisation in the New Zealand context has been enabled by changes in the political economy, in particular the explicit move from Keynesian macro-management, through neo-liberal structural adjustment, to one of the most ‘pure’ applications of the neo-liberal model of political economy in the world (Kelsey, 1997). This process is described in Sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2. As part of this process, the nature of New Zealand’s international trade has significantly changed, from primarily supplying the British Empire, now relying on a number of bilateral trade agreements, and participation in the World Trade Organisation negotiations. In turn, these trade agreements, and the deregulation of many aspects of New Zealand’s social, economic and corporate context has enabled an increased presence of Multinational Corporations (MNCs). These changes and the resulting outcomes are discussed in the following sections.

### 7.2.1 Keynesianism in New Zealand

In the New Zealand context, the Keynesian macro-management agenda transferred to policies in most areas of government, and particularly social policy, based around state provisions of welfare, education, healthcare and housing (Bedggood, 1974; Carpinter, 2012). This social agenda was accompanied by policy in the areas of taxation and industrial relations that emphasised full employment, social prosperity, and sustained economic

growth.

The beginning of New Zealand's welfare system has its roots in the introduction of the means-tested Widows benefit in 1911. In 1930, in response to the Great Depression, the Unemployment Act was passed, and introduced provision for unemployment benefit for those who were involved in work initiatives, effectively a 'work-for-the-dole' scheme. Although these welfare provisions had been introduced, the institutionalisation of the 'welfare state' began with the election of the first Labour Government in 1935. Among key welfare changes were the passing of the Social Security Act 1938, which introduced an unemployment benefit, universal superannuation, and an invalids benefit. This legislation set the foundations of the New Zealand welfare system from this time forward. This Act was followed in 1946 with the introduction of family benefits, and in 1973 with the introduction of the Domestic Purposes Benefit, providing welfare support for solo-parents.

The aim of a welfare state was to ensure continued participation in society, and ultimately increased collective economic growth, even for those who were not in paid work. Other policies which supported these goals included the introduction of mandatory secondary education for all children up to the age of 15, and free maternity care.

The political agenda of social democracy remained consistent in New Zealand until the early 1970s, although at times was contested, particularly through the Industrial Relations system. For New Zealand, a country reliant on high transport costs for exporting, the impact of the 1973 oil

shocks was significant,. Partially as a result of these shocks, and as an attempt to stimulate economic growth, the Muldoon Government of 1975-1984 embarked on a series of large construction projects, dubbed ‘think big’ (Kelsey, 1997), primarily centred around developing energy resources through Hydro Dams and Natural Gas extraction plants. However, these projects only served to increase the countries budget deficit, and deepen recessionary conditions.

Since the period of stagflation in the 1970s, New Zealand economists and politicians began to debate various models of economic reform (Scollay & St John, 1996). At the same time, a number of key international agencies, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, produced reports criticising New Zealand’s economic policy. While a number of policy initiatives were debated at this time in New Zealand parliament, the neo-liberal critique of Keynesian macro- management was the preferred ‘solution’ offered by these international bodies. The New Zealand Government at the time came under significant pressure from these international institutions to implement a neo-liberal agenda (Kelsey, 1997).

### 7.2.2 Neo-liberal Structural Adjustment in New Zealand: 1984-1991

The first stage of government restructuring of the New Zealand economy began soon after the 1984 election, when the newly elected Labour government began a public relations campaign termed ‘opening the books’ (Dalziel & Lattimore, 1996). During this time, the government released briefing papers from Treasury and the Reserve Bank of New Zealand that were highly critical of the financial management of the country by previous governments. These reports clearly outlined that the future prosperity of New Zealand was under threat, should the path remain unchanged. The degree of

urgency was maintained by the scheduling of the 1984 ‘Economic Summit’ soon after the reports were released, which aimed to bring together business and societal leaders, with politicians, to discuss the worsening ‘crisis’ (Kelsey, 1997; Easton, 1989).

What followed was a radical and rapid implementation of policy changes, involving most areas within the public sector, including monetary, welfare and industry policies. In addition to policy changes, the structure of public sector organisations changed significantly. An increasing emphasis on ‘efficiency’ and operating government departments under corporate models, was paired with the sale of many state assets and ‘non-essential’ services. The first set of changes, which significantly altered the nature of industry competition, occurred in relation to changes in New Zealand’s monetary policy. Immediately following the 1984 election, on advice from the Reserve Bank, the Labour Government devalued the NZ\$ by 20%.

These measures were followed in 1985 with the floating of the NZ\$, and the decision by the government to indirectly control the currency through the setting of official cash rates. Moreover, the Reserve Bank Act (1989) established the Reserve Bank as an independent body in charge of the currency. This Act was important in that it signified the separation of political and economic policy.

These changes to monetary policy impacted on the competitive environment, enabling overseas ownership of New Zealand companies. In addition, the floating of the New Zealand dollar meant that exporters – who made up the majority of New Zealand’s international trade – were

open to large variation in prices received for products, and on prices paid for inputs.

One of the main assumptions that drove the reforms in the 1980s and 1990s was that of individual responsibility. The move towards individualism was also reflected in public sector changes. The Labour Governments of 1984 and 1987, and the National government of 1990 set about imposing changes which reflected the new ‘user pays’ ideology, implemented in the provision of state services (Scollay & St John, 1996). The ‘user pays’ system was based around the idea that essential services should only be fully funded for the poorest groups within society, and the remainder would pay for part or all of these services. The assumption was that individuals could ‘choose’ which services they utilised, and would have the option of ‘purchasing’ the service from the state, or later, from public and private providers. In real terms, the ‘user pays’ ideology meant charging fees for education and doctors’ visits, services that had previously been publicly funded (Scollay & St John, 1996). For the first time in fifty years, a differential existed between the services provided for different income groupings, breaking the traditional egalitarian principles of the ‘welfare state’. From this point, discontent soon grew between those who had to ‘pay’ for essential services, and those who were ‘paid for’ by the taxpayer (Evans, Grimes, Wilkinson, & Teece, 1996).

In line with policies emphasising individual responsibility, came large-scale social welfare cuts, and the implementation of the Employment Contracts Act (1991). The government also reassessed welfare payment eligibility criteria, by introducing ‘work testing’; that ability to work was to determine welfare eligibility. These criteria fundamentally changed the ideology underpinning welfare provisions – from a Keynesian position of

economic growth through full participation in society, to a payment to those who were 'unable' to work.

### 7.2.3 A Third Way for New Zealand?

In New Zealand, the Labour Government elected in 1999 launched its own form of 'Third Way' politics. New Zealand Third Way politics was purported to bring a 'softening' of market-based policies (Chatterjee, 1999), including the Employment Relations Act (2001), and Occupational Health and Safety legislation. As described by Chatterjee (1999), the premise of Third Way politics is to introduce policy in the areas of income distribution, and 'productivity enhancing' labour regulations, while enabling the monetary markets to remain free of government intervention. Some third way policies introduced by the Labour Government of 1999-2008 included the removal of market rents for State Housing tenants, and the Working for Families tax credit scheme to help redistribute income and address income inequality. These policies, while softening the hard neo-liberalism of the 1990s, still retained the underlying assumptions of individual responsibility and achievement.

## **7.3 Changes in International Trade**

Trade Policy forms the basis for how organisations operate within the international context. For example, trade policy based on trade tariffs and subsidies for exporters encourages export corporate-level strategies, whereas a deregulated environment encourages internationalisation and multi-national corporate strategies, in turn impacting on the global location of work. In the N.Z. context, international trade rates, and in particular, the mode of international trade has changed significantly, from under a

Keynesian ideology, whereby trade was largely regulated and facilitated by the government, to the present day deregulated trading environment. These changes can be broadly separated into changes in Foreign Direct Investment, Export Trade and the formation of International Trading agreements. The development of international trade policy can be seen to reflect the political and ideological changes which are discussed above in Section 7.2.

### 7.3.1 New Zealand Export Trade

Export trade has been a key economic activity for New Zealand since colonial times. A key colonial role of New Zealand had been to provide resources for the combined British Empire – particularly agricultural exports (Denoon, Mein-Smith & Wyndham 2000). Up until the Second World War, Britain accounted for 75-80 % of New Zealand's total exports (Rudd & Roper, 1997). However, by the late 1950s, Britain began to forge stronger links with the rest of Europe, and by the late 1960s, had broken a number of ties with New Zealand (Kelsey, 1995). Faced with a decreased relationship with its previously largest trading partner, and declining economic indicators, the New Zealand Government set about encouraging increased internationalisation – through export trade (Britton et al, 1992). The expansion of international trade was also aided by new military-focused relationships and alliances New Zealand had formed during the close of the Second World War, and during the Cold War, such as the ANZUS agreement, formed in 1951 (Britton et al, 1992) between Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

During this time the State often consulted with the private sector on

regulatory matters, and formed enduring supply and production agreements with private companies. In turn, the government largely filled the role of providing the raw materials, while the private companies produced the final products – under license, and tight regulations (Allsop, 1973). Examples of the final products produced included building products and packaging for export products. As such, the government largely led the internationalisation of the 1950s and 1960s, with private companies following as exporters. For example, a free-trade agreement was formed with Australia in 1966, which signalled the start of large-scale export to Australia for many New Zealand companies.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, businesses were politically weak, as private enterprise was largely contained within government policy and intervention (Rudd & Roper, 1997). However, by the late 1960s, New Zealand businesses were beginning to increase their operations, and increasingly using the newly forged international ties to create expansion opportunities, over and above government plans (Britton et al, 1992). With expanded domestic and international operations, so too came the first signs of a new commercial ideology. The New Zealand Business Roundtable began informally in the mid-1970s, as a forum for New Zealand business leaders to discuss subjects of mutual interest (Deeks & Boxall, 1989). By 1982, this group was making formal submissions on a wide range of political, social and economic issues (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996). Other business interest groups also gained increasing political power, such as the Employers Federation and local Chambers of Commerce (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996). The increasingly powerful business sector, which had expanded to international markets, began to question the complex social goals embedded in industry regulations, and pushed for more open markets and increased ease of internationalisation. Facilitating this change was the international

ownership of New Zealand's retail banking sector. Although New Zealand banks had limited international ownership since the late 1800s, the increase in bank mergers, combined with financial deregulations, meant that by 1996, the New Zealand retail banking sector had approx. 98% international ownership (Hull, 2002)

Proponents argue that as a small nation, New Zealand could not afford to be left 'behind' during a perceived global increase in international trade (Kelsey, 1997). As a result of the mid-1980s programme of structural adjustment, New Zealand became among the most open and unregulated markets for goods and services, and in many ways, led the world with the implementation of an almost pure neo-classical model of free market trading (Kelsey, 1997). Despite their own economic reforms, Britain, the United States, and many other large trading players, including the European Union, remained largely interventionist and protectionist of their own industries, but through the support of the WTO, actively disciplined smaller countries which sought to protect their own industries. For example, in 1999, the Clinton administration imposed significant tariffs on lamb imports from New Zealand and Australia (Chinoy, 1999), which despite a WTO ruling in 2001 opposing the move (The New Zealand Herald, 2001a), remain in place to the present day.

### 7.3.2 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Foreign direct investment (FDI) has had a historic role in New Zealand's development since the first settlers arrived from Great Britain (Kelsey, 1999). As a British colony, even from the very early days, development projects in New Zealand attracted private investors from Britain. The formation of the

European Community, formalised by the Treaty of Rome in 1957 and extended by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992, signalled the diminishing of New Zealand's role as Britain's 'farm'. Even after these developments, N.Z. continued to see significant rates of private investment from Britain, particularly in the primary industries.

FDI flows into New Zealand, from a wider range of countries were enabled by the mid-1980s financial reforms. In particular, the raising of the foreign investment threshold needed for overseas Investment Commission approval in mid-1987 from

\$500,000 to \$2million (Kelsey, 1999) signalled the government's desire to reduce barriers to FDI. Additionally, the programme of privatisation of state owned assets, beginning in 1988, attracted foreign investment in these newly formed companies. Among the initial round of privatisation included Telecom in 1990, the previously monopoly state-operated telecommunications operation. Other privatised assets included the Bank of New Zealand in 1987 (Gaynor, 1999), and NZ Railways in 1993. By 1994, the top 10 New Zealand private companies by turnover were between 30-100% foreign owned.

In addition to foreign investment in corporate operations, there has also been the sale of large tracts of land to foreign entities. Some of these purchases have been of 'productive land', such as farms, the most recent high profile being the sale of Crafer Farms to Chinese investors. There have also been examples of the sale of land which is argued by local Iwi (tribe, peoples) to contain historic pa (village) and grave sites (O'Rourke, 2007). The ownership of land which is so tied to notions of who 'we' are, illustrates the how the global transfer of land ownership is not just one of capital

assets, but also of cultural assets.

### 7.3.3 The Presence of Multi-National Corporations (MNCs) in New Zealand

A significant concentration in corporate ownership occurred in the late 1980s, initially enabled by changes in legislation. Additionally, the 1987 Stock market crash enabled the consolidation of a number of smaller companies, acquired by larger firms, or newly formed investment companies, some of which specialised in acquiring floundering companies and restructuring or selling off corporate assets.

During the 1990s, the overt presence of multinational companies in the public sphere increased in New Zealand, through an increase in active political lobbying and the acquisition of the main public media outlets by multinational entities. For example, representatives of multinational business were prominent in lobbying against a change in the New Zealand electoral system to MMP, a system which saw the breakdown of the traditional two party representation.

The acquisition of national newspapers the New Zealand Herald and the Dominion Post, along with many other regional newspapers, by international media conglomerates APN News and Media, News Limited and later the Fairfax Group saw large tracts of mainstream media controlled by multinational interests. International interests also took up many national and regional radio stations. Further, whilst a state broadcasting presence was retained by a small number of state-run television channels and national radio, the opening up of the television network to private interest saw

the increasing influence of international media outlets such as Sky TV. The significant presence of international media conglomerates has far reaching cultural and social implications. Of particular importance to this research is the pattern of the ownership of public media, which is symbolic of multinational presence in New Zealand. This illustrates the influence a corporate agenda has over the media, New Zealand culture, and the way in which many New Zealanders access information regarding what constitutes current events.

The consolidation of ownership and the increasing prevalence of multinational entities have been shown to have a significant impact on local communities (Kelsey 1999 p. 165). As these larger entities tend to have higher staff numbers and larger turnover, they subsequently often have a significant influence over the local business community and workforce. These entities therefore also tend to have significant political leverage at the local and national level. Parker articulates

In Head Offices' endless quest for synergies, reduced costs – often through redundancies, closure of duplicate operations and economies of scale – the New Zealand outpost can be jerked around like the ball on the end of a long chain. (Parker in Kelsey, 1997, p. 165)

The increasing presence of MNCs in New Zealand has also, at times, been contradictory to indigenous and environmental concerns. As the ownership of these companies is moved to remote overseas locations, the connection between the decision makers and the communities who are impacted by their decisions becomes evident. Examples such as the pollution of the

Tarawera River by the Tasman Pulp and Paper Mill has led local Iwi to name this river the 'Black Drain'. This river has historically been seen by the local Iwi as both a food source, and also spiritually as symbolic of the life source of the tribe. Despite increased emphasis on environmental concerns in the political arena, such tensions between environmental and cultural degradation and economic growth are still witnessed. In a 2013 case, the New Zealand government approved consent for multinational mining companies to mine on Department of Conservation Land on both the West Coast of the South Island, and Northland, despite vocal concerns from the general public, environmental and indigenous groups. (Scoop Independent News, 2013a).

#### 7.3.4 New Zealand's Trade Agreements

Once New Zealand had deregulated, and opened up the economy to international markets and foreign direct investment, the only way to negotiate trade terms with other governments became through bilateral negotiations, such as those facilitated by the WTO. This process is at times problematic, lengthy, and does not necessarily result in the unilateral compliance with WTO rulings and agreements. In an environment whereby New Zealand is one of the only countries in the unenviable position to have almost completely deregulated environment, this leaves New Zealand in a very vulnerable bargaining position.

New Zealand has been a member of the World Trade Organisation since its establishment on 01 January 1995 (World Trade Organisation, 2013b). New Zealand gained further influence within the organisation with the appointment of ex-prime minister Mike Moore as WTO Director General

from 1999-2002. New Zealand currently has trade agreements with Australia, China, Thailand, Singapore, Brunei, Chile, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong. In addition to these, New Zealand is also currently involved in negotiating trade agreements including the Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership, between New Zealand, Malaysia, Brunei, Chile, Singapore, and Australia. These countries are seeking trade agreements with USA, Peru and Vietnam. Additionally, New Zealand is in trade negotiations with Japan, South Korea, India and Russia, among others. The prevalence of New Zealand's involvement in global trade negotiations signals the importance of trade agreements to New Zealand internationalisation strategies.

#### **7.4 Demographic Changes in the New Zealand Labour Market**

There have also been a number of significant demographic trends that have contributed to the changing shape of New Zealand's workforce, including the ageing population, increasing ethnic diversity, and more women in the workforce. These trends have changed the diversity of the New Zealand workforce, and the way in which employers structure and manage their labour forces.

##### **7.4.1 Ageing Population**

New Zealand population is ageing, largely driven by the baby boom generation, and as such, so too is New Zealand's workforce. The median age of the New Zealand population is projected to rise from 36yrs in 2006 to 39yrs in 2020, and the ratio of those aged 65+ to those aged 25-64 is expected to increase from 23% in 2006 to 59% in 2050. According to the Department of Labour (2010), the share of the working age population (15+)

who fall into the 65+ age group is projected to rise from 16% in 2009 to 25% in 2029. These workers also tend to work fewer hours, many part time, and as such, the total hours worked are projected to fall.

#### 7.4.2 Female Labour Force Participation

An increase in labour force participation by females has been a feature of the New Zealand labour force since the inclusion of many women in traditionally male- dominated roles during World War II. The Keynesian emphasis on full employment, combined with an underlying societal emphasis on the role of the '50s housewife' saw a decline in labour force participation during the 1950s and 1960s. However, since the 1970s, the rates of women in the workforce have increased significantly. According to the Department of Labour (Department of Labour, 2010), female labour force participation increased from 53.2% in 1989 to 62.2% in 2009. According to the Ministry of Women's Affairs (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2013), New Zealand's female labour force participation rates are above the average of OECD countries.

#### 7.4.3 Employment Migration

Employment in-migration has been a feature of the New Zealand context since the first European settlers came to the country. However, large-scale coordinated employment migration was associated with the Keynesian macro-management period. The Keynesian period assisted immigration scheme, which ran from 1947- 1975, was aimed at increasing New Zealand's population, and in particular, its productive labour force, consistent with Keynesian principles. Initially targeting British residents, from 1947-1975, 77,000 British citizens immigrated to New Zealand as part of the scheme

(often colloquially referred to as the '10 pound poms'). The scheme was extended to other countries, including the Netherlands in 1950.

The 1950s and 1960s became a time of increasing urbanisation, or internal migration, of Maori (Denoon et al, 2000), with the New Zealand government embarking on a number of urbanisation projects directed at rural Maori. By 1971, the proportion of

Maori living in urban areas was 58%, up from 20% in 1951 (Denoon et al, 2000). During the same period, the New Zealand Government adopted the first large-scale immigration policy from the Pacific Islands, initially from the New Zealand dependencies (Cooks Islands, Tokelau and Niue), and later from Western Samoa and Tonga. These immigration and urbanisation developments were largely seen as a way of relieving semi-skilled labour shortages, and significantly changed the nature of New Zealand urban communities, which up until this point had been overwhelmingly made up of Europeans (Pakeha and European migrants). Industry centres were the destination for many of the migrants and the increasingly urban Maori population.

Recent changes in immigration policy have focused on immigration to New Zealand from Asian countries. The 2006 Census showed that the highly diverse 'Asian' category was the fourth largest in New Zealand, and driven by immigration, is likely to grow from 9.2% in 2006 to 15% in 2026 (Badkar & Tuya, 2010). Additionally, higher birthrates amongst Maori and Pacific populations are also projected to significantly increase the diversity of New Zealand's workforce.

#### 7.4.4 Summary

In summary, demographic changes in the New Zealand working population have changed the structure and nature of the workplace context. These changes have been partially driven by changed historical role of state planned, and voluntary, employment migration. Changes in the political economy, as outlined in Section 7.3, and demographic changes, as illustrated above in Section 7.4 have given rise to changes in the nature and structure of work. These outcomes include the decline of manufacturing employment, changes in workplace training, decline of unionisation and changes in the employment relations system, and increase of flexible forms of work.

### **7.5 Workplace Outcomes of Globalisation in the New Zealand Context**

As described in Section 7.3, the New Zealand politico-economic context has seen significant changes over the past 100 years, being a first mover in adopting the agenda of social democracy, neo-liberalism and third way policies. These changes, in particular the period of structural adjustment implemented between 1984 and 1991, significantly changed the way in which businesses within New Zealand could operate, and the nature of international trade and investment. Concurrent demographic changes in the workforce, including an ageing population, increased female participation, combined with historic and on-going employment migration, have significantly shaped the New Zealand labour market. These changes have occurred alongside, and enabled, significant outcomes in the nature and structure of work. These changes mirror the decline in manufacturing employment and emphasis placed on ‘knowledge’ intensive work signalled in

Chapter 2. Other outcomes, such as changes in vocational training, and changes in the industrial relations framework, are more unique to the New Zealand experience. These outcomes are discussed in the following sections.

#### 7.5.1 Decline of Manufacturing and the Rise of 'Knowledge Work'

The decline in manufacturing-based jobs in New Zealand is closely linked to changes in trading legislation, detailed above in Section 7.3. The export assistance to the manufacturing sector fell from 37% in 1985/1986 to 19% in 1989/1990, with further reduction throughout the 1990s and 2000s resulting in many segments of the industry experiencing zero tariffs. This reduction in government support led to a movement of manufacturing to overseas locations where higher levels of support, or lower costs, could be found. The reduction in manufacturing has in part led to the argument that New Zealand is now to focus on 'Knowledge Work' in order to become a 'Knowledge Economy' (Prichard, 2006).

Discursively, the introduction of the term 'knowledge economy' came in the lead up to the 1999 election (Pritchard 2006), with the National government releasing a number of policy initiatives based on this notion. Additionally, the Fredericks Report (Frederick, McIlroy & French, 1999) in 1999 became the basis for government policy initiatives aimed at developing a 'knowledge economy' in New Zealand, and signalled the start of discourse of knowledge work in New Zealand government policy. Notably, this report advocated for a move away from the traditional base of New Zealand industry, agricultural and commodity production and manufacturing, and towards 'knowledge production' industries (Pritchard, 2006). The discourse of the knowledge economy was quickly adopted into policy discussions on both sides of the

political spectrum, and not only included by the National party in the run-up to the 1999 general election, but also incorporated into policy for the newly elected Labour government post 1999 election. This introduction into policy was followed by government initiatives such as the ‘knowledge wave’ conferences held in 2001 and 2003, which were invitation-only events aimed to “raise New Zealanders’ sights and encourage new ways to create future economic prosperity” (O’Sullivan, 2011, n.p.).

The ‘Knowledge Wave Trust’ was set up at the close of the first conference (The New Zealand Herald, 2001b), consisting of business and education leaders, and the phrase ‘catching the knowledge wave’ was actively promoted by government, business and appeared regularly in the popular media (Scoop Independent News, 2001). By the mid-2000s, the phrase ‘knowledge economy’ had been altered to ‘knowledge society’, and in line with the softer third way policies, this emphasis moved to social and cultural aspects of society, rather than a purely economic focus for education and training provision. Policy initiatives to develop this knowledge society included goals towards full participation in early childhood education and the introduction of the ‘20 free hours’ early childhood education subsidy for three and four year olds.

Despite the emphasis on ‘knowledge work’, which arose during the 2000s, Bell (1997) describes the emphasis on tourism apparent in many parts of New Zealand, and in particular, argues that this industry is seen as a ‘saviour’ for many regions and towns previously dominated by primary or manufacturing industries. According to Statistics NZ, in 2012 tourism generated a direct contribution to GDP of \$6.2 billion, or approximately 3.3%

of GDP, with approximately 119,800 full time employees employed in direct tourism roles. These employees serviced 2.6 million overseas visitor arrivals.

In summary, the decline of manufacturing employment in New Zealand has resulted in the widespread downsizing and employment reduction in this sector. Since the early 2000s, government policy has emphasised a movement away from these traditional primary and manufacturing industries to knowledge work, with a number of planned policy initiatives. Additionally, tourism is seen as an important economic activity and generator of employment in many regions which have suffered job- losses.

### 7.5.2 Changes in Training

The move away from manufacturing and primary-based industries to knowledge work and tourism has been accompanied by changes in the way in which the New Zealand workforce is trained. In particular, work-based training has been formalised on the National Qualifications Framework, and removed from union negotiation. Additionally, the provision of Adult and Community Education, once seen as an important mode of building new or pre-employment skills, has been moved to a user- pays system.

#### 7.5.2.1 *Work-based Training*

Traditionally in New Zealand, vocational training either consisted of courses undertaken at technical colleges/polytechnics, apprenticeships, or ‘on the job’ training. During the Keynesian period, public sector employers, such as the Railways Corporations, and other large employers, provided significant

training to young people, in line with the ‘job for life’ ideology of Keynesianism. Many of these jobs were highly skilled, some being trades such as plumbing, gas-fitting, engineering, electrician. The privatisation, downsizing and rationalisation of many of these entities also meant that the role of these organisations in the training of the New Zealand workforce lessened. For example, The New Zealand Railways had traditionally played a significant role in the national trade training strategy; however, this capacity was diminished as the organisations workforce was reduced from 21,000 staff nationwide in 1982 to just 3000 in 2002.

A smaller number of workers trained under formal government-approved apprenticeship and cadet schemes. Cadet schemes were based in the primary industries of farming, horticulture, equine and forestry. Both the cadet and apprenticeships schemes required the arbitration court to provide an apprenticeship order, in consultation with the appropriate union. This measure was to ensure young workers were not exploited, and to protect the interests of older workers, to ensure that employers could not easily replace older skilled workers with cheaper apprentices.

Changes to the industry-training scheme began in 1990, with the introduction of the National Qualifications Framework, and a move towards ensuring all industry and work-based training consisted of achievable unit standards on the framework. The introduction of the Employment Contracts Act 1991 abolished the Arbitration Court, and so removed the need for apprenticeship orders to be issued. The new industry training system was mandated to be:

Industry led, founded on competency based training, provide

flexibility for employers and unions, and allow expansion to include new areas of training. (Ministry of Education, 2012, p. 2)

#### 7.5.2.2 *Adult and Community Education*

Another form of training which was semi-formal, yet significantly added to the skill set of the national labour force, was the government funded adult and community education programme. Known by many as ‘night classes’, these short courses were held at community centres and high schools, in the evening, often free or only charging a nominal fee. Courses ranged from recreational activities such as pottery, to second language teaching, and employment skills such as heavy vehicle licencing and computer skills.

Adult Education in New Zealand became formalised during the 1974 Educational Development Conference (Barbour, 1996). Prior to this, many forms of adult education, formal and informal, had existed, but were generally contained within the umbrella of either ‘hobbies’ or work training. The development of the adult education sector during the mid-1970s saw a portion of the responsibility for adult education move from the domain of government and the organisation, to the community. Since this time, the adult education sector has played an important role in the training of the New Zealand workforce (Adult Education and Community Learning Working Party, 2001)

Internationally, participation in Adult and Community Education has tended to be concentrated to high skilled and middle-high income sections of the population (Crowther, 2000). However, in New Zealand, although participation of low-skilled, low-income individuals is lower in tertiary

education, Adult and Community Education programmes fulfilled an important role in the education pathways to tertiary study and employment for these groups (Adult Education and Community Learning Working Party, 2001).

During the 2000s, New Zealand had over 248,000 enrolments per year in adult and community education courses (Adult Education and Community Learning Working Party, 2001). Included were school-based programmes, community programmes at tertiary education institutes, workers education associations, ESOL home tutoring and Literacy programmes. Of these, the majority (200,000) participated in school-based programmes (ibid.). In 2008 Adult and Community Education Aotearoa Inc. (ACE) estimated it provided services to over 409,000 people equating to 10% of the NZ adult population through 532 service providers<sup>6</sup>.

The election of the National government in November 2008 came amid the revelation of an emerging global economic crisis. In May 2009 the new government's first budget outlined initial strategies to address the domestic implications of this crisis.

Among a number of controversial budget announcements was the proposed 'reprioritisation' amounting to a \$67 million funding cut<sup>7</sup> to Adult Community Education (ACE) programmes<sup>8</sup> while at the same time almost doubling funding to private schools (from \$40 million to \$75 million).<sup>9</sup>

The benefits of ACE have been noted as both economic and social. In terms of social benefits, health, ageing, citizenship, crime and parenting have been identified as key areas where adult and community education makes a

measurable difference (Adult Education and Community Learning Working Party, 2001). The reduction in funding for these programmes further reinforced the user-pays ideals of neo-liberalism, and removed avenues not only to pre-employment training for some sections of society, but also reduced the social benefits to communities and wider society.

### 7.5.3 Unionisation and Industrial Relations

New Zealand has a long history of unionism, stemming from its roots in early industrial England. The rights of workers unions were officially ratified with the Trade Union Act 1878, and the 1894 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act, which created a compulsory arbitration and negotiation system for resolving industrial disputes, and established an Arbitration Court (Justice, 2013). Throughout the early-mid 1900s, there was a history of lengthy industry-wide and general strikes, including the 1913 General strike, which lasted 8 weeks and involved 16.7% of union members nationwide (Scoop Independent News, 2006). Another significant event was the 1951 Waterfront Dispute, which resulted in a lockout of waterfront workers for 151 days (Te Papa: Museum of New Zealand, 2013).

Changes to New Zealand industrial relations environment occurred rapidly as part of the neo-liberal structural adjustment programme of the mid-1980s. The passing of the 1984 Industrial Relations Amendment Act removed compulsory arbitration for private companies. The 1987 Labour Relations Act removed the rights of national unions, allowing smaller unions to form and opt out of national awards. The 1986 State Owned Enterprises Act and the 1988 State Sector Act mandated public sector organisations to undertake employment activities as in the private sector, and removed many privileges

of public sector employees.

However, perhaps the most influential piece of legislation on the industrial relations environment was the passing of the 1991 Employment Contracts Act. This act legislated Freedom of Association, essentially removing compulsory union membership. This allowed for contract negotiations to occur on an individual employee/employer basis. In principle this was purported to result in mutual benefit for both parties. In practice, the relative power of individual employers meant that many individual employees were given an ultimatum of signing an individual contract or finding alternative employment (Morrison, 2004). The Act also made strikes unlawful where there was an existing collective or individual contract in place; effectively meaning that the only employees who could lawfully strike were those who were members of unions currently engaged in negotiations.

Unsurprisingly, these changes resulted in a significant decrease in industrial action. According to Statistics NZ (Statistics New Zealand, 2013), between 1986-1990, there were an average of 1430 stoppages days per year; from 1991-2010, this fell to an average of 588 days per year. The immediate impact of the Employment Contracts Act can be seen with stoppage days falling from 1204 in 1990, to 654 in 1991.

#### 7.5.4 Flexible Work

The prevalence of flexible work in New Zealand was largely facilitated by the introduction of the Employment Contracts Act 1991. Prior to this, unions often sought to retain as many full-time positions as possible. Additionally, the abolition of compulsory union membership enabled a rise in other forms of flexible work, such as individual contracting. These changes directly challenged the full-employment assumption of Keynesianism, which

promoted full-time wage-based employment for the entire working population. According to Maitra (1997, p. 35), Part-time employment in New Zealand increased 16% in 1989-1994, while full-time employment rose just 2%. During the same period, individuals in self-employment rose by 14%.

The structural adjustment programme in New Zealand had widespread impacts on levels of over, under and unemployment. As the population was increasingly told that in order for an efficient labour market to operate, a 'natural' level of unemployment must be maintained, combined with increased redundancies enabled by the passing of the Employment Contracts Act, the unemployment level rose from 70,400 in 1986 to 164,500 in 2012. Long-term unemployment also increased sharply in the year to March 2010, with an increase of 81.5% in those who had been unemployed for longer than 26 weeks (Statistics NZ, 2010).

Under- and over- employment are also features of the NZ labour market. In March 2010, 21.1% of the part-time workforce stated a preference for longer hours (Statistics 2010). Conversely, according to a Department of Labour report (Fursman, 2008), at the time of the 2006 Census, 415,641 people stated they worked over 50 hours per week, which accounts for 23% of the workforce, and 29% of the full time workforce.

#### 7.5.5 Summary

In summary, there have been widespread changes to the nature and structure of work in New Zealand. There have been key demographic trends, some of which mirror international experience, but others are unique to the New

Zealand context. In particular, employment migration has been a historically key factor in the changing shape of the workforce. Through the process of neo-liberal structural adjustment, there have been significant changes in the context of industry training, and the industrial relations environment. Key trends including increased flexibility, and concurrent increases in over-under-and unemployment have also been noted.

The case presented in sections 7.2-7.5 illustrates that the New Zealand context is largely representative of changes experienced internationally, as outlined in Chapter 2. However, the New Zealand experience is also unique, in that New Zealand was a first mover in adopting many of the changes at a politico-economic and workplace level. In this thesis, I am interested in exploring the lived experiences of individuals living within this context. In Chapter 4, I argued that a lens of identity is useful in drawing together the structural and individual realms. Therefore, consistent with this analysis, it would seem that the changes described above at the macro-political and meso-organisational level would also hold implications at the level of identity/ies. The documented expressions of national identities provide meaningful clues as to the dominant narratives and societal norms, and the embedded power relations. Further, these identities provide clues as to the uptake and commitment to changes in the politico-economic and corporate spheres

## **7.6 Discussion: Documenting New Zealand Identities through Globalisation**

The writing on various aspects of New Zealand identity/ies is exhaustive, and covers many disciplines. A detailed analysis of this work is outside the scope

of this thesis. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to explore some of the more commonly stated characteristics of New Zealand identities. These aspects help the reader to understand the social and cultural context of New Zealand, and are particularly pertinent to this case. In particular, I will explore the colonial identity and Maori worldview, which represents the two parties to New Zealand's Treaty of Waitangi, which is espoused to have largely shaped culture and society in New Zealand. I also briefly discuss some other important aspects often associated with the New Zealand national identity, including connection to locality, sports and multiculturalism.

#### 7.6.1 Traditional Colonial Identities

Bell (1997) describes the New Zealand identity as being entwined in the myth of colonial NZ. According to Bell, this myth is multifaceted, including aspects of opportunity and work ethic. For Bell, this myth is not only a representation of history, but also powerful in the shaping of national identities in present times. One facet of a colonial identity involves notions of opportunity, related to the often-cited phrase that New Zealand is the 'land of milk and honey'. For many colonial immigrants, New Zealand was seen as a largely untouched land, plentiful with natural resources, ready to be harnessed for material gains, and a quality of life not found in Victorian England. For many colonial immigrants, this meant they could own land, albeit land that was often confiscated by the Government from the indigenous Maori peoples. The idea that New Zealand is a land of opportunity for immigrants is not restricted to colonial times, and there are many examples of recent immigrants expressing similar thoughts, illustrating the resilience of these ideas, and the power of this narrative silencing the oftentimes difficult experience of new migrants. The untouched nature of the land also helped to

lead to a strong espoused value of egalitarianism, as it is perceived that in this land of opportunity, everyone had equal opportunity to use these resources for personal benefit. This value not only played into Keynesian values associated with the welfare state, and looking after all of the nation's peoples, but also conversely, is characteristic of meritocracy, deeply embedded in a neo-liberal ideology and the pioneering spirit.

Related to the opportunity presented by an unindustrialised landscape for early settlers, are elements of identity related to harnessing the land. Bell discusses that the 'breaking of the land' is enduring in perceptions of New Zealand (men in particular) as hardworking, physically capable. This breaking of the land, combined with New Zealand's geographical isolation, often required settlers to come up with creative solutions to problems faced, as traditional solutions may require equipment not immediately available. This has helped lead to the 'No. 8 wire' aspect of the New Zealand identity, referring to the fencing wire used on many farms. This characterisation depicts new Zealanders as coming up with solutions using the most primitive of resources. This phrase is used often in characterising New Zealanders as 'entrepreneurial' (Anonymous, 2011).

The myth of colonial settlers also contained many values of middle class Victorian England (Bell, 1997), including "Christianity, democracy, law and order, white supremacy, conventional morality, conservatism" (p. 147). These ideals, combined with the characteristics of a work ethic extended from a protestant work ethic, helped to instil the moral privilege to the settlers. Bell describes how this characterising of the colonial settler deflected attention from issues of indigenous displacement and prejudice, as the settlers were seen as moral beings whose actions were perceived to be

carried out in good faith and for the moral 'right'. These perceptions have, to a large degree, endured in various ways, in the current identification of Pakeha New Zealanders.

### 7.6.2 Maori Worldview

Māori perspectives on identity are generally framed within the Māori worldview, as articulated by Maori Marsden (2003; Marsden & Henare, 1992). According to Marsden, Maori society is enacted through a set of kin relationships: Iwi, Hapu and Whanau. These groups are seen as "one's extended self" (Royal, 1998, p. 34), and the social actions within these groups are conceptualised as an organism, an extension of the relationship with the earth. Social values are centred on group notions of creating balance across the natural world.

Marsden expresses how legend and myth play an important role as an expression of the relationship between creator, universe and man (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p.2). These stories play a part of the system of signification for members of the culture, but are also not only symbolic, but are seen as an expression of reality. These aspects form the base of an ontology that members of the culture draw their personal values from.

Marsden and Henare dedicate significant time to describing the difference between western epistemologies and the Maori worldview (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 3), describing the western view as being underpinned with a reliance on notions of scientific 'truth' and causal relationships. In contrast, the Maori worldview emphasises the intertwining of words, thoughts and

spiritual awareness, with the gaining of ‘knowledge’ being a spiritual, rather than an intellectual experience, with the ultimate goal being the achievement of *atuatanga* –divinity. Such divine wisdom is seen as being gained from developing an awareness of the ‘centre’ of self, articulated by Marsden and Henare (1992) as being a centre of each individual, yet that which surpasses the self, and the world we perceive. In this centre, ‘he must create an orderly system of ideas about himself and the world in order to regulate the direction of his life’ (p. 7). Marsden refers to this wisdom as being made up of ‘three baskets’ of knowledge, with a person needing to develop awareness of each in order to become aware of the centre of self. These three baskets are *Tua-uri*, *Aro-nui* and *Tua-atea*.

From the Maori worldview, *Tua-uri*, translated as “beyond in the world of darkness” (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 8) is the world which underpins all creation that manifests in the natural world. *Tua-uri* contains the important energy sources of *Mauri*, *Hihiri*, *Mauri-ora*, *Hau-ora*, a “series of rhythmical patterns of energy which operate behind the world of sense perception” (p. 8). These energy sources interrelate in complex ways to form all that we ‘see’ in the natural world, and must be in balance.

Marsden and Henare (1992) describe *Te Aro-nui* as the natural world of sense perception – that which western ontologies would call the ‘natural world’ or ‘reality’. For Maori, knowledge relating to this world emphasises the recognising of natural patterns, and the retelling of these patterns – for example, the seasons. Within the Maori worldview, genealogy is used as a tool for re-telling these patterns and passing on this knowledge. This genealogy not only relates to the genealogy of people, but also to the genealogy of all aspects of the natural world, and their inter-relationships.

For Marsden and Henare (1992), Te Ao Tua-atea is the “world beyond space and time” (p. 9). This world is perceived as infinite and eternal, and for Maori, this is the place of ultimate reality and source of divinity.

Entwined in Marsden’s conceptualisation of the Maori worldview is the importance of all aspects of physical and spiritual life working in unison. For Maori, the role of the earth is central, being ‘mother’ earth, papatuanuku. From this perspective, mother earth nurtures and produces *all* life forms, and man is just another part of the natural order to be kept in balance. Man is seen as her ‘son’, who like all family members, has obligations and responsibilities to care for mother and whanau, Hapu and Iwi, and promote systemic welfare (Marsden & Henare, 1992, p. 14). Spiller, Erakovic, Henare and Pio (2010) concur, describing the importance to Maori of a “multidimensional wellbeing and a sustainable world” (p. 156).

### 7.6.3 New Zealand Identities and Locality

For many New Zealanders, and certainly for those promoting New Zealand as a tourist destination, the connection between identity and locality is strong. Locality and landscape is one identification characteristic where the two dominant identities described above intersect. From a colonial perspective, the land was a key source of potential opportunity, and also the ‘harnessing’ of that land added to the image of the rugged, hardworking, entrepreneurial New Zealander. For Maori, the land is not able to be separated from the individual, and as such is a central part of individual and collective identity.

New Zealand is often promoted, and perceived as being ‘clean and green’, resulting from perceived low levels of pollution and low population density.

Additionally, government policies such as the Anti-Nuclear position (Kelsey, 1999) have added credence to this image. This aspect is closely held by many New Zealanders, and represents not just an economic interest, but also a more personal part of being.

#### 7.6.4 Plurality of Identities

As with any notion of identity, although there can be generalisations made about New Zealand's national identity, characteristics of which are discussed in this section, no one individual is going to be represented adequately by these descriptions. As such, there are a myriad of identities in New Zealand, oftentimes in contradiction with each other, and some given more overt validation than others.

New Zealand is a multicultural society, and as such, in addition to identities connected to colonial or indigenous experiences, many New Zealanders bring aspects from their home countries. Other aspects, such as gender, sexuality and age also add to the complexity of what it means to be a person in New Zealand.

Lifestyle activities add another dimension. For many New Zealanders, sport is more than an activity undertaken by the individual for recreation, but rather some sports are seen by many as integral parts of New Zealand's cultural identity. In particular, Rugby and Netball are seen by many as national interests, rather than just entertainment for enthusiasts.

### 7.6.5 NZ Identity/ies as Resistance

As we saw in Chapter 4, according to Thomas and Davies (2005, p. 687), the motivation to resist comes from the representation of “self as other”. Resistance is conceptualised by Thomas and Davies as the ways in which individuals respond to the discomfort they feel when they are ‘othered’. In Chapter 4 I discussed how the presence of many oppositional identities opened up spaces for individuals to resist and reposition themselves in relation to these identities.

#### *7.6.5.1 Reassertion of Culture as Resistance*

One way this resistance is expressed has been through the assertion of cultural and historical artefacts and traditions. The re-assertion of the rights of Maori as tangata whenua (‘people of the land’) since the mid-1980s could be seen as a form of this resistance. Included are reassertion of Maori language, the passing of Te Reo as an official language in 1987, and the protests on Waitangi Day, the first of which occurred in 1971. Further movements have aimed to re-acquaint urban Maori with their Iwi and Marae, the establishment of Maori immersion schools, Kura Kaupapa, and Iwi-run health services. These efforts are aimed at reconnecting the Maori peoples with their culture and heritage, honouring the Treaty of Waitangi, which promised cultural freedom. Additionally, the increase in these movements since the mid-1980s might also be seen as an effort to safeguard this cultural identity against the universal consumerism and meritocracy embedded in neo-liberalism and cultural Globalisation. This reassertion could also be read as being consistent with neo-liberal and Third Way arguments that the individual must take responsibility for self and community.

#### 7.6.5.2 *Reassertion of Traditional Values as Resistance*

Protests such as the Hikoi of Hope<sup>10</sup>, and the protests against state assets, can be seen as both raising awareness of key social issues, but from an identity perspective, might be seen as resisting neo-liberal identities. In particular, both of these examples are based on asserting the Keynesian aspects of egalitarianism, and the role of the state in the control of essential services. Additionally, both have embedded concerns about the rejecting of community well-being in favour of individual. In this sense, it might be seen that they are resisting the embedded assumptions of meritocracy, economic centrality and individualism inherent in neo-liberalism

#### 7.6.5.3 *Reassertion of the Local as Resistance*

As outlined in Chapter 3, in the New Zealand context there are also many examples of localised action that might be seen as resistance to Globalisation and changes to work. In one example, the number of Farmers Markets and localised food initiatives is also growing in presence. Farmers Markets New Zealand (FMNZ) currently has a membership of 40 farmers' markets nationwide<sup>11</sup>. The emphasis on not only the sale of produce, but wider community development can be seen in the following FMNZ statement:

The Farmers' Market movement is about building and strengthening local communities, supporting local food related businesses and giving consumers access to regional food.

## **7.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have addressed two of the secondary research questions, by describing and discussing the New Zealand context of Globalisation and changes to work. I have described how the New Zealand context is both reflective of the wider documented international changes, and also was a first-mover in implementing changes in the political economy. I also described how demographic changes in the make-up of the New Zealand workforce have facilitated and necessitated a range of workplace outcomes, including a decline of manufacturing work, increase in knowledge and tourism-based employment, changes to vocational training, and an increase in flexible work practices. These details reinforce that New Zealand is an instrumental context for exploring the lived experiences of individuals within Globalisation.

However, as emphasised in Chapters 3 and 4, the changes at the structural and organisational level are not separated from the individuals who both enact them, and are impacted by them. Therefore, the New Zealand context of Globalisation is both facilitated by, and impacts on, the identities of those residing in this context. In Section 7.6, I explored the documented fabric of New Zealand identities, many and varied, and oftentimes debated or contradicted by individual beliefs. However, these grand narratives of identity provide an enlightening glimpse of societal norms and power relations. Many of these facets reflect ascribed identity for individual New Zealanders, those imposed by outside perceptions of self, largely attributed to the individual by virtue of them being born, or residing, in New Zealand. However, for some individuals, these characteristics also become something they feel they must 'live up to', essentially becoming part of achieved identity.

The specific New Zealand context, and the complex fabric of national identities are of primary interest when overlaid onto the case of the Single Industry Town. Consistent with a deep, multi-layered analysis, throughout the thesis, I have moved from discussions of the global context in Chapter 2, the National context here in Chapter 7, and I not move onto the specific context of the Single Industry Town. From there, I move to the individual level, in Chapters 9 and 10 presenting the experiences of participants. In the following chapter, I will present the case of Tokoroa.

## **Chapter 8: Narratives of the Construction and Globalisation of a New Zealand Single Industry Town**

### **8.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 7, I presented the case of New Zealand within changes in the global political economy, and changes to work. I argued that in the 1930s New Zealand was a first-mover in the adoption of a Keynesian welfare state, and subsequently in implementing neo-liberalism, a short enchantment with Third Way policies in the late 1990s, before a reversion to neo-liberalism in the mid-2000s. This position as an early adopter of widely proselytised ideals and the visibility of the consequences in a small population, renders the New Zealand context as one highly relevant to exploring the impacts of these changes in the global politico-economic sphere on the lives of its citizens. Additionally, I discussed aspects of espoused collective national ‘identity’, which both aided in the early adoption of these policies, and of global forms of corporate activity and technology. By drawing on the work of Bauman, I depicted that many New Zealanders view themselves as ‘tourists’ of sorts; from the early voyages of the Maori, travelling from the Pacific to New Zealand, central to the Maori Worldview, and to the current locality-based notion of Iwi. The migration of early colonial British settlers also forms a central part of the espoused identity of ‘New Zealanders’, and the subsequent notion of the ‘No. 8 Wire’ approach to innovation and entrepreneurship, now taken into the corporate sphere within the New Zealand business environment. Subsequent migration, employment-based from the Pacific Islands, and later from many parts of the world, including Asia, India, Africa, has helped to form the outward appearance of multi-

culturalism, and a highly flexible and somewhat transient population. I argue that these aspects of the espoused national identity have led to New Zealand being a fertile testing ground for new ideas, including the above adoption of political agendas, to the testing of new forms of technology, such as customer interface EFTPOS, facilitating the electronic transfer of funds.

In this chapter, I present the case of Tokoroa, as taken from secondary research. This case illustrates the local manifestation of changes at the global, national and organisational levels. The changes which occurred in the New Zealand political economy, namely the deep embedding of firstly a Keynesian political agenda, and then the move to a widespread commitment for neo-liberal principles, are clearly seen in the case of the New Zealand forestry industry and the development and decline of the town of Tokoroa.

I begin this chapter by outlining a brief history of the New Zealand forestry industry, as the development of the town of Tokoroa was a significant part of the historical development of this industry. I then present an overview of the development of the specific industry operations at the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill, the plant which is located directly adjacent to the town, and the construction and operations of which necessitated the development of the town. Following this description of Mill operations during the boom period, I document the downsizing of the plant and the changes at the workplace level which occurred during the period New Zealand was moving to a neo-liberal political agenda. The implications for the town and its residents are then presented.

## **8.2 Keynesian Employment Strategy and Industry Development in the New Zealand Forestry Industry**

The central North Island is the location of the largest man-made forest in the Southern Hemisphere, the Kaiangaroa Forest, along with a number of other large forests originally planted by government department The New Zealand Forest Service. An adjoining significant plantation is the Kinleith forest, indicated on the map below (Figure 3). The development and subsequent processing of these forests were initially part of the government employment strategy, first during the depression, and later as part of the Keynesian post-World War II employment strategy. The key events which led to the development of Kinleith forest, the granting of the first pulp licence, and ultimately the construction of the Kinleith Mill, are discussed in this section.

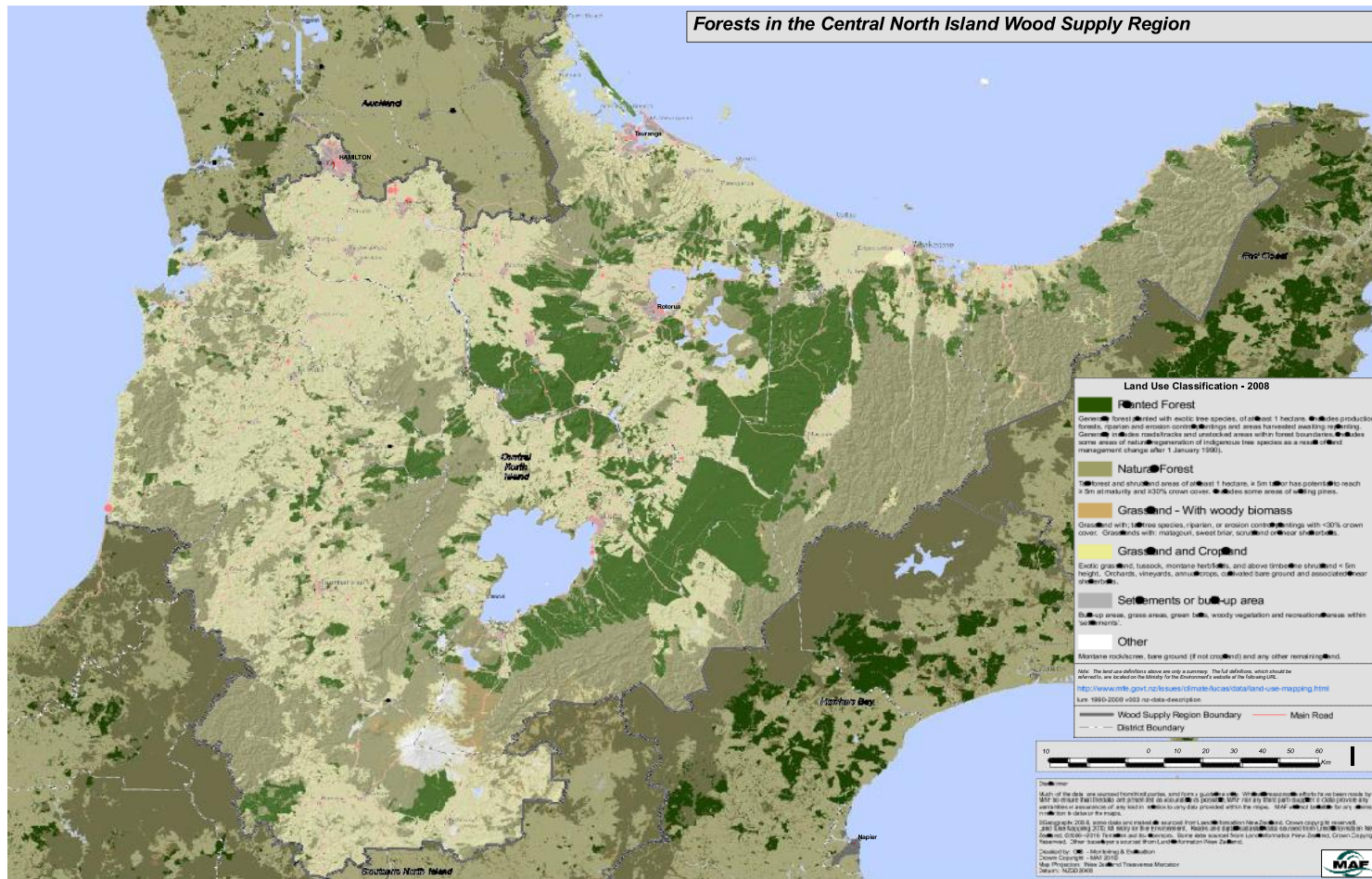


Figure 3 - North Island Forestry<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.mpi.govt.nz/portals/0/documents/forestry/forestry-nz/forest-mapping/WSR\\_a4\\_CNI.pdf](http://www.mpi.govt.nz/portals/0/documents/forestry/forestry-nz/forest-mapping/WSR_a4_CNI.pdf)

### 8.2.1 First Planting Boom and Employment Strategy

The first major forestry planting boom was carried out during the 1920s and 1930s (Eyre & Burton, 1998/99), utilising large numbers of unemployed men during the Great Depression (Roche, 1990; Allsop, 1973; Kennedy, 1951). At one stage during the Great Depression, up to 18% of the New Zealand male labour force was unemployed (Deeks & Boxall, 1989). In response, the government actively sought to intervene to lessen the societal impact, through direct employment schemes. Prior to this, the majority of planting was carried out using labour from the newly formed prison farms in the Central North Island. By 1927 the unemployed percentage of the afforestation labour force outnumbered any other group involved (Roche, 1990). The New Zealand Government of the time had a staunch policy of no relief payments to the unemployed, who were not actively working (Roche, 1990), and as such the forestry unemployment programme was effectively an early ‘work for the dole’ scheme. The unemployed workers were utilised during the planting season, and as such would receive relief payments during this period, but would not be required off- season. As afforestation efforts outgrew the temporary labour force, a portion of the unemployed labour force were kept on during the winter season, to prepare for the next seasons planting – and unemployed workers were recruited from as far away as Auckland (Roche, 1990). The utilisation of the unemployed was seen as such a success, that the government-initiated Unemployment Board formerly identified afforestation as an activity which could, now and in the future, actively absorb excess unemployed throughout the country (Roche, 1990).

By 1940 forestry operations in New Zealand had all but stopped, due to war-

time labour needs during World War II (Kennedy, 1951; Allsop, 1973), and wood product output was barely meeting war-time demands. At the same time, the New Zealand Forest Service became aware that New Zealand's forest assets had a very narrow age band (due to the rapid planting in the 1920s and 1930s). Alongside the excess stock of unprocessed wood, the government was aware of an impending influx of labour into the country after the Second World War, and in line with a Keynesian emphasis on full employment, was conscious of not revisiting high levels of unemployment. A forestry management plan was put in place, to both absorb this labour force and to process the wood stock. Alongside this utilisation of unskilled and semi-skilled labour, the Forest Service also began to look towards diversity within forestry operation, in order to provide employment for workers from a wider range of skill levels (Roche, 1990). The implementation of this plan saw the absorption of ex-servicemen into the semi-professional ranks of the forestry industry and sub-professional forestry training (Allsop, 1973). Assistance was also available for ex-servicemen to qualify with professional forestry qualifications at overseas universities (Allsop, 1973). By the late 1940s, the New Zealand forestry operations had become a fully integrated industry, encompassing planting and processing, alongside administrative and management functions.

### 8.2.2 Processing the Developing Forests

During the 1920s and 30s planting 'boom', private afforestation companies began to discuss the potential of wood pulp production (Roche, 1990). One such private company was NZ Perpetual Forests Forestry Holdings. New Zealand Forest Products Ltd. (NZFP) was incorporated in 1935, taking over NZ Perpetual Forests Forestry Holdings, and began looking to diversify from planting and afforestation into the production of wood products (New

Zealand Forest Products, 1954; Healy, 1982). The first New Zealand pulp plant was ordered from Germany in 1939, by Putaruru Pine & Pulp Ltd., however, the delivery and construction of the plant was prevented by the outbreak of the World War II (Lory, 1977). Regardless, it has been argued that even if the plant had have been delivered as scheduled, that its production would have been very limited, as at the time, all private forestry companies required extensive government approval and licensing (which Putaruru Pine and Pulp did not have).

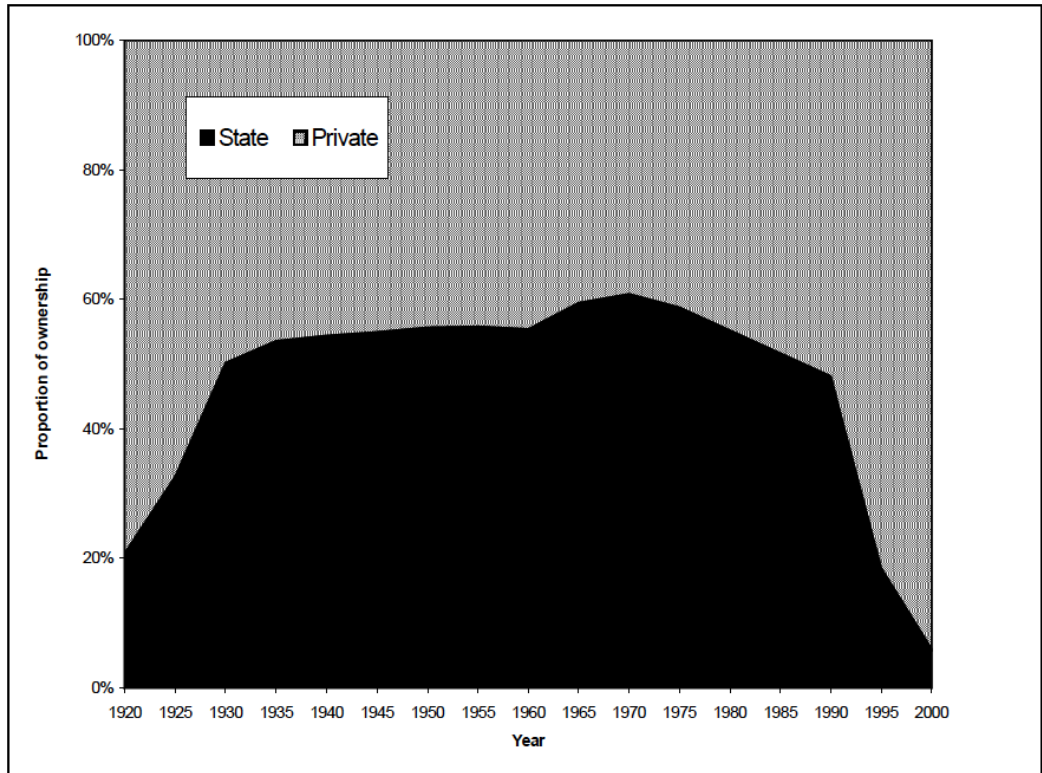
The first forestry production operation in the South Waikato area was a small sawmill, built at Waotu (just outside Putaruru) in 1939 by NZFP (Lory 1977; New Zealand Forest Products, 1954; New Zealand Forest Products 1979). In May 1943, as part of the new national forestry strategy, and in part to absorb excess labour at the close of the Second World War, Cabinet recommended that the first pulp and paper license be granted to New Zealand Forest Products. The licensing was granted for New Zealand's first fully integrated forestry operation, the Kinleith Mill.

### 8.2.3 Second Planting Boom

In 1960 the second forestry-planting boom began, however this time the ideology behind renewable planting had changed significantly (Britton et al, 1992). Whereas previously only non-farming land had been used for forestry, the government was now providing incentives to farmers to either offer their land for government acquisition, or to develop private land into forestry. For example, at the time, the timber value of trees planted on private land became exempt from estate duty (Roche, 1990). This showed a change in emphasis from the government planned and administered use of resources

that characterised Keynesian principles, to a profit- driven model, where individual owners could utilise their land for maximum return.

The government also began, for the first time, to actively encourage private companies to take part in forestry development. Prior to this period, there had been a number of private companies operating, but these were largely constrained by government controls and intervention, and largely acted as contractors to the Forest Service (Roche, 1990). New Zealand Perpetual Forests, and later NZFP, fell under this category. As part of the second planting boom, the New Zealand Government had a policy to encourage private companies to equal the government's acquisition and planting activities (Allsop, 1973). However, despite this policy, in the first four years of the planting boom, between 1960 and 1964, private companies did not significantly add to their holdings (Allsop, 1973).



**Figure 4 - Proportion of State and Privately Owned Forestry in New Zealand, 1920-2000<sup>13</sup>**

<sup>13</sup> Brown & Ortiz, 2001, p. 14

To stimulate private capital investment in forestry, in 1965 the government issued the first form of financial corporate encouragement, and declared that, for tax purposes, any expenditure on forestry development could be claimed against any other source of income (Roche, 1990). This was the first time since the depression that direct subsidies had been provided to the private forestry industry, and signified an increased role for the private sector. This change is illustrated in Figure 4, which details the proportion of state and privately owned forests from 1920-2000

#### 8.2.4 Summary

The systematic development of the North Island forests had dual economic and social goals, even prior to the implementation of Keynesian macro-management policies. However, by the mid-1960s, there was a move away from direct government management of the industry, and towards private enterprises. The first major private processing enterprise was the development of the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill, the construction and operation of which necessitated the development of the town of Tokoroa.

### **8.3 The Early Development of New Zealand Forest Products and Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill**

The granting of the first pulp and paper license, in 1943, opened the way for NZFP to develop the planned Mill, on land the company owned located in Tokoroa. The licensing was granted for New Zealand's first fully integrated forestry operation, on the edge of the 50,000-acre central North Island Maraetai Block – the current site of Kinleith Mill (as illustrated in Figure 5).



**Figure 5 - Location of Kinleith Forestry Block**

The first stage of the development was the establishment of the main Kinleith sawmill, in 1950 (Lory, 1977; Healy, 1982). The first Chemical Pulp was produced at the main Mill in August 1953, and the No.1 Paper Machine began its first production in November 1953. The Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill officially opened in 1954, at an estimated cost of £1.5 million (Healy, 1982). This amount was equivalent to 0.2% of New Zealand's GNP at the time, and 0.4% of the National taxable income (NZ Statistics).

When opened, although a private commercial venture, the Mill had a clear dual purpose— that of commercial success alongside community wellbeing. In this sense, the Mill was a micro-level example of the wider Keynesian ideology. This dual purpose is illustrated by the following quote from the publication distributed as part of the opening celebrations:

Hundreds of allied interests were represented in building Kinleith. Everyone had special pride in a job well done. To me, these Mills have ushered in a new era of forest wealth, giving promise of even greater things to come. Industries such as these, based on our rich soil and favourable climate and bringing population and progress to former wastelands, must be of lasting economic benefit not only to the Dominion but also to the British Commonwealth as a whole – Sir David Henry (New Zealand Forest Products, 1954)

### 8.3.1 Organisational Structure

The Kinleith workforce in the early years represented something of a micro-society. The skill and demographic mix at the Mill resembled a cross-section of the wider Tokoroa community, with higher than national average rates of Maori and Pacific Island workers (Osborne, Rangiawha & Williams, 1989; Healy, 1982), many of whom were attracted to Tokoroa by work opportunities and government urbanisation programmes. The managerial roles (Administration, Technical, Skilled Trades) were generally populated by Europeans (NZ, Australian, Dutch and British), and the semi-skilled staff positions tended to be a more broad mix of NZ European, Maori and Pacific Islanders (Chapple, 1976). The unskilled workers were largely made up of Maori and Pacific Island workers. Many of the women in the Tokoroa region were also employed at the Mill, but tended to be concentrated in the administration and catering divisions (Chapple, 1976).

The Kinleith plant operated under a traditional hierarchical structure, with marked segregation between staff workers, which included management, administration and foremen, and working gangs (Chapple, 1976). Within this

structure however, employees were seen as relatively equal (with the exception of management), and status was attributable to seniority.

The total operations at the Mill resembled a fully self-sufficient operation, with two divisions; forestry operations (Forest work, Log Transport, Saw Milling, Box Mill, Pulp and Paper Manufacturing), and service operations (Vehicle Maintenance, Turpentine and Oil Plants, Housing, Administration and Clerical, Fire Brigade, Medical Service and Catering) (Chapple, 1976).

Mirroring a traditional bureaucratic employment relationship, industrial relations at Kinleith were characterised by high union involvement, and regular industrial action. Industrial action peaked during the 1970s, and was reported to have cost New Zealand Forest Products more than \$1million in the period 1971-1973, and more than \$12 million from 1976-1977 (Roche & Wooding, 1976). The high incident of industrial action has been partially attributed to the wide union representation at the Mill. All of the major New Zealand unions were represented at the Mill (which had 15 unions represented in total, in addition to a combined union to cover the specific Kinleith site). Therefore, it was likely that the Mill would have been affected if any of the major unions undertook national industrial action.

### 8.3.2 National Role

Kinleith also had an important economic and social role on a national level. The workforce at Kinleith was broadly representative of the social and skill demographics in all industries, and had all of the major trade unions represented at the Mill. Therefore, as broadly reflective of the national

labour force, the Mill was often used by both government and unions, to test new industry or labour policies (Harbridge & Walsh, 1983). The Mill was also of national economic importance. By the late 1950s, NZFP was the largest private company in New Zealand, and Kinleith was the largest Pulp and Paper Mill in Australasia. The large relative organisational size meant that the company, and the workforce, both had significant national political power. Therefore, although owned by a private company, the Kinleith Mill (and NZFP as a whole), had a close relationship with the New Zealand Government (Healy, 1982), and was a significant part of the governments industry-based employment policy at the time. An illustration of the national importance placed on Kinleith's workforce came during the 12 week strike in 1980, when the government repealed a major piece of legislation – the Remuneration Act 1980 – directly in response to Kinleith worker demands (Deeks & Boxall, 1989; Vanguard Films, 1986).

#### **8.4 NZFP and the Move to International Operations**

Up until the 1980s, New Zealand Forest Products operated an export-based internationalisation strategy, which mirrored governmental initiatives of the time. Soon after opening, the Mill secured a 20-year contract to supply Australian Newsprint Mills Ltd. (NZFP, 1954). During the 1960s, NZFP became the largest company in New Zealand (Britton et al, 1992). By the 1970s, New Zealand Forest Products growth strategy revolved around increasing exports to Australia, and the growth of domestic operations through the acquisition of a number of smaller New Zealand firms (Britton et al, 1992; Healy, 1982). Throughout the 1970s, despite the national economic downturn, NZFP profits continued to rise, and as is illustrated in Figure 6, experienced significantly higher rises during the 1970s than in the previous two decades.

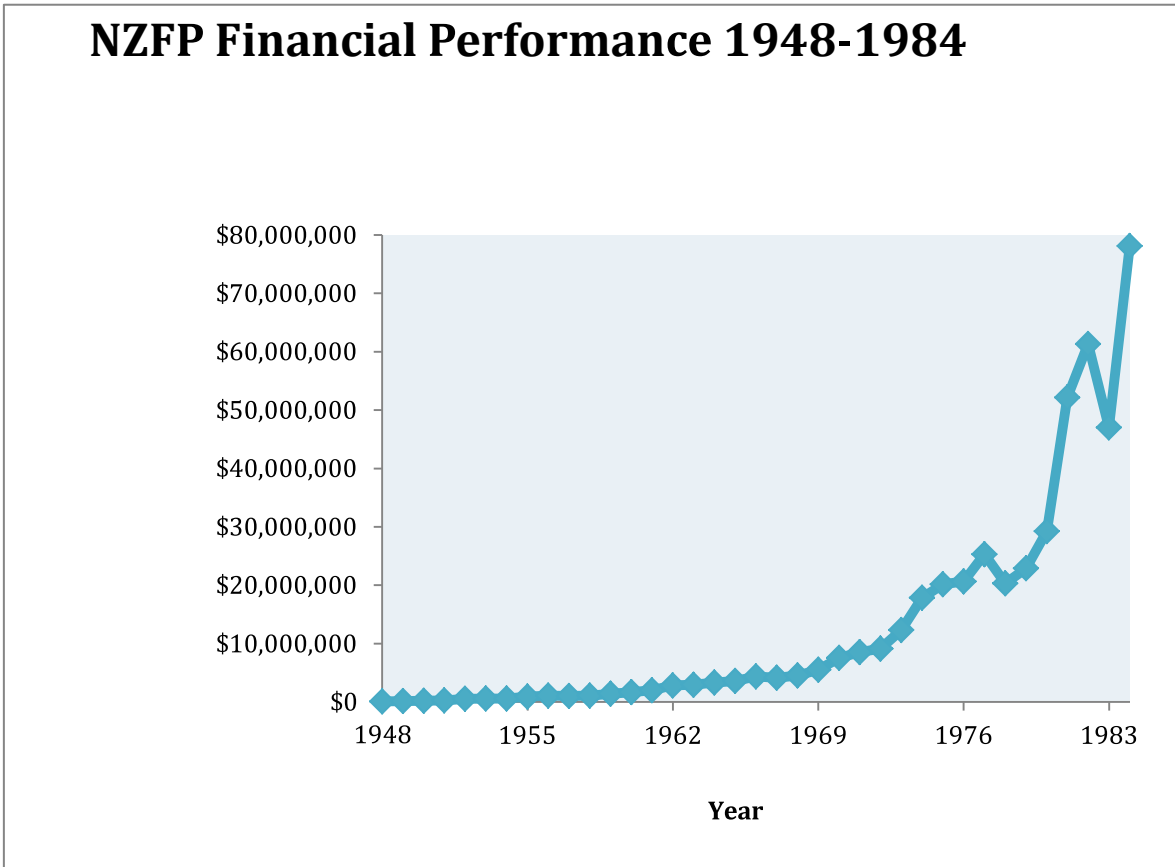


Figure 6 - NZFP Financial Performance 1948-1984

Alongside these increases in financial performance, the Kinleith workforce numbers also increased rapidly, as shown in Figure 7.

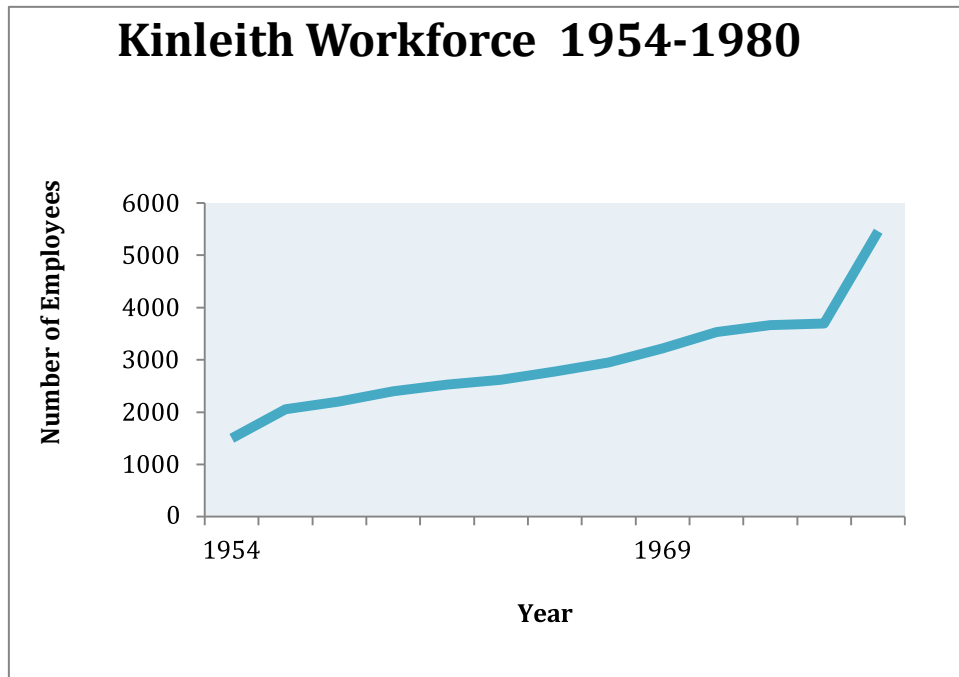


Figure 7 - Total Kinleith Workforce 1954-1980

#### 8.4.1 Industrial Relations

The traditional solidarity of Kinleith workers and the centralised bargaining system were challenged, firstly by national legislative changes during the 1980s and 1990s, and later by Mill management during successive restructurings. The New Zealand Government passed legislation to bring in allowances based on qualification, where previously the major equity structure was based on seniority (McCaw and Harbridge, 1990). The Kinleith workforce was particularly opposed to these changes, as the Mill employed workers covering a wide range of skill levels, from semi-skilled labourers to skilled trades-people and professionals. What followed was a series of demarcation disputes, and industrial unrest. These changes challenged not

only the status structures within the Mill, but also in the surrounding community.

The traditional strength of the combined union was also directly targeted by management. For example, a 16-day strike in 1977 was largely settled through breaking the combined Kinleith union. Management targeted individual unions with separate offers, in an effort to break the combined strength. The Pulp and Paper workers were the first to withdraw from the combined effort, and settled for an 18% increase (Vanguard Films, 1996). This was the first time that the historically combined labour strength at Kinleith had been broken.

According to Kinleith management, the level of industrial action was beginning to reach prohibitive levels. In the Pulp and Paper industry as a whole, the number of strikes peaked in 1978 with a reported 27 stoppages (Roche & Wooding, 1986), and although the total number of strikes dropped from this point, each action tended to be lengthier, increasing the net effect. This trend was repeated at Kinleith, culminating in a 12-week strike in 1980. Mill management began to threaten the workforce with redundancy or even closure should action continue. These threats impacted not only on the workers at Kinleith, but also on the town of Tokoroa, which was already suffering from an increased cost of living due to stagflationary conditions, described in Chapter 7.

#### 8.4.2 Global Production and Ownership

By the late 1960s, New Zealand Forest Products was the largest private

company in New Zealand, and Kinleith was the largest Pulp and Paper Mill in Australasia (New Zealand Forest Products, 1980). During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the corporate strategy was one of export-led internationalisation and acquisition. Being a large, successful New Zealand Company, increasing attention was paid to NZFP by prospective owners. During the early 1980s, a number of takeover bids occurred, but all were halted – largely by Government intervention (Britton et al, 1992).

However, during the stock market crash of October 1987, NZFP's share price fell by 65c per share (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990), and the value of the company fell by \$1billion. By the time of the stock market crash, the New Zealand regulatory environment was significantly different, and allowed a much freer acquisition of assets. As such, in late 1987, an Australian Company, Elders Resources Ltd., merged with NZFP, and formed a new company Elders-NZFP (an effective takeover by Elders Resources). The new company became Australasia's largest private forestry owners (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990).

Soon after the merger, the company began to look to separate the traditional Tayloristic production process which was focused around site-based beauracracies. The Elders- NZFP group was soon split into 4 resource groups (mining, oil, gas and forest products), and the forest products group into 3 branded divisions – Pulp and paper, Forests and Pinex Timber Production. This restructuring effectively divided the Kinleith site, as workers who were combined under the Kinleith employee grouping were now operating under different companies.

Elders-NZFP management began to look to efficiencies which could be gained away from the central site. For example, the newly appointed managing director of the Timber Products division announced that the Kinleith sawmill would be disestablished, and instead, smaller more flexible operations would be built external to the Kinleith site (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). The justification for this change was that separating the site would minimise disruption due to industrial action, and increase potential flexibility. Therefore, this move was an overt attempt to break the strength of the unions.

Another ownership change came in 1990, when Carter Holt Harvey (CHH) bought a 53% share of Elders-NZFP, for between \$700-900 million, placing a controlling share back with a New Zealand company (Wall Street Journal, 1990; Birchfield & Grant, 1993). With the combined assets of NZFP, and those that CHH already owned, by 1992 Carter Holt Harvey owned 25.1% of New Zealand's total forest plantation stocks (Birchfield & Grant, 1993).

Up until the sale to Carter Holt Harvey, NZFP's strategy remained export-led, although the company had begun to move further afield than traditional alliances with Australia (Healy, 1982). However, even as early as 1990, Carter Holt Harvey was already a transnational company, with a strategy including not only export markets, but also trans-national operations in Chile, Algeria and USA (Carter Holt Harvey, 1990). In addition, CHH was not only a large player in the forestry industry, but also had large diversified interests including the Comalco Aluminum Smelter, Smith and Smith Glass, and Sealord Products Ltd (Carter Holt Harvey, 1990).

To aid further international operations, soon after the NZFP purchase, Carter Holt Harvey shares were floated on the Australian share market, allowing for global finance options, and in the mid-1990s, the company completed its first share issue in the United States (Carter Holt Harvey, 1995). Large-scale international ownership was largely enabled by the floating of the \$NZ and the liberalisation of New Zealand's monetary policy. The mobility of capital enabled further investments in overseas operations, such as the large-scale forestry holdings in Chile. By the mid-1990s, Carter Holt Harvey was the second largest foreign investor in Chile, with major shareholdings in companies which controlled – among other things – the major market share in oil distribution and forestry. Carter Holt Harvey began to utilise its operations to suit individual markets, with low-cost pulp and paper products being produced at the Chile operations – competing directly with the goods traditionally produced at Kinleith.

This move to international processing was in part enabled by the perception of permissive corporate policies on the part of governments in potential overseas markets. For example, during the same period that Carter Holt Harvey was first talking of the long term viability of the Kinleith Mill, it was also praising the Chilean government's industrial policy, as shown in the following:

The Chilean economy is consolidating, with the Government maintaining prudent and market oriented policies that give rise to an increased level of confidence in the coming year... reaffirms our belief in the essential fairness of the Chilean Governments attitude toward foreign investment. (Carter Holt Harvey, 1990, p. 36)

In another statement, Carter Holt chairman Richard Carter “argued that Chilean-style labour laws were needed at home” (Kelsey, 1999, p. 47).

Although Carter Holt Harvey was essentially operating on a transnational scale, true international ownership came in 1995, when United States based paper company International Paper Inc. brought a 50% controlling interest in Carter Holt Harvey (Witcher & Welsh, 1995). This development was significant because the Mill, which had been an integral part of New Zealand’s production and social history, was now in the larger asset pool of a multi-national company (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996).

In 2005, Rank Group purchased a majority stake in Carter Holt Harvey. Rank Group is led by high profile New Zealand businessman and ‘rich lister’, Graeme Hart. The company was delisted from the New Zealand Stock Exchange in the same year.

#### 8.4.3 Technological Change at Kinleith

By the mid-1980s, the Kinleith plant was regularly achieving monthly production records, and in the 1990s, as stages of the modernisation plans came into effect, increased production year-by-year. The increases in capacity and productivity, first evident in the early 1970s, led management to increasingly talk of ‘excess production’, for which it was imperative that new markets were found, as described in the following: “The Mills had been made larger so they would be more economic units and contribute to a more balanced cutting of the company’s very extensive forests. But bigger Mills meant more pulp and paper to sell” (Healy, 1982, p. 151).

Another stage of modernisation was carried out at the site in 1993, upgrading the plywood plant, at a cost of approximately \$30 million (Carter Holt to Expand, 1992). By 1994, consistent with a flexibility-based Globalisation strategy, Kinleith had introduced a range of flexible work practices, including increasing the number of production cycles (Carter Holt Harvey, 1994), and the introduction of ‘work productivity teams’, which had the aim of identifying areas of process and productivity improvement. The global operational structure was then truly enabled, and Carter Holt Harvey embarked upon a major ‘rationalisation’ programme, aimed at ensuring ‘synergy’ across its production, conversion and distribution activities (Carter Holt Harvey, 1995). These initiatives were followed by the introduction of a major Information Technology project (SAP), aimed at introducing further efficiencies into the production process (Jayne, 2000). At the time, this was the largest project of its type to be implemented in New Zealand.

The increasing emphasis on team-based work structures and technology ‘efficiencies’ culminated in the \$300 million Kinleith modernisation plan, announced in 1996 (Pilott, 1996; Weir, 1996), and completed in 1999. This programme increased Mill production capacity by 30%, while reducing costs by \$50 million annually (through increased productivity) (Carter Holt Harvey, 1998). In 1998, autonomous work teams were introduced at Kinleith. The stated link between the modernisation plans, flexible work practices and the programme of structural adjustment can be seen in the following quote:

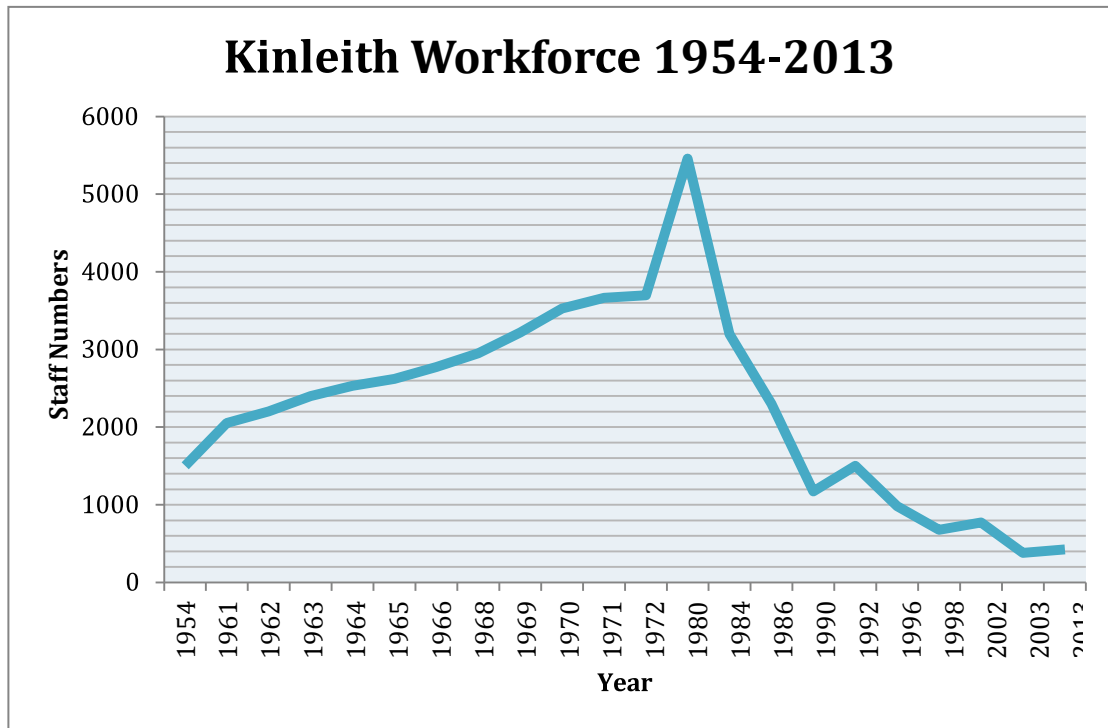
The upgrade would not have gone ahead without the cuts to import controls, abolition of export subsidies, and control of inflation, financial market liberalisation and labour market changes that are the hallmarks of the decade-long reform programme. (Reynolds, 1999)

#### 8.4.4 Workforce Reduction

In line with the changes in ownership, global expansion and changes in technology, the Kinleith Mill experienced widespread workforce reduction from the early 1980s, through the 1990s and 2000s. For a summary of changes to workforce numbers, see Figure 8.

The threat of large-scale workforce reduction at Kinleith first arose during the 12- week strike in 1980. Despite increasing profits, Mill management conveyed the national message of economically adverse conditions. Industrial action began to be seen as another factor adding to this increasing national sense of crisis. By the time the 1980 strike had been settled, NZFP management clearly outlined the possible long-term consequences of such industrial action, as shown in this excerpt from the 1980 New Zealand Forest Products Annual Report:

The strike at Kinleith cost the Company, Kinleith employees, and New Zealand as a whole...it is difficult to quantify, or indeed to describe in any detail, the effect of a three-month stoppage on the Company's major Mills. The results of the Company show a very adverse effect so far as the Profit and Loss Account is concerned, but cannot illustrate adequately the effect...which is absolutely vital in the provision of future jobs for Company employees, contractors and other associated with the Company's activities. (p. 27)



**Figure 8 - Total Kinleith Workforce 1954-2013**

By the mid-1980s, the power balance at the Mill had significantly changed. In 1986, a lockout by management resulted in employees agreeing to a new ‘no strike’ dispute resolution process, and in 1987, 500 employees involved with the modernisation project were suspended when management deemed they were not following this process (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990).

Prior to the sale of NZFP to Elders, the company was discussing redundancies. In 1986, NZFP announced plans to close the Whakatane Board Mill, and that they had identified 500 surplus jobs between both the Whakatane and Kinleith sites (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). The justification

given at this time was that increased competition due to reduction in trade tariffs, and increasingly volatile currency had resulted in a need to cut costs. At the contract negotiation in the same year, the company agreed to union demands of a 16.3% increase in wages and a 15.5% increase in allowances, but stated that this increase must be 'self-funded', signaling the requirement for a reduction in workforce numbers. Management thus proceeded to identify 715 surplus jobs at Kinleith, which were scheduled to be reduced within 12 months (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990).

The first round of large-scale workforce reduction was also accompanied by a number of changes to work design. Workers were required to comply with increasingly flexible working times, reduction in overtime, 'multi-skilling' of existing staff, allowing the company to contract previously internal positions, and a reduction in additional provisions such as sick leave and annual leave (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). These changes meant that although the remaining workers received the requested wage increase, due to the changes to working hours and reduction of overtime, the net result for many was an income reduction of up to 20%.

Consistent with the wider political messages of the time, the Kinleith redundancies were portrayed by NZFP management as 'absolutely necessary to the survival of the company' (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990, p.p. 5). An example of this can be seen in a quote from the NZFP director of operations (in McCaw & Harbridge, 1990):

Our core business...is not sufficiently profitable... the existence of NZFP is only justified by our ability to make a profit...at Kinleith, the budgeted profits for 1986/87 are not worth the effort and risk

involved in keeping it running unless we can see a change for the better in the future. (p. 6)

Once Elders had taken over control of the company, management announced long-term plans to significantly restructure Elders-NZFP. As part of this restructure, the company identified up to 3000 surplus jobs throughout the company. The new management team also repeated the threatened closure of Kinleith, unless assurance was given that modernisation plans could be completed on time, and on budget. In response, the combined unions agreed to a 'no strike' dispute resolution procedure, projected to last through until 1992. This agreement signaled an assumed shared responsibility for the completion of the project with both the workers and management (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990).

Soon after, NZFP negotiated the first set of job losses, proposing the workforce at Kinleith be reduced by 530 over a 30-month period, with a further 350 when the older paper machines were closed, as part of the modernisation project. The union agreed to this reduction, as importantly, management had also included provision for a new union-management consultation process. Also crucial to the passing of the proposed reduction, was the outlawing of 2-tier bargaining systems with the introduction of the Industrial Relations Act in 1987 (McCaw & Harbridge, 1990). This meant that the unions could no longer bargain as national agencies, and as a combined union, which further eroded the collective power at the Mill.

By the time the modernisation plans were announced in 1988, they were

met with relief in the town, which had by this time already suffered job losses (McCaw and Harbridge, 1990), rather than as the cause of further redundancies. This support for the modernisation was despite the company announcing that the long-term impact of the modernisation programme would be the potential loss of up to 600 jobs (Elders NZFP Concludes Industrial Agreement, 1989). The plans were seen as providing valuable temporary employment and income for the town. Unfortunately, temporary is all the employment proved to be. New owners Carter Holt Harvey continued to downsize during the 1990s, and as each stage of the modernisation plans came online, the Mill workforce reduced repeatedly. Carter Holt Harvey's overseas owners, International Paper, also had a reputation for downsizing or closing underperforming operations. According to Scanlon (2003):

In recent years IP (International Paper) has sold nine underperforming companies, closed 33 manufacturing sites and downsized a further 12, reduced pulp and paper production by 2.4 million tonnes and made almost 12,000 employees redundant.

Modernisation plans were completed in 1999, and by 2001, the Kinleith workforce numbered just 770. A further 350 staff were made redundant in another round of restructuring, involving the outsourcing of maintenance roles, in 2002/2003.

## **8.5 Development and Change in Tokoroa**

The development of the North Island forests, and the construction of the Kinleith Mill, necessitated, and facilitated, the development of the town of

Tokoroa. Tokoroa currently has a population of approximately 12,000 (Waikato District Health Board, 2009). In this section, I will briefly describe the key aspects of town development, the historic role of the land for the local Iwi, and the impact of changes at the Mill and workforce reduction on the town.

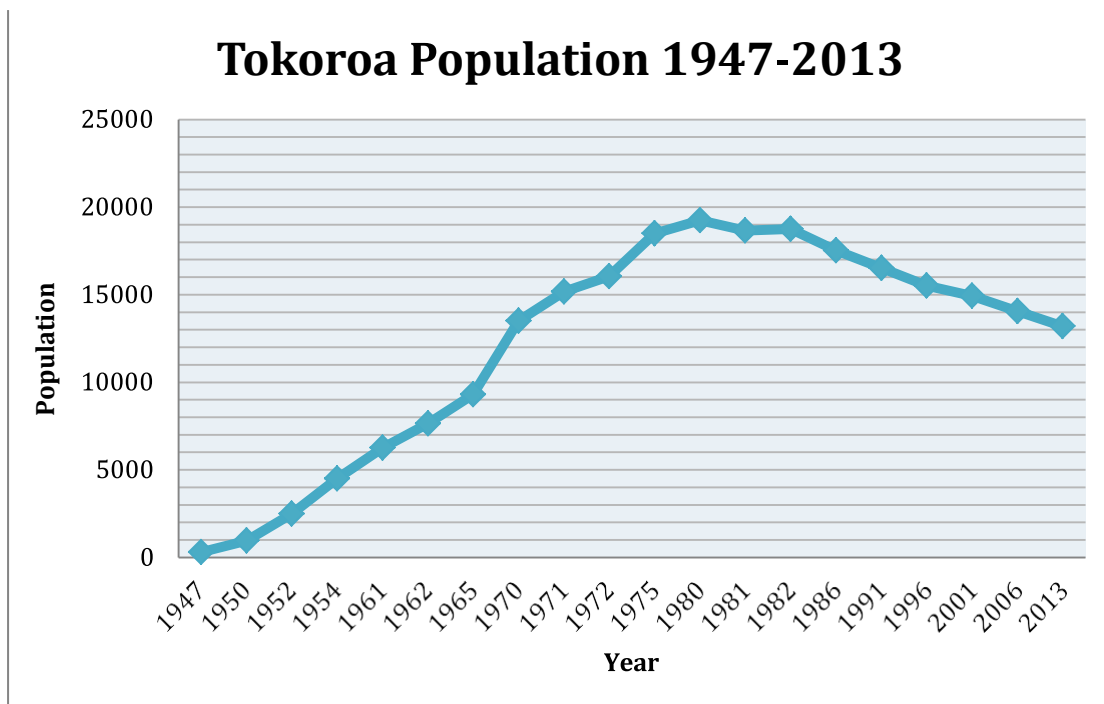
### 8.5.1 Pre Mill Development

Prior to the development of the Mill, Tokoroa consisted of a small farming community. According to Chapple (1976), this land was not suited to farming, as a volcanic plateau, and as such, the area remained only sparsely settled 'In the early 1920s the pumice plateau was considered one of the areas of the North Island which were least suitable for economic exploitation and human settlement' (p.4.). From the early 1990s, a small farming community existed, then called Maraetai, however the soil was cobalt deficient, and stock failed to thrive due to 'bush sickness' (Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2013). The source of the sickness was found and remedied in the mid-1930s, but by which time many farmers had abandoned their land, and the area remained sparsely settled.

### 8.5.2 Development of Tokoroa for NZFP

The main town centre was gazetted in 1947, from 400 acres of NZFP-owned land (Healy, 1982). The first NZFP houses were built in 1947 (Williams, 2005) to house workers employed to construct the Kinleith Mill. Many of these workers were also housed in 5 single men's camps, which combined housed approximately 1000 men. From the first stage of Mill development, until the opening of the Mill, the population increased by approximately 1000 per year (Healy, 1982).

By 1954, when the Mill was officially opened, New Zealand Forest Products owned over 600 houses in the town, to house its permanent employees (New Zealand Forest Products, 1954). At the time, the NZFP housing scheme represented the largest private housing scheme in New Zealand. Over the next 15 years, as the Mill expanded, the town continued to grow. By 1970, the population of Tokoroa exceeded 16,000 (Chapple, 1976). A graph of the population growth in Tokoroa from 1954 to 2013 is shown in Figure 9.



**Figure 9 - Tokoroa Population 1947-2013**

The development of the Mill also led to the development of valuable infrastructure in Tokoroa. For example, the rail and water services in the

town, which were advanced for the time, were originally installed and funded by NZFP, to fulfil the needs of the Mill (Healy, 1982). In addition, the Mill provided health care for its workers and their families (Chapple, 1976), which was a useful addition to the town's medical services. However, the rapid development of the town soon stretched the infrastructure. The town was largely made up of Mill workers and their families, and as such had a large proportion of young people. Combined with increased national birth rates during this time, by 1970, Tokoroa had an average age of just 37 (Chapple, 1976). By the early 1970s, the town was beginning to experience a shortage of essential services, particularly health services and education, with approximately 6000 students enrolled in primary and secondary education in the town.

The Mill also played a direct role in the community. New Zealand Forest Products was involved with the administration of the town, with the company nominating one of the seven town council members (Lory, 1977). However, with this direct involvement, at times the Mill also constrained the town. For example, pressure from NZFP resulted in Tokoroa only gaining separate borough status in 1975, although originally eligible in the early 1950s (Healy, 1982). NZFP resisted the change, as it would mean an increase in rates for the Mill.

NZFP also directly funded social and community groups (Chapple, 1976; Healy, 1982), and work at Kinleith provided a central focus for many community groups. For example, a group of workers wives organised a roster, whereby women from Tokoroa would look after each other's children, and cook and clean for those who were ill or in need. There was a large number of community groups, with 148 community groups and 11

churches being recorded in 1976 (Chapple, 1976). The Mill also provided a clear career path for many of the Tokoroa youth, who expected to move into trade apprenticeships upon leaving school (Chapple, 1976).

### 8.5.3 Employment Migration and Town Development

Early migration to Tokoroa largely consisted of people employed in the construction of the Mill. In particular, specialist workers emigrated from Europe in these early stages under the selected assisted immigration scheme.

During the 1960s, Tokoroa was the destination for large numbers of migrants under the first Pacific employment migration scheme. By 1972, the town had double the national average proportion of Pacific peoples, with 20% of the town's population from the Pacific Islands. In particular, there was a significant Cook Island community, numbering approximately 2000 in 1972.

In addition to international migration, the town also experienced high levels of internal migration, with many residents coming from other parts of New Zealand to work at the Mill. However, this was largely a transient workforce, with a high turnover of residents noted (Chapple, 1976). For example, in 1969, 86% of the population had resided in the town for less than 10 years, 63% for less than 5 years, and 17% for less than 1 year.

### 8.5.4 The End of the Boom Times and Population Decline

The effects of the large-scale redundancies described in Section 8.5.3 on the town of Tokoroa were substantial. In 1981, Tokoroa had just 150 registered unemployed (Campbell & Weerasinghe, 1986). Unemployment in the town tripled in the three years 1986-1989, from 530 to 1517, and the number of single parent families registered for the Domestic Purposes Benefit doubled (Osborne et al, 1989). In 2011, Tokoroa had an unemployment rate of 15.6%, and a median income of \$15,600 (Tokoroa Youth Action Plan, Raukawa, 2011). As at 2006, (Statistics NZ), 29.9% of families in Tokoroa were single-parent families.

These changes in income and employment rates have flowed down to a decrease in major socio-economic indicators. For example, as at 2012, the infant mortality rate in Tokoroa, at 13.8 per 1,000 births was over twice the national average of 5.1 per 1,000 births (National Institute of Rural Health, 2012)

Another facet of the drive towards rationalisation at Kinleith was to minimise the traditional social role the Mill had played with the local community. By 1984, NZFP had reduced the number of employee houses from 2000 (Osborne et al, 1989) to just over 650, and by 1990 had sold the last of the company-owned housing. Many of the initial sales were to NZFP employees through a company mortgage plan (Campbell & Weerasinghe, 1986; Osborne et al, 1989).

#### 8.5.5 Training In Tokoroa

Adult Education has a longstanding history in Tokoroa. Being the centre of industrial development in the 1950s, with the concurrent construction of both the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill and the Waikato River Dams Project, the town also provided a key industrial training role. Additionally, the town boasted the highest number of clubs and associations per capita in New Zealand (Chapple, 1976). These would no doubt have been places of skill-transference and social capital development. These characteristics led to Tokoroa being a highly skilled workforce up until the period of redundancies and population decline in the 1980s and 1990s. Tokoroa now has significantly lower skill-levels than the national average, with only 7.2% of population having post-secondary school qualification, compared to national average of 9.5% (NZ Statistics, 2006).

Since the 1970s, there has been an active community education programme in place, coordinated from Tokoroa High School, but with activities taking place at a variety of schools and community facilities. According to the Community Education coordinator, prior to the 2009 funding cuts, approximately 1200 individuals accessed this programme each year, and the programme employed 50 tutors.

#### 8.5.6 Summary

The town of Tokoroa was developed on land which was company owned at the time, although had a deep connection for the Raukawa peoples. The town experienced a significant boom period, with significant increases in population growth, low levels of unemployment, and above average incomes. However, the workforce reduction at Kinleith significantly impacted the town, notably resulting in a population decline, and an

increase in unemployment. This rapid ‘boom and bust’ cycle, combined with many specific contextual factors, such as the diversity of the ethnic and cultural makeup of the town, has significant implications for notions of community identity.

## **8.6 Documented Resistance**

Being a major site of industrial employment within the New Zealand labour market, Kinleith Mill and the town of Tokoroa was also characterised nationally as a focus of union presence and industrial action. Hence, documentation of resistance in the town generally centres on industrial action, with major events being the 1980 and 2003 strikes.

### **8.6.1 1980 strike**

The 12-week Kinleith strike of 1980 was one of the longest in New Zealand’s industrial history, and was borne from a combined union demand of a 21% wage increase. After a period of 6-weeks, New Zealand Forest Products agreed to a 20% wage increase, only to have this agreement vetoed by the National government of the time, under the Remuneration Act 1980. However, after a further 4 weeks, and with no sign of worker concession, the government was forced to repeal this legislation and allow the agreed increase to proceed (Deeks & Boxall, 1989; Vanguard Films, 1996).

Accounts presented about the 1980 industrial action depict the town as being largely in support of the workers, opening ‘relief centres’ - once described as having a ‘carnival atmosphere’ (Vanguard Films, 1996).

However, there were a range of experiences of this period, with accounts also including hardship on the families of non-union town members and their families. Farmers from surrounding areas contributed food supplies, and the community at large coordinated supplies and support for the families of workers on strike. Additionally, workers enjoyed national support, with the Federation of Labour encouraging all unions to donate a proportion of members' wages to the strikers. In total, \$630,000 in cash donations was made to support the striking workers.



Figure 10 - Advertisement in South Waikato News, 1980

### 8.6.2 2003 Downsizing and Strike at Kinleith

During 2002, Carter Holt Harvey Management undertook a review of operations at the Kinleith Mill, which had been deemed to be underproductive, despite company reports at the time reporting increasing levels of productivity. The outcome of this review was the decision to outsource maintenance and support functions to ABB Ltd, and to ‘rationalise’ production roles at the Mill. Workers were informed of the outcome a few days before Christmas, 2002. As part of the implementation plan, management had also identified which workers would be prioritised for on-going employment, a process which was in contradiction to traditional ‘last on, first off’ norms which had predominated such actions previously in New Zealand employment context.

The process taken by management was deemed unfair by the union, who also cited health and safety concerns regarding extra work hours required to meet new ‘productivity’ and promotion requirements (Roberts, 2003; Dearnaley, 2002; Thompson, 2003). A stopwork meeting in late January (Kinleith Shut Down, 2003) evolved into a full strike in late February 2003. However, by mid-March, workers at the Mill chemical plant were ordered back to work, because chlorine produced by the plant was used to chlorinate drinking water for the surrounding district (Strikers Put Safe Water First, 2003).

Soon after the outbreak of the strike, CHH management began to issue warnings regarding the long-term operations of the Mill. Firstly, just two weeks into the strike, it was stated that the plant was not returning ‘cost of capital’ and that it was ‘globally uncompetitive’ (Dearnaley, 2003). The

remaining Mill operations were suspended in April, or, as termed by management - put into 'protective maintenance mode'. At the time, the strike was reported as costing Carter Holt Harvey between \$170,000 and \$500,000 per day (Carter Holt Considering Suspending all Kinleith Activities, 2003; Weir, 2003). The suspension stopped work for 170 of the contracted maintenance staff (Corry, 2003; Dearnaley, 2003), many of whom were required by ABB to take annual or unpaid leave. The company hinted that if the strike was not quickly resolved, the shutdown may prove to be permanent (Kinleith Mill May be Closed, 2003) – a significant concern for striking workers, independent contracted staff, and the surrounding community.

The strike ended in late May 2003 (Graham, 2003), and at the time, it was estimated that it would take at least a year for the surrounding community to recover from the financial impacts (Graham, 2003). However, the Kinleith cuts were not the only to affect the region. Carter Holt Harvey rationalisation continued, to include cutting contracts with many of their long-term forestry contractors – meaning the loss of over 200 forestry jobs (Graham, 2003). Many of the contracted workers were from the South Waikato. Unfortunately for these workers, they were not eligible for notice periods or payouts afforded to permanent company staff. One such contractor is described in the following passage:

Peter Goldie owns Goldie Logging in Putaruru, and has been contracted to CHH for 18 years. He too has been laid off. 'It's such a shock. I guess we didn't think it would happen to us. We're the last in the line. But I've got millions of dollars of machinery I have to mortgage, bills to be met, and my crew to look after (Graham, 2003)

However, despite the crisis portrayed by Carter Holt Harvey management, the outlook at the organisations head office was significantly brighter. Less than one week after the redundancy announcement in 2002, the Carter Holt Harvey CEO was awarded a 23% pay increase (Carter Holt Harvey Chief Scores Big Pay Rise, 2002), and by year end, was awarded a position at International Papers American head office. In mid-2002, CHH share price rose to a two-year high, as ‘the revamping of the Kinleith operation was viewed very positively by the market’ (Steeman, 2002). In the June 2003 Quarter, the Pulp and Paper division of Carter Holt Harvey earned more than \$8 million before interest and tax. In October 2003 CHH announced a profit for the quarter which was up \$10million on the same period the previous year – despite the flow-on effects of the strike (Kinleith Boosts CHH Profits, 2003).

Of interest, although the strike was an overt show of worker resistance, the balance of power between workers/union and organisation had clearly shifted since the action in 1980. Ultimately, the strike was broken not by concessions from management, but in response to threats of closure from the organisation. Another key factor in the strike cessation was a lack of support from the surrounding community. Unlike in 1980, where by the community outwardly supported the striking workers, and acted to help support the striking families, in 2003, many in the town were vocally opposed to the strike, expressing fear of the consequences for the community should the Mill close.

### 8.6.3 Community Redevelopment – the ‘Talking Poles’

One redevelopment project which is overtly aimed at expressing Tokoroa’s identity is the Talking Poles project. The collection of sculptures now number 40, and are located throughout the town. Initially suggested as part of a retail redevelopment in 1996, the poles are aimed at ‘depict the variety of cultures in our community’<sup>14</sup>. According to the Talking Poles trust, this initiative, builds pride in the town, and has become a tourist attraction, with a ‘poles trail’ promoted in the town.

Some examples of the poles are presented in Figures 11-14.



**Figure 11 – Talking Poles: ‘The Pine Man’**

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<sup>14</sup> <http://www.talkingpoles.co.nz/>



**Figure 12 - Talking Pole: 'Abundance & Unity'**



**Figure 13 - Talking Pole: 'Pacific Memories'****Figure 14 - Talking Poles: 'Good Vibrations'**

These examples are representative of the messages depicted in this project, that of cultural diversity, optimism, rich history, and a connection with land and forestry. These messages seem in contradiction with the national image of the town, and of the decline in employment and population.

#### 8.6.4 Connecting the Tokoroa Diaspora

Another subtle form of resistance to the way in which the town is portrayed nationally, and to the decline of the town, is the way in which past residents stay connected. A strong sense of pride is maintained by those connected through social networks, with numerous Facebook Pages dedicated to Tokoroa. Two examples, 'People from Tokoroa' and 'You can take me out of Tokoroa but you can't take Tokoroa out of me' have members numbers 3156 and 4435 respectively. Anecdotally, those who have left the

town maintain a strong sense of identity with the town.

## **8.7 Discussion**

There is general agreement that the notions of ‘community’ have significantly changed as a result of the widespread adoption of neo-liberal economic values (Maitland, 1998). As described by Maitland (1998, p. 655),

As the market has invaded other domains, such as family and neighbourhood, relationships there have become infected with instability and transience that characterize market relations.

Anderson (1990, p. 179), further describes the contradiction between the ‘rules’ of ‘the market’, and the relational aspects of ‘community,

[In the market] each party... views one’s relation to the other as merely a means... [the parties] are free to change their trading partners at any time. The impersonality of the market leaves its participants free to pursue their individual interests unrestrained by any consideration of other people’s advantage... Every extension of the market thus represents an extension of the sphere of egoism... A fundamental contrast between the sphere of personal relations and that of the market is that the former is properly governed by the spirit of the gift rather than the spirit of commercial exchange... The authenticity and worth of these goods depend on the motives people have in providing them. Among these are trust, loyalty, conviviality, sympathy, affection, admirations, companionship and devotion. None of these goods can be bought.

These changes in ideology have had a significant impact on notions of community identity. Some argue that the community has transformed from a social grouping which encompassed values related to communal concern and benefit, to a group(s) of self-responsible individuals/citizens, with some shared 'responsibility' to perform societal processes the government divests to communities and the not for profit sector under a neo-liberal ideology (Benton-Evans, 1997; Pawar, 2003; Rose, 2000).

This change can be seen in the case material presented in this chapter. During the early development of the Mill, the 'community' was based around collective goals centred on the development of the Mill and a collective search for a sense of belonging for all those who had moved to the town. The strong commitment to collective good can be seen in the community response to the 1980 strike. However, by the time of the 2003 strike, this collective sense was eroded, and the striking workers were seen as compromising the long-term prosperity of the town. The taking up of the regeneration of the town, through endeavours such as the Talking Poles and are consistent with Third Way active citizenship. Such efforts to regenerate the town and assert an image which is at odds with national perceptions of the town, may be seen as a form of resistance at the level of community identity.

### 8.7.1 Community Identity as Resistance, Compliance or Creativity

The Talking Poles initiative is one example of community efforts to portray a community identity centred on cultural identity and community cohesion. Other initiatives, such as the youth employment programmes initiated by the Raukawa Trust Board are aimed at regenerating the presence and connection

to the local Iwi. Such efforts could be conceptualised as resistance or creativity at the level of community identity, consistent with Diprose and McGregor's (2009) notions of creating oppositional histories and memories as a base for collective political action. Indeed, while the community of Tokoroa was made up of individuals identifying with diverse cultural identification, these appear to have been shadowed in the early period by a unified focus on the Mill and the connections to the organisation. However, the recent emphasising of this cultural background appears to be an oppositional history.

Additionally, there are aspects of both discourse and performativity in these initiatives, fulfilling McKinley's view that identity as a political act requires both discourse and performativity. For example, the basis of the Talking Poles initiative is that the sculptures are not only expressions of culture and community identities, or the storying into being, but as explicit in the name of the project, these sculptures are intended to provoke discussion about the history of the town, in order to talk a new future into being.

However, from a contrasting view, these aims at community development and redefinition could also be seen to be consistent with discourses of Third Way policies, which encourage active citizenship. In this sense, the removal of government and organisational support of the community could be seen to be taken up by the community itself. Under this conceptualisation, these initiatives could be viewed not as acts of resistance through community identities, but as compliance with the dominant discourse of a neo-liberal Third Way agenda.

## **8.8 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have documented the narratives of the construction and Globalisation of the town of Tokoroa, as taken from secondary sources. The town was initially developed to support the development of the Kinleith Pulp and Paper Mill and surrounding forestry operations. The Mill was developed as a response to post World-War II employment strategy, and as a solution to the maturing of forestry originally developed as part of the employment strategy during the Great Depression. As such, the development of the town was entwined with a Keynesian agenda of planned employment and economic strategy. However, whilst strongly supported by the Government of the time, the case of Tokoroa is unique, in that it was not *funded* by the government, but was one of the only cases in the New Zealand context of a town which was primarily developed using the private funding of the Mill owner,

Carter Holt Harvey. However, despite the lack of government funding, the Kinleith Mill and the town of Tokoroa formed a central part of New Zealand's industrial training and employment strategy up until the 1980s.

The implementation of neo-liberal reforms in the mid-1980s and 1990s facilitated the sale of New Zealand Forest Products to international investors, moving control from New Zealand to overseas ownership. The Mill then represented one asset in a global portfolio. Subsequent and rapid successive downsizings of the Mill workforce, and the pulling back of company-funding of community activities resulted in significant changes for the community of Tokoroa. In this thesis, I am focused on the stories of individuals who have lived through these changes.

Under a neo-liberal political agenda, the increased responsibility on the part of individuals for the well-being of the immediate community, along with a contradictory sense of individual responsibility, has implications for notions of identity for the individual. Do individuals in such contexts still identify with aspects of the historical development of the town, and the responsibility devolved to organisation and government, as consistent with a Keynesian agenda? Or do these individuals experience primary concern for their families and their own career and life aspirations, seemingly taking up the neo-liberal promises of mobility and meritocracy? Do these individuals feel a sense of responsibility for the prosperity of their community? How do these individuals reconcile the change from an all-encompassing focus on the Forestry Industry and the Kinleith Mill operations, to a need to regenerate the town with new forms of industry and employment? What forms of resistance to the dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work are enacted by individuals living in Tokoroa?

In order to consider these issues, we now turn our attention to the experiences of those individuals who live, or have lived, in Tokoroa. In Chapter 9, I focus on participants' understandings and stories of Globalisation and changes in work, and the transition from booming Single Industry Town to the current day. In Chapter 10, I focus on how this transition has been taken up, or resisted, particularly focusing on aspects of identity, and how participants perceive both the community identities, and how participants identify, or dis-identify.

## **Chapter 9: Narratives and Antennarratives of Globalisation and Workplace Change**

### **9.1 Introduction**

Both proponents and critics of Globalisation emphasise that the processes included in this term significantly change the way in which people live and work. In this thesis, I am interested in how these lived experiences are expressed in the stories of my research participants. In Chapters 9 and 10, I present my interpretation of these stories.

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of Globalisation and changes to work manifests in the stories told by individuals in a Single Industry Town*

As described in Chapter 6, through interviews with 32 participants, I collected 60 hours of interview recordings. I also documented fieldnotes and observations I made during, before and after the interviews. I engaged with participants using a conversational interview technique, opening with a single question – ‘What does Tokoroa mean to you?’. What followed was guided by participant responses to that initial question. The participants who resided in the town prior to 1980 reminisced about the early days of the town. Their stories reflected the themes of the dominant narratives embedded in expressions of policies associated in the earliest years with a Keynesian approach of macro-management of economy and society and in the latter years, the rapid transition to the intensified Globalisation of neo-liberal principles, as I presented outlined them in Chapter 2. Their

discussions of the period immediately following the Mill's construction and during the 'boom' time, up until the early 1980s included themes of growth, prosperity and egalitarianism. They associated their recollections of the rapid changes throughout the 1980s and 1990s with the restructuring of the Mill and the reduction in social services within the town. Their recollections of this timeframe are also consistent with the neo-liberal political agenda evident at the national level during this same time period. Participants related workplace change at the Mill as involving downsizing, the outsourcing and contracting of previously in-house functions and changes in skill and training within the town's workforce. However, I interpreted a number of antenarratives in their accounts, running through, over and under the dominant narratives.

In this chapter, I conceptualise participants' accounts as stories from which I have selected threads to be presented as narratives and antenarratives in order to depict the complexity and fluidity of their lives. Through presenting these depictions, I argue that the dominant narratives embedded in processes of Globalisation and workplace change, as presented in Chapter 2, manifest as threads within individual's stories, with the impact of the related values and processes on their lives well understood by many participants from a wide range of backgrounds. However, I also argue that although these dominant narratives may be well understood, they are not universally accepted, and at times are contradicted or problematised by the storytellers. These threads of the stories are what I represent as antenarratives.

I begin this chapter by describing aspects of control discussed by participants, including direct control over the workplace and the community. I discuss the reported experiences of control over the community by the

organisation. I follow, in Section 9.3, by discussing the negotiation of consent to working conditions. In Section 9.4. I present the narratives related to the period 1950-1980, specifically recollections of this period as a time of prosperity, growth, and egalitarianism. In Section 9.5 I discuss participants expressions of the changes occurring in the period 1980-present, in particular the acceptance of change as inevitable, sudden, and related to recurrent changes in Mill ownership. The manifestations of this period of change were expressed by participants as specifically relating to changes in the nature and structure of work at the Mill, presented in Section 9.6, including downsizing, technological change, change in the location of work and flexible work practices. In Section 9.7 I conclude that the complex range of narratives and antenarratives are reflective of moments of control and resistance, manifest in identification and disidentification with the dominant narratives.

## **9.2 Securing and Maintaining Control over Workplace and Community**

To attract sufficient labour for the viability of the Mill, workers and families were recruited from other towns or countries to settle in Tokoroa. The location was remote and the migrants often felt isolated from friends and family.

### **9.2.1 Direct Control of the Workplace and Town**

The Kinleith Mill was developed under a Tayloristic production design, based around occupational demarcations, hierarchical supervision and mechanisms of direct control. Participants discussed aspects of these overt forms of control. They observed the physical separation of management

from the shop floor, particularly since the sale of NZFP to international interests. They also expressed a sense of tighter control from the 1980s onwards, compared to the conditions of the period 1950-1980s. For example, five participants commented on the accepted practice of sleeping during night shift during the earlier period. These participants described how they were allowed to sleep. So long as they were not lying down they could sleep sitting up and managers would allow this. Another participant noted that so long as they got the required work done, supervisors were happy for them to be unproductive the remaining time. He noted that at times a week worth of work could be completed in just two days, allowing for five days of non-productive time.

Therefore, although observable control in the form of direct supervision was high during this time frame, this did not transfer to tight work rules in the workplace.

Participants also described this observable, direct control exerted by NZFP management over aspects of the town's administration and planning during the 1950s-1980s. For example, one participant described the interchange between Sir David Henry, the NZFP CEO, and the local government body, when plans were tabled to establish Tokoroa as a town in its own right. This move would have placed significant control of town administration and infrastructure in the hands of a local government body, and would also result in NZFP being charged local council rates:

*...The council had to change their attitude because [the council] wouldn't develop the town*

*the way Sir David Henry wanted them to. But he was a man of foresight. He could see the best way to do it. To convince a lot of well heeled, comfortably off farmers who ran the Matamata District Council, was very difficult, very, very difficult. So [David Henry] actually said: "Right, if you don't do what I want you to do, the whole town will move to [a settlement 20 kms away]. It's just as easy for me to transport men from Atiamuri to the Kinleith Mill, as it is to go from Tokoroa to Kinleith". So [Matamata District Council] had to pull their head in and really start to do things the way he wanted it to be done (Participant 21 & Participant 22)*

The quote above illustrates David Henry's sense of 'ownership' and entitlement over the town, with an assumed power to move a whole town from one location to another. The net result of this threat was that the plans to establish the town as an independent authority were postponed, and the town remained a remote settlement of nearby Putaruru. The impact of this postponement meant that New Zealand Forest Products remained in control of the town's infrastructure and development, with the town remaining an extension of Mill property.

### 9.2.2 Antenarrative: Resistance to Direct Control

Although many participants recalled forms of direct control in place in both town and workplace, they also discussed forms of resistance to this control.

In doing so, many questioned the effectiveness of the control described above, despite having previously asserted that this control was crucial to community cohesiveness and Mill operations. At a workplace level, traditional forms of resistance were noted, consistent with traditional analysis of labour process (Braverman, 1974; Thompson & Ackroyd, 1995). In such cases, the workers could be seen to be resisting the direct control exerted by management. All examples of overt resistance to direct control given however occurred in the time period before 1980, perhaps providing credence to the notion of increased labour power prior to this period. Some participant examples of workplace resistance included:

*Some workers would drag a job out to get the overtime (Participant 17)*

*The advantage was you would report to work, and the Foreman would tell you how many tonnes were required that night. If you really worked flat out you could do that in two hours. Now if you worked at midnight and you hadn't had any sleep, when you finished [the required work] you went home to the boiler house and you said to the boiler [workers] "Wake me up at 7.00". (Participant 4)*

*I've got a very close neighbour here who worked there in those days, he'd be lucky if he did an hours work in a day. And he admits it, he says, "you just didn't go to*

*work, you spent all day yakking or playing poker" (Participant 21)*

In other examples, participants recalled times of overtly resisting direct control and supervision in the workplace. For example, one participant noted

*I had many an argument with the Bosses and that. They said "You gotta do it like this and do it like that". I said: "Show me your way and see if it is as good as mine"! I learnt through bang, crash and all that basically finding the simplest way to do it. One of the Bosses said do it this way, do it that way but as I said to him come out and show me. They wouldn't so I said to him I said well I'm not going to do it your way because all you are trying to say to me is that you do it that way and if it worked they'd get the credit for it. I wanted them to show me how to do it so if it was better than the way I did it then I would go and do it then. And quite often I would front up to the Bosses and the Boss said: " I will sack you" and I said" "Go for your life because there are plenty more jobs". (Participant 15)*

However, the above also highlights that although opportunities for workplace resistance were exploited, these were in part enabled by the context of full

employment under a Keynesian environment.

### 9.2.3 Panoptic Control of the Town

A second dominant form of control expressed by participants involved the planned construction of the town which mirrored the power relations in the workplace. As described in Chapter 2, Foucault's notion of the Panopticon is based around a physical structure that acts to convey surveillance to such an extreme that the population become self-regulating, never sure when they are being 'watched' or not. One reading of the design of the town is reflective of Foucault's Panopticon.

As described in the case study, the town of Tokoroa was largely constructed on company owned land and was designed by the company. Initial reflections on the physical arrangement of the township exposed a series of concentric semi-circular streets. The observation when, as an outsider, I first approached these streets, was that the arrangement of the town was very unusual, and quite unlike the traditional New Zealand convention of grid-like planning. Instead, the town's streets are based around a small central cul-de-sac, where according to participants, management were originally housed.

Spatial demarcations in housing were also reinforced by participant's recollections, based on nationality, occupation and marital status. For example, participants spoke of the single men's housing being situated on the outer areas of the township. Given that workers were allocated housing, rather than self-selecting, these placements appear to be deliberate, planned organisation of the social fabric of the town. Participants described that this

design was deliberate, and planned by Sir David Henry himself. Drawing on Foucault's analysis of panoptic control, the original town planning could be conceptualised as creating a system of self-surveillance, so that those who were working together were also living together, all under the wider watchful eye of Mill management. It is also possible that pragmatic concerns regarding town infrastructure were also of concern, however, there is little doubt that social cohesion and 'guidance' was a primary goal (Chapple, 1976), hence the demarcations based on occupation and ethnicity, lending weight to a Foucauldian reading.

Further, although participants expressed that Mill management now largely reside outside of the town, it appears that these demarcations largely still exist. For example, 'Rainbow Valley', the area originally housing labourers migrating from the Pacific Islands, remains the place of residence for many in the Cook Islands community. In another example, the areas of the town originally housing Mill Management now tend to be the areas where local business owners reside. This is perhaps evident that the panoptic gaze of the organisation reached beyond the removal of the observers themselves, and continued to endure as a structure of societal control and organisation.

### **9.3 Negotiating Consent**

In addition to mechanisms of control, participants described how worker and community consent was gained. Within the town, management negotiated high levels of employee loyalty through the provision of a range of benefits, including housing, above-average remuneration and community support.

In particular, participants spoke of the difficulties associated with shift work, and its impact on family life.

*No it was good, [my husband] being a shift worker, it gave me day shift on my own, afternoon with the children, and night shift a little bit in the morning with just [my husband] and I - and no kids around, so from that point of view it was good, the shift work was good. (Participant 14)*

*Yeah a lot of people, [shift work] upset their whole lives didn't it (Participant 13)*

*There were three different groups at the Mill, and this was the unfortunate part about it, because there were three different shifts. And you had children who weren't allowed to make a noise because their parents were asleep, because they would sleep during the day, because they worked eight hour shifts at the Mill, and they were changing all the time, the town was kind of divided, you wouldn't mow your lawn if you knew your neighbour was asleep because you are going to get a pretty hard time when you went to work. So all of the town became silent for one area for a week,*

*and then it would all change around, and so the people who worked at the Mill, their children would be basically the same, rowdy play was not permitted when father was asleep. So the town was consistently shifting around, and businessmen had to work their way around that as well because you'd have clients who couldn't bring their car in during the day because they were on day shift, and then you would have, you would get a flood of them coming in because they were all on afternoon shift or something like this. So there was a lot of, you had to work around the shift system out at Kinleith (Participant 21)*

*It caused marriage break-ups and that sort of thing. No it was really not good. The hardest part was when the boys were little, and [my husband] was on night shift, so he would come home at eight o'clock when the shift came home, and he would be in bed by nine o'clock. And you try and keep a two year old or four year old quiet while Dad was sleeping through the day, particularly in the winter time you know. So that part was hard (Participant 14)*

The reunification of families was also used to gain worker consent. In order to emigrate with their families, men needed to be able to demonstrate that

they had both a job and a house for their family to live in (Participant 5). In this respect, the provision of housing by the company was an integral part of attracting migrant workers to the town. The company also provided single-men's accommodation, consisting of five dormitory-style camps (Participant 2, 3, 4, 10, and 20). Often, this is where the men would be housed until a company house was allocated to them, at which time their family could join them. Participants expressed a sense of gratitude to the company for this familial reunification.

Fourteen of the participants had lived in a company house, and 12 of these had gone on to buy the houses through the company housing scheme. According to participants, NZFP began selling homes to workers in the early 1960s (Participant 4). In an analysis of a Pennsylvania Single Industry Town, Mosher (1995) describes how town founders believed that a 'worker's economic and emotional commitment to home ownership would foster a concern for preserving property values, a sense of place, and a sense of identification with the company' (Mosher, 1995, P. 103). Indeed, participants in Tokoroa felt that the company house sale gave themselves, or their families, the opportunity to own 'their own home', which was conveyed with a sense of pride.

Participants noted many other examples of company input in the town, including NZFP materials and labour being used on private and community projects. According to a number of participants, both community groups, and individuals, could contact NZFP and organise for timber and machinery (trucks, bulldozers) to help with construction projects. Additionally, NZFP would also supply workers to help on these projects.

Participants also described other, less conventional, means that they used to ensure that working conditions and pay were deemed to be acceptable. The tactics of flouting national working hours and driving laws and utilising company resources for personal use seemed to be viewed as a key part of how workers negotiated acceptable working conditions. Most seemed to suggest that at the time, Mill management were in tacit agreement to these practices, choosing to ignore, or in the case of using company resources for personal use, complicit.

For example, one participant described:

*[You could get away with] long hours trucking if you were prepared to do it. What restricted us a lot was when the [legislated] log books came in, but we could get around those because the fact that a lot of the forest here was off the highway [private roads, so exempt from national traffic laws].*  
*(Participant 15)*

Another participant noted the way in which management would accommodate unproductive work practices, signaling further ways in which workers and management staff would negotiate working conditions

*They had interesting rules, [for example] you could go to sleep standing up and you could go*

*to sleep sitting down, but if they caught you sleeping lying down on the night shift they would sack you. (Participant 6)*

### 9.3.1 The Role of the Union in Negotiating Consent

A key part of securing worker consent during the 1950-1980 period was through offering higher than average wages. The union was a key part of wage and conditions negotiations, particularly during the 1950s-1980s when there was compulsory union membership.

Many participants described Tokoroa as a ‘union town’. This conveyed the strength of the unions in the Kinleith workplace. Although the passing of the Employment Contracts Act 1991 weakened the union mandate, the strength of the unions remained to a degree up until the restructuring/outsourcing of Kinleith operations in 2003. Whilst the unions still have a presence at the Mill, due to low workforce numbers, their relative strength within the town is significantly reduced.

There was a polarity of opinions about the role of the unions in the town expressed by participants, largely characterised by Mill workers and Union members at one extreme, and non-Mill workers and non-union members at the other. Unsurprisingly, Union members and Mill workers perceived the union to have a positive role in negotiating good working conditions. These same individuals were critical of the successive restructuring of the 1980s-2000s as aimed at ‘breaking the unions’.

In contrast, non-union members and non-Mill workers spoke of the union as a negative presence in the town and workplace, attributing them for encouraging division in the town and workplace, and being responsible for poor financial performance at the Mill and even went so far as to blame the union for the decline of the forestry and Pulp and Paper industry.

*I have never been in a union in my life, never intend to be in a union, and [the union] wrecked that Mill, they actually completely wrecked it. (Participant 21)*

For these participants, the restructuring was also seen as aimed at reducing union strength, but for them, this was a positive change:

*Yes, the reason for [restructuring] is they had to break the unions, the union was crippling the company, it was actually crippling it, so the only way they could [have a financially viable company] was to say right we will outsource everything. (Participant 22)*

Many participants interpreted the compulsory union membership as indicative of the control the union had over the workplace and town.

*As I was told on my hiring day if you didn't join the union, you didn't have a job.*

*(Participant 12)*

*I lost my job because of the union... [Everyone] had to join the union, and I refused so that was it, out. (Participant 3)*

The high level of union involvement in the workplace was traditionally associated, by participants, with favourable working conditions and high levels of industrial action. Most participants spoke of the union as representing the interests of workers. However, some participants alluded to the role of the unions in negotiating consent with management. Indeed, Kelly (2004) found that in the context of declining industries, organisations with high levels of union/management interaction shed more jobs than those which had lower levels of union involvement in the workplace. According to Kelly, union officials are co-opted into taking up a managerial agenda by being encouraged to take part in decision-making processes in a pseudo-workplace democracy agenda. In agreement, Bacon and Blyton (2004) found that union involvement, even if adversarial, was associated with successful change implementation, even where the changes are heavily challenged by union activity.

Participants noted similar dynamics, with one recalling a situation where union involvement was used to facilitate management decisions

*We were approached by union to put in a grievance procedure. So 25 of us did, but when it came to wanting to do something about [the*

*grievance], [the union] had already made an arrangement with the company. (Participant 13)*

### 9.3.2 Summary

From a Gramscian perspective, as outlined in Chapter 2, consent from the subordinate classes must be negotiated, and is never complete, allowing room for resistance and the emergence of new dominant ideas. As described above in Sections 9.2 and 9.3, participants described various mechanisms used by the organisation to exert control, and secure consent of workers and town residents. However, participants also described instances of resistance to organisational control, and expressed a feeling that this control and consent was not complete. Experiences of control, consent and resistance were entwined with participants' recollections of the time period 1950- 1980. The dominant narratives of this time period were centred on a time of high growth, collective prosperity and egalitarianism. These narratives are presented in the following sections.

## **9.4 Recollections of a Boom Town**

The time period 1950-1980 was characterised by participants as one of high growth in population, wages and community services and facilities. The nature of the growth was described as being rapid and expansive, and participants described this time as being one of excitement, opportunity and as overwhelming the town's ability to cope with the growth in terms of infrastructure.

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*Well it was just an explosion really, there*

*were just so many people around (Participant 27)*

In particular, this period was categorised for its high proportion of youth, expressed by many participants in terms of a shortage of schools and kindergartens. As one participant noted

*The town grew so quickly that in 1953 [New Zealand Forest Products] had to call the army in and build temporary accommodation, and all the [school] students were taught in tents because the school just couldn't cope. (Participant 5)*

For participants, this period was also associated with a degree of idealism, picturing this period as idyllic

*At the time you could call it the golden age and it was a golden time .... Milk and honey it definitely was, we were probably poor to everybody else but to us we didn't know we were poor. We always had food on our table and we didn't have fancy clothes but we did have other riches (Participant 9)*

Therefore, despite assertions of community and workplace control, participants collectively upheld the time period 1950-1980 in a positive light, referring to this as the 'golden days'. Many participants who had experienced these early days of the town expressed a sense of shared uncertainty, and a desire to find a sense of 'home'.

#### 9.4.1 Antenarrative: Lawlessness

However, despite the seeming agreement that the time period 1950-1980 was idyllic, participants also spoke, somewhat guardedly, of a sense of lawlessness. As one participant noted in relation to the 1950s and 1960s:

*There was no other watering hole up here so naturally on a Saturday afternoon [the bar] would be really 'roaring', and [when the bar closed] at six o'clock, [patrons] used to go across the road and be fighting in the paddocks. (Participant 26)*

Relating to a similar time period, another participant noted:

*Unfortunately, alcohol played a big part in [crime] as well, because some of the migrants and that were not used to large amounts of alcohol and then all the dust-ups would begin. And I mean serious dust-ups, they used send two car loads of police from Hamilton every*

*night. (Participant 22)*

Other participants talked of instances of crime (Participant 2) and gambling (Participant 31) as being prolific in the town. However, although discussing these aspects, participants conveyed this sense of lawlessness as being tied to a ‘work hard, play hard’ (Participant 20) mentality, associated with a sense of excitement, and adding to the vibrancy of the town during this time period.

*I suppose it makes us sad to see the way Tokoroa is now; when we were growing up it was this vibrant very alive very large community (Participant 7)*

#### 9.4.2 Egalitarianism

One strong theme to emerge from the participant’s accounts was a sense that the early days of the town were based on an egalitarian culture. In terms of explicitly expressed narrative associated with the period 1950-1980, that of an egalitarian community was a strong theme. As described in Chapters 2 and 7, the Keynesian political agenda is underpinned by an ethos of sustained economic growth through collective social outcomes and productivity (H. G. Johnson, 1971; Visser, 2000).

The period of early development of the town, up until the 1970s, was a time of large influx of new residents, many international migrants, and most being recruited specifically to work at the Mill. For one group, the Northern European and Scandinavian workers, this was due to their specific skills in

the construction and maintenance of the Mill machinery. Another group of workers, predominantly from the Pacific Islands, were recruited to provide cost effective manual labour. Participants described how the rapid migration to the area meant that many people shared the experience of being in an unfamiliar setting. The underdeveloped nature of the town at the time added to a sense that they were collectively working towards building not only a factory or an industry, but a positive future for all those involved. Participants described this as leading to a sense of equality, a lack of obvious class structure in the town, and a sense of egalitarianism. One participant commented

*I think [the community] was evenly balanced because nobody had very much in [terms of] material possessions, and everybody was pretty much on the same journey. (Participant 23)*

Another participant noted how the experience of being in an unfamiliar place, and the associated sense of insecurity led to a coming together of diverse groups of people, with the central point of shared experience being employment:

*Because we came from throughout New Zealand and throughout the world, suddenly forming a town that grew like a mushroom, that [shared experience] creates a society [where everybody is] from a strange place, and therefore you're... I suppose in a way you*

*could visualise [everyone as] being in a refugee camp, but in a nice way - that you're all strangers and that you all work together... because you're all in the same situation.'*  
(Participant 5)

In summary, participants unanimously expressed a sense of egalitarianism associated with the 1950-1980 time period, with most regarding this as a characteristic which had flowed into the current time period and become embedded as a key aspect of community identity. This theme of community identity is discussed more fully in Chapter 10.

#### 9.4.3 Antenarrative: Community Status of Mill Management

However, despite the upholding of a sense of egalitarianism, participants also spoke of the location of other senior staff members housing as being concentrated in certain areas. For example, one participant (Participant 4) spoke of the Danish Paper Mill experts, who were all senior staff members, being housed together in a single street. Other participants noted that senior and technical staff tended to socialise together outside of work time.

#### 9.4.4 Summary

The period 1950-1980 was characterised by participants as one of high growth, prosperity and egalitarianism. These memories have had an enduring impact on how the community sees itself up to the present day. However, there were also opposing narratives relating to lawlessness within the community, and the social status of Mill management. Reflections on this

period differed significantly from those of the period 1980-present, which were characterised by narratives of rapid inevitable change, and centred on changes within the workplace. These are discussed in the following sections.

### **9.5 Sudden & Inevitable Change: There is No Alternative (TINA)**

If the time period 1950-1980 was characterised by dominant narratives of growth, prosperity and egalitarianism, the period following, 1980-present, was conveyed in direct contrast. For participants, this period was dominated by sudden, rapid and continuous change, in both community and workplace.

*I guess [a key part of my job is] preparing students for a world that is changing so rapidly. (Participant 6)*

A key dominant narrative was the assumption of the inevitability of change. Although participants spoke favourably about the past, and still identified with many aspects of the original development of the town, they also expressed the opinion that any favourable future for the town necessarily involved change. Many spoke of the unsustainability of the high wages, or high levels of employment which existed during the 1960-1980 period at the Mill.

In many ways, participant's sentiments reflected messages embedded in the dominant narrative of Globalisation and reinforced to the town's residents by

both government and organisational officials over the past 30 years. For example, in a government booklet produced in 1987 and with a personal forward by Roger Douglas, NZ Minister of Finance at the time, and architect of New Zealand's structural adjustment programme in the mid-1980s:

NZFP can no longer be regarded as the regions 'safety net', it must be accepted that a stronger NZFP will result in a stronger region. Despite the large increase in wood flows [forecast for] the late 1990's and the commensurate increase in processing, there will be no increase in employment opportunities. (Department of Trade and Industry, 1987, p.8)

Participants clearly articulated this perceived need for change, relating this to the continued survival of the town. In recalling the changes which occurred during this period, participants spoke of the rapid nature of the change, in particular the sudden halt to town development and sudden move from a town of growth, to one in decline.

### 9.5.1 Sudden Halt to Development

All participants who resided in the town in the early 1980s talked of the sudden halt to growth in population and development, and related this to a sense of decline. As one participant described:

*And then [in the early 1980s] the town just died, just virtually overnight (Participant 22)*

*[Tokoroa] is now basically a ghost town. (Participant 11)*

Most participants described the population prior to this decline proudly, with many stating that the town was only a handful of residents off gaining ‘city’ status, at the time in New Zealand defined as >20,000 residents. One of the manifestations of this sudden change to what had been rapid growth, was expressed in the landscape of the town. Participants gave examples of where land was earmarked to join streets together, but development stopped so suddenly that not only are many streets left unjoined, but remain uncurbed. One example is shown in Figure 15, whereby Grampian St East and Grampian St West were to join, but the halt in development of new housing meant that these streets exist with a paddock between them.



**Figure 15 - Map Showing Disconnected Streets in Tokoroa**

Another example was given by a participant to explain the naming of the main street, Bridge Street:

*They called it Bridge St because they were going to have a bridge over the railway lines*

*but they never got around to it (Participant 30)*

For participants, the period of sudden halt in growth, and subsequent decline, was seen as a period of adjustment for the town, moving the town from one of growth and opportunity, to one of decline and unemployment. Participants associated this adjustment with the period 1984-1991. This time period is therefore reflective of the 1984-1991 time frame of neo-liberal structural adjustment on a national level.

Other aspects of change described by participants included population decline, and an increase in unemployment, crime and socio-economic issues. As described in Chapter 8, this perception is evidenced by population decline and unemployment statistics in the town. Participants described the contrast between these aspects and how they perceived the town in the early period of 1950-1980.

*There all these people that I see wandering in residential areas not very well dressed. Just wandering around making trouble. Not kept as well as it used to be. The whole town looks dirtier and not fresh (Participant 18)*

### 9.5.2 Antenarrative: Resisting Perception of Decline

However, while participants themselves spoke freely of perceptions of

decline, these views were also vehemently dismissed as being ‘uninformed’ and ‘harmful’ views about the town. Most participants attributed these perceptions as being expressed by ‘outsiders’, despite many themselves having expressed similar views. Many participants displayed anger at negative perceptions of Tokoroa, and were quick to counter this with assertions of the positive aspects of the town, and the success of current and past residents.

For example, many gave examples of resident success as a direct counter to these dominant perceptions. These examples ranged from examples of academic success, to the naming of sporting celebrities who came from Tokoroa

*Everyone said to me "don't put them through Tokoroa schools, send them out of town" , but both of [my children] went through Forest View High School, and I've got [a child] who did her sports and leisure degree at Waikato University, and she's gone on to be sports coordinator for St Mary's College in Auckland (Participant 1)*

*I was the coach of the first XV and my captain was Walter Little the All Black. (Participant 20)*

*Bernie Fraser, he was an All Black; his mother*

*is still in town. She was one of the secretaries at Kinleith. (Participant 3)*

Participants also gave many comparisons of Tokoroa to other centres as a way of negating a negative perception of the town

*People give it a bad name, people down it all the time. [But] if you look at the top houses, they are just as good as Hamilton. (Participant 2)*

*The crime elsewhere is higher than Tokoroa; on the whole [Tokoroa] is wonderful. There is an underlying criminal community and I think it is sad no matter how much you try to fight it. (Participant 17)*

Participants did also not completely ascribe to the narrative of unemployment, or the need to move out of town for work. Interestingly, these dominant narratives were also present, often voiced by the same participants who then provided contradictory statements. For example, one participant, immediately after describing how her own children had moved out of Tokoroa for work, stated:

*But I actually believe there is still work here, you just have to find it, and to sit*

*down and think about it and we don't really need to go [elsewhere to find work] (Participant 31)*

### 9.5.3 Changes to Mill Ownership

Another aspect of the narrative of change which was predominant related to changes in Mill ownership. Participants related the sudden changes in the town to changes in Mill ownership. Participants also spoke of Mill ownership as unfixed, and continuously changing. Specifically, many participants spoke of the changes in ownership from New Zealand Forest Products to Carter Holt Harvey, International Paper and finally to Graeme Harts purchase of the Carter Holt Harvey operations.

The continued changes in ownership since the late 1980s were also interpreted as being on-going, with a number of participants expressing that a sale of the Mill in the near future was anticipated. For example, one noted

*Don't forget this Mill was, and still is I suspect, up for sale. It is there for the right buyer. (Participant 14)*

Further, a future ownership change was anticipated to be to overseas investors, and viewed with a sense of caution.

*The new men [new Mill management] have been walking around [Kinleith] with Chinese people*

*with nice suits and ties on, and there is a rumour at the Mill, and it is only rumour, that Mr. Graeme Hart may be selling the Mill to a foreign buyer. (Participant 13)*

These changes in ownership were associated with an increased focus on cost, and a move from what participants saw as a focus on the welfare of the workers and the town, to a focus on the financial performance of the organisation. As one participant described:

*After Carter Holt Harvey dumped Kinleith, and their empire, it went to International Pulp and Paper. Well, [Mill management] started showing their colours and after a while, they were nice when they came and gave us all sorts of things, nice jackets and all this bribery stuff you know. But they turned out to be quite ruthless to us. They raided our conditions of employment, and not the pay so much, but the conditions of employment, and they started to get tough with the people out there. (Participant 13)*

Another participant linked these changes in ownership to both a cost focus, and increased unemployment in the town, seeing this increase as not the result of a broader political agenda, but directly resulting from organisational action.

*When New Zealand Forest Products left and were replaced by Carter Holt Harvey things changed, and we noticed even though we were teenagers, we noticed everything became more about manufacturing and about dollars than it did about people. I suppose [this change in focus] changed the morale of our people too cause we all know that if you treat people well you will get nothing but the best out of them, but when you are laying off heaps off people and unemployment sets in to our community. It hurt our community (Participant 7)*

#### 9.5.4 Antenarrative: Enduring Paternalism

However, despite a seeming acceptance of changes in Mill ownership, another key narrative, which serves as antenarrative in this respect, was an enduring connection to New Zealand Forests Products, founding CEO David Henry, and a broader importance placed on industrial paternalism. All participants spoke of the importance of these aspects on the on-going identity of the community.

Prior to conducting the interviews, I was aware that Sir David Henry was the founding CEO of NZFP. However, it became clear that to many participants, Sir David Henry was seen as the embodiment of ‘NZFP’, and a father figure in the town.

Henry’s cousins were involved in timber Milling industry in New Zealand as far back as the 1870s (Healy, 1982), and he helped consolidate their interests

with an afforestation company, NZ Perpetual Forests, responsible for a large tract of the Central North Island planting schemes during the 1920s and 1930s. In further show of personal connection for Sir David, Kinleith Mill was named after a paper Mill on the outskirts of Edinburgh, Scotland, where David Henry spent much of his early working life (Healy, 1982). The streets of early Tokoroa were all named after Edinburgh street names or place names (Participant 2, 3, 4, 5, 23), for example, Glencorse, Torphin, Lomond, Crathie, Dreghorn, Roslin and Abercorn.

Sir David and NZFP management recruited workers internationally, and at one stage Tokoroa hosted 53 nationalities, housed in company owned housing. The company would often place workers from the same country together spatially; for example, the Finnish Pulp Mill workers, and the English Paper Mill workers (Participant 5) each resided on different streets.

As described above in Section 9.2.3, David Henry was central to the civic politics of the town. Although early on he organised for a residents committee, he remained central to any political issues which arose, and was quick to assert his ‘fatherly’ authority.

One participant (Participant 24), who was involved in a management area at the Mill, described how David Henry would take regular trips to England to solicit philanthropic donations to fund the town from wealthy British aristocrats. As such, the town was truly a ‘company town’, and the New Zealand government had very little part in funding its building and development.

The deep connection to Sir David Henry as the founding father and NZFP as his 'representative' is particularly interesting given that Sir David never actually resided in the town. Additionally, he passed away in 1966, just 12 years after the opening of the Kinleith Mill. However, it seems that upon his death, 'NZFP' came to represent his legacy to residents.

This enduring community value, despite removal of almost all organisational support for the community, could be seen as an effort to resist the removed management decision-making indicative of global ownership. Participants expressed both the expectation that CHH would, or should, continue to support the community. This was evident from both expressions of how current Mill management was not meeting these expectations, and of how the period of industrial paternalism was seen as the 'ideal'. As one participant expressed

*I'm a huge believer that industry has a responsibility to support the community.  
(Participant 1)*

This enduring sense of paternalism extended to other businesses and ventures in the town. For example, one participant noted how his non-Mill employer displayed an unusual interest in his employee's welfare:

*And [another local business owner] was very, very, involved in supporting Tokoroa, and you know, as an employer some of the things that he did you wouldn't get anywhere else, like he*

*helped quite a number of staff into their first homes, mortgage, getting the deposit for them, giving them small loans to get that sort of stuff done. I know there was one young guy that he put through St Pauls Collegiate in Hamilton, just trying to break that circle, you know, put him through the system. He did all those sorts of things, like if a staff member had passed away or a member of their family had passed away he paid for the funeral. (Participant 1)*

A number of the participants noted similar instances within the small business community. In addition, two of the participants had themselves founded adult and community education initiatives, one in literacy, and one in trade training. The motivation for both of these ventures was due to a perceived need in the community, and an assertion that this need should be filled through the support of local businesses. One of these participants also commented that most of those she associated with were small business owners, and that within that grouping, they liked to ‘take care’ of the town.

Of interest, the responsibility was not apportioned to the organisation as a whole, but rather to the manager associated most closely with the organisation. In this sense, the desire for paternalism over the town could be literally conceptualised as the search for a town ‘father’.

### 9.5.5 Summary

Therefore, while participants spoke of rapid change, decline and seemed to have an acceptance of changes in ownership, they also disputed these narratives. In particular, they expressed a rejection of perceptions of town decline, and an enduring desire for stability and enduring industrial paternalism. Another key set of narratives which related to the timeframe 1980-present involved narratives of change to the nature and structure of work. These are discussed in the following sections.

## **9.6 Changes to Nature and Structure of Work**

Notions of work were of central importance to participant's recollections of their time in Tokoroa. One of the key sets of narratives relating to the period 1980-present concerned changes to the nature and structure of work. Specifically, participants spoke of workforce reduction, the link between technological change and downsizing, changes in the location of work and flexible work practices.

### **9.6.1 Workforce Reduction**

Participants linked the sudden halt to growth and population decline with workforce reduction, unemployment and wide-ranging social impacts.

As outlined in Chapter 8, the Kinleith workforce has been subject to significant and repeated downsizing, from a peak of approximately 5000 workers, to the present 170. Perhaps unsurprisingly therefore, labour reduction was a key workplace change theme discussed by participants. However, participants expressed a variety of understanding as to why this

degree of workforce reduction occurred, with some seeing it as necessary, inevitable due to technological change, while others saw it being part of a wider organisational strategy to restructure the global workforce.

Some participants, none of whom had been Mill employees, saw the restructuring and downsizing as a way of breaking the power base of the trade unions. For these participants, the union was seen as negative, placing unnecessary costs on the organisation, and at times, damaging for the town as a whole. For example, one participant commented:

*Yes, the reason being for [downsizing] is they just had to break the unions, the union was crippling the company, it was actually crippling it, so the only way they could do it was to say right we will outsource everything. (Participant 21)*

Other participants saw technological change at the Mill as necessitating workforce reduction. When these participants spoke of the downsizing, it was seen as an inevitable, unquestioned, unfortunate result of necessary technological change. For example:

*In the end one Paper Mill could do what all the others could do because of better machinery, less people involved more mechanical. (Participant 4)*

*[There used to be] eight papers machines, now it is only one that does the job with the seven parts in them, [so obviously] staff are going they are getting made redundant, (Participant 26)*

*It was when they started modifying the Pulp and Paper Mill out here. Cause they got all this technology out here. They didn't require the labour workers. (Participant 15)*

In all three examples above, the link is explicitly made between technological change and reduced labour. The technological improvements also saw changes in terms of machinery maintenance, and other aspects of the production process, which led the way for flexible forms of work. Further participants linked downsizing to the global division of labour. For example

*Companies have changed their views and want to close up shop and go elsewhere (Participant 14)*

Participants linked these changes explicitly to cost savings, in relation to production costs:

*It is a cheap way of sending paper overseas, right, and then they can send it overseas*

*as bales...They send it overseas and then people over there turn it back into paper, and then ream it up as paper in places like Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Malaysia (Participant 4)*

Participants also linked the changes directly to labour cost. As the following participant described, these differences in labour cost were not as universally accepted by participants as a ‘reality’ of remaining competitive in a global marketplace, but savings made in terms of labour cost were seen as reflecting negatively on the values of management.

*I know the employers, a lot of the employers are greedy, and I sometimes think that they’ve taking their business away to where there is cheaper labour, you see. (Participant 13)*

Participants linked technological change, and wider ‘Globalisation’ to the need for an international labour. Here participants accepted both the internationalisation of parts of the Mill operations which previously were conducted in Tokoroa, but also in terms of Tokoroa's workforce moving elsewhere, and in particular internationally, for work.

While there was a perception of limited employment opportunities, and that those seeking employment needed to move out of the town, as displayed above, and described by many other participants, rather than moving to another town or city in New Zealand, most sought employment elsewhere,

and in particular Australia.

*I do encourage my students to travel overseas when they have finished their qualifications. Certainly there is opportunity in Australia still for semi-skilled people, people with qualifications. (Participant 6)*

Although participants expressed their concern at the impacts of the relocation of labour on Tokoroa, none of the participants challenged the idea that organisations were now operating global labour strategies.

#### 9.6.2 Antenarrative: Individual Responsibility

However, despite most participants articulating many explanations for downsizing and unemployment, there was also a strong antenarrative of individual responsibility. For example, one participant noted

*And they are saying that the youngsters haven't got work ethic and that they are in bed half the day. (Participant 13)*

Another participant noted

*Well it would be alright if they were to get off their backsides and go and look for work. To me they have had it easy for so long*

*and they don't want to work. (Participant 15)*

Further participants related the increase in social problems and particularly issues with youth unemployment, to a lack of parental responsibilities

*It was booming it was a good town to live in and totally different from now like the younger kids back then were pulled into line bit of discipline didn't hurt us when we were younger, you had to. (Participant 23)*

### 9.6.3 Flexible Work

Another dominant narrative surrounded understandings of flexible forms of work. As described in Chapter 2, one of the mechanisms used by employers to facilitate a global production process is flexible forms of work (Kalleberg, 2001; Kelliher & Anderson, 2010). Flexible work structures were implemented at Kinleith alongside the recurrent downsizings. In particular, the restructuring which occurred in 2003/2004 outsourced approximately half of the remaining workforce. The logic behind numerical and functional flexibility, as outlined in Atkinson's model of the flexible firm was articulated by a number of participants. For example, one participant noted that:

*Carter Holt are very well versed in laying people off and shutting parts of their*

*production down and or starting them up again  
[when needed] (Participant 28)*

The above participant discussed how the flexibility meant the company could easily expand or contract depending on demand. Other participants related the outsourcing to ABB Ltd as allowing the company to easily change its workforce numbers and cost structure.

#### 9.6.4 Antenarrative: Benefits of Flexibility

However, some participants saw the outsourcing as beneficial. In particular, one participant, who had previously been a local business person, who was now working at the Mill as a contractor, felt that the contracting out of labour had provided an increased lifespan for the Mill, and addressed longstanding productivity and dishonesty in the Kinleith workforce.

*So they just said right that's it, we'll put it  
all out to contract. So they sold everything,  
they fired everybody, and then employed them  
back as contractors, said right now you buy  
that bulldozer, and you will run and we will  
pay you x number of dollars per meter to  
bulldoze the road, but you will maintain it,  
now it won't disappear because it is yours.  
So that, and things did improve, directly  
then. And some of the guys got a terrible shock  
when they really had to work to make a dollar.  
(Participant 21)*

## **9.7 Conclusion**

In summary, in order to facilitate the relocation of families geographically, to a location which was remote and at times required significant adjustment, along with long working hours and shift work, NZFP management needed to gain the consent of workers, particularly during the initial period of Mill and town establishment. Participants described how the provision of housing and social activities was one example of a trade-off for the initially difficult circumstances. Another significant mechanism for negotiating consent was the union presence. Participants described how union membership was compulsory, not only through government policy, but participants described significant social pressure to join the union.

Additionally, as a work site designed around traditional Tayloristic work practices, participants spoke broadly about mechanisms of direct control, over both workplace and community. In the early construction and settlement period of 1950-1970s, control was exerted through both direct control and supervision in the workplace, reminiscent of Tayloristic work practices, and over the town through the careful construction and planning of living spaces and demarcations which mirrored workplace hierarchy. During this period, consent was negotiated through the provision of housing and other community benefits, and through the visible presence and strength of trade unions in the workplace. However, consistent with dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work, control has moved from direct control over workplace and community, to more subtle forms manifested as job insecurity and a structure of work representative of Atkinson's flexible firm. Alongside this change in the nature of control was the withdrawal of the

mechanisms previously used to negotiate the consent of workers and community members.

As described in Chapter 3, under Globalisation and changes to work, control has moved from direct forms exerted at the level of state and workplace, to those embedded in everyday lives, and in identities. In Tokoroa, participants conveyed aspects of these, and could be conceptualised as being assimilated to the impact of technological change, to the necessity of global organisation of labour, and to the inevitability of organisational workplace change.

Of interest, although these mechanisms for gaining consent and control were required in the early period, to encourage workers to the town, and to establish work conditions, this negotiation was not required in the longer term, as evidenced by the disestablishment of company housing and support of community activities, and the restructuring of the workplace, which directly targeted the union strength base. It could be interpreted that the early provisions, aimed at gaining consent, were only provided until these conditions were accepted as taken for granted, at which time, active worker compliance was no longer required. By this time, workers had become assimilated to the long hours, which were partnered by alternative disciplinary mechanisms, such as the threat of unemployment and Mill closure.

From the experiences of participants, we can see that there are multiple responses to the dominant narratives, processes and politics of Globalisation and changes to work. Whilst some are consented to, expressed as dominant

agreed-upon narratives, and others are taken for granted, some are universally rejected and resisted, with antenarratives providing spaces for participants to express resisting perspectives.

These understandings of Globalisation and changes to work could also be seen in the assertion, or rejection, of narratives of community identity. As Garba (2010) reminds us, identity constitutes a dynamic set of political decisions about identifying with, or in opposition to, the dominant narrative. Additionally, for Bauman, identity is either bound in a relentless search for security and belonging (in the case of the mobile tourists), or rooted exclusively in the local (for the vagabond).

In Chapter 10, I present the narratives and antenarratives of community identity, as expressed by participants.

## **Chapter 10: Narratives & Antenarratives of Community Identity**

### **10.1 Introduction**

In Chapter 9, I interpreted participant's stories and collated a series of narratives and antenarratives relating to Globalisation and workplace change. Key themes which arose included: the mechanisms for gaining control and consent from workers and their families to the difficult initial conditions of both town settlement and workplace in the period 1950-1980, characterised by growth, prosperity and egalitarianism; the period 1980-present, characterised by rapid and inevitable change; and changes in the nature and structure of work. Many of these dominant narratives reflect the dominant secondary narratives of Globalisation and changes to work as presented in Chapter 2. However, participants also conveyed antenarratives, many of which contradicted, or problematised, these dominant narratives. I concluded Chapter 9 by arguing that these complex and varied narratives are representative of identification and disidentification with the dominant narratives. Moreover, the expression of both narrative and antenarrative are indicative of incomplete subordination to the dominant narratives of Globalisation and changes to work.

Embedded in these recollections were five dominant narratives of community identity, centred on the first, that of 'We're all in this together'. All participants, regardless of how long they had resided in Tokoroa, expressed these themes. However, although there was seeming agreement on these dominant narratives, there were also a number of antenarratives running

through participants recollections, problematising the appearance of a tidy, agreed-upon ‘Beginning-Middle-End’ (Boje, 2008) story.

In this chapter, I present the dominant narratives and antenarrative of community identity which I have drawn together. I open in Section 10.2 with the narrative ‘We’re all in this together’, describing a sense of community unification and collective belonging. In Section 10.3. I describe the narrative of ‘We came here for work’, centred on participants expressions of the centrality of notions of work to community identity. I follow in Section 10.4 by presenting the theme relating to participants connections with notions of travelling, ‘We’re all travelers’. Finally, in Section 10.5, I discuss participants linking of community identity to notions of pioneering, ‘We’re pioneers’. In Section 10.6 I conclude that these narratives and antenarratives can be conceptualised as processes of identification and dis-identification, symbolic of a dialectic of control/resistance, at the level of individual and community identity.

## **10.2 ‘We’re all in This Together’**

I interpreted a strong sense of community identity, and a sense of ‘were all in this together’. Participants noted a sense of shared experience as a key facet of the early development of the town (as expressed above in relation to a sense of egalitarianism), but also related such sentiments to present day.

A perceived identity of togetherness seemed to be rooted in the early development of the town, where peoples from many different backgrounds and cultures were brought together with the shared goal of developing both the Mill and the town.

*But the people in Tokoroa were wonderful, a wonderful community spirit, wonderful people everyone gets on well together (Participant 17)*

*There are no strangers in Tokoroa you all work together. (Participant 5)*

Many participants commented on an aspect which I perceived to be a community cohesiveness that was unlike any other they had experienced in other small towns.

*I tell you I have travelled all over the world and never managed to live in a more friendly place, kids were raised by the village, as Oprah would say, everyone watched out for each other, and each other's kids. (Participant 12)*

One participant described how this sense of unity and cohesiveness was found in simple acts:

*The first day [in Tokoroa], when I came home from work, [my wife] said to me "this place is amazing"*

- yet she didn't want to [move] there. She says "this morning, I went to the fruit shop, and they carried my stuff out to the car, and you never got that in [the town they previously resided in]". You know, just simple little things, but that's what Tokoroa is about, that's the difference - where as, you take those things were granted. So that's why it was quite a special place for us (Participant 1)

### 10.2.1 Antenarrative: Demarcations

Although I distilled a dominant narrative expressed of egalitarianism expressed by participants, and a sense of 'were all in this together', there was also a dialectical narrative expressed, of explicit demarcations on a number of levels *within* the community, expressed spatially and socially. Examples of factors under which individuals were separated included ethnicity, position/seniority, employer (Mill/Non-Mill). The presence of demarcations is explicitly at odds with the perception of an egalitarian culture.

#### *10.2.1.1 Demarcations Based on Taylorist Work Organisation*

Representative of the planned nature of the town in line with industry, participants described how residents were spatially (and therefore socially) demarcated based on occupational characteristics. For example, all the labourers and forestry workers were housed together within the single men's camps. Additionally, different sections of the family staff housing were reserved for different occupations – for example, as one participant noted, all

the Paper specialists were housed on one street, and the Pulp specialists on another. Another participant noted the separate housing for office and administration staff, separate from the production staff.

Beyond different functional demarcation, spatial demarcations were also based on seniority.

*We had shifted from [single men's camp] into another place which was for the office staff.  
(Participant 4)*

#### *10.2.1.2 Demarcations Based on Nationality*

In addition to Tayloristic occupational demarcations, participants also described spatial demarcations based on nationality. Perhaps aimed at encouraging social cohesion and a sense of home during a time when new migrants arrived from many different countries, families were grouped together based on nationality (which often corresponded to occupation above). One participant described the so-called 'rainbow valley' area of Tokoroa as:

*If you wanted to get a picture of what it was like then [take the example of] 'Rainbow Valley', Cook Islanders in nearly every second house or a Samoan or a Maori living in a house trying to own it and every man worked at the Mill. (Participant 9)*

*The company built Rainbow Valley presumably for the Islanders and that was [established] by 1956. (Participant 25)*

*South of Maraetai Road was predominantly Polynesian the demography of the township and in the middle between Baird Road and Maraetai was a mix. (Participant 8)*

Others commented on further demarcations amongst largely European migrant families:

*Further along that same road were, Dalmeny Road towards Baird Road were the English lot who were the Specialists at the Paper Mill. (Participant 5)*

*In another street were people from Denmark and Sweden that were working in the Paper Mill - their fathers were big bosses. (Participant 2)*

The above spatial demarcations based on occupation and nationality also corresponded to perceptions of socio-economic demarcations. As one participant noted:

*Oh yes, south of Maraetai Road was considered*

*'the hood'. North of Baird Road was considered the rich. The middle part in between, they were the in between (Participant 8)*

### 10.2.2 Antenarrative: 'We're Not All Insiders'

Another antenarrative running through participants recollections that contradicts narratives of collective unity was that of a strong 'insider'/'outsider' dichotomy. The wording used by participants to describe those perceived to be outside the town included such terms as 'invaders' and 'troublemakers'.

In particular, participants described outsiders as being those who came to the town and then left (the 'deserters'), those responsible for violence and crime (the 'troublemakers'), and the new Mill management (the 'invaders').

#### 10.2.2.1 *The 'Deserters'*

Many participants spoke of people coming to the town during the boom time, lured by high wages at the Mill, and then leaving the town. Participants spoke of these individuals in a negative light, as though they came to exploit the benefits of the prosperous times, yet failed in a perceived responsibility to give back to the town, and contribute to the community. Additionally, these individuals were not seen as 'true' residents, as they had failed to stay during the hard times, and therefore were seen to not have shown the perseverance and loyalty required of a 'true' resident.

*It really irks me in a way really, that they*

*made their money, they made lots of money here in Tokoroa, and they've moved away (Participant 26)*

A sense that these individuals were not readily accepted into the category of 'insider' and were viewed with a sense of caution can be seen in the following comment:

*The community's good, when you're in your community with your people there are other people out there that take advantage, you stay away from them. (Participant 11)*

#### *10.2.2.2 The 'Troublemakers'*

As described in Section 9.2, participants felt that perceptions of Tokoroa from those outside the town were often centred on unemployment, poverty, violence and crime. However, for participants, the presence of these negative aspects of the town were largely attributed to outsiders who had either temporarily come to the town specifically to commit a crime, or who, in the case of beneficiaries, had come to the town to exploit affordable housing. These individuals were not perceived as 'true' residents, but rather as a group of 'troublemakers' who were responsible for creating negative perceptions of the town:

*Now you may have been told we had a murder here, I don't know how long ago, but we will*

*say 15 years ago, it happened on a Saturday night, and everybody was in total shock, complete stranger, they didn't belong in the town, he just arrived, he was here for a fortnight or something (Participant 23)*

### *10.2.2.3 The 'Invaders'*

One group who was viewed with caution was those individuals who held management positions at the Mill. Participants saw these people as unanimously being outsiders, mostly residing outside the town and commuting in for work. Participants spoke of the 'new' management firmly as outsiders, and expressed that this group of people did not understand the needs or values of the community.

*They come in from outside, all these big Bosses about every three years they'd have a turnaround of Bosses. Three years one lot would go and another lot come in. And yet all these Bosses never ever lived in Tokoroa. They never lived in this town and it hurt quite a few of us. (Participant 15)*

One participant articulated this sense in the label 'invaders', which seemed to encompass the sentiments of other participants:

*We saw these manager's coming in, these*

*invader's coming in outside of our town making all these changes but not having any form of any formal or professional dialogue or consultation, yeah it just made it hard to accept them. (Participant 8)*

### 10.2.3 Between Insider and Outsider

In addition to the above categories of clear 'outsiders', there was also a sense that some groups of residents fell in between insider and outsider. These individuals were clearly residents of the town, and accepted into some areas of community life, but were regarded with a degree of suspicion. Included in this grouping were 'new' residents and farmers.

#### *10.2.3.1 New Residents*

Participants made a clear distinction between 'new' residents and original residents. However, the time period determining 'new' was moveable – for some, it meant anyone who had not resided in the town since the 1960s. For others, it was those who had settled in the town in the past 5-10years. Interestingly, all participants had a sense of this dynamic – and even those participants who might be classed as 'new' by some older residents themselves talked of 'new' residents, meaning those who had arrived after themselves.

*To a point, for those who were here in the beginning, in the early days, but for the people who have come since, they bring a*

*different feeling into the place. They bring their own feelings and impressions.  
(Participant 5)*

*There are a lot of people coming in but they don't really understand the way of Tokoroa.  
(Participant 16)*

### *10.2.3.2 The Farmers*

Another group who were seen as crossing the boundary of 'outsider' and 'insider' were the farmers. Although Tokoroa had been a farming settlement prior to the development of the Mill (described in Chapter 8), the farmers were seen as a separate category to the 'community'

*The farmers were a different kettle of fish  
(Participant 20)*

*The farming area those were on the outskirts of town so as a community Tokoroa might be a little bit hesitant to move towards [the farmers], but they will accept [the farmers], because they will realise that they need it because we can't just rely on good on Radiata to get us through (Participant 8)*

Members of the farming community also saw themselves as separated from

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the Tokoroa community to a degree. One participant, who was a farmer himself, and came from a farming family in the area prior to the Mill development, discussed the Tokoroa residents as being ‘them’

*Well I used to get very jealous of the money [Mill workers] were making (Participant 21)*

Another member of the farming community also mirrored these sentiments

*The Mill workers had lots of money... But funnily enough I have still met people that have lived here for probably 30, 40, 50 years and we have never known them because we have always been in the farming side of things, always out in the country, and they've only been in town, and you have never known them, you have never, it is quite strange really. The two have never really mixed (Participant 27)*

### *10.2.3.3 Maori ‘other’*

Many participants also talked of local Maori as partial insiders, but viewed with suspicion. Many participants echoed the anecdotal belief that the land Tokoroa was founded on was not tied to any Maori Iwi

*In fact people believe there were no Maori*

*here (Participant 32)*

Other comments reflected the belief that Maori were newcomers to the town, with participants describing

*An unfortunate change, like if you walk down through town when the court is on there is all Maori people and there is no eye contact, (Participant 3)*

*I mean there were still the gang cultures and you didn't go in the Pubs if you didn't feel safe especially as a white person. (Participant 16)*

*Unfortunately some of the indigenous in the area have caused a lot of strife (Participant 21)*

### **10.3 'We Came Here for Work'**

Another strong narrative of community identity was the centrality of work. This narrative was supported by the fact that for many original residents, work in fact *was* their motivation for coming to Tokoroa. As an example, one participant described how his aim in coming to Tokoroa from the Pacific Islands was to work

*Our purpose on coming here was to earn some*

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*money, and to go back home and build a home, but we never did, we ended up building here in Tokoroa (Participant 31)*

Another participant described how, from the initial group of employment migrants from the Pacific Islands, this community grew, as other family members came to the town for work

*Just before the [Mill] opening they had a few [workers from the Cook Islands], who would send money home to Aitutaki, and so what happened was that our Cook Island community grew from that whole system. So, my Dad would come here and send money back for another cousin to come over and that cousin would come over work, and pay that money back and then save to have his family to come over. (Participant 9)*

### 10.3.1 Antenarrative: Other Reasons to Remain

However, whilst participants cited ‘work’ as their reason for residing in Tokoroa, they also expressed a strong sense of home/belonging associated with the town, which suggested ties to the town that extended far beyond employment.

*It is home, its home (Participant 8)*

Further participants commented that they had come to the town to join other extended family members. These expressions are in contrast to the dominant narrative that centres the community identity on notions of 'work'. For example, one participant noted the importance of the town in terms of cultural identity

*Tokoroa community to me is my culture, everything that I have known here is my life and the individuals that make up this community (Participant 7)*

Participants also spoke of how people were moving into the town at the point of retirement, which is in direct contrast to the idea of moving for work

*A lot of people are coming here from Auckland and places like that, that have loaned the house out there to retirement, and a lot of retired people come here (Participant 26)*

### 10.3.2 Antenarrative: Multicultural Belonging

One of the overt identities, which is in direct contrast to the assumptions of Globalisation, is the assertion of cultural identity. As described in Chapter 4, under Globalisation, collective cultural identity is assumed to become homogenous, whilst individual identity is increasingly diverse, and aspects of multiple identities are taken on.

Interestingly, in the Tokoroa context, there are two collective narratives of cultural identity, one relating to the renewed visibility of the Raukawa Iwi, and the other relating to the Cook Islands/Pacific identity. In the case of a Raukawa identity, this has been reasserted since the 1980s; in the case of the Pacific identity, this has developed during the period following Pacific employment migration from the mid- 1960s.

#### *10.3.2.1 Raukawa Identity*

A common perception among many participants, and anecdotally amongst the wider Tokoroa population, is that there was no Maori Iwi in the Tokoroa area prior to development of the Mill. According to one participant

*And for a long time the Raukawa history hasn't been known here, so you would be really hard pressed to find people who can tell you, and in fact people believe there were no Maori here (Participant 32)*

Another participant commented

*Most people perceive Tokoroa to be a town that has a very very high Maori population - it doesn't. In fact the Maori population is minimal. (Participant 1)*

However, the past 30 years has seen a general resurgence of Maori identity within New Zealand as a whole, and within the Tokoroa area.

*I went to Balmoral Primary School which was just down the road from our home. It is now a Kura Kaupapa [Maori total immersion secondary school] which is interesting (Participant 8)*

Another participant spoke of efforts to engage the youth of the town to a renewed cultural identity

*And that is also very much for our kids, Raukawa kids linked to that succession of dislocation, is that the value of education has been lost and the belief that you can get to uni, or you can get some tertiary qualifications has been lost, and it is still a challenge to get our kids to stay in school and carry on, and secure themselves a future. There has been a lot of petty crime and a lot of petty gang associations stuff here, and part of the culture being lost has meant that they have turned to that American gangster rap culture and the same with the Pacific kids, they've turned to that in the absence of really knowing how they fit in I think, you know then*

*it is just going along with the crowd. So there is quite a bit of that going on, but we are trying actively to run leadership programs and do those sorts of things for our kids, so that they can see that their strength is in their culture from here, not from east LA.  
(Participant 32)*

### *10.3.2.2 Cook Islands/Pacific Identity*

Whilst the reassertion of indigenous identities under conditions of Globalisation has been documented (Fenelon & Hall, 2008; Yashar, 2007), the Pacific community in Tokoroa provides an example of a primary cultural identity that is *not* indigenous, and closely entwined with processes of Globalisation. Largely due to Tokoroa being the primary location of employment migration from the Cook Islands, the town has become a focal point for Cook Island and wider Pacific culture. Many participants cited the strength of this culture as a key facet of their Tokoroa identity:

*The changes I have seen is a cultural difference, its stronger, it has always been my priority is my culture, for my culture to emphasised in this little town and we have done really well with it (Participant 30)*

*We believe in making the students and giving them the opportunity to stay strong in their own culture whether it be Pacific Island, Samoan, so our head of Maori studies is very*

*good in terms of catering to the needs of those diverse Pacifica groups and Maori as well in terms of giving them confidence in their own culture has certainly been a basis and a lot of them have been successful academically. (Participant 6)*

One participant even described Tokoroa as being a primary point of identification for Cook Islands people in New Zealand who could not afford to visit the Cook Islands. Of interest, this first ‘landing spot’ for employment migrants from the Cook Islands (and to a lesser degree other Pacific Islands), elicited feelings of ‘homeland’ from participants.

*So what does Tokoroa mean to me? As a parent it has come to me in everything I really love being home and I realise just how much we took it for granted growing up and Tokoroa is very unique especially for us Atutaki people where we don't have to go back to Atutaki to learn our culture to meet our family we can come here to Tokoroa so in essence it is probably a refuge you know we are pretty strong our community is pretty large (Participant 7)*

Therefore, although these employment migrants were a direct part of Globalisation of employment, this did not result in them neither giving up their cultural identity, nor staying primarily attached to homeland, as is documented in studies of diaspora. For these groups, they developed an

additional primary attachment, to the first place of migration outside of their cultural homeland.

One of the focal aspects of maintaining the identity is the PIC church, which is

*If you can have a Marae for Cook Island and Pacific Island people it would be the church it would be our Marae we take our deaths there we take our birthdays there, our celebrations, weddings and we pretty much just live there and relish it together and it has always been a central point for us anyway everybody knows where that is ... for as long as I have been alive the church has been a focal point for us as well as all the other denominations so whether you are a Latter Day Saint, a Mormon, SBA or a Jehovah Witness anything Cook Island goes there first. Everybody knows it understands it and it is what it is. (MT) It continues to play a really focal role in our community still to this day. In particular for Cook Islanders anything for Cook Islanders like Government people or Government departments who want to focus on Cook Island and want to capture a Cook Island view point will bring it to there and for them it is a place where they feel the most comfortable with its protocols and all that goes with it too. (Participant 9)*

#### 10.4 'We're all Travellers'

Another dominant narrative of community identity was that of being 'travellers'. For all participants, their personal journey to Tokoroa featured in some form in their interview. Even for those participants who were born in the town, the story of their parents/grandparents journey to the town was a significant feature of their story. For many, this journey was accompanied by a sense of hardship, of adjustment, but also of excitement, anticipation, and the lure of perceived opportunities awaiting.

For some, the story of their journey and arrival was of international journey. For example, one participant described the journey as long and arduous

*And I had come across on the ship for three months, three weeks, no four weeks, not being able to stand upright because I was pregnant (Participant 23)*

For one participant, the journey to Tokoroa resembled the pioneering experiences of colonial New Zealanders

*One day we just hopped on our horses and rode through cause he used to live in Tokoroa when he was a kid. We rode through to Tokoroa. (Participant 20)*

This sense of being travellers extended to participants describing the community as being transient

*Yes it is a very transient society.*

*(Participant 16) We are transient. (Participant 5)*

Some participants spoke of transience in the boom times as being centred on people coming to the town to make money and then leave.

*I have met an extraordinary number of New Zealander's both men and women who have worked out at Kinleith or who have worked in the forest industry so people would come to Tokoroa stay several years and build up some capital some stayed of course built houses here and are still here. Others spent a year or two three years and moved on built up their capital base and moved into the cities. (Participant 6)*

Participants noted that this sense of transience remained, although those individuals coming into the town temporarily were now not seen as being drawn to work, but rather to inexpensive housing:

*A lot of beneficiaries have come here because*

*the housing is cheap; the rent is cheap compared to anywhere else. (Participant 29)*

*We have got a very transient population now a high number of beneficiaries' people come and stay six months or a year they are very transitory we notice that in the schools here kids appear for three months six months or a year and then they are gone again. (Participant 6)*

Participants saw the early sense of journeys and transience as building a sense of resilience in townspeople, and particularly in the town's youth

*We have four children, they were educated here at Tokoroa High School and they loved it as very few could survive Tokoroa High School, nothing in the world was a problem...Then you could survive anywhere and that is working in London for [one child} and [other two children] have worked on farms and in standards below anything you would see in New Zealand. (Participant 5)*

This identification with transience was not just in terms of people coming and going from Tokoroa, but was also seen as part of the individual identity of the past and present residents

*We have taken that step from emigrating from Europe and from outside that protective environment have taken that jump to here and that is therefore in our psyche the first of many a jump. (Participant 4)*

Therefore, as described by one participant, residents of Tokoroa were well adjusted to looking outside the town, and often New Zealand, for work opportunities

*During the redundancies a lot of people went to the big cities but particularly to Australia they left New Zealand and went straight to Australia. (Participant 31)*

#### 10.4.1 Antenarrative: Immigrants as Outsiders

While all participants saw journeying as central to the identity of townspeople, there was also a clear thread from many which centred on ‘immigrant as outsider’. This was surprising as, discussed previously, a large proportion of original and founding members of the community were migrants. The assumption might have been, therefore, that community members were accepting and tolerant of diverse culture. However, this was not the case, and comments referring to migrants as ‘outsiders’

*Oh basically yes, yes, and the biggest stirrers*

*unfortunately were usually immigrants, and they'd come from a difficult part of the world, I'd admit, and had been really ill-treated, but those sorts of things weren't going on in New Zealand. And the English, their predecessors treating their people pretty harsh, but New Zealand wasn't like that, because the people had come to New Zealand from over there, the average worker had got away from that thing. Had come over here to start a new life, like Scotsman, but unfortunately some of those radicals followed, and they were able to stir the pot further. (Participant 21)*

### **10.5 'We're Pioneers'**

The notion of struggle, both in the journey to Tokoroa, in the initial development and adjustment period, and more recently during the downsizings and period of employment decline, can be seen as parallel to the identification of the New Zealand (particularly male) as hardworking and physically strong (described in Chapter 7). Additionally, the traditional 'breaking of the land' is represented in the comments of the participants, perhaps unsurprisingly, given the close links to the land and forestry. Additionally, many of the tasks carried out by the forestry workers, the clearing of the land, traversing difficult landscape, are parallel to those encountered by colonial settlers.

Some accounts given by participants of their early experiences of Tokoroa closely resembled the stories told by the early New Zealand settlers, for

example, one participant recalled:

*Now there was absolutely nothing there, there was pine trees all around the back, and I can remember, I think Mum and Dad were living in a tent until we got this house built and then the horses used to run out of the forest, the wild horses, they were known as brumbies, and we would be a bit nervous about that.  
(Participant 27)*

Another recalled her first impression of the town upon arrival as:

*My first impression on arriving in Tokoroa was (cause I'm keen on horses) a big bushman riding into town on his horse with a dead pig across the front of his saddle and a rifle slung across his back. (Participant 2)*

One participant referred to the period 1950-1970 as being like the 'wild west', with another labelling Tokoroa a 'frontier town', conjuring up images of the American settlement of central U.S.A.

*People were riding horses I mean I saw a guy ride a horse into Timberlands [local bar] one day, rode in on a horse and got himself a handle of beer and I think it was guys just*

*peeing in the corner in the bar and guys and all the bush blokes it was alive a bit that's just the way the town was (Participant 25)*

### 10.5.1 Antenarrative: 'This Land was Not Uninhabited'

A significant part of the sense of pioneering appeared to be linked to the perception that the land that Tokoroa was founded on was uninhabited, vacant, and therefore open to be 'broken'. However, one participant asserted that this perception is based on two factors; firstly, the fact that the Tokoroa area, being a volcanic plateau, was not a site of Maori residence, but was a key hunting ground and of central importance to Raukawa Iwi, and secondly, due to systematic displacement and land confiscation by the NZ government prior to development of the forests. In the participant's words:

*There is no Marae here, no one was living here, and yet part of my job for Raukawa is to look after and identified all of the archaeological sites, and wahi tapu sites which are right around here. There's over 400 sites, archaeological sites, wahi tapu sites in the bush just east of Tokoroa, up in the Mamaku range. And there is sites all along the Waikato river, and what happened was, this was the place where the moa hunter, where the moa grazed, it was tussock ground etc, etc. the more plentiful places where you would prefer to live where actually east and west of here, so the Marae are south and north and east and*

west of here, but this was a very well traversed ground, and because Maori didn't live a sedentary life, and were affiliated to different Marae - people would move around. So you wouldn't spend all of your life at one Marae. Down at the river, what we have found and it is verified by the archaeologists Pere Fletcher from Taupo, is that there are lots of birds and sites, gardens, all sorts of really rich life carried on through these big huge volcanic terrains, big big gullies that just go all the way from Rotorua, so State Highway 5 all the way up to the Fitzgerald Glade, and further north. You can still actually see that terrain where it is farmed, but in this part it is still bush, and so there are burial grounds and pa sites, and fortified pas and kumara pits and you name it is up here. And you can see in the big gullies where there is beautiful water available, plentiful clean water which usually start in Puna springs, and then they go all the way out to either the Waikato river, or out to the Thames via the Waihou, is the gullies where there is plentiful water is where all the sites are. So they didn't walk up and down too much, or they didn't spend too much time in the gullies without water, the gullies with water, streams running through them, and I say gully they are huge big incised valleys,

*and the pa sites are usually on the top, and you can see various forms of life, historically recorded, so we are down the bottom as well. You can see people were moving through here all the time, and people would move, not just Raukawa, but the east coast tribes would move over to the west coast and vice versa. But from a Raukawa perspective it is very much the heartland of Raukawa, the centre you know of Raukawa rohe, which is well recognised as one of the central North Island tribes (Participant 32)*

The participant also described her perspective of the confiscation of land and the displacement of Raukawa peoples

*It was systematic confiscation, and that is well recorded, in fact, so it started with, I have to get my order right and I don't necessarily get these in the right order, the land companies, New Zealand land companies, for example coming here and surveying blocks and getting government approval to then sell those blocks. (Participant 32)*

## **10.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter and the previous chapter, I have explored participants storying,

and framed this around narratives and antenarratives of Globalisation and workplace change. Participants stories of the period 1950-present centred on two key themes, the early ‘golden days’, and the period 1980-present which centred on times of change, decline and difficulty.

Embedded in these recollections were a number of expressed narratives of community identity, focused on the notion of community togetherness. These dominant themes included ‘We’re all in this together’, ‘We came here for work’, ‘We’re all travellers’, ‘We owe it all to NZFP’ and ‘We’re Pioneers’. These narratives of community identity are all relating to the ‘golden days’ of 1950-1980, the enduring memory of which has clearly had a lasting impact on notions of community identity. However, there were also a number of antenarratives which we embedded in participants’ recollections, which were in contrast to these dominant themes. For example, while all participants noted an identity centred on togetherness, there were antenarratives involving community demarcations, and significant ‘othering’ of seeming ‘outsiders’ (or those deemed not quite ‘outside’ but on the boundary between insider and outsider).

Many of these narratives are entwined with work, the Kinleith Mill, and the surrounding industry, illustrating the pervasive and enduring impact of the initial purpose of the town on how the community continues to see itself. Additionally, there was a strong connection between the industrial relations environment at the Mill, and the seeming contentment and stability of the community’s social relations. This facet runs through both narrative and antenarrative.

Drawing on the work of Bauman (Bauman, 1998a, 2004), the emphatic assertion of dominant narratives may be fulfilling the individual's need for a sense of belonging and identification within conditions which provide little stability. Additionally, Gabriel's (2005) discussion of the importance of 'image' under Globalisation may help to theorise the upholding of a unified collective 'image' for the community as a response to threats posed by on-going social issues, and the perceptions of 'outsiders'. However, neither of these explanations are complete, as the array of antenarratives suggest that there are layers of 'agreement' occurring, with many varied views expressed.

In the following Chapter, I explore these, and other, theoretical implications of my interpretation of the participants' stories, drawing together Chapters 2-10, to discuss the theoretical implications of this research.

## Chapter 11: Discussion

### 11.1 Introduction

The ways politics and practices of globalisation and changes to work manifest in the lived experiences of individuals and how consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to these politics and practices are expressed as identity at the individual and collective level are the focus of my research. In chapters 7-10, I presented the insights generated from my research. I applied these insights to the two research themes I crafted at the start of my work:

*Research Theme 1: How politics and practices of globalisation and changes to work manifests in the lived experiences of individuals*

*Research Theme 2: How consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of globalisation and changes to work are expressed as narratives and antenarratives of identity at the individual and collective level*

In Chapters 7 and 8 I presented my analysis of secondary research. I began in Chapter 7 by detailing the New Zealand context of globalisation and changes to work. I argued that New Zealand was a first-mover in the adoption of a Keynesian welfare state, and subsequently in implementing neo-liberalism and Third Way policies. This position as early adopter renders the New

Zealand context as one highly relevant to exploring the impacts of these changes in the global politico-economic sphere on the lives of its citizens.

In Chapter 8 I presented the economic development, decline and resilience of the single-industry community of Tokoroa as an outcome of the repositioning of the principle employer the pulp and paper mill in relation to changes afoot in the global context. I concluded that the New Zealand politico-economic context was broadly representative of changes in the wider international arena of corporate repositioning and that the embracing of neo-liberal political ideology were entwined with corporate globalisation. I also found that the accompanied changes to the structure and conditions of employment to more flexible forms of work as documented in the international literature were mirrored in the New Zealand context. However, I noted that the dominant expressions of identities in New Zealand were significantly influenced by historical and cultural dynamics unique to this region.

In Chapter 9, I presented my segregations of dominant narratives and antenarratives as I interpreted the participants' storying of globalisation and changes to work. I found that while participants expressed a clear understanding of many aspects of globalisation and changes to work, there was an array of reactions to these processes manifesting in and through both narratives and antenarratives. I further argued that the diversity of 'tellings' within and across stories was reflective of moments of control over and resistance to the extent of corporate directives on their lives on the part of individual workers, their families and community. In addition to these positions of resistance there were other perspectives which did not reflect a concern with the corporation's power and did not devote energy to resistance.

These stories of lives bigger than the circumscription of their circumstances by the dominance of the corporation in the town reinforce my interest in the complexity of individual lives outside of the notions of corporate hegemony so central to the genre of critical organisation and management studies.

In Chapter 10, I segregated the narratives and antenarratives of community identity expressed by participants and explored the opportunities for insight from this dissection. I found that most participants explicitly or implicitly narrated stories consistent with the dominant narratives I have described, and as such there were threads of stories that could be fruitfully seen as antenarratives, and examined for their insight when seen in this way. These insights give rise to significant points for discussion. In particular, what remains unexplored is how the narratives and antenarratives presented in Chapters 7-10 reflect or contradict the analyses of globalisation presented in Chapters 2-4. I now reflect on how the reported experiences of participants might or might not reflect the power relations presented by Gramsci, Braverman, Foucault and others. Did participants' stories suggest that they were fully or even significantly subordinated to the power of the global elites, as some analysts have portrayed the circumstances of human beings where corporate capitalism and a neo-liberal political agenda dominate? Do their expressions of identity mirror Bauman's conceptualisation of identity in globalisation as a tourist/vagabond dialectic? How might the reported experiences of my research participants shed light on the further development of critical studies of globalisation and changes to work? These questions are considered in this chapter.

Tokoroa is one of few New Zealand examples of a town which was almost wholly developed for and by the interests in the forestry. While corporate interests came to dominate, this was not achieved without significant

government assistance. In Section 11.2 I suggest that Tokoroa is a town which is not only entwined with the changes to the forestry industry locally, but is deeply embedded in the changes in political and economic ideology at the national and international level. I discuss how the case of Tokoroa illustrates how the local frame of reference remains of importance to local people under globalisation. I also discuss how theories about identity formation provide an enlightening lens through which to explore the reported experiences of individuals from Tokoroa. An exploration of issues of identity in a community impacted directly and indirectly by the particular dynamics of globalisation at that time follows in Section 11.3. I revisit Bauman's conceptualisation of tourists and vagabonds as insightful but limited depictions. I consider the extent to which this depiction can bring creative insight into the case of Tokoroa and the lives of the people who live and work there. These points of discussion lead me to consider the processes of identification/disidentification as expressed by participants. I consider the extent to which these processes might be thought of as dialectical and representative of processes of control/resistance under conditions of globalisation and changes to work. Finally, I discuss how the case of Tokoroa illustrates that the broad-brush depictions of identity as presented within many dominant narratives of globalisation are incomplete. Whilst they provide particular glimpses of the experiences of many individuals, workers and communities, the overarching critical analysis does not adequately represent the complexity of experiences of individuals living within the processes of globalisation and changes to work.

The final discussion of this thesis is not complete without acknowledging the development of my own perspective on research and theory and on myself as

a researcher. When considering where to situate this discussion about the impact of the research process on me, I considered placing it in the methodology chapter. I also asked myself if this reconsideration of myself as a researcher might be better articulated as a finding. I have chosen to situate this discussion at this late stage of my document as it seems to me that this positioning is consistent with the value of the work of Boje (2008) in our understanding of the storying of emergence of enquiry. This chapter therefore opens with a brief discussion of my researcher re-positioning through the process of my project. I explain how this subtle re-positioning altered the way in which I have interpreted my field notes, drawn together my reflections on the many dimensions of this PhD, and my views of myself as a researcher – a ‘story-in- the-making’.

## **11.2 The Re-positioning of a Critical Student and Developing Researcher**

Boje (2008) explains that a living story is not always told as a synchronistic plot, with a ‘logical’ beginning, middle and end (BME). As with the unfolding of life that occurs with many interjections and moments of clarity about past events, living stories shed light on how we come to understand the present. For Boje, the act of research and of storying not only retells the past, but creates the present and future for both participants and researchers. Therefore this research forms a part of my own living story as well as that of the participants and town of Tokoroa. Drawing on Foucault’s (1982) concept of the aesthetic making of the self, Rabikowska (2010) describes the researcher as a performer, acting in the role of ‘professional researcher’. Kincheloe (2006) argues that “research in a critical ontological context changes not only what ones knows but who one actually is”. Revisiting my researcher positioning outlined in Chapter 6, I am not only

‘researcher’ in the sense of conducting research as a functional task. By initiating conversations about matters that may or may not have been at the forefront of participants’ minds, and by my processes of interpretation and representation of their stories as variously entailing narratives and antenarratives, I am inevitably impacting on the living stories of my participants and myself through my representations of their lives and my notions of critical studies. The central thread of identity within this thesis concerns the way in which we see our ‘selves’ in relation to the ‘other’ in a complex web of relationships. Following Boje’s lead, my experiences as researcher also have the potential to shed further light on the interpretations presented in Chapters 7-10, a reflection I will elaborate in sections 11.2.

#### *11.2.1.1 Threading in My Living Story*

After spending considerable time with my research participants in their environment, I began to become aware of how my own story was merging with aspects of theirs’. I began to experience some of the sights and sounds reported by them. I was able to imagine my own reactions to events that participants had described. This process became a deeply personal experience for me. For example, one evening, as I drove home from Tokoroa after a day of interviewing my mind was on a story told by a participant who described his experiences of a death of a mate in the forest. My reflections were:

*I [researcher] am driving [home through this densely forested region of the country from a day interviewing] and I’m struck by the majesty of the trees, and just... the endless forests...*

*and I'm thinking back to [research participant] and his story of going into the forest to a fatality - the death of a work-mate on the job. I can imagine now this vast, quiet place in the middle of the forest, and how lonely it must be to be working alone up there, and how frightening when something happens... it really feels like a different world out here.*

The experience of driving these roads through dense forests, knowing the workers were there, contributed to my research in a number of ways. Firstly, it gave me insights to contextualise the stories of my participants. Secondly, and perhaps just as importantly, it gave me an appreciation of how I was consciously and subconsciously, hearing my participants stories through my own life's filters. Through imagining what might have been my own reactions to the events my participants were describing, I had a moment of appreciation centred on how research is a co- construction. I noted also a caution that my interpretations may also be read as a projection that does not represent the experiences of my participants. The experience and reflection above led to me consider my participants experiences with a renewed richness of understanding. I found myself far more aware of the nuances of their experiences. That my participants cannot be thought of simply as functionaries to the corporation or servants of the global structures of neo-liberalism deepened in my appreciation. The participants in my research are complex individuals, experiencing complex issues in their lives. They express concerns about a complex set of priorities, values and reactions to their circumstances.

At the time of my travelling to and from Tokoroa, and the immediacy of the reflections at that time, I came across Kincheloe and McLaren's (2005) *Pragmatics of hope in an age of cynical reason*. I was particularly influenced by the passage 'capitalist exploitation and relations of capitalist production [are just] one set of relations' (p. 321). For me, this was a significant moment of re-positioning. I came to consider that whilst influential, the power relations entwined with globalisation and changes to work were evident in the conversations with my research participants, these dynamics represent just one set of relations which may exist alongside many others. I began to reflect on Zizek's (2000) call that in privileging this set of power relations over all others, the critical management community was further embedding these as the apparently all-powerful and singular dominant paradigm. Wray-Bliss (2003) and Gabriel (2009) extend this call by suggesting that many projects in critical management studies are embedded with power relations which could themselves constitute an alternative hegemonic grand narrative, potentially rendering some researchers to the margins. I began to reflect on these calls, and the way in which the position of a seemingly 'all knowing academic' had influenced my methodological choices. These reflections represented a significant shift in the theoretical influences I draw on in this thesis in that at the outset of my PhD research my work was based on a traditional structural analysis of power. I focused particularly on the work of Gramsci (1971) and Foucault (1970, 1977, and 2002). Whilst I could appreciate the insight into the influence of power so conceived, later in the work I began to reflect differently on the stories about diverse and complex relationships of power and influence as told by individuals. These relationships were presented to me as far more complex and nuanced than simply living within or under globalisation and work place change with a unidirectional power circumscribing individual lives and community

identities. This appreciation led me to re-examine the theoretical scholarship I was drawing on, bringing me to the work of Zizek (2000, 2003), Bauman (1998a, 1998b, 2001, 2004, and 2011) and Gabriel (2008). This culminated in the consideration of identity theory as helpful in exploring both structural and individual levels of analysis. This shift to a focus on identity/ies also led me to deeply consider my own identity within the research context. For example, my field notes include:

*I am aware for the first time of my own discomfort.... completely un'knowledge'able and out of my depth in a cultural setting.... I am aware of the previous 'security' I experienced in the ivory towers unravelling... I can see I am NOT the expert here....*

Two months later, I commented

*So a key issue is about insider and outsider, in terms of identity, and identity in research I guess. As a researcher we're always an outsider. Even if we're part of that community, we come to that community in our capacity as a researcher with a whole lot of preconceived ideas and theoretical frameworks. This means that an outsider aspect is part of our identity as well... there are many aspects in this project where you can see the*

*insider/outsider dynamic, and how important it is ... part of using the photos is to try to access that insider experience which will never be able to be 'seen' as such, because you are always seeing (or hearing) as an outsider.*

These above insights highlight the relational dynamics of research. Research as a relational process situated me firmly *within* the research, rather than as an 'observer' of a supposedly objective and discoverable reality to describe. This focus reaffirmed to me the importance of notions of identity not as a fixed 'thing', but as a dynamic relational process centred on notions of who we think 'we are', and where we think we 'belong', drawing me again away from a structural analysis based on crystallised 'framings' to a softened notion of framing – perhaps akin to the artists decisions about the way in which a canvas might frame a picture – a picture yet to be detailed with creative imprints.

The insights above impacted significantly on how I interpreted my response to the reported experiences of participants as presented in Chapters 9 and 10. I am acutely aware that as a PhD researcher I must frame my PhD in a way that meets the requirements of the qualification. There has been much scope for some movement of both this framing and my reading of the theoretical position from whence I began this PhD. This movement was generated from the depth of the conversations with my research participants and from my continued search for an interpretation that accounted for my discomfort with aspects of the critical scholarship as I had understood it at the start of my PhD. This movement also reinforced the usefulness to my work of Denzin and Lincoln's depiction of the researcher

as bricoleur, as the movements in perspective led me to draw on different ‘tools’: theoretical perspectives, analyses, and methods to use in conducting and interpreting fieldwork.

My discussion now turns to the theoretical implications of the insights set out in Chapters 7-10. In Section 11.3 I begin by providing a summary of the narratives and antenarratives of globalisation and changes to work presented in Chapter 2 and 3. In Section 11.3.1 I discuss the implications of my participants storying in terms of theories of control and resistance. I follow in Section 11.3.2 by applying to idea of the localisation of globalisation to the case of Tokoroa. This leads me in Section 11.4. to consider the application of Bauman’s conceptualisation of tourists and vagabonds to the case of Tokoroa, and to discuss Bauman’s depiction as an interpretation of the narratives and antenarratives I have crafted. In Section 11.5 I discuss how insights in Chapters 7-10 illustrate incomplete narratives and antenarratives of identity, in particular focusing on the public acceptance yet private refusal of dominant narratives, and usage of identity narratives as boundary and resistance. Finally, in Section 11.6, I consider the question posed in the title of Chapter 3: Critical analysis of globalisation – antenarrative or alternative dominant narrative?

### **11.3 Tokoroa and Globalisation: A Living Story**

How macro-political, corporate, and meso-level changes to work manifest for the individuals who are living with and negotiating ways of being alongside the implementation of these changes are the focus of my research. Gramsci’s analytical focus was of initial interest to me. He provided a critique of the impact of domesticating power structures so significant in the

era and location from which he experienced them. I was drawn to his insight focused at a broad structural level. Subsequent applications of his work have been widespread and often to significant effect wherever critics of the abuse of power seek to explain the seemingly tacit subordination to that power – be this expressed as state, corporate, patriarchal or colonising empire building. The efficacy of this notion has been taken up by those critics of globalisation who are concerned about its exploitative outcomes, on – and enabled in part - by those who could be interpreted as a generally the ‘docile’ or disengaged population. Within this critique, the individual, or community, is rendered to the position of faceless ‘docile functionary’, an embellishment used to expose to view a set of significant circumstances with an aspiration to encourage their transformation. Despite the questions that have arisen for me from my observations of the limitations of my early critical structural critique as set out in Chapter 3, the value of the alert to the impact of macro powers is vital to any discourse of justice and emancipation. While much of the theoretical work is couched in metaphors of structures and their (often mechanical) elements, the continued observation of acts of resistance provides support for the critical assertions of the dialectic of control/resistance. Moreover, the continued observation of resistance provides recognition of the efficacy of the power-relations postulated by critical theorists in their various forms of analysis.

The persistent rapid and wide reaching commitment to the principles of neo-liberalism in New Zealand provides an illustrative example of the macro politico- economic changes which have enabled and accompanied the increase in corporate globalisation in this country. The programme of structural adjustment implemented between 1984 and 1991 was a planned programme of change. Its genesis is in the influence of international

institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, and their close association with the influence of like-minded decision-makers in New Zealand. One New Zealand industry that illustrates the link between macro political changes and industry deregulation and corporate globalisation, is the forestry industry. Initially state-controlled and entwined with national economic and social policy, the programme of structural adjustment resulted in the privatisation of the forestry industry. Within a short space of time this industry was dominated by large multi-national corporations, operating international labour forces.

Tokoroa is a town which is not only entwined with the changes to the forestry industry but is deeply embedded in the changes in political ideology which accompanied these changes. It is one of few New Zealand examples of a town which was almost wholly developed for and by a specific industry with substantial government assistance. This town, for a period the largest growing town in New Zealand, could be conceptualised as a robust working definition of a single industry town. No town existed in this geographic region prior to the development of the industry and thus any sense of community has its genesis in this history to a significant but not total degree.

### 11.3.1 Control and Resistance in Tokoroa

The case of Tokoroa as I have depicted it has provided for me an opportunity to study forms of control and resistance associated with the dynamics of globalisation and related changes to work under the guidance of a neo-liberal agenda. The cumulative effects of my reading of theory and my reflections on my fieldnotes have deepened my interests and insights into the dynamics

of power, control and resistance. For Thompson and Ackroyd (1995) direct control is only required in order to gain consent under conditions of Tayloristic work practices. During the period when the mill was being developed, and during the height of its production, Tayloristic work practices and demarcation of seniority and function prevailed. The use of direct control over both workplace and community was evident. However as shown in Chapter 9, while the presence of supervision and direct control was more obvious under these conditions, there was also a tacit acceptance by supervisors and management of loafing and the non-work use of resources for community and personal use. Direct formal control of the employer was mediated by various forms of informal control and resistance by employees that suggested a balancing of powers between mill management and a strongly unionised workforce.

Since the change to global ownership and the adoption of global production processes by International Paper, and more recently Carter Holt Harvey, workplace practices adopted include widespread downsizing, outsourcing of non-core functions, and the exporting of only partially processed products, to overseas sites offering lower labour cost. These changes have significantly changed the numbers of workers employed by the company and the type of work that is available in Tokoroa. Downsizing reduced the Mill workforce by 90% of peak numbers of employees. Yet this drop in the size of the organisation has not eliminated significant control over the community. Contemporary instances of resistance are also circumscribed by corporate control. For my participants, this enduring control manifests in, for example, the threatened closure of the Mill altogether as response to any industrial action they might choose to take. Bauman (1998a) asserts that the chances of resistance are minimal under conditions of globalisation. My

study endorses his view, but also demonstrates that communities respond in complex ways to protect their interests as individuals, and at times, as communities. While the local experience will hold specific dynamics that may or may not be wholly generalizable I posit that there are commonalities that are insightful for a response to dominant narratives globalisation. It is to the localisation of globalisation that I now turn my attention.

### 11.3.2 The Localisation of Globalisation

Bauman (1998b) asserts that although popular analysis of globalisation often claims that globalisation renders the local irrelevant, for many, the local is the only frame of reference they are paying attention to. The experiences of my participants show that in some respects this is the case. Tokoroa as a community, and a geographic site of attachment, is deeply personal for the participants. For many, the events and changes which have impacted the town and community remain deeply personal. Dominant narratives of community identity were universally conveyed by participants. Participants depicted these facets of identity emphatically, at times defensively. I interpreted these diverse depictions as reflecting a strong sense of what participants were socialised to present to ‘outsiders’. For the participants the ‘local’ under conditions of globalisation was most certainly not irrelevant. Rather, it appears to me, it was fiercely protected and was often closely related to aspects of self-identity.

## **11.4 Identity in a ‘Globalised’ Community**

As described in Chapter 4, Bauman holds that identity is a fabrication which only holds relevance under conditions of the movement of peoples from their original sites of identification. The impacts of globalisation on

local identities would constitute an example. As established local identities come unsettled new identities are formed, at times, but not always as a direct and conscious form of resistance or adaptation to imposed changes. Gabriel (2008) and Spicer, Alvesson and Karreman (2009) move their research focus away from explicit acts of collective resistance, to resistance as entwined with identity. Deetz (2008a) argues that a focus on identity in studies of globalisation helps to uncover the complex, identity-bound acts of resistance and positions this resistance not as negative acts of protesting against oppression, but as moments of “generative possibilities” (p. 389). It is these assertions, which I read while considering the complex range of experiences my participants spoke of, that led me to consider identity as a useful framing for this research. In this research, a focus on identity shows that the dominant narratives collective identities of New Zealand, presented in Chapter 7 from secondary material, have reflected politico-economic changes, but also are uniquely specific to the historic, political, economic and social development of the country.

As described in Chapter 4, For Bauman (2004), within the context of globalisation, the notion of identity represents a paradox between the search for (unattainable) security and the desire to retain mobility. Bauman’s conceptualisation is centred on an identity dialectic of the tourist/vagabond. For Bauman, under conditions of globalisation, individuals are reduced to either the highly mobile tourist or the perpetually immobile vagabond. Bauman’s tourist/vagabond dialectic could be seen as an overly simplistic reduction of whole populations to two metaphorical depictions. I have taken it as a useful heuristic. The conceptualisation has proved a useful framing for my research. I found it insightful to apply Bauman’s metaphors to further my reflection on the storying of participants. Bauman’s ‘tourists’

experience a relentless pursuit of identity based on what Gabriel describes as an image of happiness, and a dream. However, a fixed state of such an identity is elusive, for although the tourists have the appearance of freedom and material wealth, they no longer have a deep connection specific localities or wider communities. Conversely, vagabonds are stigmatized for their immobility and geographic confinement and have a particular identity imposed on them. Bauman argues that vagabonds, have limited agency in developing their own identity as do the tourists, because of the constructed conditions imposed by of globalisation and changes to work on both groups. Therefore, for Bauman, hegemonic control remains relevant, even in the realm of identity formation and plays out at all levels of the firm and the community in which it is embedded. I examine this dynamic more closely below.

#### 11.4.1 Early Tourists in Tokoroa

Those individuals who arrived at the time during the construction and development phase, could be seen as falling into Bauman's description of Tourists. These individuals travelled from other countries and from other parts of New Zealand with the express purpose of finding employment. For many, their intended stay was relatively short term, particularly the European engineering specialists who were involved in the initial construction of the Mill. Those who were attracted from other regions by lucrative wages and company-provided housing, could also be seen to fall into this category of the 'early tourist'. Most research participants, saw these people as not 'true' members of the community. For many, length of residence was consistent with level of community loyalty. The longer you had resided in the town, the more you were judged to be an 'insider'.

#### 11.4.2 Neo-liberal Tourists

The employees depicted as tourists of the establishment phase of the mill and the town, were largely involved in the construction activities or were transitory Mill workers in search of higher wages. Since the 1980s new groups of 'tourists' have come to Tokoroa, in particular, Mill management and the out-sourced contractors. These two groups now largely commute daily to Tokoroa for work, choosing to live in the more desirable areas of Rotorua and Hamilton. Particularly in the case of Mill management, participants spoke of how they were largely recruited from overseas and settled outside the town. These individuals, unlike the earlier tourists, did not even attempt to assimilate into the social fabric of the town, and kept themselves separated from the community.

Another group of people I have included in the tourists group, are those identified by participants as those who had resided in the town, moved away, often for work, then returned. It became clear that for many participants, the decision to leave the town, for whatever reason, was equated with a sense of weakness. These people, as described by some participants recorded in Chapter 8, were seen as 'the deserters', and even those who chose to return were viewed with scepticism. This example shows that the participants themselves created categories for these groups considered 'outsiders'. The way in which these categories were described hold many similarities with Bauman's tourists and vagabonds, but also expose nuanced aspects to this analysis, drawing me to consider that although Bauman's work has proved influential in interpreting and formulating the narratives and antenarratives, that these are not universal, and the storying of participants contains many other depictions.

### 11.4.3 Vagabonds in Tokoroa

In addition to the groups of people I have identified as examples of Bauman's tourists, there were also those groups who could be conceptualised as Bauman's 'vagabonds'. I noted that since the 1980s, and in particular since the population decline saw a drop in house prices and living costs, the movement of unemployed and single-parent families into the town were not welcomed as part of the community. For these groups, a particular identity was imposed on them by the established Tokoroa residents who see them as 'troublemakers'. Along with gang members they were blamed as largely responsible for any rise in social problems in the town. For these groups, life was hard, they did not often own the properties they lived in, and they were not readily welcomed into shared 'community' spaces such as social groups. Yet the options for moving were very limited. Living costs in other areas proved prohibitive, and even the cost of moving meant that this was not an option. Additionally, the lack of employment opportunities in the town and reductions in Adult and Community Education and other training opportunities meant that the 'opportunity' to find work, and move out of the situation they were in was limited. For these individuals, the lives of the 'tourists' was a dream, an unattainable dream, but one that within the framing of neo-liberalism is cast as one of individual choice.

### 11.4.4 Tokoroa as Tourist and as Vagabond

The case of Tokoroa also illustrates that Bauman's framework can be applied at multiple levels; as above the different groups within a community can be conceptualised, so too can the community of Tokoroa be conceptualised

within the wider New Zealand society, or wider global workforce.

#### *11.4.4.1 Tokoroa as Tourist in the Boom Times*

During the development, and during the growth period up until 1980, within the wider New Zealand, and global environment, Tokoroa could be conceptualised as a community of tourists. While few of the residents originated from the area, all shared high wages, and favourable living standards. For many outside the community, the conditions within the community were viewed with envy, with many others aspiring to join the ranks of the Tokoroa tourists. This is the case even for those who were residing in the town, but not part of the Mill workforce. They expressed resentment at the working conditions at the Mill, knowing that due to demarcations within the community – boundaries to Bauman - they would be unlikely to be able to join this favourable group. From outside the community, Tokoroa was seen as a site of high growth, with participants describing how prior to arriving they felt Tokoroa was ‘the place to be’.

#### *11.4.4.2 Tokoroa as Neo-liberal Vagabond*

Since the first round of restructuring in the early 1980s, and particularly since the successive downsizing on the 1990s, Tokoroa has become characterised by population decline, and a range of socio-economic issues such as crime, gang presence, teenage pregnancies and high unemployment. These aspects have led to outsiders ascribing an image on Tokoroa as the place *not* to be. In this sense, Tokoroa could now be conceptualised as being a community of vagabonds, with aspects of identity ascribed by the outside, and particularly by the favoured group of contemporary ‘tourists’.

#### 11.4.5 Incomplete Description

Although Bauman's dialectic provides an interesting framework with which to theorise the experiences of Tokoroa residents within the wider global world, participants' experiences demonstrate that this description is incomplete. Although there is a strong image of Tokoroa which is ascribed by outsiders, the strength and coherence of the united community identity dispels Bauman's assertion that Vagabonds are unable to enjoy the ability to 'shape' their own identities, being relegated to what others ascribe of them. For Tokoroa residents, represented by my participants, their presented identity is certainly not one of decline, or socio-economic issues. In my experience of them, as a group, they reject these notions vocally and emotively. Additionally, I found that there was a large group of residents who could not be comfortably assigned to either of Bauman's groups, and in fact, the participants assigned their own categories, but rather than assigning these to themselves, used these depictions to describe 'outsiders'. In another example of those not easily fitting into Bauman's schema, those long-term residents who have lived in the Town since the early development days appear to still be living under the 'guise' of the 'old Tokoroa'. For these participants, Tokoroa is still the land of opportunity that originally attracted them to the town. These individuals are neither tourists nor vagabonds. For these people, a sense of mobility does not evade them, and rather than being constrained by the narrative of town decline, they appear to be choosing to 'ignore' this narrative. Further, these people have a realistic sense of mobility, and the financial means to act on this mobility, but choose not to move away from the town.

These spaces lead me to consider Bauman's conceptualisation of tourists and

vagabonds as not a singular process of categorisation, but rather as a fluid process of dialectical identification and disidentification occurring at multiple levels, from the community level to the individual level. For many individuals, the aspects they are identifying or disidentifying with may be inconsistent, many such inconsistencies are apparent after reading through the dominant narratives presented in chapters 8 and 9. I consider these to be complex dynamic processes. They are not merely a process of an either/or, a choice between two opposing ideas, but rather the two have shared spaces, shared agendas, and are not separate. Both appear together but in the context of much broader complex fluid circumstances.

### **11.5 Incomplete Narratives and Antenarratives of Identity**

On reflection, although the narratives and antenarratives of globalisation and changes to work, as presented in Chapters 2 and 3, provide a useful starting point for enquiry into the lived experiences of globalisation, they do not tell the 'whole story'. Moreover, these narratives as dominant views are problematic when considering the complex lived experiences of participants presented in Chapters 9 and 10. The overarching dominant narratives of globalisation can be grouped into those which assume globalisation is a universally beneficial process, as described in Chapter 2, and those which assume globalisation is a flawed, exploitative process supporting corporate hegemony. Affirmative narratives surround the idea of universal mobility of capital, goods, information and labour, which lead to increased levels of education, technological improvements, employment opportunities, higher standard of living and freedom for all the world's population. However, rates of income inequality, over- and under-employment and resistance at multiple levels suggest that these narratives are not universally accepted, nor the benefits perceived to be fairly shared. These observations that challenge

the universal benefits of globalisation give rise to a set of counter-grand narratives of globalisation which centre on globalisation as a reified term facilitating an unfettered neo-liberal political agenda and securing corporate hegemony over what Deetz calls the lifeworld.

From the secondary research, and from the experiences of my participants, dominant narratives are evident, along with a complex range of other narratives. For some, globalisation has led to benefits such as the ability to move internationally for work, such as is the case with many young skilled people leaving the town. However, for others, the changes have been exploitative, rendering the town in decline, the Mill management 'faceless' international decision-makers, and the labour process moved geographically. However, still others include the upholding of cultural identity, and the deep attachment to the forestry industry and an enduring sense of valued paternalism.

#### 11.5.1 Public Acceptance, Private Refusal

One thread woven through Chapters 9 and 10 is the public upholding of the dominant narratives, yet the contrasting private refusal of these narratives. For most participants, comments relating to the community cohesiveness were among the first comments made in relation to the town. However, once the interviews progressed, participants' comments were often in sharp contradiction to this narrative, and themes which arose were those relating to the demarcations, based on ethnicity, occupation, and time spent in the town (see Sections 10.2).

This observation could be closely related to both Bauman and Gabriel's theorising of the importance of 'image' under globalisation. For both these authors, the way in which individuals are perceived by outsiders takes the place of internal attachments to place, community of birth. In this sense, for participants, foregrounding the antenarratives of division and conflict may have provided points of primary identification which would prove too personally uncomfortable. Additionally, portraying a negative image of the town may have been seen as making explicit comment about who they were.

#### 11.5.2 Narrative as Boundary and Resistance

Another way of conceptualising the public upholding of a narrative of belonging and community cohesiveness is as boundary and resistance. The dominant narrative of 'were all in this together' is perhaps not so contradictory to the narratives of demarcation, if conceptualising both sets of narratives as defining 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. In this sense, all narratives are efforts in creating boundaries around who belongs 'here' and who does not. The explicit narrative of belonging and cohesiveness creates the assumption that those within are closely bound, and this group is difficult to infiltrate, as I found myself in attempting to gain access to participants. In this sense, this grand narrative provides community members with protection from outside invaders.

The assertion of community belonging could also be conceptualised as a form of identity resistance against globalisation/workplace change. In this sense, the unified community identity is an effort at collective resistance to the grand narratives of globalisation and changes to work. In particular, the

strongly held identity of ‘we’re all in this together’ was upheld at many levels, both by participants, and in the secondary material. However, a closer view of the participants’ experiences show that there are, in fact, many division and demarcations, negating the view of a singular, unified community. This observation could lead to the analysis that this collective appearance of unity actually serves to silence the many divisions and alternate groups within the community, in itself solidifying these divisions, making it difficult to voice and reconcile these often historic divisions. Although at first glance the perception of the community as one unified may be read as a collective act of resistance, this act itself serves to further fragment the actual individualised points of identity.

As described in Chapters 2 processes of globalisation and workplace change are espoused to create connectedness and homogenous culture. However, in Chapter 3 I contrast with the view that these same processes have been shown to produce many divisions, in society, and in the workplace. Outcomes of income inequality, flexible forms of work and the spatial relocation of work have resulted, meaning individuals are increasingly separated, isolated and re-categorised. Under these conditions, an overarching identification with community-level cohesiveness and belonging could be seen in direct contrast to this. The attachments formed to the town encourage individuals to remain, to return, and to stay connected. These attachments provide a tension between the mobility and fluidity of attachments under globalisation, and the desire to remain attached to the town. This process could be seen as a form of resistance to processes of globalisation.

### 11.5.3 Processes of Identification/Disidentification

One way of viewing the many and varied identities in Tokoroa is as processes of identification and disidentification. Each moment involves decisions about whether to identify with, or disidentify with each narrative and/or antenarrative. My participants' experiences show a complex range of these decisions, often appearing contradictory. For example, the strongly held identity of 'we're all in this together', one of community cohesiveness, was expressed unanimously by participants. However, all participants also mentioned aspects of divisiveness in the community. For each individual, this was based on different characteristics or events, at which time they individually had identified with a grouping or aspect which was in contrast with this community-level identification of cohesiveness. One example of this is that the non-mill worker participants voiced strong resentment towards Mill workers and union members. Others expressed negative views of other ethnic groups, individuals at other levels of the organisation or in positions of seniority. The identification with these division in the community was at odds with the strongly held identification with community cohesiveness.

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) draw our attention the importance of the dialectic of conflict and consensus. They posit that both are needed in order to achieve emancipation and societal transformation, and that the solution lies in applying each to different moments. Alvesson and Deetz may help us to understand how these dialectical decisions are interrelated parts of a larger fabric of identity. Moments of identification and disidentification provide each individual with spaces for resistance.

### **11.6 Critical Analyses of Globalisation: Antenarrative or Alternative Dominant Narrative?**

Critical management studies scholars have moved focus from the structural arguments of Marxist critique to a wider range of explorations into the manifestations of power relations at both the macro and micro level. Zizek (2000) advocates for a focus on the particular within the universal, not prejudicing either structural or individual consideration, but finding space for the inclusion of both in a respect for the complexity of social relations. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005, p. 321) describe the interconnectedness of the macro and micro when describing how a focus on who's interests are being served informs "where our own frames of reference come from". This highlights the centrality of a sense of self and identity, and in doing so connects these ideas to the wider macro power relations. This explanation is congruent with my argument that identity can be conceptualised relationally, as an on-going process, rather than a fixed object. A focus on the experiences of the individual, while still acknowledging the overarching power relations, appears to move a critical analyses away from the potentiality of becoming another dominant narrative to be taken up by political groups for their own interests. In this thesis, the narratives and antenarratives portrayed by participants were varied; some contradicted the neo-liberal narratives of the benefits of globalisation and changes to work, some contradicted critical assertions of the overwhelming impact of power, and indeed some were completely unrelated to either of these positions. Similarly, for my participants, it seemed that not all workers and/or communities are subject to coercive discipline, or assimilated to hegemonic domination. Some of my participants, enjoyed their work. They found flexible work had real benefits in terms of their own lifestyle.

The nuanced experiences of participants also problematise causal links made by some analysts. Authors such as Rifkin (2000), Tilly and Wong (2010) and Ongley (2013) argue that the growth in income disparity within and between nations and organisations has its roots in the changes to the shape and conditions of work. Such connections assume a direct causal link between changes occurring in disparate spheres (political and corporate) and impacts at a local, socio-economic level. Indeed such causal links are implicit in the initial development of my own research questions and the approach I took to this research, initially framed around the research question ‘How does globalisation and changes to work impact at the local community level’. I now recognise that at some level I entered the field expecting that participants’ experiences would mirror critical assertions of corporate dominance and hegemonic control. However, a significant part of my own research journey was being confronted by my participant’s experiences, which were significantly more complex than assumed by this causal link. For some, at some moments, they could articulate and see a link between policies and practices at the organisational, national and global level and the changes in the town. However, for many, there were other factors which appeared to have significantly more impact on them than these processes and practices.

#### 11.6.1 Relative ‘Freedom’ in Depictions of Globalisation

I have interpreted the storying of my participants as representative of narratives and antenarratives of globalisation. As reinforced above, and in Chapter 2, proponents of globalisation strive for individual ‘freedom’ in the form of market-dominated life ‘choices’ [or ‘chances’]. For Bauman, this ‘freedom’ is elusive, as even the favoured tourists are constrained by both a lack of connection to their surroundings and the threat of being relegated to the category of vagabond. The aim of ‘freedom’, albeit very

differently defined, is also the goal of critical theorists who aim to expose injustice and domination in order to advance the emancipation of peoples and planet from the power structures which constrain their ability to experience lives devoid of control and domination. Therefore, both groups, seemingly opposed, share an interest in the notion of ‘freedom’. This draws me to consider how ‘free’ my research participants were, both in relation to each of these differing depictions of freedom, and also in their ability to fully express their experiences for the purposes of this research.

#### *11.6.1.1 Neoliberal ‘Freedom’*

Neoliberal notions of freedom are associated with individual choice, combined with an assumed ability to act on these ‘choices’, in terms of mobility, income and skill levels. For some of my participants, there was a degree of ‘freedom’ expressed; many participants, or their families, had originally come to Tokoroa to reap the benefits of high wages and international employment experience. Further, for some, there had been subsequent times they had experienced a freedom to move elsewhere for work, to move back into the town to be with family. For yet others, their choice to remain in the town was made based on familial and cultural attachment, rather than an inability to make alternative ‘choices’. However, many participants also expressed a lack of choice for many current or past residents. Participants expressed that some past residents did not have the freedom to remain in the town, with limited training and employment opportunities requiring them to either leave the town, or to experience financial hardship. For some current residents, financial constraints did not allow them the ‘freedom’ to move elsewhere. This represented a significant paradox for these people and their families, as they were ‘stuck’ unemployed in Tokoroa, but without the means to make the ‘choice’ to move elsewhere to

find work to relieve their financial situation.

#### *11.6.1.2 Critical 'Freedom'*

For critical theorists, 'freedom' is found in emancipation from hegemony and injustice. The hegemonic control embedded in Bauman's depiction of tourists and vagabonds is all encompassing, and constrains both groups, albeit in different ways. The nuanced range of experiences retold by participants seems to both support, and conflict with Bauman's reduction of whole populations to two categories. As described in Section 11.4, Bauman's depiction has added a useful analytical lens to this research. However, there were also many instances which fell outside of the depiction of the experiences of tourists and vagabonds. There were also expressions of the sort of 'freedom' espoused by neo-liberal proponents, contradicting the all-encompassing subordination of individuals to the global elite. Does this signal that these individuals were significantly more 'free', in a critical sense, than depicted in the work of Bauman and critical theorists? Or does this signal that we are all so incrementally naturalised to the agenda of the global elites that we are domesticated to 'see' freedom in terms of already circumscribed conditions of our humanity?

The layers of control which could be interpreted from the insights of participants may even render questioning of the relative 'freedom' of participants to fully voice their experiences within the context of this research. For example, many spoke of the early days of the Mill and the power of the unions, and how during this time individuals were not 'free' to criticise the strength of the unions. It seemed to me that community norms around what was 'spoken' were still evident, particularly in relation to the dominant narratives of community identity. Therefore, were participants

‘free’ to tell their stories within this research? Are my insights presented in Chapters 9 and 10 embedded with community-level controls?

These questions problematise a simplistic assertion of research ‘findings’. However, what remains, is that, in so far as that my research focus incorporating identity has led me to consider such a range of ‘freedoms’ and constraints, it has also reinforced that this form of dialogic, reflective research practice can help to seek and expand opportunities for emancipation.

### **11.7 Conclusion**

I have argued that my rendition of the case of Tokoroa as presented in this thesis holds many insights into the experiences of those individuals living in Tokoroa at the time of my research, experiences of the direct or indirect impacts of changes to the form and intensity of globalisation and changes to work in their lives. The experiences of my participants highlighted the continued prevalence of multiple forms of control and resistance, manifested as moments of identification and disidentification. Integrating my field-work observations with my interpretation of the literature as explored in my secondary research, I suggest that my depiction of Tokoroa as a case in point, may bring insights well beyond the geographic, social, political and economic boundaries of Tokoroa, I suggest that the case of Tokoroa as I have framed it illustrates Zizek’s call, that whilst a critical structural analysis provides insights into the power relations of global neo-liberalism, the lived experiences of individuals are significantly more complex. I found that whilst some are compliant with, consenting to or almost wholly assimilated into the grand narrative embedded of their times, there are also those who are actively resisting the shaping of their lives by such a narrative through

either overt acts of resistance or through micro acts of identification and disidentification.

While the dominant analytical narratives of critical theorists committed to structural metaphors regarding globalisation and changes to work, and at the community level are enlightening, they do not provide a complete explanation, either in isolation or when considered together. These overarching narratives, although some appear to represent efforts to resist the grand narrative, seem to provide protection for a multitude of discrepancies and complex individual experiences. This would suggest that far from producing a universal group of docile functionaries, domesticated to act in the interests of the global elite, that the basic human need for social relations, connections to culture, family and community, remain important. For some, they hold an acute awareness of the processes of neo-liberal hegemony, albeit not expressed in academic terms. The day-to-day need to live within their individual contexts in order to support their families remains of upmost priority to most. These individuals are not assimilated or domesticated; nor are they actively consenting. They are aware of the inequality and inequity, but their priorities lie not in political dissention, nor in the furthering of the corporate will, but rather in maintaining their immediate familial and community relations.

## **Chapter 12: Conclusion “We Came Here for Work”**

### **12.1 Introduction**

The theoretical implications of my insights reported in Chapters 7 to 10 have been discussed in Chapter 11. I argued there that in the context of globalisation and changes to work, the reported experiences of my participants illustrate a complex and varied set of experiences and an equally complex set of processes of identification and disidentification at multiple levels. I begin this chapter with an endorsement of the appropriateness of the Single Industry Town as a local and fruitful context for studies of globalisation and changes to work. I then outline the key facets of my argument and craft the contributions this research makes to both scholarship and practice in the studies of human organisation and wellbeing. I round off this work with an outline future research implications and opportunities generated from my work.

### **12.2 Single Industry Towns in Globalisation**

As discussed in Chapter 2, proponents of neo-liberalism and corporate globalisation argue that the market, left free to find efficiencies, will resolve widespread poverty and income inequality by providing a wider range of products and choices to consumers and thereby improve living conditions for all. Alongside political and organisational decisions to embed economic liberalism there have been changes to the nature and structure of work were deemed necessary to manifest these ideals in practice. The espoused benefits of changes to work mirror the underlying assumptions of neo-liberalism that emphasises freedom of choice, individual

responsibility and preparedness for rapid and continuous change. Proponents argue that changes to work, specifically in the intensification of numerical and functional flexibility, are of mutual benefit to organisation and workers. For advocates of these changes, such flexibility provides opportunity for lower costs and therefore higher return for organisational shareholders and the opportunity of increased work/life balance for workers who will enjoy a greater level of control over their careers, and the opportunity of more enriched work lives. The higher returns enjoyed by organisations are argued to ensure stability for employees, and the prospect of higher incomes. Critics argue that these espoused benefits are not experienced by the large majority of individuals. Among these critics there are those who suggest that the promised benefits have not been achieved as there has never been a fully free market. They call for an acceleration of the neo-liberal agenda. Apart from a short engagement with the Third Way, a reinvigoration with neo-liberal directives are again dominating political, social, and economic directives, enabled by a corporate friendly state, a situation which Boltanski argues, has “not brought about a withering away of the state but its transformation [based] on the model of the firm, to adjust itself to the new forms of capitalism... [and] a focus on corporate ways of thinking as central to understanding the changing modes of organisation in all spheres of life” (2011, p.15), a condition Deetz refers to as a colonisation of the life world – and thus an intrinsic undermining of the emancipatory aspirations of western democratically orientated jurisdictions.

The implications of my studies as reported in Chapter 11 provides support for the appropriateness of the single industry town as a local and fruitful context for studies of globalisation and changes to work. Lucas (1972) and Mawhiney and Pitblado (1999) are among the authors who have posited that the Single Industry Town as phenomena was a project of modernity,

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representative of Taylorist industrialism. This orientation has led to literature almost exclusively focusing on research of a historical positioning and studies of community decline and individually experienced stress. However, I have illustrated that the people of Tokoroa report a much wider range of experiences and responses than typically reported in the literature.

### **12.3 Research Summary**

In Chapter 2 I present the dominant narratives relating to the processes associated with a political agenda that enabled economic opportunism and the intensifying of corporate globalisation: i) spread of a neo-liberal political agenda and ii) changes in the nature, structure, and location of work. The political agenda of neo-liberalism centres on the belief that individual and consumer freedom of choice is the path to the well-being of individuals and communities – and by extension of nations and the global economy. The neo-liberal political agenda has been translated into and supported by organisational policies. Proponents argue that of these processes will lead to benefits for organisations, increased prosperity for individuals, workers and communities –and by extension for nations and the global economy – the context in which individuals can thrive.

A re-theorisation of globalisation and changes to work centred on the scholarship of critical management theorists and wider critical scholars is considered in Chapter 3. I situate this chapter as an antenarrative to the depiction presented in Chapter 2, although I consider whether these analyses do constitute an antenarrative or an alternative dominant narrative. I argue that multiple forms of control are embedded in the (re)shaping and (re)locating of work that enable and support the extension of neo-liberal forms of globalisation. Yet, despite these multiple and sometimes

simultaneous forms of control, acts of resistance to globalisation and workplace change continue to occur throughout the world. These acts show that the achievement of discipline leading to the consent, compliance or assimilation to the politics and practices of globalisation and changes to work are not complete. These attempted acts of control and counter acts of resistance, remind us of the dialectic relationship between the two.

In Chapter 4, I introduce identity theory as a lens to explore the lived experiences of globalisation and changes to work. I argue that an identity lens allows us to explore the subtleties, diverse responses to and lived experiences of changes to work within the context of globalisation. An identity lens, framed not as a fixed 'object', but as a fluid relational process, provides the opportunity to go further than a structural analysis, which may explore the macro power evidenced in a situation, and allow for a report on collective resistance scoped within a structured frame. In the absence of a reflection on the complex responses of individuals and communities such an analysis may assume general compliance or consent.

In Chapter 5 I outline and refine my research themes into questions, arguing that the research context of the Single Industry Town provides a specific and powerful field to explore these themes. Within the single industry town literature, there is evidence of many of the facets covered in Chapters 2-4. The physical location and boundedness of these towns provides a unique opportunity to research in a context that is inherently connected to industry, yet oftentimes isolated from the broader urban landscape. The significance of my study as located in New Zealand, a relatively small country in the global scheme of things, is based on the rapid and widespread commitment made to neo-liberal principles in the 1980s to present day, making NZ a useful

jurisdiction under which to explore the impact of these principles on individuals and communities (Kelsey, 1997, 1999; Ongley, 2013).

I extend this research purpose to questions of methodology and method in Chapter 6. There I describe how I adopted a bricolage approach by combining aspects of Alvesson and Deetz (2000) Critical Management Research and Boje's (2007, 2008) living story/antenarrative methodologies. I employed an instrumental case method, collecting both secondary material, and fieldwork using an interview method allowing me in Chapters 7 to 10 to represent the presentation and interpretation of both primary and secondary research. In Chapter 7, I craft a set of dominant narratives of New Zealand within the context of globalisation and changes to work, as appear in secondary material. I argued that New Zealand was a first-mover in the adoption of a Keynesian welfare state as a response to social hardship associated with the prevailing form of economic development of the times. NZ was again a front- runner in implementing neo-liberal ideas that saw the prioritisation of economic measures of wellbeing and a focus on individual responsibility. Associated social degradation became undeniable here as elsewhere the policies had taken hold. To deal with this association Third Way policies were devised notable in the UK, Canada and in NZ. This response was ultimately seen by Rose (2000) not as an alternative to neo-liberalism, but an attempt to mop up its social unrest. It has largely been abandoned. This position as early adopter of economic directives renders the New Zealand context as one highly relevant to exploring the impacts of these changes in the global politico-economic sphere on the lives of its citizens.

In Chapter 8, I present the case of Tokoroa as found in the secondary

literature. I illustrate that Tokoroa provides a unique and thought-provoking case of a Single Industry Town, with both socio-cultural and geographical isolation and specificity as key characteristics of this region. I describe how aspects of a community identity as 'Tokoroa', as presented in secondary material, are reflective of changes in the wider politico-economic and corporate spheres, emphasising the relevance of a lens of identity within a study of the experiences of globalisation.

In Chapter 9, I present narratives and antenarratives of globalisation and changes to work, as I crafted them from the stories expressed by my participants. I argue that these complex and varied narratives are representative of identification and disidentification to the dominant narratives. Moreover, the opportunity to articulate both narrative and antenarrative are indicative of incomplete subordination to the dominant narratives of globalisation and changes to work and support the claim that no hegemony is ever complete. This incompleteness thus provides the opportunity for action

In Chapter 10, I discussed narratives and antenarratives of community identity, as conveyed by my research participants. I argue there that while there was universal acceptance of a set of dominant narratives of community identity, there were also a number of antenarratives which problematised the notion of a unified community identity.

In Chapter 11, I discussed the implications of my research to the realms of scholarship to which I have applied myself and taken guidance from. This discussion also represents the beginning of the next stage of my development

as a researcher. I argue that the case of Tokoroa illustrates how a structural analysis does not adequately account for the complex and varied experiences of the individual, the complex processes of identification and disidentification, at multiple levels, in the context of globalisation and changes to work.

## **12.4 Contribution and Significance**

This thesis makes a number of significant contributions to scholarship, specifically in methodology, Critical Management Studies, the Single Industry town scholarship, and for HRM and strategic management scholars and practitioners as a reminder of the far reaching implications of downsizing, organisational design and restructuring decisions on individuals, communities and whole ways of being human as is increasingly the concern of the critics of the prevailing form of global (economic) development. Corporations are under increasing scrutiny and are called to greater account in these outcomes.

### 12.4.1 Methodological Contribution

This work makes a number of methodological contributions. Firstly, I illustrate the value in conceptualizing research practice as though a Bricoleur. I demonstrate the value in being open to challenging of one's own theoretical bias, and the seeming 'rules' of your chosen method. Through this challenge, we can conceptualise research as being centred on the development of the researcher's scholarship, as much as the development of an external, bounded 'academic discipline'.

A key contribution of this work lies in the crossing of multiple levels of

analysis. In this work I illustrate how researchers might take the views of Spicer et al (2009), Zizek, Alvesson & Deetz (2000) and others, regarding the combining of the macro/micro spheres of research. At present, critical studies of globalisation and changes to work tend to fall into two categories; structural discussions of theoretical critique and widespread impacts such as income inequality trends, and at the other extreme, individual applied cases of organisations or groups of individuals (groups of workers, ethnicities etc). What I was not able to locate, is broad scholarship linking these two levels of analysis. In this thesis, I have *situated* a case study of a single town within the wider structural context of globalisation. I have illustrated how a theoretical lens of identity can be used as a bridge between the macro processes of control, and individualised experiences

#### 12.4.2 Critical Management Studies – Organisational Studies beyond the Organisation

As described in Chapter 4, identity has become a key interest area for critical management studies scholars, with examples of critical identity work in CMS being Fleming and Spicer, (2013), Riach and Loretto, 2009). However, existing cases and theoretical studies are focused within the organisational boundaries. This is despite the mandate of critical management studies as focusing on the impacts of managerial practices on wider social relations – to expose exploitation and injustice with an intent to contribute to emancipation. This research extends the current scholarship by focusing on the impact of decisions made within both organisations and at a national policy level, on wider communities and at a micro level, on individual identities. In doing so, my work furthers the agenda of Critical Management Studies, in highlighting the privileging of the focus on managerialism and organisational sovereignty even within the CMS discipline, whilst attempting

to erode this privileging by challenging the assumption that studies of critical management studies necessarily focus at the organisational level. During my PhD journey, I encountered and challenged this privileging directly within the critical management studies community. Whilst attending the doctoral consortium of the 7<sup>th</sup> CMS conference in Naples, Italy, convened by senior and founding members of the CMS community, my work was assessed as being of high standard “but not fitting into critical management studies, perhaps more suited for the realm of Human Geography” (Personal Communication, 2011). Such commentary seemed inconsistent with an expressed intention of critical theorists aimed at eroding functional managerial ‘silo thinking’ and attempting to make connections between organisational practice, power and society. I have illustrated that a study focusing on the individual and societal *implications* of managerial practices indeed sits within the critical management studies tradition. Further, unless the CMS community is itself open to challenge and development, it is surely itself another example of an institutionalised set of power relations.

#### 12.4.3 Extending the Single Industry Town Literature

This research makes a significant contribution to the current Single Industry Town literature. At present, this scholarship is focused on the North American context, primarily situated in Canadian resource-dependent towns (Behrisch et al., 2002; Halseth, 1999; Lucas, 2008) and manufacturing-based towns in the United States (Goldberg, 2006; Green, 2010). The few studies in a New Zealand context focus on specific issues of gender (Munro, 1993) and the link between identity and natural geography (Sampson & Goodrich, 2009). These studies tend to focus on demographic changes during periods of decline. In this thesis, I have expanded upon this body of knowledge by situating a case study in the New

Zealand context, tracking the town's progress from industry economic development to decline, with a particular focus on the lived experiences of people living in these towns. Further, the focus on individual and community identities within a restructured single industry town is significantly novel, both in the New Zealand context, and internationally. These insights represent significant contributions to the current Single Industry Town literature.

#### 12.4.4 Implications for HRM and Strategic Management

In addition to important theoretical contributions, this research holds significant practical implications for managers, workers, policy-makers and the wider HRM academic and practice community. For managers, shareholders and stakeholder groups, this research provides further support to the calls that a solely profit-centred business ethic is flawed and has wide-reaching societal and environmental implications. These concerns were highlighted during the Global Financial Crisis, when across the political and organisational spectrum, there were calls for greater accountability and a revisiting of political and organisational foundations and education (Birnik & Billsberry, 2008; Dart, 2008; Ford, Harding, & Learmonth, 2010). For example, the United Nations Principles of Responsible Management Education encourages signatories to introduce issues of environmental and social sustainability into their management curriculum. In another example, the Global Reporting Institute was formed by a group of senior executives to promote the inclusion of social and environmental sustainability indicators into annual reporting. This research further highlights the wide reaching impacts that the prevailing business ethos has on 'regular' individuals, workers and communities. It encourages managers and 'educators' in our business schools to seek to understand and consider the wide-reaching

implications of management decisions.

For New Zealand policy-makers, this research illustrates the limitations of trust in the 'trickle-down' promises of neo-liberal principles, and this the hope that policies based on these will generate more equal outcomes. It illustrates the complex range of issues facing individuals and workers in small rural-based communities, for whom the generalised response of 'move for work' is significantly more problematic than for those living in urban centres with a wider range of employment, training and social support.

For management educators, this work presents a challenge; to consider asking students uncomfortable questions about our disciplines, such as: 'What are the implications of these policies and practices we are learning about?', 'What impacts will these have on workers, their communities, their families?', 'How do we feel about being the ones to make or advise others to make, these decisions?'. This line of questioning is at the heart of a responsible management education.

Finally, but perhaps most importantly, my contribution lies in presenting the stories of Tokoroa. I present the story of a town which is not a one-dimensional case of decline and socio-economic deprivation, but is a vibrant community, with a strong sense of community and cultural identity.

## **12.5 Future Research**

Through my exploration of the possibilities and limitations of critical management/organisational scholars to the understanding of an enhancement

of wellbeing of people and planet I offer a number of contributions to future research in particular to efforts to endorse the encouragement of researchers with a critical orientation to move beyond simple forms of structural analyses. In this, I build on the expressed views of authors such as Spicer and Karreman (2009), Alvesson & Deetz (2000) and Zizek (2000). Although this research provides a robust example of methodological application of these views, there is significant room for methodological development in exploring the impacts of globalization across multiple levels of analyses.

From my specific focus in this work I encourage more focus on the politics and processes of identity formation. In the light of my research I anticipate that further studies of the dialectics of control/resistance in both a town experiencing industry growth and a town experiencing industry decline, would provide further insights into the way in which methods of control/resistance alter, and the alignment of individuals to different aspects of identity change, depending on external factors, even within the same chronological and politico-economic context. In particular, whilst the phenomenon of the single industry town is seen as largely being associated with a Keynesian period within the New Zealand context, similar towns/regions are seen developing currently in other countries. For example, during the post-cold war era, single industry towns were developed in the former Soviet Union, and more recently, in the past two decades, planned towns and regions (economic zones) have been constructed around single industries in China and India.

Finally, there is much scope for future work which focuses on groups of

individuals within these communities/dynamics, including the migrant worker group and issues of race/gender.

## **12.6 Conclusion: 'We Came Here for Work'**

Consent, compliance, assimilation and resistance to the politics and practices of globalisation and changes to work are concepts and processes central to the work of many critical organisational and management scholars. I have typified this field as having its roots in a form of critical structural functionalism with its focus on the unequal and often exploitative manifestations of power. Much of this genre has a combative orientation, focusing on dynamics of control and resistance. In more recent decades, the field has become diversified, bringing in view considerations of identity, community and locality. It is in the more recent developments that I have found my voice.

For me, this thesis represents a journey which began in a very different place to where it ended. Indeed, for me, I 'came here [to the research] for work', the work of completing a doctoral study generated from what appeared at the outset a well-developed set of theoretical perspectives. As the stories of my participants were more deeply explored, a more nuanced understanding of myself, my work, and my understanding of the theoretical perspectives I had started the research with emerged. The argument I presented in this thesis centres on the notion that much can be learned from the exploration of experiences of the everyday as mediated through significant and powerful dynamics referred to as globalisation in all its complexities. I argued that the complex and varied storying of globalization and life in a single industry town are representative of identification and disidentification to the dominant narratives. The expression

of both narrative and antenarrative in this storying are indicative of incomplete subordination to the dominant narratives of globalisation and changes to work and support the claim of Levy and Scully (2007) that no hegemony is ever complete. This incompleteness thus provides the opportunity for action.

In conclusion, I argue that by incorporating analyses of identity into critical analyses, researchers can explore the varied, complex and nuanced range of experiences and power relations that impact the well-being of people and planet. I argue that the experiences of some sit outside of these considerations, and are reflective of a broad range of ways individuals live fruitful lives. An understanding of this complexity illuminates the many spaces for resistance to domination and provides deep reflection for scholars to appreciate that their own 'reality' and 'concerns' are not necessarily those of the individuals living within research contexts. A focus on the many other possibilities yields a fruitful place of engagement for those seeking to transform inequities. Finding ways to engage which encourage this transformation is at the heart of Critical Management Studies, and of my own future research.

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## Appendix 2: References: Secondary Data

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## Appendix 3: Ethics Application

### ***Application for Ethical Approval Outline of Research Project***

Waikato Management School



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

#### **1. IDENTIFY THE PROJECT.**

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##### **1.1 Title of Project**

***Think Global, Act Local? An inquiry into the sustainability of  
Single Industry Towns in a time of global Human Resource  
practices***

##### **1.2 Researcher(s) name and contact information**

Fiona Hurd  
156 Pembroke St  
Hamilton 3204

Ph: ext. 6316  
Email: fah1@students.waikato.ac.nz

##### **1.3 Supervisor's name and contact information (if relevant)**

AProf Maria Humphries  
Department of Strategy and Human  
Resource Management Email:  
[mariah@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:mariah@waikato.ac.nz)

Dr. Suzette Dyer  
Department of Strategy and Human  
Resource Management Email:  
[sdyer@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:sdyer@waikato.ac.nz)

Dr. Suzanne Grant  
Department of Strategy and Human  
Resource Management Email:  
[slgrant@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:slgrant@waikato.ac.nz)

##### **1.4 Anticipated date to begin data collection**

2011-2012

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*Fiona Hurd*

## **2. . DESCRIBE THE RESEARCH.**

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### **2.1 Briefly outline what the project is about including your research goals and anticipated benefits. Include links with a research programme, if relevant.**

This project is undertaken as part of my PhD study. The overarching focus of this research is on the impact of global HRM practice at the local level.

Traditional notions of Human Resource Management (HRM) are based on the rationale that *'people management can be a key source of sustained competitive advantage'* (Mabey, Salaman, & Storey, 1998). Traditionally, HRM practice has been centred at the single- organisational level, with some attention paid to the labour market at an industry-level. The organisational and industry focus was reflected in state-level employment and social planning throughout the Keynesian macro-management period of the 1930s-1970s. As a result, a number of towns were developed with a dual role of supporting industry, and aiding state employment and social goals, and thus, these towns can be viewed as an instrument of the state (Hurd, 2003). Many of these towns were, by definition, single industry towns.

'Single industry' or 'resource dependant' towns are those which were largely created as an outcome of industry and governmental planning. This group of towns is particularly interesting from a Human Resource Management perspective, as they can be seen as being a direct result of planned HRM practices on a corporate and governmental level. Once established, the industry, and town, often played an important role in the national training strategy. These single industry towns were often the centres of trade training. The national industrial relations framework was also of key importance, governing the negotiation of conditions of employment, and in the instance of strikes, providing a framework for the workers (and associated community) to negotiate with the industry.

The changes to the global political, economic and societal ideology have also seen significant impacts for single industry towns. While once an instrument of state planning, with the expansion of global corporate forms of ownership, and the global division of labour and production, single industry towns can now be seen as an instrument of the global corporation. The residents of many towns have faced widespread workforce downsizing (or complete closure of industry), population decline and rising socio-economic concerns. Although these towns represent a particular contextual history, previous studies have found that their features reflect broader macro-economic and societal trends (Southcott, 2000). As such, these towns provide a useful lens through which to examine trends occurring on a national and global level. These towns are of fundamental interest to the discipline of Human Resource Management, as an instrumental historic case of planned 'human resource management' on a regional and national level.

Many of the previous studies on single industry towns consist of case studies of towns in the North American context (Bradbury & St-Martin, 1983; Rushen, 1995; Southcott, 2000), but few in the New Zealand context. Few studies have been situated in the global corporate context. Additionally, there have been no studies which have linked HRM discourses to the experience of *residents* and *former residents* of single industry towns, or conceptualised these towns as *outcomes* of human resource management *discursive acts*. My overarching research question is:

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*How have changing HRM discourses shaped the social construction of work and workers? Within this question, is an interest in how HRM discourses have shaped the identity of the 'working community', and what happens to social constructions of*

*community and self when the work stops?*

## **2.2 Briefly outline your method.**

The overarching methodological framework draws on Critical Management Research (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000). Within this methodological framework, I intend to study the instrumental case (Stake, 2000) of Tokoroa. The methods I will use to collect empirical material include archival research, thematic interviews and participant photography.

### *Instrumental Case: Tokoroa*

Stake (2000) notes that *'the choice of case is made to advance understanding of that other interest'* (Pg. 437). The 'other interest' in my research is the impact of global HRM practices at a local level. Single industry towns are an interesting example of a locality that has been human resource *managed*, and as such, are of interest to this research. In selecting a single industry town as an instrumental case, the following criteria were considered:

- Geographic locality: proximity to the University (practical)
- Historical industry/government/community relationship

Tokoroa fulfilled both these criteria. Tokoroa is in the South Waikato region, approximately 1- hours' drive from Hamilton, and has a population of approximately 12,000. This region provides an excellent example of workforce development/change throughout the past 100 years, from the post WWI employment initiatives which led to the planting of the Kaingaroa forests, to the post WWII state-planned industrial development which led to the opening of the Kinleith Pulp & Paper Mill in 1953. In the following 50 years, Tokoroa was a site of employment growth for New Zealand, and employment migration from the Pacific Islands in the 1960s when the demand for employment at the Mill was such that national supply of labour could not satisfy the needs of the industry. The first employment downsizing at the mill came in 1986, and was quickly followed by successive workforce downsizing. By 2003, the Mill employed just 380 employees, down from a 1980s peak of 5500. The structure of the workforce had moved from a model of full-time employees, to a core/periphery model, with many functions outsourced to independent contractors. The employment history in the town can be seen as a micro-level example of the macro-level changes occurring in the New Zealand business/society relationship. Many of the trends shown in Tokoroa have been repeated throughout New Zealand, and globally.

### *Phase 1: Archival Research - complete*

I have completed the first phase of my research, which was covered by my interim ethics approval (approved Dec 2009). The first stage of the study focused on building the context of employment in Tokoroa, both the historical development of industry and subsequent social changes, and the challenges (and opportunities) encountered by this community during times of employment change and/or decline. Background data has been collected from national and regional government agencies, social service providers, local business groups, employment agencies, lobby groups and publicly available material such as newspapers. The focus of this stage was to embed the research in the context of not just a single town in isolation, but also the wider New Zealand (and global) context.

~~Secondary data collection has also commenced within the Tokoroa context. This~~

*Fiona Hurd*

process has involved gathering the industrial, employment and social history of the town. The sources of this data include national statistics, local council policy documents, historical studies, media accounts. The purpose of this process is to build a comprehensive case of Tokoroa, from which I have identified possible issues of interest, which will inform the initial interview schedule.

*Phase 2: Fieldwork – Interview/Participant Photography*

This application covers the second and final phase of the research. This phase involves interview and participant photography methods.

Data Collection Process:

The second phase of data collection will involve a 4-step process, estimated to take 3- 4 weeks of contact with each participant. It is anticipated that 30 participants will be recruited from a cross section of demographic and employment factors.

- The first step will consist of an (approx 1hr) conversational interview with each participant, in which the aim will be to gather demographic information, work history, family connection within the town, sources of support within the town. A *conversational guide* (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000, P. 147) will be used to begin these interviews. which contains points of reference to guide the early stages of the interview. Alongside, I will use the drilling technique. At the conclusion of this interview, the participant will be briefed on the procedures and theme for the second stage - participant photography. Rabiskowka (2010) approached her inquiry with a 'motto question' of 'whose is this street' (P. 62). This question encapsulated the author's interest in the multicultural dimensions of the community, and opened up space for a wide range of visual dialogue about the meaning of the space, without leading participants towards certain themes. Similarly, in this inquiry, the interviewer will conclude the initial interview with instructions for the photographic phase (see attached information sheet for this phase), including ethical considerations. As part of this phase, the focus of the photos to be taken will be established around a single question: *What is your story of Tokoroa?*
- The second step involves participants taking photos to enable them to answer the question above, as they see fit. The above question is open enough to elicit responses ranging in chronology, theme, location and content. Each participant will be given two weeks to take the photos, and offered the option of either digital or traditional film camera. The participants will also be free to incorporate historical photographs/documents during this phase. In addition to interviewing, participant photography, photovoice, will be used to engage the participants in the project, and to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of industrial change on communities in New Zealand. According to DeLange, Mitchell and Stuart (2007), photo voice is 'A grassroots approach to research which puts cameras in the hands of some of the most marginalised populations as an approach to giving voice. Participants produce images which help to describe the issues that are pertinent to them. The resulting images are also central to 'opening the eyes' of the researcher.' (P. 4)

- The third step of the process involves researcher reflections. Once the photos are developed, the researcher will spend one week displaying and reflecting on the photos taken by each participant. The aim of this stage is to note an 'outsiders' reflections.
- The final step of the data collection will involve a second conversational interview. The participant and researcher will reflect on the photos taken, and record the participant's insights and narratives. Additionally, reflections on the process of participant photography will be discussed. A conversational guide will also be used for this concluding interview (see attached).

### Methods of Analysis

The research design includes multiple methods of analysis: Comparative case analysis, thematic analysis and critical discourse analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is 'a method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Pp. 79). The key advantages of thematic analysis are that it is flexible, accessible and that it is capable of providing a rich, detailed and complex account of the data, including unanticipated insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

### **2.3 Describe plans to give participants information about the research goals.**

I intend to provide potential participants with a participant information sheet, which will outline research goals, and what contribution participants are likely to be required to make for the duration of the project. The information sheet will also outline how participants can withdraw, including a statement of the time limits that may apply to this withdrawal. The participant information sheet is enclosed with this application. Participants will also be provided with a list of likely interview themes prior to the interview taking place.

### **2.4 Identify the expected outputs of this research (e.g., reports, publications, presentations), including who is likely to see or hear the reports or presentations on this research**

The main output for this research will be my PhD thesis, which will be publicly available through the University of Waikato Library and online via the doctoral theses database. It is also anticipated that parts of the research will be used for additional research publications (journal/conferences) during the course of my PhD study, and after.

### **2.5 Identify the physical location(s) for the research, the group or community to which your potential participants belong, and any private data or documents you will seek to access. Describe how you have access to the site, participants and data/documents. Identify how you obtain(ed) permission from relevant authorities/gatekeepers if appropriate and any conditions associated with access.**

The community of focus for this research is Tokoroa, and in particular, previous and current residents. The archival phase was conducted using publicly available documents, so there were no access issues. The interview/photography will be based on a voluntary basis, and any documentation participants choose to provide will be at their own discretion. I intend to meet and conduct the interviews in

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publicly available meeting rooms, at the Waipa District Council Offices, and the Tokoroa Community Centre.

### **3. . OBTAIN PARTICIPANTS' INFORMED CONSENT, WITHOUT COERCION.**

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#### **3.1 Describe how you will select participants (e.g., special criteria or characteristics) and how many will be involved.**

The focus for this research is on the impact of global Human Resource Management practices at a local level. As the case of Tokoroa has been identified, the focus can now be contracted to *the role of Human Resource Management discourses on the construction and de(con)struction of Tokoroa*. In this research I will focus on two distinct groups of participants: current residents, and previous residents.

Participants in the current resident group will reflect the dynamics of the town, and its interaction with the single-industry (Forestry). I have identified a number of groups of possible interest, and I aim to interview individuals from each of the following:

- Current, or previous workers at the Pulp and Paper Mill
- Those who have never worked at the Pulp and Paper Mill, but may have worked in the associated industry
- Small business owners – the service sector for the industry
- Governance bodies – council, trade union
- Wider community – families, teachers

Across these groups, I also aim to gain access to a range of characteristics including:

- Men and Women
- Varied age ranges
- Varied tenure in the town
- Varied culture/ethnicity

Within the group of current residents, I aim to recruit 30 participants.

An important part of the Tokoroa 'story' is the views of those who have left the town. In order to address the issues of population decline, and the complexity of the unemployment and demographic characteristics of the town's population, it is also important to hear from those who are no longer living in the town. This group can be seen as a diaspora, a group of displaced and dispersed people who share elements of cultural and social identity.

Although some of these people may have moved away for employment mid-career, it is envisaged that a significant group will be made up of those who grew up in the town, and have since left for education and career purposes. The process of single-industry towns and youth 'migration' is well documented (Behrisch, Hayter, & Barnes, 2002; Southcott, 2000), and anecdotally, it would seem that Tokoroa has also experienced an out-flow of both youth, and the highly skilled section of the workforce.

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The criteria for choosing previous resident participants will be similar to the current residents, although as I am focusing on the aspect of *diaspora*, I will aim to recruit former residents who were born in the town, or resided in the town for a significant period, rather than transitory residents. Due to time constraints, I aim to recruit only 10 previous residents, and as such, it is anticipated that there will be a less complete spread of characteristics across this group.

### **3.2 Describe how you will invite them to participate.**

Sample selection of participants will be reflective of their ability to add to the understanding of the topic of interest. Therefore, the use of key informants and purposive sampling through snowballing will be used. During the early stages of my PhD, a number of people fitting the selection criteria expressed an interest in participating, and provided an invitation for me to contact them when I was preparing for data collection. I intend to begin building my sample by contacting these individuals, and it is also anticipated that once these individuals have been fully informed about the project, and provided consent, that they may be able to identify key people, or groups, of interest to the research.

I will also use purposive sampling to further build my sample. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2000) purposive sampling is used when researchers *seek out groups, settings, and individuals where, and for whom the processes being studied are most likely to occur*' (Pg. 370). Participants may be chosen based on theoretically important characteristics, or life history and experiences (Mertens, 2009). For this research, the purposive sample will be built using a snowball sampling technique, whereby previous participants are asked to recommend participation to individuals they may know who may be of value to the project. Additionally, if necessary, I will utilize the local newspaper to ask for interested parties to contact me voluntarily.

Interested parties will be provided with a participant information sheet, and asked to contact me directly if willing to participate. No further follow-up contact will be made if the potential participant chooses not to contact me.

### **3.3 Show how you provide prospective participants with all information relevant to their decision to participate. Attach your information sheet, cover letter, or introduction script. See document on informed consent for recommended content. Information should include, but is not limited to:**

- **what you will ask them to do;**
- **how to refuse to answer any particular question, or withdraw any information they have provided at any time before completion of data collection;**
- **how and when to ask any further questions about the study or get more information.**
- **the form in which the findings will be disseminated and how participants can access a summary of the findings from the study when it is concluded.**

I have attached a sample information sheet that will be provided to prospective participants. This form includes statements on what is involved for participants, the withdrawal period, how to get further information and how the information will be used. As the interviews will be thematic/conversational interviews, there will be no specific pre-determined questions, and if participants choose to not answer a question, or continue a topic of conversation, which does arise during the course of the interview, they will be free to do so. ~~I will explain this prior to each interview.~~

Additionally, participants will be provided with the conversational guide for each interview prior to the interview, and I will check before commencing each interview whether there are any themes they would explicitly prefer not to discuss, or if there are themes they would like to include for discussion'

Participants will be given a set period of time from which to withdraw from the study (2 weeks after interview transcripts and photos have been provided for feedback), and after this date, consent to use the transcripts and photos will be deemed to have been given, and analysis of the data can begin. This is detailed in the information sheet, and I will discuss this at each meeting.

**3.4 Describe how you get their consent. (Attach a consent form if you use one.)**

I intend to use a participant consent form, which participants will sign after they have read the participant information sheet, and had the opportunity to ask any questions/voice any concerns. Included in the Information Sheet for the Photography phase (enclosed) are ethical procedures relating to photography, which participants will be given prior to beginning the photography phase. In this sheet, participants will be advised that they need to gain consent from anyone who may appear in the images, or whose property may appear in the images. Participants will be required to sign a consent form for the photography phase (enclosed). Final consent for all project participation will also be sought in the last meeting.

**3.5 Explain incentives and/or compulsion for participants to be involved in this study, including monetary payment, prizes, goods, services, or favours, either directly or indirectly.**

There will be no incentives offered to participants, aside from the personal satisfaction they may feel as a result of sharing their experiences.

**4. . MINIMISE DECEPTION.**

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**4.1 If your research involves deception – this includes incomplete information to participants -- explain the rationale. Describe how and when you will provide full information or reveal the complete truth about the research including reasons for the deception.**

It is not anticipated that this research will involve deception.

**5. . RESPECT PRIVACY AND CONFIDENTIALITY**

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**5.1 Explain how any publications and/or reports will have the participants' consent.** The participant consent form to be signed prior to the start of the fieldwork phase details likely uses of the material, and seek consent from the participants to be included in these publications (eg: PhD thesis, journal articles, conference papers). This will also be explained at both interviews.

**5.2 Explain how you will protect participants' identities (or why you will not).** In the interview transcripts pseudonyms will be used, and identifying characteristics and names will be removed from the transcript or substituted for alternative terms/names. In the photographs, despite consent being gained prior (see above) ALL faces and other distinguishing features of *individuals AND property* will be obscured, and then the amended images approved by the participant photographer.

**5.3 Describe who will have access to the information/data collected from participants. Explain how you will protect or secure confidential**

### **information.**

The interview recordings, and transcripts will be securely held for an indefinite period, in a secure facility (for example, a locked cabinet), and on a password-protected computer. When/if the material is destroyed, it will be done so in a secure manner. The only people who will have access to this information will be myself, and my PhD supervisors. If the need arises for additional people to have access to this material, consent will be obtained from participants on a case-by-case basis.

## **6. . MINIMISE RISK TO PARTICIPANTS.**

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**'Risk' includes physical injury, economic injury (i.e. insurability, credibility), social risk (i.e. working relationships), psychological risk, pain, stress, emotional distress, fatigue, embarrassment, and cultural dissonance and exploitation.**

### **6.1 Where participants risk change from participating in this research compared to their daily lives, identify that risk and explain how your procedures minimize the consequences.**

During the exploratory phase of a parallel project conducted in this town, it was found that the key risk lay in exposure, due to the small, close knit community. Interviewees were comfortable voluntarily discussing experiences of redundancy, industrial action providing they were in a confidential situation. This factor has been taken into account in the research design of my project, with the dismissing of methods which may have led to participant exposure – for example, focus groups.

### **6.2 Describe any way you are associated with participants that might influence the ethical appropriateness of you conducting this research – either favourably (e.g., same language or culture) or unfavourably (e.g., dependent relationships such as employer/employee, supervisor/worker, lecturer/student). As appropriate, describe the steps you will take to protect the participants.**

I do not anticipate that I will be associated with participants in any way that might influence the ethical appropriateness of the research.

### **6.3 Describe any possible conflicts of interest and explain how you will protect participants' interests and maintain your objectivity.**

The main conflict of interest lies in the fact that this research will contribute to my PhD thesis, and therefore I have a personal agenda of completion. I intend to protect participants by protecting participant identity throughout. I have also received scholarships from the UOW Doctoral Scholarship, Wilf and Ruth Malcolm Doctoral Scholarship, and the HRINZ Postgraduate Research Award, which will contribute towards funding this research. I have disclosed these scholarships in the information sheet. I do not anticipate that these provide any significant conflict of interest.

## **7. . EXERCISE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SENSITIVITY.**

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### **7.1 Identify any areas in your research that are potentially sensitive, especially from participants' perspectives. Explain what you do to ensure your research procedures are sensitive (unlikely to be insensitive). Demonstrate familiarity with the culture as appropriate.**

There are likely to be areas of both social and cultural sensitivity to be

*Pioida Hurd*

considered in this research.

Previous exploratory research has indicated that issues of redundancy, unemployment, industrial action may be raised. These issues may prove sensitive to participants. In addition, as with any social research, sensitive issues such as pregnancy, illness, violence and substance abuse may be raised. I intend to proceed with sensitivity and any such issues will not be the topic of interview questions, and will only be offered voluntarily. Additionally, I will not probe these issues further than the participant offers voluntarily. I also acknowledge that the issues above are not solely a characteristic of Tokoroa, and are present in the wider NZ society, and as such, I have an inherent degree of sensitivity to these issues. As described above, our previous research in this context has shown that participants are comfortable discussing sensitive issues as long as they are in a confidential environment, safe from exposure.

Tokoroa is a multi-cultural town, and in particular, has a large Pacific Island community, that has historically been a migrant workforce for the forestry industry. It is likely that participants in this research may come from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. I intend to be sensitive to cultural differences in contacting participants and carrying out interviews, and will consult cultural guidelines so I am informed about likely cultural differences prior to entering the field.

**7.2 If the participants as a group differ from the researcher in ways relevant to the research, describe your procedures to ensure the research is culturally safe and non offensive for the participants.**

Preliminary archival work shows that the participant group should be broadly representative of broader N.Z. society, and as a member of this community, I do not anticipate any significant differences over and above those normally found in a cross section of individuals.

# Consent Form for Participants

Waikato Management School

Te Raupapa



THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

**Think Global, Act Local? An inquiry into the sustainability of single industry towns in a time of global Human Resource practice**

**Fiona Hurd, PhD Student, Waikato Management**  
School Email: [fah1@waikato.ac.nz](mailto:fah1@waikato.ac.nz)  
Mobile: 021-190-3935

## Consent Form for Participants

I have read the **Information Sheet for Participants** for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time. I agree to the digital tape recording of any interviews, and understand that I will be provided with a copy of interview transcripts to approve.

I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time up until 2 weeks after I have been provided with the transcripts and photographs for feedback, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study. I agree to provide information to the researchers under the conditions of confidentiality set out on the **Information Sheet**.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the **Information Sheet** form.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Name and contact information:

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*Fiona Hurd*